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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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VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY  
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

*χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει*

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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## APPENDIX A.

### KAIROS.

Kairos as a distinct personification first emerges in the middle of *s. v* B.C., when Ion of Chios composed a hymn in his honour. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> mentions it *à propos* of an altar to him in the north-eastern part of the *Altis*: 'Hard by the entrance into the *Stádion* are two altars. One they call the altar of Hermes *Enagónios*, the other that of Kairos. I am aware that Ion of Chios actually made a hymn to Kairos and in his hymn gives the genealogy of Kairos as the youngest of the sons of Zeus.' It has been conjectured with some probability that this hymn was written for the original dedication of the Kairos-altar at Olympia<sup>2</sup>.

Whether Kairos was definitely worshipped elsewhere, we cannot say. Menandros 'spoke of him as a god<sup>3</sup>,' and Lysippos 'enrolled him among the gods<sup>4</sup>' 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 extant<sup>5</sup>. 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 statue<sup>6</sup>. 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 hair<sup>7</sup>, wished simply to portray the Age of Puberty. He therefore modelled a youthful runner, with wings<sup>8</sup> on his feet, holding the razor<sup>9</sup> that had shorn his votive tress for the well known puberty-

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 5. 14. 9.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Anth. Pal. 10. 52. 1 (Palladas) εὖ γε λέγων τὸν Καίρον ἐφῆς θεόν, εὖ γε, Μένανδρε, | κ.τ.λ.

<sup>4</sup> Himer. ecl. 14. 1 ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Καίρον, κ.τ.λ.

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

<sup>6</sup> Anth. Pal. 16. 275. 1 ff. (Poseidippos).

<sup>7</sup> Plin. nat. hist. 34. 65.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

rite<sup>1</sup>. The resultant figure took the popular fancy, and moralists soon<sup>2</sup> 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 found<sup>3</sup> in the fact that the name *Kairós* is related to the verb *keiro*, 'I shave'<sup>4</sup>.

Symbolism, once introduced, grew apace. Gems of the Hellenistic age<sup>5</sup>,



Fig. 796.



Fig. 798.



Fig. 797.

when Eros and Psyche were prime favourites<sup>6</sup>, added wings on the shoulders (fig. 796 ff.) and a butterfly on the hand (fig. 796 f.). The globe beneath the foot<sup>7</sup> (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 Nike<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

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

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Poll. 2. 33 ἀκαρῆς *kairós* and context.

<sup>4</sup> So P. Persson in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 288 (*kairós* < *καρ-ῖο-*). Dr Giles too told me (Oct. 22, 1911) that, starting from the root of *κεῖρω* in the weak grade *κρ-*, we could assume *κρ-ῖο-s* > *καρ-ῖο-s* > *kairós*, cp. *κῆρ-ῖο* > *χαίρω* > *χαίρω*.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* Append. G *sub fin.* and *supra* p. 645 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Kallistrat. ἐκφράσεις β. 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.

<sup>8</sup> F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 4, 23, 26 f. See also *supra* i. 48 f. figs. 20, 22.



Nemesis<sup>1</sup>. 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*<sup>2</sup> 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 Kronos<sup>3</sup> and Kronos too appears as a bald-



Fig. 799.

headed god hastening along with a sickle-knife in his hand<sup>4</sup>. 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 Kronos<sup>5</sup>, while by a further surprising coincidence *Krónos*, as we have seen<sup>6</sup>, 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)<sup>7</sup> shows him, with forelock and tonsure, balancing

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

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Lobeck in his ed. of Soph. *Ai.* Lipsiae 1835 p. 85 n.\*.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 374.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 550 fig. 426.

<sup>5</sup> 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).

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 549 n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> A. Rivautella—J. P. Ricolvi *Monumenta Taurinensia* Augustæ Taurinorum 1747 ii. 4 ff. no. 22 with pl., E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 5 f. pl. 1, 1 (photograph of cast = my fig. 799), H. Heydemann *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 finger<sup>1</sup>. The would-be archaic wings, floating tresses, muscular body, and barocco pose all point to Pergamene influence.



Fig. 800.

Equipoise on the razor was a trait naturally suggested by the old Greek proverb 'it stands on the razor's edge<sup>2</sup>.' 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)<sup>3</sup>. And Phaedrus must have seen similar representations in which the light-footed god even trod the razor's edge—*cursu volucris, pendens in novacula*<sup>4</sup>,—unless indeed we venture with G. Thiele<sup>5</sup> to translate the last phrase 'weighing on the razor's edge,' in which case Phaedrus and the Turin relief would be in exact agreement.

The recognition of Kairos on Italian soil was attended by a certain grammatical awkwardness. Phaedrus describes the god in words of the masculine gender<sup>6</sup>, but names him *Tempus* in the neuter<sup>7</sup>, and says that he signifies *occasionem rerum...breuem*<sup>8</sup>. *Occasio*, as the Latin equivalent of *Kairós*, was in fact the name current during the third<sup>9</sup> and fourth<sup>10</sup> centuries of our era; and, being a feminine term, it entailed a change of sex. Ausonius in one of his epigrams<sup>11</sup> professes to expound a group of Kairos and Metanoia carved by in his *Denkm.* ii. 771 f. fig. 823 ('aus spät-römischer Zeit, aber unzweifelhaft echt'), B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 fig. 4251 ('la reproduction d'un original grec'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 423 no. 3. Italian marble. Height 0'60<sup>m</sup>; breadth 0'65<sup>m</sup>.

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.

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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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).

<sup>4</sup> Phaedr. 5. 8. 1.

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

<sup>6</sup> Phaedr. 5. 8. 2 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* 5. 8 *titulus*, 5. 8. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* 5. 8. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Cato *disticha* 2. 26. 2 fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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 wheel<sup>1</sup>, with winged feet and the traditional *coiffure*.

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>, breadth at bottom 0·27<sup>m</sup>) of s. iii or iv from Thebes, now at Cairo, shows a youthful figure in military costume, with wreath, shoulder-wings, knife, wheel, and balance, running towards the right. Below are two females, one flying at the same pace, the other left behind in an attitude of dejection. J. Strzygowski *Koptische Kunst (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)* Vienne 1904 p. 103 f. no. 8757 fig. 159 calls them Kairos, *πρόνοια* and *μετάνοια*. Cp. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1905 viii. 150 fig. 5, O. M.



Fig. 801.

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

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



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

Georgios Kedrenos (*c.* 1100 A.D.) states that the masterpieces collected in the House of Lausos<sup>1</sup> at Constantinople included 'the figure by Lysippos representing Chronos, bald behind, long-haired before<sup>2</sup>.' Kedrenos' statement is very possibly true<sup>3</sup>, 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 it<sup>4</sup>. 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 follower<sup>5</sup>.'

Tzetzes further spends a score of lines on insisting that this was Chronos, not, as sundry wiseacres maintained, Bios<sup>6</sup>. He had already said the same thing in greater detail in one of his letters<sup>7</sup>. And, after him, Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197/8—1272 A.D.) describes the group in almost identical terms<sup>8</sup>. 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.*

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1511 f.

<sup>5</sup> Tzetz. *chil.* 8. 428 ff., 10. 264 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Tzetz. *chil.* 10. 275 ff.

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

<sup>8</sup> 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 Σικωνῖος (*leg.* Σικωνῖος) βουλευθεὶς ζωγραφήσαι καὶ ὡς ἐν παραδείγματι δεῖξαι (*leg.* δεῖξαι)



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 epigram<sup>1</sup> 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)<sup>2</sup> let into the pavement under the steps of the ambo in

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

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

ἐμὲ τὸν Βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παραινέτην.  
ἔτυχες, εὔρες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχεες μου τὰς τρίχας;  
μὴ πρὸς ῥαστώνην ἐκδοθῆς, μὴ πρὸς τρυφὴν χωρήσης,  
μηδὲ φρονήσης ὑψηλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.  
γυμνὸν με βλέπεις· νόησον γυμνὸν μου καὶ τὸ τέλος.  
ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· φρίττε μὴ κυλισθῶσι.  
περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· φεύγω, παρίπταμαί σε.  
ζυγὰ κατέχω τῇ χειρί· 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 παραινέτην.  
οὐκ ἔτυχες, οὐκ ἔλαβες, οὐκ ἔσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;  
μὴ σκυθρωπάσης τοῦ λοιποῦ, μηδὲ δυσελπιστήσης.  
γυμνός εἰμι, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξολισθήσας τούτων  
ἴσως μεταρρηθῶμαι πρὸς σέ καὶ μεταπέσω.  
ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· τάχα σοι κυλισθῶσι.  
περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· τρέχω, προσίπταμαί σοι.  
ζυγὰ κατέχω· τάχα σοι τὴν πλάστιγγα χαλάσω.  
μὴ τοίνυν ἀποπροσποιοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας.

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

<sup>2</sup> 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 (*bíos*) as a nude youth, with bald head and winged feet, admonishing a frustrated follower<sup>1</sup>.

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

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

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



Yet another turn of the kaleidoscope, and this shifting personality puts on, if not a fresh form, at least a new colouring. Bios the naked runner on winged wheels, who has hitherto, in accordance with pagan thought, been represented as a good thing eagerly pursued by mankind, is now, within the pale of the medieval Church, viewed as a bad thing itself in hot pursuit of men. A Vatican manuscript of the *Ladder of Paradise* by Saint John Klimax<sup>1</sup>, written about the close of s. xi A.D., has two relevant miniatures. In the one<sup>2</sup> 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)<sup>3</sup> 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. Gardner<sup>4</sup>, '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, κὰν δοκῶ τέως μένειν.  
ἀφίπταμαί σου καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκτρέχω,  
καὶ γίνομαι ῥοῦς ἂν συνέξης δακτύλοις.

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

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 134 f. The ms. is cod. Vat. Gr. 394.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

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

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



The scythe of Time<sup>1</sup> should, I think, rather be derived from the scythe of Death, who was often conceived as a reaper or mower<sup>2</sup> and in folk-celebrations of Mid-Lent was sometimes represented by a straw puppet with a scythe in his hand<sup>3</sup>. The hour-glass of Time likewise copies the hour-glass of Death so frequently figured in the *Danse Macabre*<sup>4</sup> 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, ἢ τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται*<sup>5</sup>;

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

## APPENDIX B.

### THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS.

Since the mountain-cults of Zeus have not, even in Germany, been made the subject of separate and detailed investigation<sup>6</sup>, 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 stated<sup>7</sup>.

The Greeks worshipped Zeus *Óreios* 'of the Mountain'<sup>8</sup>, Zeus *Koryphaíos*

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck<sup>2</sup>. See further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1477, *infra* Append. N *init.*

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

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* i. 117 ff. *et passim.*

<sup>8</sup> Zeus *Ópeios*. E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 396 f. recorded two identical inscriptions on blocks of gritstone formerly used for the lintel of the church-door at *Halalieh*: *ἔτους ζυς', μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ιέ', Θρεπίων (Ν)είκωνος τοῦ Σωσίππου τοὺς δύο | λέοντας Δι' Ὀρείῳ, κατ' ὄναρ, ἐκ τῶν ιδίῳν, 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 Peak<sup>1</sup>,' Zeus *Aktaïos* 'of the Point<sup>2</sup>,' Zeus *Akraïos* 'of the Summit<sup>3</sup>,'

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 *Ὀρειος*, 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 *Ὀρομπάτας*. E. Sittig in *Hermes* 1915 l. 158 f. publishes a dedication on a block of dark limestone at Amathous in Kypros: Κυπρ ||| ||| ||| ||| ||| ||| | Πολυξένου: Αἰνιᾶν[ος θυ]γάτηρ: Εὐβιότα | Παναίτιον Πολυξένου Αἰνιᾶνα, | Διὸς Ὀρομπάτα ἱερέα, τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, | αὐτῆ καὶ τὰ παιδία. The lettering suggests s. iii B.C.; and Sittig regards *Ὀρο-μπάτας* as = *ὄρειβάτης* ('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 ΠΙΙ statt des Β setzte, mit dem die Eingeborenen einen anderen Lautwert verbanden'). This is ingenious; but, apart from the fact that *μπ* for *β* is unexampled at so early a date, *ὄρειβάτης* is an epithet which suits Pan (*Anth. Pa.* 16. 226. 1 (Alkaios of Messene)) rather than Zeus. I suspect that Zeus *Ὀρομπάτας* 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 *ὄρεμπότης* as a Delphic term for 'river' (Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 24 ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς πυρικόους μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας, ὀφιοβόρους δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὄρεᾶνας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὄρεμπότας δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς). On this showing Zeus *Ὀρομπάτας* 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *Ὀρομπάτας*.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus *Κορυφαῖος*. Seleukeia Pieria, at the foot of Mt Koryphaion (Polyb. 5. 59. 4), had a priest of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* and Zeus *Κορυφαῖος* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 3 f., 3 ff., = Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 3 f. Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | καὶ Διὸς Κορυφαίου, 27 ff. Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου [καὶ] | τῶν θεῶν τῶν | Σωτήρ[ων] καὶ Διὸς | Κο[ρυφ]αίου, cp. Liban. *legat. ad Iulian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10 f. Foerster) τὸν Δία τὸν τε ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄστει, παρ' ὃν εἰσῆλθες ἕπατος, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες θαρρῶν, ᾧ γέγονας ὀφειλέτης). Philadelpheia in Lydia, at the base of Mt Tmolos, also had a cult of Zeus *Κορυφαῖος* (*supra* p. 285 n. 0 no. (3) and *Addenda ad loc.*), whose head is seen on an imperial bronze coin of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 190 pl. 21, 9 = my fig. 804 (from a cast), *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 655). The title has a variety of meanings in Paus. 2. 4. 5 (Corinth) ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῆ τῆ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλώσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν, *Aristeid. or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf) οὗτος βασιλεὺς, πολιεὺς, καταιβάτης, ὑέτιος, οὐράνιος, κορυφαῖος, πάνθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς εὔρε μεγάλα καὶ ἐαυτῷ πρόποντα δνόμενα, *Max. Tyr. diss.* 41. 2



Fig. 804.

Dübner τὸν Δία... τὸν κορυφαῖον τῆς τῶν ἄστρον περιφορᾶς καὶ δινήσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου, cp. *Ioul. or.* 7. 230 D ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατήρ πάντων κάθηται τῶν θεῶν, *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (Minerva) quarta Iove nata et Coryphe, Oceani filia, *Clem. Al. protv.* 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. Poseid.* 17 b. 3 (Poseidon) δς ναίεις κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων, Paus. 2. 28. 2 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ ἄκρα τοῦ ὄρους (*sc.* of Mt Koryphon near Epidaurous) Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Κορυφαῖον· ὄρος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται Ἀρτεμις Κορυφαία.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus *Ἀκταῖος*. *Dikaiarch.* 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 107 Müller) ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους (*sc.* of Mt Pelion) κορυφῆς σπηλαῖον ἐστὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σχειρώνιον, καὶ Διὸς Ἀκταίου

[<sup>3</sup> For note 3 see p. 871.]



(F. Osann, followed by C. Müller, cj. Ἱερόν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κυνὸς ἀνατολήν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον καῦμα ἀναβαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐπιλεχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως, ἐνεξωσμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινά· τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ψῦχος εἶναι. On this passage see *supra* i. 420 f. The sanctuary of Zeus Ἱακταῖος 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<sup>m</sup>), now called *Plissídi* or *Pliassídi*, has been repeatedly ransacked by treasure-seekers, some of whom coming from *Drákeia* are said to have been devoured by wolves. The rocky eastern side of the summit shows traces of ancient hewn habitations, like those of Demetrias, Pagasai, Phthiotic Thebes, etc., with holes for roof-timbers and coarse tiles perhaps manufactured on the spot. These dwellings are called by the shepherds *Skoleió*, because they resemble the benches in a school.

Close by is a ruined gate of hewn stone (E) with two towers (II, II), continued as a wall some 3<sup>m</sup> 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

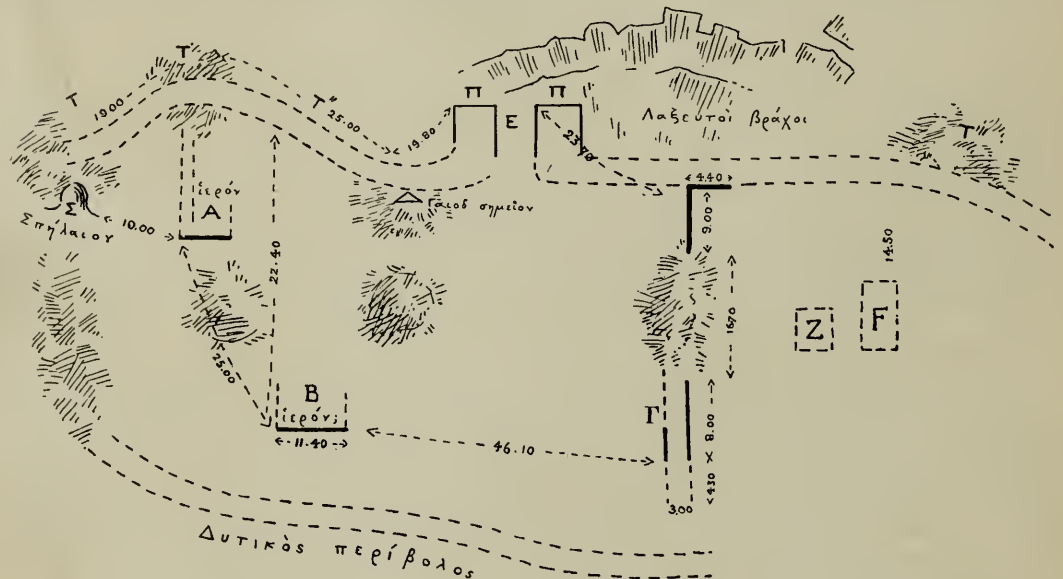


Fig. 805.

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<sup>m</sup> thick, which was roofed on both sides so as to make a *stoá* for the sale of commodities during festival seasons.

At the north-west end of the large precinct is a steep rock-face, in which is the mouth of a cave (Σ), 2<sup>m</sup> across, blocked with stones by the natives in recent times. The walls of the cave appear to have been hewn. Near it are traces of a building (A), which seems to have been of apsidal or horse-shoe shape, like the temple of Athena *Poliás* at Gonnoi (Arvanitopoulos *loc. cit.* p. 316 fig. 6), and was presumably the temple of the divinity worshipped in the cave. Further west was the quadrilateral temple (B) of another related deity: this was on a larger scale, one side partly excavated reaching a length of 11.40<sup>m</sup> with a wall 0.55<sup>m</sup> 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 δεῖνες ἀνέθηκ]αν Μ[ούσ(?)]αις.

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



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

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος. (1) The cult of Zeus Ἀκραῖος on Mt Pelion is attested by an inscription found near *Bupha* on the Gulf of Pagasai and now in the Museum at *Volo* (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. [---- παριστάναί τὰ θύματα λευκά ὀλόκληρα [κα][[θαρά ἀ δεῖ θύ]εσθαι τῶι θεῶι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐθιζόμενα καθὼς [καί] | [πρὶν ἐ]γίνετο, τὰς δὲ τούτων δωρὰς πωλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν χρό][νου κα]τ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκα τῆι ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀρτεμισι[ῶνος μην]ῶς πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γινομένης ἐννόμου ἀπὸ τοῦ ----|ρίου ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀρχόντων, συμπαρόντων καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου καὶ τῶν ἐξεταστῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων | γενόμενον διάφ[ορον ἱερὸν εἶναι] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου. . . .|νου τὰς ἀγορὰς ----- ἀμα τῶι θεῶι συναχθεῖση | --- 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.*<sup>3</sup> 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, μηνὸς Ἀρείου δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ., 54 ff. (cited *supra* p. 730 n. 0 *sub fin.*), 11, 70 f. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισιῶνος δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1128, 1 ff. Ἀνρ. Τειμασίθεος | Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[ε]ῦς τῶ Ἀκραίῳ Δι[ε].

(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 καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς (sc. Κρεσφόντου) ἤθελον (sc. οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀποκτεῖναι), οὓς τότε ὁ μητροπάτωρ (sc. Κύψελος) ἄμα τῇ θυγατρὶ κνυοῦση θύειν μέλλων Διὶ Ἀκραίῳ εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα μετεπέμψατο).

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

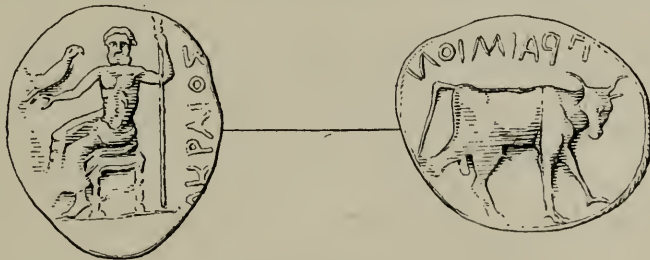


Fig. 806.

coins of the town (*supra* i. 660 n. 3) enthroned with sceptre and eagle and accompanied by the title ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (first correctly deciphered by C. T. Seltman): fig. 806b 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 Ἀκραία, since the Halicarnassians are known to have built a temple of Aphrodite Ἀκραία 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 Ἀκραίῳ εὐχή[ν]). T. Bergk *Exercitationum criticarum specimen VI* Marburgi 1850 p. vi (= *id.* *Kleine philologische Schriften* ed. R. Peppmüller Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 297), K. Keil in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 454, and G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193, would read Ἀκραίω for Ἀσκραίω in Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 ἐν τῷ κατὰ τόπους μυθικῷ· ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ θυσίας τιτὸς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἀσκραίῳ συντελουμένης ἀγέλην αἰγῶν ἀγεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἴστασθαι· τῶν δὲ κατευχῶν συντελεσθεισῶν προβαίνειν μίαν αἶγα ὑπὸ μηδεὸς 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 Ἀσκραῖος, 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.

Ἀσκραίῳ 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 619 fig. 305. Fig. 811 Gordianus Pius is from a specimen in my collection). It is of course possible that Ἀκραῖος was a second appellative of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος (cp. *supra* no. (4)).

(6) W. R. Paton in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 47 f. publishes an inscription, in lettering of about *s.* i B.C. or *s.* i A.D.; found at Myndos: [Πο]σίδεος Κλεωνύμου καθ' ἰοθεσία[ν] | [δέ] Ποσιδέου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ἡδέια Ἀπολλωνίδου | [καὶ] οἱ υἱοὶ Κλεωνύμου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης | [Ἀλ]ικαρνασσεῖς Διὶ Ἀκραίῳ. Paton proposes Ἀκραίῳ for Ἀσκραίῳ, not only in Apollon.



Zeus *Epákrios* 'on the Summit<sup>1</sup>, Zeus *Karaiós* 'of the Head<sup>2</sup>, Zeus *Lopheítes* *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 'Ακραῖος 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 'Ακραῖος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3146, 1 ff. ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαχθέντος | ὕδατος ἐπὶ τὸν Δία τὸν | 'Ακραῖον ἐπὶ Οὐλπίου | 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 'Ακραῖος, inscribed ΣΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟ C (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas, etc.* p. 145 no. 22, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 311 no. 7, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Plutonem: ΘΕΟΙ ΑΚΡΑΙΟΙ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ. 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 ἀκρον ἂν εἶποις καὶ πόλιν· καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ θεοὺς, ἀκραίους καὶ πολιεῖς.' This coin, cited by numismatists from Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 504 to *Head Hist. num.*<sup>1</sup> p. 488 inclusive, has disappeared from *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 562 f.

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

See further Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός (20) ἀκραίου, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 f. ἴζο δ' αὐτὸς | ἀκρης ἐν πολιεσσιν, Aristeid. *or.* i. 6 (i. 7 Dindorf) τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἐξείλον Δί, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus 'Επάκριος. Polyzelos Μουσῶν γοναί *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 869 f. Meineke) *ap. et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. Ἐπάκριος Ζεὺς· ἐπ' ἀκρας γὰρ τῶν ὀρώων ἰδρύνοντο βωμοὺς τῷ Δί, οἶον τοῦ Ἰμμητιοῦ, τοῦ Παρρηθίου. Πολύζηλος Μουσῶν γοναῖς· "ἱερὸν γὰρ ὄν (A. Meineke cj. ἱερὸς γὰρ ὄν, cp. Metagenes Ἀθραι *frag.* 4 Meineke *ap. schol. Aristoph. av.* 873) τευχήκας Ἐπακρίον Διός." So Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπάκριος· Ζεὺς. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρων τῶν ὀρώων

[<sup>2</sup> For note 2 see p. 874.]



'of the Crest<sup>1</sup>.' These titles, and perhaps certain others<sup>2</sup>, proclaim him to be a

ιδρυμένος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ὄρων τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῷ ἴδρουν ὡς ἐπιπολύ, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1747, 59 ὄθεν 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 ἱερὸν τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐπα[κρίου]. But the reading of the appellative is doubtful: ΕΠ/ are the only surviving letters.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Kapaïós. Hesych. *s.v.* Kapaïós. Ζεὺς παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται· ὡς μὲν τινές φασι διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸς εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3208 on a small unfluted column at Orchomenos in Boiotia [Δί] Kapaïοί | [..... ἄρχ]οντος Κλιωνίω (W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* says: 'Vocem ἀρχοντος (aut ἱαραρχίοντος, ἱαρατεύοντος) mediam sumpsi interpositam fuisse inter nomen proprium et adiectivum patronymicum. Sed id quoque fieri potest, ut [Λί]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: Kapaïόγειτος (Thespiæ), Kapaïs (Anthedon), Kapaïχος (Lebadeia, Orchomenos), Kapaïων (Orchomenos). E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 extends the list, adding Kapaïός (*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 (Aptara in Crete)). The title suits a mountain-god, cp. *Il.* 20. 5 κρατὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο, 1. 44 κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων (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 Θεσσαλία καὶ Βοιωτία 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 Klários (Aisch. *suppl.* 359 f. ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἀνατον φνυγὰν | ἱεσία Θέμις Διὸς Κλαρίον, Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγεάταις εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου (καρίου codd. Vb. M.), δῆλα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο ἢ ἐπὶ κλησις τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἔνεκα τῶν Ἀρκάδος. ἄγουσι δὲ ἑορτὴν αὐτόθι Τεγεᾶταις κατὰ ἔτος· κ.τ.λ.). Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 56, 71 takes Klários 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.* παντάπασι (H. Weil corr. πάντα πᾶσι) κληροῦντος καὶ κραίνοντος). W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup> Braunschweig 1875 i. 666 cite Hesych. κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφου(s) ἐσχάραι, which might be held to justify Klários = 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 Ἴπποθοίτις, Ἀπολλωνιάτις, Ἀθανεάτις are all derived from deities, contends that Zeus Klários 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 Klários of Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 444 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Κλαρίου μαντεύειν εἶναι αὐτόθι (*sc.* at Κλάρος near Kolophon) must not be confounded with Zeus Klários.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Λοφείτης. A cult of this deity at Perinthos (later known as Herakleia) on the Propontis is evidenced by the following inscriptions: (1) on the back of a rectangular marble altar, between Rodosto and Ereghli (Perinthos), in letters of s. ii A.D. Διὶ Λοφείτῃ Ε[ὐ(?)][δίω]ν Φιλλύδ[ου] | ἱερεὺς νέοις λη|...ρίοις δῶρον (E. Kalinka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 67 f., F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565. Kalinka suggests that the altar was a gift to a corporation of νέοι αὐράριοι). (2) From Perinthos: Διὶ Λοφείτῃ | ὑπὲρ Οὐα(τ)ε|ρίου Καλλιμά|χου 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:] Λοφείτ(η)ι καὶ | [συ]ναγωγῆι -ΝΑ | ..ων νέων Πρεῖ[σκ]ος ἐκ τῶν (εἰδ)ίων | καθιέρω[σε]ν (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.*

[<sup>2</sup> For note 2 see p. 875.]

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

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

<sup>2</sup> 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 μόντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τιμωρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον;) 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.

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

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

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

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

(5) In Paros on the top of Mt *Kounádos* the little church of the Prophet Elias has built into it boundary-stones belonging to Zeus Ὕπατος, 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. [ὄ]ρος Ὑπάτο· ἀ[τε][λ]ῆ[στοι οὐ θέμ[ι]ς οὐδὲ γυναι[κ]ί (sc. εἰσελεῖν) (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 183 with fig.).



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

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

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

(8) M. Schweisthal 'L'image de Niobé et l'autel de Zeus Hypatos au mont Sipyle' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 224 argues that Zeus on Mt Sipylos was invoked under the name of Ὑπατος, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 533 ff. ὁψὲ δὲ δύσνιφον οἶδμα καὶ ὕδατ' ἔβουλον ἀνάγκην | Ζεὺς ὕπατος (ὑδατος codd. F. M.) πρήνυε, καὶ ἐκ Σιπύλοιο καρήνων | κλυζομένης Φρυγίης παλιν-ἀγρετον ἤλασεν ὕδωρ. But ὕπατος is a commonish epithet of Zeus in the poets (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 141) and is used elsewhere by Nonnos (*Dion.* 33. 162 Ζεὺς ὕπατος καὶ θούρος Ἄρης καὶ θέσμιος Ἐρμῆς) 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 αὐγὰς as denoting τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν ὀρώων!

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

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



F. G. Welcker *Der Felsaltar des Höchsten Zeus oder das Pelasgikon zu Athen, bisher genannt die Pnyx* Berlin 1852 pp. 1—75 with pl., *id.* 'Pnyx oder Pelasgikon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 30—76, *id.* 'Ueber C. Bursians "Athenische Pnyx"' *ib.* 1856 x. 591—610, and defended especially by E. Curtius *Attische Studien i Pnyx und Stadtmauer* in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1862 xi. 53—132 with pls. 1, 2, *viz.* that the so-called Pnyx was an ancient sanctuary of Zeus "Ἰψιστος with the so-called *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 "Ἰψιστος 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 "Ἰψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 148 Σύντροφος | Ἰψίστω Διὶ | χαριστήριον,



Fig. 816.

no. 153 Ὀνησίμη εὐχὴν | Διὶ Ἰψίστω with relief representing a female breast) or to θεὸς "Ἰψιστος (*ib.* no. 237 .....α θεῶ Ἰψί[στω] | [ε]ὐχὴν with relief of part of a shoulder) or more often to "Ἰψιστος alone (*ib.* no. 149 Εὐδοσ Ἰψίστω εὐχὴν with relief of a pair of eyes (cp. *ib.* no. 238=C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* no. 69), no. 150 Ὀλυμπιάς Ἰψίστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a woman's abdomen, no. 151 Τερτία Ἰψίστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a face from the bridge of the nose downwards, no. 152 Κλαυδία Πρέπουσα | εὐχαριστῶ Ἰψίστω with relief of a pair of arms, no. 154 Εὐτυχὶς Ἰψίστω εὐ[χ(ήν)] with relief of a female breast (=my fig. 816), no. 155 Εἰσιδῶς Ἰψί[στω] | εὐ[χ(ήν)] with relief of a female breast).

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

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

(2) At Thebes near the Hypsistan Gates (Paus. 9. 8. 5 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ἰψίσταις Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπικλησὶν ἔστιν 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 Ἰψιστος, 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, Ἰψιστος (Paus. 2. 2. 8 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπικλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ἰψιστον). 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, in an interesting epitaph describes her tomb as a barrow adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus Ἰψιστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 ὑψίστου δ' ἡρίον ἀ[γχι Διός]).

(5) At Olympia Zeus Ἰψιστος had a couple of altars on the way to the Hippodrome (Paus. 5. 15. 5 πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν 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 [Διὶ 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 | Βεΐθου ὁ καὶ | Ἀδωνις | εὐχὴν (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 24).

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

(9) Makedonia has furnished dedications from Aigai (L. Duchesne—C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos* Paris 1877 no. 136 Διὶ Ἰψίστω εὐχὴν Μάκρος Λιβύρνιος Οὐάλης, no. 137 Διὶ Ἰψίστω Πο. Ἀΐλιος Τερεντιανὸς Ἀττικὸς κατ' ὄναρ), Kerdyllion (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 110 M. Λευκέλιο[s] | Μακλᾶς θεῶ[ι] | Ἰψίστωι χαριστήριον), and elsewhere (Delacoulonche *Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne* no. 20 to Zeus Ἰψιστος, 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 ΔΗΥΨΙΣΙΔΕΣΣ. | ΓΗΠΟΥΠΡΟΣΣ. | ΟΝΤΕΙΝΩΝ-ΚΑΙΣ | ΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΗ | ΡΙΟΝ, which is read by O. Benndorf *ib.* n. 32<sup>a</sup> as Διὶ ὑψίσ[τω] ἐ[πόπ]τη(?) Πολύ[βι]ος [τ]ῶν τέ[κ]νων καὶ [ἐ]αυτοῦ εὐχαριστήριον) and Selymbria (R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 255 no. 777 Θεῶι ἀγίω ὑψίστωι | ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοιμητάλκου καὶ Πυθοδωρίδος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λητικὸν] πόλεμον κινδύνου | σωτηρίας ἐξάμενος | καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν Γάιος | Ἰούλιος Πρόκ(λ)ος χαριστήριον).

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



ιερέως | Ἐρμογένους καὶ προ|στάτου Αὐγουστιανοῦ | Ἀχιλλεύς, Αὐρήλις, Δῖο(ς), Ἀλέξανδρος, Μόκας, Μο[κι]ανός, | Δομήτις, Σοφείνος, Παυ|λείνος, Πύρος, Ἀπολιναίρις, Μοκιανός, [Σ(?)]ή- λυς | καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκ|ληπιάδου· θία[σος(?)] Σεβαζ|ιανός θη[···]τουτας | -- (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 238 f. no. 2).

(12) Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1869 Φαιακοσίγη Διελ' Ἐψίστω | εὐχήν).

(13) Rome. A round base in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican is inscribed Θεῶν Ἐψίστω εὐχήν ἀνέθηκεν | Κλαυδία Πίστη (*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[ί]ρανος θεῶν Ἐψίστω | εὐχήν δη|μόσιος (C. Babington's reading *ib.* is wrong) from Knossos.

(15) Kypros. Dedications to the Θεὸς Ἐψιστος have come to light at *Hagios Tychon* near Amathous (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 167 a round *ciprus* inscribed Θεῶν Ἐψίστω | Νεικόδημος | κατ[ὰ] χρηματισ|μόν), 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 *Athien u* 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 εὐχήν]).

(16) Pisidia. At Oinoanda is a dedication built into the wall near the town-gate (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4380 n<sup>2</sup> Χρ(ω)μα|τις θεῶν | Ἐψίστω | τὸν λύ|χνον | εὐχ[ή]ν = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 1231). At Termessos a *ciprus*, which once supported a votive foot (commemorating a visitation or epiphany of the god), is inscribed Θεῶν ἐπηκόω Ἐψιστότυχος ὁ καὶ Ἀττα|λιανός Ἐρ(μαίου) β' | Σύρου πᾶτ| κατὰ κέλευσιν | αὐτοῦ ἔστη | Ὡ σεν Ὡ | σὺν τῷ ἐπόντι | ἔχει θεοῦ (K. Lanckóroński—G. Niemann—E. Petersen *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 76 fig. 27, 220 no. 178. *Eid. ib.* 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 Θεῶν ἐπηκόω Ἐψιστ(ω) Τυχ(ί)ος and Σύρου πά(ππου(?)).

(17) Karia. Zeus Ἐψιστος 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 Ἐψιστ[τω] | καὶ θειωτ[···]σιλικω Σ[τε]φανίων ὑπὲρ | αὐτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων εὐχ[αρι]σ- τήρι[ον]. I should conjecture Θείω (as at Stratonikeia: see below) τῷ βασιλικῷ, 'the royal Zeus Ἐψιστος 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 ἀγιωτάτου [Θεοῦ Ἐψίστου Σωτήρος | Οὐλπιον Κάρπον | βουλευτὴν ὁ στατίων (*sc.* assembly) | τῶν κατὰ πόλιν κηπουρῶν τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρί[as], no. 756 built into the same Byzantine church Οὐλπιον Κάρπον, | τὸν προφήτην τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Θεοῦ | Ἐψίστου, | ὁ στόλος τῶν σωληνοκεντῶν (*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 Ἐψιστος), Mylasa (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 ε, 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 | Ἀριστέου 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 Ἐκάτη Σω[τε]ίρα | [καὶ] Διὸς Καπε[τω]λίω | [καὶ] Τύχη τοῦ μεγίστου | [Αὐτ]οκράτορος Κα[ί]σαρος | [Τίτου] Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ [Ἄντ]ων[ίνου] Σεβαστοῦ | [···] καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Δι[ὸς]··· | [·····] τοῦ -- --]), 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[ί]α ὑπὲρ σωτηρί[as] | μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων, χαριστ[ή]ριον, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 182 f. no. 3 Διὶ 'Υψίστῳ | καὶ Θεῶ 'Αγγέλῳ Νέων | καὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων, no. 4 [Διὶ(?)] 'Υψίστῳ καὶ | Θεῶ Φρόνιμος καὶ | Πειθῶ κα[ί](sic) | ὑπὲρ τῶν [ί]δίων χαριστήριον, G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 418 f. no. 1 at *Djidi* [Διὶ 'Υψίστῳ] | καὶ Θεῶ Εὐτύχης καὶ Σ[υν]φιλοῦσα, 'Ανδρέας, 'Αντίοχος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶ[ν] | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χαριστήριον), and Tralleis (I. Misthos in the *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ* 1873—1875 p. 95 no. 89 Θεῶ 'Υψίστῳ | κατ' ὄναρ on a small quadrilateral *stèle*).

(18) Kos. W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 116 no. 63 record a small *stèle*, with *aedicula* and rosette, inscribed Θεανὸς | Θεῶ 'Υψίστῳ ἐὺ|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 'Υψιστος for speedy vengeance on behalf of

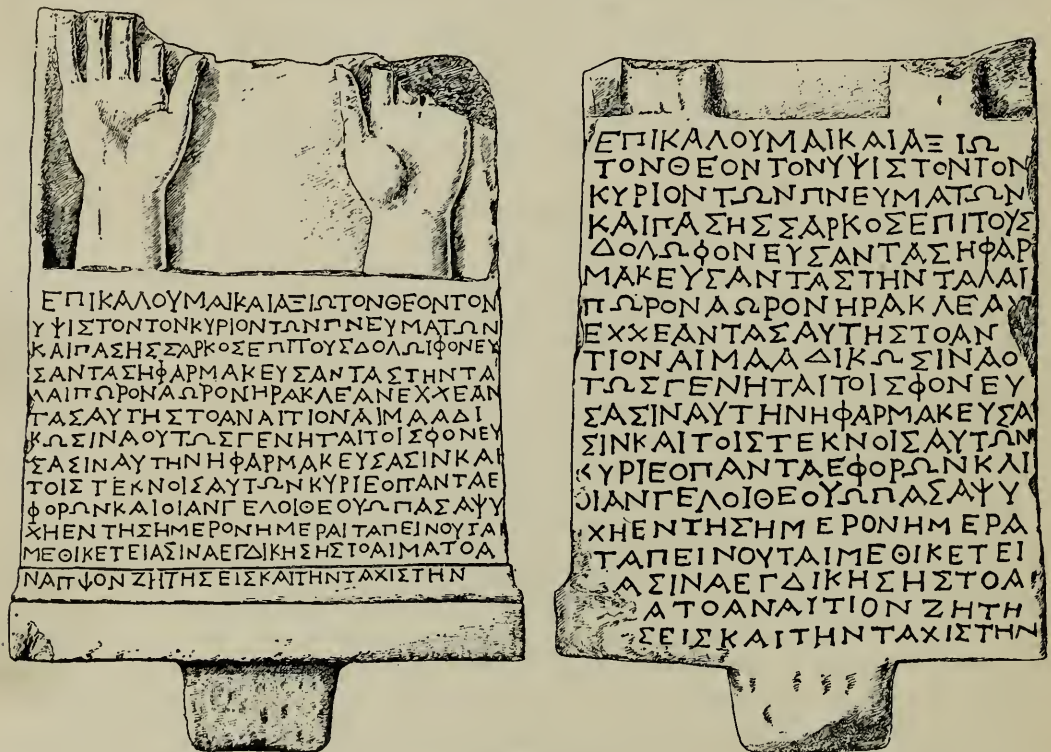


Fig. 817.

two Jewish maidens named Marthine and Heraklea respectively (the names recur in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2322 *b*<sup>78</sup> and no. 2322 *b*<sup>69</sup> = Lebas—Foucart *fls* 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.*<sup>3</sup> no. 1181, 1 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιώ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν | 'Υψιστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων | καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοῦς δόλωι φονεύσαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν ταλαίπωρον ἄωρον 'Ηράκλεαν, ἐχχέαν|τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀνάτιον αἷμα ἀδίκως, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύσασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ | τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυ|χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦται | μεθ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην (Dittenberger *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> on no. 816 says: 'Exspectes ἵνα ζητήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον καὶ ἐγδικήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην.' The Marthine-text, however, runs: ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃ[s] | τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστη[ν],







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 88r.



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

(20) Lydia. Hierokaisareia (A. M. Fontrier in the Μουσεῖον 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* Λούκιος Θεῶ|Ψίστω|εὐχῆν). Koloe in Maionia (M. Tsakyroglou in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ 1878—1880 p. 161 no. τκδ' Ἀπολλωνίος|ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐρ|μογένους Θεῶ|Ψίστω|εὐχῆν). Philadelphieia (*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) | Αὐδ(να)λου ἰ. Φλα|βία Θεῶ|Ψίστω|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 *Τειμόθεος Διαγόρου* | *Λαβραντίδης* (Foucart justly cp. the epithet *Λαβρανθεύς*) καὶ *Μόσχιον* | *Τειμοθέου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ* | *Θεῶ|Ψίστω|εὐχῆν τὸν* | *βωμόν, ὅ* (by another hand) *Διαγόρας, Τειμόθεος, Πύθεος* | *οἱ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Διαγόρου υἱοῖ* | *Λαβραντίδαι τὰς λυχναψίας* | *Ψίστω* (*Ψίστω* Fontrier) *ἀνέθηκαν*). Silandos (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 708 Θεῶ|Ψίστω|εὐχῆν *ἀνέθηκε* Ἐλένη ὑπὲρ *Θρασυβούλου τοῦ υἱοῦ* | *Θρασυβούλου*). *Tchatal Teppe* (K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 119 no. 57 on a small marble altar Θεῶ|Ψίστω|Ἀγαθόπους καὶ | *Τελέσειρα εὐχῆν*· ἔτους σν' | μη(νός) *Δαισίου κ'*). *Phata*, three hours east of *Theira* (A. M. Fontrier in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ 1876—1878 p. 32 on an altar-step Θεῶ|Ψίστω| *Νεικηφόρος Ἐρ|μοκράτου* *ιερε[ῖ]ς σὺν καὶ Ἐρμ[ο]κράτει τῶ ἀδ[ελφ]ῶ|φῶ τὸν βωμόν* | *ἀνέσ|τησαν*· | *ἔτ|ους σκ'*). *Thyateira* (A. Wagener in the *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* Série in 4<sup>o</sup> Classe de Lettres 1861 xxx. 39 = A. M. Fontrier in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 239 no. 4 a relief of an eagle: on the base is inscribed *Μοσχιανὸς Βασιλεὺς* | *Ψίστω Θεῶ|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]εῶ|Ψί[σ]|τ[ω] εὐχῆ[ν]* | *[ἀν]έθη[κεν]* | *[εὐτ]υχῶ[ς]*, no. 29 on a small altar of similar material and date *[Τ]ρυφῶσα* | *[Θ]εῶ|Ψίστω|εὐχῆν*). Cp. *Ak Tash* (Temenothyrai?) (*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 *Τύρανις Ἀφ[φ]ι|άδος Ψ[ίστω]* | *εὐ[χῆν]*) and *Gjölde* 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 Θεῶ|Ψίστη *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(?)]* | *Νεικάνδ[ρου]* | *Δι|Ψίστω|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 (*Panderma*) near Kyzikos came a votive *stèle* of white marble, presented by A. van Branteghem in 1890 to the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 374 f. no. 817, F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1916 iv. 2. 153 no. 1007 with fig. I am indebted to Mr Smith for the photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming from which my pl. xxxix is taken). This relief, which has aroused much interest (see e.g. A. S. Murray in the *Rev. Arch.* 1891 i. 10 f. no. 1, H. Lechat—G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 520 f., F. Cumont *Hypsistos* Bruxelles 1897 p. 12 no. 3 pl., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 592 f. pl. 4, E. Ziebarth 'XOTΣ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 145 f., F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 p. 370, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 pp. 207, 271 no. 13, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 3), represents three deities standing side by side in a sunk panel—Zeus in *chiton* and *himation*, with a *phiale* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left; Artemis (Persephone, or perhaps



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

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

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

slab of marble Θεῶ Ὑψίστω εὐχὴν Ἀυρήλιος | Ἀσκλάπῳ, ἣν ὁμολόγησεν εἶναι | Πρώμῃ), at *Arslan Aşa* 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(?)]]χοῦ [. . .] | [ἔτους] τλη' (= 253/4 A.D.). Ἀυρ. Ἰάσων Θεῶ | Ὑψίστω εὐχὴν). The Θεός Ὑψιστος 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 | μᾶμμης καὶ τῶν | κατοικούντων | ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρωσεν. | Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσγερειανὸς ἐποίησεν. Ramsay refers the *cippus* 'most probably to the second century after Christ,' adding 'I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus.' *Id. ib.* p. 258 f. no. 10 on a *stèle* at *Serea (Κιγυζακ)*, three hours north-west of *Nakoleia Μάρκος | Μάρκου | Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννεί | Σερεανῶ στέφανον*. Ramsay remarks: 'Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side [of the mountains], and Papas, or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.' Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 774 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3857 l = G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 122 f. no. 86 on a cylindrical *cippus* at *Altyntash ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος | Νεροῦα Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος | Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικοῦ νείκης Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Μηνοφάνης Τειμολάου | τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν | Βεννεισοηνῶν*. W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers iv)* London 1890 p. 144 f. (cp. S. Reinach *Chroniques d'orient* Paris 1891 p. 498) was the first to read the concluding line aright as Βεννεί Σοηνῶν, Soa being the chief town of the Praipenisseis in the neighbourhood of *Altyntash*), whose priests, the Βεννέται, are mentioned in another inscription from the same locality (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3857 between Aizanoi and Kotiaieion Τρύφων Μενίσκου Διὶ | καὶ τοῖς Βεννέταις). 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*), Messapian (W. Deecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1882 xxxvii. 385 f. no. 22), and Thracο-Illyrian word *benna* (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βέννα, πόλις Θράκης, κ.τ.λ., *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 1907, 48 ff. Bennis, 69 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 ἀγαθῇ τύχη· | Θεῶ Ὑψίστω | Ἀσκληπιόδοτος Σωσιπάτρου κατὰ ὄναρ.

(25) Paphlagonia. Inscriptions from the district of Sinope record the cult of the Θεός Ὑψιστος (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 Ὑψίστω | Ἄλιος Θρεπτίων, | Ποντιανός, Σεουήρος, Μάκερ, οἱ | ἀδελφοὶ ('brethren' in a religious sense) εὐξάμενοι) or Θεός Μέγας Ὑψιστος (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 | Ὑψίστω εὐχῆς | χά[ριω ἀνέ]θηκε . . . [λ]ος | μετὰ [τῆς γυ]ναί[κ]ος Ρου[φ]εἰ[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) Bosporos Kimmerios. Gorgippia (*Αναφα*) (B. Latyshev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 208 ff. no. 400, 1 ff. (manumission of a slave) Θεῶ Ὑψίστω παντοκράτορι εὐλογητῶ, βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως [Πολέμωνος] φιλογερμα[ν]ικοῦ καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, ἔτους ηλτ' (338 of the Bosporan era = 41 A.D.), μηνὸς Δείου, Πόθος Στ[ρά]τωνος ἀνέθηκεν <ἐν> | τῆι [προσ]ευχῆι κατ' εὐχ[ῆ]νυ θρεπτήν ἑαυτοῦ, ἧ ὄνομα Χρύσα, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡ ἀνεπα[φ]ος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστο[s] | ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρο-



ν[όμ]ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἕλιον (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) [Θεῶν Ἑψίστω παν] [τοκράτωρι εὐλογγή] [τῶν βασιλεύοντων] | βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ἰ<ω>|ουλίου <λίου> Σαυρομάτου (sc. Tib. Iulius Sauromates ii, king of Bosphoros in the time of Caracalla) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Τειμόθεος Νυμφαγόρου Μακαρίου σὺν | ἀδελφῆς Ἕλιδος γυναικὸς Νανοβαλαμύρου κατὰ εὐχὴν | πατὴρ ἡμῶν Νυμφαγόρου Μακαρίου | ἀφείομεν τὴν θρεπ[τὴν ἡμῶν Δ]ωρεάν | [ἐλευθέραν ---], B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1901 iv. 249 ff. no. 436 b, 4 Θεῶν Ἑψίστω ---, 15 [---] Θεῶν Ἑψίστω Ποθῆν[os ---] 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.) [Θεῶν Ἑψίστωι ἑ [εὐχῆ]. | [β]ασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου) [Ἰ]ουλίου Ῥοιμητάλκου (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhoemetalces, king of Bosphoros in the time of Hadrian) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ | φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς, ἐν τῶ... ἔτει, | μὴνὸς Περειτίου ἡ, [ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ] | ἱερέα Πόπλιον Χαρ[ίτωνος (?) καὶ πατέρα σὺν] ὁδοῦ Ἀντίμαχου τοῦ δέινος ---, no. 447, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶν Ἑψίστω ἐπηκόω ἡ σύνοδος περὶ Θεὸν Ἑψιστον καὶ ἱερέα Χόφρασμον | Φοργαβάκου καὶ συναγωγὸν Εὐπρέπην | Συμφόρου καὶ φιλάγαθον Ἀντίμαχον Πασιώνος καὶ παραφιλάγαθον Σύμφορον Δημητρίου καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Β[αλ]ῶδιν Δημητρίου | καὶ νιανισκάρχην Σανάνων Χοφράσμου καὶ οἱ | λοιποὶ θιασῶται· κ.τ.λ., no. 449, 1 ff. = no. 918, 1 ff. (with incised decoration of two eagles and a wreath between them: see L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 254 ff. fig.) Θεῶν [Ἑψίστωι] | βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου) | Ἰουλίου Ῥησκουπόριδος (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhescuporis, king of Bosphoros 212—229 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | ἰσποιοῦτο (= εἰσποιοῦτοί, 'adoptivi') ἀδελφοὶ [σεβόμενοι] | [Θεὸν] Ἑψιστον ἀνέστησαν τὸν | τελαμῶνα ἐν[γράψαντες ἑαυτῶν] | τὰ ὀνόματα· κ.τ.λ., no. 452, 1 ff. = no. 920, 1 ff. [ἀγαθῆ] τύχη | Θεῶν Ἑψίστω [εὐχῆ.] | βασιλεύοντων βασιλέως Τιβερίου) | [Ἰ]ουλίου [Κό]τυος (sc. Tib. Iulius Cotys, king of Bosphoros c. 228—234 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς ἰσποιοῦτο | ἀδελφοὶ [σεβόμενοι Θεὸν Ἑψιστον] ἐνγράψαντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα | περὶ πρεσβύτερον (sc. the senior of the adoptive brethren) Μ..... Ἡρακλ[εῖδ]ου καὶ Ἀρίστωνα [Μ]ενεστράτου καὶ Καλλι[γ]ένην Μύ[ρ]ωνος, Ἀλεξίωνα Πατρόκλου, κ.τ.λ. (list of names), 17 τὸν δὲ τελαμῶνα ἐδώρησατο τοῖς ἀδελ[φ]οῖς Σαμβίω[ν] Ἑλπίδιωνος. Φούρτας Ἀγαθοῦ, Ἀγαθῆ[μ]ερος Ποπλίου. | ἐν τῶ ἐκ[τ]ῆ ἔτει (525 of the Bosphoran era = 228 A.D.), Γορπιαίου ἀ, no. 454, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶν Ἑψίστω ἐπηκόω εὐχῆ ἡ σύνοδος περὶ ἱερέα Πάπαν Χρήστου καὶ [σ]υναγωγὸν Νυμφέρωτα Ὀχωζιάκου κ[α]ὶ φιλάγαθον Θέωνα | Φαζινάμου κ[α]ὶ παραφιλά(γ)αθον Φαζιναμ[ον] Καλλιστί[ω]νος καὶ [γ]υμνασιάρχην Μακάρι[ον] Μαστοῦ καὶ νεανισκάρχην 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 Ἑψιστος, 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 Ἑψιστος, Ἐπηκόος as indicative of Christian influence. B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii 246 f., in view of the dedication Θεῶν Ἐπηκόω Ἑψίστω by a θιασος Σεβαζιανός (*supra* no. (11)), concluded that here too the god worshipped was *Sabázios*—a possible link between Zeus and the κύριος Σαβαώθ (*supra* i. 234 n. 4, 400 n. 6, 425 n. 2). But E. Schürer 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν Ἑψιστον 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, Ἕλιον. Their worship was a compromise between the strictly Semitic and the strictly Hellenic ('weder Judenthum noch Heidenthum, son-

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

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

(29) Syria. Palmyra (*Tadmor*) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4503 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2571 *b* on a bilingual altar now at Oxford Δι Ὑψίστῳ καὶ [Ἐ]πηκόῳ Ἰού(λιος) Ἀυρ(ήλιος) Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ | Ἀλαφώνας Ἀαιλ|αμεῖ τοῦ Ζηνοβίου τοῦ Ἀκοπαίου | εὐξάμενος ἀνέ|θηκεν, ἔτους δμφ', | Αὐδυναίου κδ' (=Jan. 24, 233 A.D.) = C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 74 no. 123*a* 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 Ὑψίστῳ Μεγίστῳ Ἐπηκόῳ Βωλανὸς Ζηνοβίου | τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Μαθθα, ἐπιμελητῆς | αἰρεθεῖς Ἐφκας πηγῆς (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2859) ὑπὸ Ἰαριβῶλου τοῦ θεοῦ (*συγρ.* 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 Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκ|όῳ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθη|κεν Ἰούλιος Σ.υις ἀπε|λεύθερο(s) Γαῖου <s> Ἰου|λίου Βάσσου ὑπὲρ σω|τηρίας Ἰλείβας υἱο(ῦ) | αὐτοῦ, ἔτους υῖ', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ (=April 179 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2573 on a fragmentary altar from the same site Δι Ὑψίστῳ Α[ὑρ.] Διογένης Σωσιβίου ἅμα | Δόμνη εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἐπακουσθέν|τες [- - -] | [- - -]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2574 on a small altar from the same site Δι Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν | Α...ευρος καὶ | Σώπατρος καὶ | Θεῶ Μεγάλῳ | Σαλλοῦντῳ (?) | Ἐνεουάρει (?) | [- - -]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2575 on a small bilingual altar from the same site Δι Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπη|κόῳ τὸν βωμὸν ἀν|έθηκεν| εὐχαριστ[ῶ][ν ὁ δεῖνα] | [- - -] = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 68 no. 101, who reads εὐχαριστ[ω][s - - -] 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 Ὑψί|στ[ω καὶ] Ἐ|πηκόῳ - - -] | [- - -] τῶν κα[ρ]πῶν, οὗς [έ]κ [ταύτ]ης [τῆς χώρας] | [- - -] κατ' ἔτος τ[ε ἀ]γαθῆ ἡμέρα διὰ π[α]ντὸς ε[- - -] |



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

(30) Phoinike. Sanchouniathon of Berytos (*supra* i. 191) in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 14 f. κατὰ τούτους γινεται τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὑψιστος καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἱ καὶ κατόκουν περὶ Βύβλον. ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων (W. Dindorf reads Ἐπίγειος αὐτόχθων), δν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν· ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς στοιχεῖον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κάλλους ὀνομάζειν οὐρανόν. γεννᾶται δὲ τούτῳ ἀδελφῆ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, ἢ καὶ ἐκλήθη Γῆ, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀπ' αὐτῆς, φησὶν, ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ὁμώνυμον γῆν. ὁ δὲ τούτων πατήρ ὁ Ὑψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερῶθη, ᾧ χοᾶς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν. Here Ἐλιοῦν is but the Phoenician for Ὑψιστος, who naturally weds Βηρούθ because he is the solar *Ba'al* of Berytos (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 140 f.). W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 76 supposes a blend of Adonis (killed by the boar) with the 'Kronos' of Byblos. Two votive hands of bronze formerly in the collection of M. Péretié at *Beirut* are dedicated to the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 265 no. 20 [ἡ δεῖνα] | ἐϋξ[α]μέν[η] ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ[s] | καὶ Θ[ε]οδῶ[ρου] ἀνδρῶ[s] | καὶ τέκνων | Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ, *ib.* no. 21 Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ Γηρίων ἐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθη[κ]εν in dotted letters), as is a third described in the *Catalogue de la Collection Hoffmann*, Bronzes, no. 570 (F. Cumont in R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* p. 122). The god in question is presumably Adad or Ramman, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis (R. Dussaud *ib.* p. 123 f., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). Possibly some confusion of *Ramman* (*supra* i. 576) with *Kama*, *Ramath*, *Kamatha*, 'Height' (Beer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 132), underlies the glosses in Hesych. ράμα· ὑψηλή, ράμας· ὁ ὕψιστος θεός, and the aetiological tale in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαοδίκεια· πόλις τῆς Συρίας, ἢ πρότερον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ λεγομένη καὶ πρὸ τούτου Ῥάμιθα. κεραυνωθεὶς γὰρ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμὴν ἔλεγε ραμάνθας, τουτέστιν ἀφ' ὕψους ὁ θεός· ράμαν γὰρ τὸ ὕψος, ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός. οὕτω Φίλων. At *Sahin*, five hours from Antarados (*Tortosa*, *Tarṭús*), is the dedication [Θε]ῶ Ὑψίστῳ Οὐρανίῳ Ὑ[π]άτῳ καὶ Ἠλίῳ Ἀνικῆτῳ (?) | [Μ]ίθρα ὁ βωμὸς ἐκτίσθη[·····] | [δ]ρθῶς ἐν τῷ κφ' (= 208 A.D.), ἐπ[ικρατείας (?)·····] | [ὑπὲρ] σωτηρίας Θεο[φ]ρά[στου]····· | ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Σολωμάνου····· (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 ἀγαθῆ τύχη· | ετους ιζ' Καίσαρος Ἀντωνεῖνου τοῦ κυρίου, | μηνὸς Ἰώου (= August 154 A.D.), Διὶ Οὐρανίῳ Ὑψίστῳ Σααρναίῳ (a title derived from the ancient name of the village (?)) Ἐπηκῶ | Γ. Φλάουιος [Γλ]άφυρος ἐκ τῶν ιδίων 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[τρίου(?)]. 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'*Hypsistos* 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 Ὑψίστος, to whom Abraham had devoted himself (Marinos in Damask. *v. Isid. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 345b 18 ff. Bekker ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πρόκλου, φησὶν, ὁ Μαρίνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Νέας πόλεως, πρὸς ὄρει κατὰ κρισμένης τῷ Ἀργαρίζῳ καλουμένῳ. εἶτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβῆς φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Ὑψίστου ἁγιώτατον ἱερόν, ᾧ καθιέρωτο Ἄβραμος ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρίνος); cp. Deut. 11. 29, 27. 12 with Gen. 12. 6 f.: 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 Ἑλλάγιος (*id. ib.* 12. 5. 5, Zonar. 4. 19 (i. 317 Dindorf)) or Ἐένιος (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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Hysistos built by Hadrian [E. N. Adler—M. Séligsohn 'Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine' in the *Revue des études juives* 1902 xlv. 82 'le roi Hadrien vint à Sichem et fit du bien aux Samaritains; il fit construire pour lui un grand temple près du mont Garizim et le nomma Temple de Saphis...Le roi Hadrien prit les battants d'airain qui avaient été mis à la porte du temple de Salomon, fils de David, et les plaça à la porte du temple de Saphis,' *ib.* p. 233 'les battants d'airain que les gens de l'empereur Hadrien avaient enlevés du temple des Juifs à Jérusalem et placés dans le temple construit sur l'ordre d'Hadrien dans l'endroit choisi, le Mont Garizim...les battants d'airain enlevés par Hadrien au temple juif et placés par lui au temple qu'il a construit au pied du Mont Garizim.' Cp. the parallel passages in E. Vilmar *Abulfathi annales Samaritani* Gothæ 1865 and T. G. J. Juynboll *Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber Josuae* Lugduni Batavorum 1848 cap. 47 p. 188. But the chroniclers' description can hardly refer to a temple on the mountain-top. And C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal des Savants* Nouvelle Série 1904 ii. 40 f., in view of the variants *saqaras* lib. Jos., *sapís*, *sipas* Abu'l Fath, *sapís* chron. Adler, concludes that the god established by Hadrian was Iupiter Sarapis. This is certainly better than Iupiter *Sospes* the conjecture of E. N. Adler—M. Séligsohn *loc. cit.* p. 82 n. 2 or *Caesaris* the suggestion of T. G. J. Juynboll *op. cit.* p. 334 f.]. Behind it is a small erection which may be an external altar. On the other (right-hand) peak is a construction which seems again to be rather an altar than a small temple. Since the mountain is doubtless supposed to be seen from the town, i.e. from the north, this smaller peak must lie to the west of the larger. We may perhaps identify it with the spur west of the main summit on which are the ruins known as *Khárbet Lôzeh* or *Luzah*, where is still the Samaritans' sacrificing place. The 300 steps by which, in the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), one ascended to the summit [*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* trans. A. Stewart annot. Sir C. W. Wilson London 1887 p. 18], are indicated on the coins, with chapels at intervals, as on many another *sacro monte*; but no trace of them has been recorded as surviving to the present day. Along the foot of the mountain was a long colonnade; an opening gave access to the foot of the stair and to the road, perhaps for wheeled traffic, which wound up the hill between the two peaks, branching about half-way up.' Prokop. *de aed.* 5. 7. 2 states that the Samaritans worshipped the actual mountain-top, but denies that they had ever built a temple on it (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται εἶχον· ὡς εὐξόμενοι τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολήν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν· οὐχ ὅτι νεῶν τινα ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδομήσαντο πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθήπεσαν πάντων μάλιστα). He goes on to say (*ib.* 5. 7. 7) that Zenon, emperor of the East, expelled the Samaritans from the mountain, handed it over to the Christians, and built on the summit a church dedicated to the Virgin (τῇ θεοτόκῳ) with a wall, or rather a fence, about it. The *Chronicon Paschale* 327 B (i. 604 Dindorf) for the year 484 A.D. remarks ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων εὐθέως ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Γαργαρίδην εὐκτῆριον οἶκον μέγαν τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας = Io. Malal. *chron.* 15 p. 382 f. Dindorf. For an account of the ruins still traceable on the mountain see Sir C. W. Wilson 'Ebal and Gerizim, 1866' in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1873* pp. 66—71 with plan, and for modern celebrations on the site J. A. Montgomery *The Samaritans* Philadelphia 1907 p. 34 ff. with photographic view (*ib.* pp. 322—346 Samaritan bibliography). I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 767 comments: 'Der Berg verdankt den heiligen Charakter seiner kosmischen Bedeutung: Ebal und G. zusammen sind für Palästina der doppelgipfelige Weltberg, der Gottesberg mit dem Pass dazwischen'—a dogmatic statement of a possible (cp. *supra* p. 422 ff.), but by no means proven, hypothesis.

(32) Ioudaia. The Hebrew Godhead in the later books of the Old Testament, in the Apokrypha, and in the New Testament is often styled (ὁ) Ἰψιστος, sometimes (ὁ) Θεὸς (ὁ) Ἰψιστος or Κύριος (ὁ) Ἰψιστος (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 Ἰψιστου Θεοῦ νεῶς, *leg. ad Gaium* 23 ἀπαρχὴν τῷ Ἰψιστῳ Θεῷ, 40 θυσίας ἐντελεῖς ὀλοκαύτους τῷ Ἰψιστῳ

*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, Bosporos 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 αἰπόλοι καὶ ποιμένες ἓνα ἐνόμισαν θεόν, εἴτε Ὑψίστον εἴτ' Ἀδωναῖ εἴτ' Οὐράνιον εἴτε Σαβαώθ, εἴτε καὶ ὄπη καὶ ὄπως χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, 5. 41 οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ Ἀμοῦν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι, 45 Κέλσος οἶεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἀμοῦν ἢ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 4 ff. Wunsch καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίοις οὕτω φησίν· ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, A. Dieterich 'Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1888 xvi. 797 verse 23 ff. κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ Ἰάω Ἀδωναῖ ἀβ[λα]ναθαναλβα (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 ὀνόματι | τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *oracl. Sib.* 2. 245 Geffcken ἤξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστοιο. Aisch. *frag.* 464. 12 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. Iust. Mart. de monarch.* 2 δόξα δ' Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ (δ' om. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 415, 15 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 60) is a Jewish forgery.

(33) Aegyptos. The Jews of Athribis (*Bencha*) in Lower Egypt dedicated a house of prayer to the Θεὸς Ὑψίστος (S. Reinach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 178 ff. no. 1, cp. *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 579, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 96 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου (sc. Ptolemy v Epiphanes (205—181 B.C.) or Ptolemy vi Philometor (181—146 B.C.)) | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου | ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν | καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει 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 Ὑψίστω καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτῃ καὶ Ἠλίω καὶ Νεμέεσι αἰρεῖ Ἀρσενῶν ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας· ἢ (=εἰ) τις αὐτῇ φάρμακα ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχαρὲ τις αὐτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαρεῖ, μετέλθετε αὐτοῦς. For the raised hands cp. *supra* no. (19) Rheneia).

(34) Africa. At Hadrumetum in Byzacium several curse-tablets invoke the *Deus Pelagicus Aeriis Altissimus* Ἰάω (A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum* 1904 p. 403 ff. no. 290 ff., e.g. no. 293, B adiuo te demon | quicunque es et de|mando tibi ex hanc | die ex hanc ora ex oc | momento ut crucie|tur; adiuo te per eum | qui te resolvit ex vite | temporibus deum pela|gicum aerium altissimu[m] | Ἰαω οἱ οὐ ιαιαα ιωιωε | ο ορινω αηια | 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 conscience<sup>1</sup>.

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

#### Lakonike

Mount Taleton, a peak of Mount Taygeton<sup>2</sup>.

The *Akrópolis* at Sparta<sup>3</sup>.

Cape Malea<sup>4</sup>.

Cape Tainaros (?)<sup>5</sup>.

#### Messene

Mount Ithome<sup>6</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> A broken *stéle* 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 *Ταλειτίας* along with Auxesia and Damoia (J. de Prott *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 ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου Ταλειτὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἥλιον καλοῦσιν ἱεράν, καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἥλιῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. *Supra* i. 180 n. 5): cp. the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 719 ff.). The goddesses, Peloponnesian equivalents of Demeter and Kore, were worshipped at the foot of the mountain in Bryseai (*Kalybia Sochiotika*), where traces of an Eleusinion have come to light (H. von 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).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ἰππατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (4)).

<sup>4</sup> Zeus Μαλειαῖος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μαλέα· ... καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάλεια Μαλειαῖος Ζεὺς).

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

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

## Elis

Mount Olympos<sup>1</sup>.Olympia<sup>2</sup>.

## Arkadia

Mount Lykaion<sup>3</sup>.

to Mt Ithome, as to Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 70 ff.); for Aristomenes is said to have slain 300 persons, including Theopompos king of Sparta, as an offering to Zeus Ἴθωμάτας (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 2 p. 31, 23 ff. Stählin (=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12) Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσήνιος τῷ Ἴθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίου ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαύτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενος ἐκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν < ὁ (Euseb.) > Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενές, Kyriell. Al. *c. Iul.* 4 (lxxvi. 696 D—697 A Migne) Ἀριστομένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μεσσήνιος τῷ ἐπίκλῃν Ἴθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίου ὁμοῦ νεκροῦς ἐχαρίζετο· προσετίθει δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύσαντα· Θεόπομπος οὗτος ἦν. ἀξιάγαστος ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὑπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος. ἐπεμειδία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀνδράσιν ἀθλίως διολωλόσι, καὶ πλήρη βλέπων τὸν ἐκείνων βωμὸν 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 Ἴθωμάτας 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 *Vourkano*: its paved threshing-floor is the scene of the annual festival of the Panagia [Aug. 15], at which the peasants dance crowned with oleander-blossom (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 437). Among the ruins lives a solitary monk (D. Fimmen *loc. cit.* p. 2307).

Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 22 infers a tree-cult of Zeus Ἴθωμάτας at Leuktron or Leuktra (*Leftro*) in Lakonike from Paus. 3. 26. 6 δ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσση χώρα τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράψω. ἄνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἴθωμάτα. τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσήνιοι φασι μαρτύριον εἶναι σφισι τὰ Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι. δύναται δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἴθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς. He justly cp. the figure of Dionysos found in a plane-tree broken by the wind at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. 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 ὄρει Ἴθωμάτει. In celebration of the festival this ikon makes a short tour of the country. On 12th August it goes up from Voulkano to its old home with pomp and ceremony, accompanied by the monks and its worshippers, a goodly company, comprising a large number of babies brought to be baptised on the top of Ithome ... On the 15th a solemn procession reconducts the ikon to the lower monastery, and nine days later it is taken to Nisi, near Kalamata, where a fair ends the celebrations of the district. The rest of the year the ikon remains at Voulkanō.'

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 100, ii. 758.<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (5)).<sup>3</sup> Zeus Λύκαιος (*supra* i. 63—99, 154 f., 177 f.).



A hill near Tegea<sup>1</sup>.  
Trapezous<sup>2</sup>.

**Korinthos**  
Corinth<sup>3</sup>.

**Phliasia**  
Mount Apesas<sup>4</sup>.

**Argolis**  
The Larisa at Argos<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 871 n. 0 no. (3)).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (3)).

<sup>4</sup> Apesas (*Phouka*) is a mountain which rises north of Nemea to a height of 873<sup>m</sup>. 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 Περσέα 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 Bergk<sup>4</sup>) καὶ Καλλιμαχος ἐν τρίτῃ (*frag.* 29 Schneider), ἀπὸ Ἀφέσαντος (*sic*) ἥρωος βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἐσιν τῶν ἀρμάτων ἢ τοῦ λέοντος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης ἀφείθη. ἀφ' οὗ Ζεὺς Ἀπεσάντιος. Καλλιμαχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις (*frag.* 82 Schneider) τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀπέσας φησὶ 'κούχ' ᾧδ' Ἀρείων τῶ Ἀπέσαντι παρ Διὶ | ἔθυσεν Ἀρκὰς ἵππος'). On the other hand, Deukalion on escaping from the deluge here built an altar of Zeus Ἀφέσιος (*et. mag.* p. 176, 33 ff. Ἀφέσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Ἄργει τιμάται. εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι Δευκαλίων τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γενομένου διαφυγὼν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Ἄργου (so H. Usener for Ἄργους) διασωθεὶς ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν Ἀφ᾽ ἐσιου Διός, ὅτι ἀφείθη ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. ἣ δὲ ἄκρα ὕστερον Νεμέα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν (τοῦ add. cod. V) Ἄργου βοσκημάτων ἐκεῖ νεμομένων. οὕτως Ἀρρειανὸς ἐτυμολογεῖ ἐν τῶ 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').

<sup>5</sup> 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 ἐπικλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκες ἦν ἐπὶ τῶ βάθρῳ). 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 Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξβανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τούτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῶ Λαομέδοντος πατρῶον, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πριάμος τὸν βωμὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο λαμβάνει Σθένης οὗ Καπανέως αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνάκειται

Phalakron (?)<sup>1</sup>.Mount Kokkygion<sup>2</sup>.

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 ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὀμήρου (*Il.* 9. 457) Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον· 'Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνηα.' Δίσχυλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος (*frag.* 436 b Dindorf, who cp. Prokl. *in Plat. Crat.* 148 p. 83, 28 f. Pasquali ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος δυναδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν) καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὄρωντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν. This remarkable figure is mentioned also in schol. Eur. *Tro.* 16 τὸν δὲ ἔρκειον Δία ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ ἀναγράφουσιν ἰδίαν τινὰ σχέσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦντες, τρισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν κεχρησθῆαι φασιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀγίαν (*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<sup>m</sup> broad) of a building orientated towards the east. On the rock were sherds of geometric ware, and 14<sup>m</sup> 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 Λαρισαῖος and of Athena respectively (*id. ib.* 1907 xxxi. 149). Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λάρισσα·...καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἄργου Λάρισσα. καὶ ὁ πολίτης Λαρισσαῖος καὶ Λαρισεὺς Ζεὺς.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Φαλακρός (*supra* p. 875 n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> There was a sanctuary of Zeus on the top of Mt Kokkygion (Paus. 2. 36. 2 *ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστὶν Ἥρας*), where Zeus had become a cuckoo in order to woo Hera (schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἐρμιόνης ἱερῶν (*frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 f. Müller) = Aristokles *frag.* (*ib.* iv. 330 f. Müller): but Grashof's cj. Ἀριστοκλῆς (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 4) for Ἀριστοτέλης codd. is far from certain) *ιδιωτέρως ἱστορεῖ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ [τοῦ τῆς (om. Wilamowitz)] Ἥρας γάμου. τὸν γὰρ Δία μυθολογεῖται ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ Ἥρᾳ μιγῆναι, ὅτε αὐτὴν ἴδοι χωρισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. βουλόμενος δὲ ἀφανὴς γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν ὄψιν μεταβάλλει εἰς κόκκυγα καὶ καθέζεται εἰς ὄρος, ὃ πρῶτον μὲν Θόρναξ (Hemsterhuys cj. Θόρναξ (cp. Paus. 2. 36. 1)) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ Κόκκυξ. τὸν δὲ Δία χειμῶνα δεινὸν ποιῆσαι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· τὴν δὲ Ἥραν πορευομένην μόνην ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος καὶ καθέζεσθαι εἰς αὐτό, ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἥρας Τελείας. τὸν δὲ κόκκυγα ἰδόντα καταπετασθῆναι καὶ καθεσθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς πεφρικότα καὶ ῥιγῶντα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος. τὴν δὲ Ἥραν ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖραι καὶ περιβαλεῖν τῇ ἀμπεχόνῃ. τὸν δὲ Δία εὐθέως μεταβαλεῖν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δὲ τὴν μίξιν 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 Ἥρας ἐν τῷ ναῷ καθήμενον ἐν [τῷ (om. Wendel)] θρόνῳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ κόκκυξ = Eudok. *vid.* 414<sup>b</sup>, 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*<sup>4</sup> i. 509—511, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 509—512, 516, C. Waldstein (Sir C. Walston) 'The Argive Hera of Polycleitos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 30—44 with pls. 2, 3, A. B. Cook 'Nephelokokkygia' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. Cp. *supra* i. 532. The old name of the mountain, Θόρναξ or Θρόρναξ, 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 Arachnaion<sup>1</sup>.

Epidauros<sup>2</sup>.


### Aigina

The mountain of Zeus *Panhellénios*<sup>3</sup>.

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).

<sup>1</sup> 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.'

<sup>2</sup> Zeus *Kásios* (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 Διὶ Κασίῳ | 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 lapis noster.'

<sup>3</sup> The highest peak in Aigina (531<sup>m</sup>), 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 ἐὰν 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 Πανελλήνιος (Paus. 1. 44. 9 cited *infra* p. 895 n. 1, 2. 29. 7 f., 2. 30. 3 f.). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 265 describes the site: 'On the northern slope of Mt. *Oros*..., in a wild and lonely valley, there is a terrace supported upon walls of great blocks of trachyte. On this terrace there is a ruined chapel of the Hagios Asomatos (the Archangel Michael), which is entirely built of fine pieces of ancient architecture. About the middle of the terrace there are a number of large flat stones laid at equal intervals, as if they had been the bases of columns.' In the ruins of St Michael's chapel was found a stone block bearing an

## Megaris

A height near Megara<sup>1</sup>.

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 Ἀβλίων 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.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. i. 44. 9 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῆ ἄκρα (above the Scironian Rocks) Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφείσιου καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ (H. Hitzig cj. ἐπὶ του) συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίῳη κομίσαντα 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 κομίσαντα 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 Αἰγίῳη <καὶ εὐξαμένον ὕδωρ ἀφείναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ὑπα> κούσαντά τε ἀφείναι. H. G. Lolling in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1887 p. 214 proposed ἐν Αἰγίῳη <ἄετον ἀρπάσαι τὸ ἱερεῖον εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν> κομίσαντα ἀφείναι, cp. schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 52. L. C. Valckenaer (see H. Hitzig in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1889 xxxv. 819) had suggested κομίσαντα <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. Αἰγίῳη καὶ ὕσαντά 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<sup>m</sup> × 4.75<sup>m</sup>) 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 (N), 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 (Π—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 *stoá* with bases for pillars (τ, υ, φ (?)), were likewise lined with stone couches. A short staircase led from the *stoá* 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<sup>m</sup> deep. On the rim of the large sinking, towards the north, was set a square base 0.50<sup>m</sup> high. The next room (10) again disclosed a pit





Mount Gerania (?)<sup>1</sup>.

### Attike

The *Akrópolis* at Athens<sup>2</sup>.

The Pnyx at Athens<sup>3</sup>.

Mount Anchesmos<sup>4</sup>.

Mount Hymettos<sup>5</sup>.

Mount Parnes<sup>6</sup>.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ὑπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (2)). Zeus Πολιεύς (*infra* § 9 (h) ii).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*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 κουνόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Διὸς καὶ Πολιέως καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης).

<sup>4</sup> Anchesmos is commonly identified with *Turkouuni*, 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<sup>m</sup>. Somewhere on this range was a statue of Zeus Ἀρχέσιμος (Paus. i. 32. 2 καὶ Ἀρχεσιμός ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἀγαλμα Ἀρχεσιμίου). A. S. Georgiades in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1920 p. 59 notes foundations on its E. slopes.

<sup>5</sup> On the top of Mt Hymettos (*Monte Matto* or *Trelo-Vuni* 1027·10<sup>m</sup>) was an altar (*et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1) and statue of Zeus Ὑμήτιος, also altars of Zeus Ὀμβριος and Apollon Προόςσιος (Paus. i. 32. 2 ἐν Ὑμητῶ δὲ ἀγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμητίου Διὸς· βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προοσίου). Hesych. Ὑμήτιος· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς. Clouds on Hymettos portended rain (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* i. 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 Ὑμήτιος 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<sup>m</sup>) 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).

<sup>6</sup> 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 βωμὸς, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ποτὲ μὲν Ὀμβριον ποτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία, *et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1). Parnes (*Ozeia*) is at once the highest (1413<sup>m</sup>) 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



Marathon<sup>1</sup>.

**Boiotia**

Mount Hypatos<sup>2</sup>.

Thebes<sup>3</sup>.

Orchomenos<sup>4</sup>.

Mount Helikon<sup>5</sup>.

Mount Kithairon<sup>6</sup>.

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).

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ὑπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (3)).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ὑπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (1)).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (2)).

<sup>4</sup> Zeus Καραίος (*supra* p. 874 n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>) now stands a little roofless chapel of St Elias: it is surrounded by fir-trees, and its walls of small well-jointed polygonal stones probably formed in antiquity the *peribolos* of the altar of Zeus (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 239, H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 99, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 158, Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 7). See also *supra* i. 132.

<sup>6</sup> 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 Κιθαιρῶνος 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 Euboia, 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 Euboia), 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 Laphystion<sup>1</sup>.

A mountain near Lebadeia<sup>2</sup>.

the battle of Plataiai (479 B.C.) was bidden by the Delphic oracle to pray to Zeus, Hera *Κιθαιρωνία*, Pan, and the Sphragitid nymphs (Plout. *v. Aristid.* 11): Pausanias, turning towards the Heraion outside Plataiai, prayed to Hera *Κιθαιρωνία* and the other deities of the Plataean land (*id. ib.* 18). The image of Hera *Κιθαιρωνία* at Thespiiai was a lopped tree-trunk (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 46. 3 *καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας* "Ἡρας 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 *ἢ ὅτι Κιθαιρωνίας* "Ἡρας ἐστὶν ἐν Θήβαις ἱερόν). Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 *Ἐπίθετα* "Ἡρας (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 Diehl<sup>3</sup>).

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

Laphystion has been identified with *Granitsa*, a steep mountain (896<sup>m</sup>) 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. *quaestt. Gr.* 38, Ant. Lib. 10, Ov. *met.* 4. 1 ff. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: 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.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 39. 4 *ἀναβάσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον (sc. τοῦ Τροφωνίου) καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα (καλουμένης θήρας codd. fam. L<sup>1</sup>. K. Goldhagen cj. καλουμένης Σωτείρας. H. N. Ulrichs cj. καλουμένης* "Ἡρας. F. Spiro: 'an θύρα?') καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναός. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφείκασιν ἡμίεργον· ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ ναῶ Κρόνου καὶ "Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. The unfinished temple of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* is believed to have stood on Mt St Elias, a height which rises west of the castle-hill of *Livadía* 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<sup>m</sup> in length (E. Fabricius *ap. H. Nissen*



Mount Homoloion (?)<sup>1</sup>.

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.*<sup>3</sup> no. 972). It specifies the conditions under which the custodians (*ναποιοί*) of the temple of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* are prepared to place the building-contract with the contractors (*ἐργῶναι*). The first section (*vv.* 1—89) deals with the slabs (*στῆλαι*) on which the specification is to be inscribed; the second (*vv.* 89—164) with the paving-stones to be laid in one of the external colonnades (*v.* 89 ff. *εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔξω περίστασιν τοῦ σηκοῦ | τῶν εἰς τὴν μακρὰν πλευρὰν 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>* [ἡμι]κύκλιον 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 *Βασιλῆς*, 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 'Ομολωίδες πύλαι 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' Ὀμολώϊοι | Ἀγειμῶνδας ἀπὸ δεκά[τας] (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 130 ff., Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 191, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 227 no. 665, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 212 no. 198, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2456), which is perhaps a clumsy attempt at a hexameter line. Doubtless this column once supported a votive offering in the Theban sanctuary of Zeus '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 Βοιωτίας· καὶ ὁ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ 'Ομολώας προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐννέως, ἣν προφήτῳ εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθῆναι ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης (*sic cod.* S. A. Naber *corr.* Ἀριστόδημος, *sc.* Aristodem. Theb. *loc. cit.*) ἐν δευτέρῳ Θηβαϊκῶν· Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμοιοσητικὸν καὶ εἰρηλικὸν ὄμολον λέγεσθαι (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 419 Müller))· ἔστι δὲ Δημήτηρ 'Ομολώα ἐν Θήβαις = Soud. *s.v.* 'Ομολώιος Ζεύς, cp. Apostol. 12. 67, Arsen. *viol.* p. 381 Walz, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1358, 38 ff., Eudok. *viol.* 414<sup>g</sup> p. 314, 10 ff. Flach). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2263 f. remarks that the name of the month 'Ομολώιος, 'Ομολώος, 'Ομολούιος 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 Petrachos<sup>1</sup>.

Phokis

Delphoi<sup>2</sup>.

Demeter Ὀμολωία (*supra*), and Athena Ὀμολωίς (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]λω[ί]α[υ] (K. Kourouniotes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 p. 150 n. 3, who cp. the Theban Ὀμολωίδες πύλαι). See further O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 105 f. (Δωῖος = Ὀμολωῖος), E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 14 f. (collects derivatives of Ὀμολωῖος, Δωῖος, and infers from the occurrence of the month Ὀμολωῖος 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Πιτραχὸς καλούμενος· Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξάμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρον παρὰ τῆς Πέρας, καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους). For the extant remains of Chaironeia see C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 205 f., Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 40. 5, and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 40. 7; for the history of the town, E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2033 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Delphians originally occupied a town Λυκώρεια higher up on the side of Mt Parnassos (Strab. 418, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490, Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 1 where W. R. Paton cj. Λυκώρειαν for Λυκουρίαν). H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 120 and C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 179 f. found traces of Λυκώρεια in sundry Hellenic walls still visible on a height to the west of the Corycian Cave. W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1841 ii. 579 with truer topographical instinct identified the site of the ancient city with the village of *Liakouri*. Here Deukalion had reigned as king (*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,' λύκων 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 Λυκωρεὺς by schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 711 (cp. Hyg. *fab.* 161), who adds ἀφ' οὗ Λυκωρεῖς οἱ Δελφοί. Finally Anaxandrides (*supra* p. 238 n. 1) of Delphoi, who wrote a monograph *περὶ Λυκωρείας*, spoke of Λυκωρεὺς as a king (Alexandrides *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκώρεια).

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



## Euboia

Mount Oche<sup>1</sup>.Mount Kenaion<sup>2</sup>.

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 *Λυκάρειος*. Their common epithet may be connected either with *λύκος*, 'a wolf' (according to H. N. Ulrichs *op. cit.* i. 118 wolves still haunt the woods of Parnassos: 'In Chrysó sah ich vier Hirten, von denen jeder eine Wolfshaut an einem langen Stocke trug, dessen oberstes Ende aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Thiers hervorsteckte. Sie zogen von Dorf zu Dorf und empfangen an jedem Hause freigebige Geschenke für die Befreiung von diesem gefährlichen Feinde der Herden.' Paus. 10. 14. 7, Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 26, 12. 40, Plout. *v. Per.* 21 associate wolves with the Delphian Apollon), or with *Λύκος*, an ancient name for the god of the daylight (?) (*supra* i. 64 n. 3).

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> On the top of Mt Kenaion (677<sup>m</sup>), a height untouched by clouds (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 786 f. *hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes ferit | annosa fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis*), was an altar and sanctuary of Zeus *Κήναιος* (Aisch. *Γλαῦκος πόντιος frag.* 30 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *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.* *Κάναϊ*. . . *Καναῖος Ζεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κάνης*, Soud. *s.v.* *Κηναῖος· ὁ Ζεὺς*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 'Ἐπίθετα

<sup>η</sup>  
*Διὸς* (57) *κηναίου*, 266 'Ἐπίθετα *Διὸς* (49) *κηναίου*, 274 'Ἐπίθετα *Διὸς*. . . *κηναῖος* (*καναῖος* codd. C<sup>1</sup>.O<sup>1</sup>), 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 *volutekratér* 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. Péi.* 1869 p. 179 pl. 4, 1, *ib.* 1876 p. 161 pl. 5, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 31, 12, *ib.* i. 50, 3. This vase-painting was attributed by F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 53 f. fig. 24 to the painter Aristophanes c. 400 B.C., by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 to a contemporary artist, 'the painter of the New York Centauromachy' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 217 no. 4)). A fragmentary bell-*kratér* in the British Museum has Herakles wreathed with olive and wearing

Cape Geraistos (?)<sup>1</sup>.

## Thessalia

Mount Oite<sup>2</sup>.

a *himátion*. 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 *aigís*, 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. [Ἐρ]ετρικὸν | [Δι]ὸς Κηναίου). *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).

<sup>1</sup> Geraistos, the eponym of Cape Geraistos (*Καβο Μανδίλο*), was the son of Zeus and brother of Tainaros (Steph. Byz. s.v. Γεραιστός, Ταίναρος).

<sup>2</sup> Mt Oite (*Katavothra*) rises to a height of 2158<sup>m</sup> (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 Οἴτης Ζητὸς 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 Οἴτης ἄτομον 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 ὃ γε Φρυγίη περ ὑπὸ δρυὶ γυῖα θεωθεῖς with schol. *ad loc.* Φρυγία ὄρος Τραχίνος, ἐνθα ἐκάη ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, Steph. Byz. s.v. Φρυγία: . . . ἔστι καὶ Φρυγία τόπος τῆς Οἴτης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πεφρύχθαι 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<sup>m</sup> × 30<sup>m</sup>) marking the limits of the pyre. A bed of ashes (0.40<sup>m</sup> to 0.80<sup>m</sup> 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 ΕΡΑΚΛΕΙ or [ . . . ]ΚΛΕΙ, and two archaic bronze statuettes (0.09<sup>m</sup> and 0.10<sup>m</sup> 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 *euthynteria*, part of the west side, and one step of the south side, also part of the paving and of the stereobate for the cult-statue, which seems to have been of the late Roman period. Close by was a Doric *templum in antis* (14<sup>m</sup> 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 Herculis*]. 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



- Halos<sup>1</sup>.  
 Mount Pelion<sup>2</sup>.  
 Mount Ossa (?)<sup>3</sup>.  
 Mount Homole (?)<sup>4</sup>.  
 Mount Pindos<sup>5</sup>.

### Makedonia

- Mount Olympos<sup>6</sup>.

the accommodation of priests and pilgrims opened into a colonnade (40<sup>m</sup> long) with octagonal columns. Sundry tiles of this *stoá* are inscribed IHPAH or IIPOCH = *ιερά, ιερὸς Ἡρακλέους* (N. Pappadakis in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xlv. 392 f., 1921 xlv. 523).

<sup>1</sup> 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 ἔνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, καὶ θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Δίῳ. But there is an important variant in schol. cod. Paris. καὶ μέχρι νῦν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἔνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Δίῳ. The accusative *εἰσελθόντα...ἔνα* 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*<sup>3</sup>: 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 295 f.).

<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus *Ἄσσαιος* (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπίθετα Διὸς* (76) *ἄσσαιου*, 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διὸς* (68) *ἄσσαιου*) is not necessarily to be taken as the god of Mt Ossa (1950<sup>m</sup>). He may be the sender of Rumour (*Ἄσσα*) the 'messenger of Zeus' (*Il.* 2. 93 f. *μετὰ δὲ σφισιν Ἄσσα δεδήγει | ὀτρύνουσι' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος*, cp. *Od.* 1. 282 f., 2. 216 f., 24. 413).

<sup>4</sup> 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 πύλαι* of Thebes were said to have been called after it (Paus. 9. 8. 6 f.; but see *supra* p. 900 n. 1). It is possible that the Theban cult of Zeus *Ὀμολωῖος* had spread southwards from Mt Homole (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 12 f., *supra* p. 900 n. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (2)).

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





Plate XL



The summit of Mount Olympos.

*See page 905 n. of.*

[By permission of Messrs Boissonnas, Geneva.]



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

D. Urquhart *The Spirit of the East* London 1838 i. 398 ff. describes with much enthusiasm, but little precision, his ascent of Olympus in 1830: 'I spent no more than an hour at this giddy height, where the craving of my eyes would not have been satisfied under a week. I seemed to stand perpendicularly over the sea, at the height of 10,000 feet. Salonica was quite distinguishable, lying north-east; Larissa appeared under my very feet. The whole horizon, from north to south-west was occupied by mountains, hanging on, as it were, to Olympus. This is the range that runs westward along the north of Thessaly, ending in the Pindus. The line of bearing of these heaved-up strata seems to correspond with that of the Pindus, that is, to run north and south, and they presented their escarpment to Olympus. Ossa, which lay like a hillock beneath, stretched away at right angles to the south; and, in the interval, spread far, far in the red distance, the level lands of Thessaly, under that peculiar dusty mist which makes nature look like a gigantic imitation of an unnatural effect produced on the scene of a theatre. When I first reached the summit, and looked over the warm plains of Thessaly, this haze was of a pale yellow hue. It deepened gradually, and became red, then brown, while similar tints, far more vivid, were reproduced higher in the sky. But, when I turned round to the east, up which the vast shadows of night were travelling, the cold ocean looked like a plain of lead; the shadow of the mighty mass of Olympus was projected twenty miles along its surface; and I stood on the very edge, and on my tiptoes' (*ib.* i. 429 f.). On enquiry he found that the shepherds of Olympus 'had no recollection of the "Thunderer" ...but they told me,' he adds, 'that "the stars came down at night on Olympus!" "that heaven and earth had once met upon its summit, but that since men had grown wicked, God had gone higher up"' (*ib.* i. 437, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 35, N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις κοσμογονικοί μῦθοι* 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 Athos<sup>1</sup>.

Aigai, Kerdylion, etc. (?)<sup>2</sup>.

### Korkyra

Kassiope<sup>3</sup>.

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 Stavoïdia link these two summits to those at the western end of the southern range, of which the Sarai is the most important.' [The peaks seen in pl. xl, from left to right, are—according to Baud-Bovy's nomenclature—(a) the Throne of Zeus (capped by cloud), (b) Peak Venizelos (the true summit), (c) the Cock's Comb, (d) the Virgin, (e) the Tarpeian Rock.]

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

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ἄθως (Soph. *Thamyras frag.* 216 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 237 Jebb *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 358, 40 f. Θρηῆσαν σκοπιὰν Ζητὸς Ἄθωον, cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 285 Ἄθωον αἴπος Ζητὸς 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 statuë (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἄθωος· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄθω τοῦ ὄρους ἰδρυμένος ἀνδριάς, ὁ Ζεὺς) and a sanctuary on the summit (*et. mag.* p. 26, 47 f. Ἄθωον Διός· Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν ἄκρῳ Ἄθω τῷ ὄρει, Ἄθωον 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 Ἄγιον Ὄρος see the literature cited by E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2068 f. and by C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἄψιτος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (9)).

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

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

Korkyra (?)<sup>1</sup>.

Kephallenia

Mount Ainos<sup>2</sup>.

(*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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.

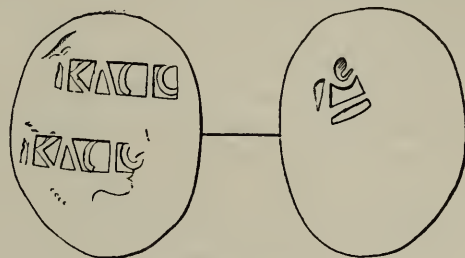


Fig. 824.

no. 53, 23 nos. 65, 67, 72, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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. Salač ‘ΖΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ’ in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 160—189) whose cult had been introduced, perhaps *viâ* Delos (A. Salač *ib.* pp. 165, 189), either from Mt Kasion on the Orontes (*infra* Append. B Syria) or from Mt Kasion near Pelousion (*infra* Append. B Agyptos), was in Korkyra readily identified with the Zeus of Kassiope, a Hellenic god probably connected with Mt Pantokrator (911<sup>m</sup>) behind the town. The accidental resemblance of Κάσιος to Κασσιόπη would suffice to ensure his popularity.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. ο no. (12)).

<sup>2</sup> Mt Ainos, the chief mountain of Kephallenia, rises to a height of 1620<sup>m</sup> and is known as *Elatovouno* or *Monte Nero* from the dark fir-trees with which it was formerly clad (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 372). On it was the sanctuary of Zeus Αἰνήσιος (Strab. 456 μέγιστον δ’ ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ <Αἶνος (*ins.* Xylander)>, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Διὸς Αἰνησίου ἱερόν), to whom the Boreadaï prayed when pursuing the Harpyiæ (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 ὅτι δὲ ἠῦξαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ Ἡσιόδος (*frag.* 57 Rzach) ‘ξυθ’ οἱ γ’ εὐχέσθηεν Αἰνητῷ ὑψιμέδοντι.’ ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Αἶνος ὄρος τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, ὅπου Αἰνησίου Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν· οὐ μνημονεύει καὶ Λέων ἐν Περίπλῳ (Leon of Byzantion *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 330 f. Müller)) καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσιν (? Demosthenes of Bithynia (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 Müller)). But Müller *op. cit.* ii. 331, iv. 365 emends the text to οὐ μνημονεύει Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περὶ λιμένων καὶ Τιμοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσιν. 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.* iv. 1205, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 89 pl. 18, 7 and 8, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii.* 3. 807 f. pl. 238, 26 and 27, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Aitne<sup>1</sup>.

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.'

<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>16</sup> Leipzig 1912 p. 423. For full details see W. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen *Der Aetna* herausg. von A. von Lasaulx Leipzig 1880 i. ii.).

On the sea-coast at the southern foot of Mt Aitne lay the old town of Katane. And when in 476/5 B.C. Hieron I drove out its inhabitants, settled in their stead 5000 Syracusans with 5000 Peloponnesians, and renamed the place Aitne (Diod. 11. 49), he seems to have erected there a statue of Zeus Αἰτναῖος and instituted a festival called Αἰτναῖα (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 162a ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ Διὸς Αἰτναίου ἄγαλμα ἴδρυται, καὶ ἐορτὴ Αἰτναῖα καλεῖται, *ib.* 162 c περιέπει δὲ καὶ θεραπεύει ὁ Ἰέρων καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην τιμωμένου, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6 Διὸς ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ· Διὶ γὰρ ἀνάκειται καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀγών· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἴτνῃ Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστι, *ib.* 7 ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ Αἰτναίου Διὸς ἦγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰέρωνα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφανύταις ἀγῶσι πεπονημένους ἐπιπικούς καὶ ἦδον. κ.τ.λ.). Accordingly Pindar, in odes composed soon after Hieron's new foundation, dwells on the recently established cult (*Nem.* 1. 6 Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν, *Ol.* 6. 96 Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος, *Pyth.* 1. 29 f. Ζεῦ, ... | ὅς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, κ.τ.λ., cp. *Ol.* 4. 6 ᾧ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.). In 461 B.C. the settlers at Katane, driven out in their turn by Douketios and his Sikeloi, captured the Sikel town Inessa (*S. Maria di Licodia*) on the south-western slope of the mountain and transferred to it the name of Hieron's settlement Aitne (Diod. 11. 76); but whether they transferred thither the cult of Zeus 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 δεισιδαιμονοῦσα ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν περὶ τοὺς Σιβύλλης χρησμούς κατὰ Σιβυλλακὸν λόγιον· οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες καθ' ὄλην τὴν Σικελίαν τοὺς τῷ Αἰτναίῳ Διὶ καθιδρυμένους βωμοὺς θυσιάσαντες, καὶ περιφράγματα ποιήσαντες, ἀβάτους ἀπεδείκνυον τοὺς τόπους πλὴν τοῖς ἔχουσι καθ' ἕκαστον πολίτευμα πατρίους θύειν θυσίας.

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

*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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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. *ῥαχ* 73 Αἰτναῖον μέγιστον κάρθαρον and schol. *ad loc.*), *rev.* Zeus Αἰτναῖος 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 εἰκὸς 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 Αἴτνην 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 Αἰτναῖος (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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 131 f. fig. 70. The types of the tetradrachm recall the famous scene in Aristoph. *ῥαχ* 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 Pegasos. 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 *s. 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 venat.* 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. *Αἰτναῖαι frag.* 7 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική made them the children of Zeus by Thaleia daughter of Hephaistos. *Id. ib. frag.* 6 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *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 πάλω ἔκειν est iterum venire. hi 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



Akragas<sup>1</sup>.

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. Wiensch cited *supra* p. 554 n. 3).

<sup>1</sup> Akragas, a joint colony from Rhodes and Gela (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1188), had an *akropolis* named Mt Atabyrion (J. Schubring *Historische Topographie von Akragas in Sicilien während der klassischen Zeit* Leipzig 1870 pp. 21—28 'Die Akropolis'). On the top of it was a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος resembling that at Rhodes (Polyb. 9. 27. 7 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἔκτισται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντος ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων ἀπφκισμένου, εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσηγορίαν ἣν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις). With Zeus Ἀταβύριος must be identified Zeus Πολιεύς (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24), whose temple on the highest point of the rocky site was built by Phalaris (Polyain. 5. 1. 1 cited *supra* i. 122) in the first half of *s. vi* B.C. Phalaris' famous bull of bronze (Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 95 f., *alib.*) seems to have been the sacred beast of Zeus Ἀταβύριος, the Hellenic successor of a Hittite bull-god (*supra* i. 643 f., cp. 784 f. figs. 567—569. F. Hrozný *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. *frag.* 118 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 222 Müller) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 185). Scipio brought the bull back from Carthage to Akragas (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 73, Diod. 13. 90), where it was still to be seen *c.* 60 B.C. (Diod. 13. 90). See further J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 ff., G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1893 i<sup>2</sup>. 422 n. 4.

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

On a hill (75<sup>m</sup> 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 νεὼς παντέλειαν (so J. A. Ernesti, followed by F. Hultsch, for πολυτέλειαν codd. F.S. Cluverius cj. συντέλειαν) μὲν οὐκ εἴληφε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδ' ὁποίου τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι). When Theron, making common cause with Gelon, had vanquished the huge host of the Carthaginians at Himera (480 B.C.), the Agrigentines used their numerous prisoners of war to hew stone for the construction of their largest temples (Diod. 11. 25). The Olympion must have taken many years to build; indeed, it was not yet roofed when in 405 B.C. Akragas was captured by the Carthaginians, and roofless it remained (Diod. 13. 82). In 255 B.C., during the First Punic War, Karthalon besieged and took Akragas; whereupon the remnant of the population fled for refuge to the Olympion (Diod. 23. 14). This great fabric fell gradually into decay. But part of it, supported by three Giants and certain columns, did not collapse till Dec. 9, 1401 A.D. Hence the arms of *Girgenti* (a turreted wall resting on three naked Giants), the mediaeval line *signat Agrigentum mirabilis aula Gigantum*, and the popular name of the ruins *Palazzo de Giganti* (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis* Panormi 1558 p. 127 (dec. 1 lib. 6 cap. 1)). In modern times the temple has served as a public quarry, the mole of *Porto Empedocle* being built of its blocks (1749—1763 A.D.) (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 154).

There is a detailed account of the Olympion in Diod. 13. 82 ἢ τε γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ Διὸς νεὼς ἐμφαίνει τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων· τῶν μὲν οὖν (so F. Vogel for γὰρ codd.) ἄλλων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ τελείως κατεσκάφη διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἠλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' (so F. Vogel for δ' οὖν codd.) Ὀλύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνειν τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκώλυσε· ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφείσης οὐδέποτε ὕστερον ἴσχυσαν Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ νεὼς ἔχων τὸ μὲν μήκος πόδας τριακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος <ἐκατὸν (ins. T. Kidd, J. Schubring) > ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι χωρὶς τοῦ κρηπιδώματος. μέγιστος δ' ὦν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τέλος λαβεῖν συνέβη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἢ γε προαίρεσις (so J. J. Reiske for προδιαίρεσις codd.) ὑπάρχει φανερά. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἢ μέχρι τοίχων (sic codd. J. J. Reiske cj. μετὰ τοίχων. L. Dindorf cj. μέχρι θριγκῶν. F. Vogel cj. μέχρι τεγῶν vel συνεχεῖ τοίχῳ) τοὺς νεὼς οἰκοδομοῦντων ἢ κύκλῳ κίοσι (so P. Wesseling, followed by F. Vogel, for ἢ κύκλωσις or κυκλώσει codd. Stephanus cj. ἢ κίοσι) τοὺς σηκοὺς (so J. J. Reiske, followed by F. Vogel, for οἴκους codd. Stephanus cj. τοίχους) περιλαμβανόντων, οὗτος ἑκατέρας τούτων μετέχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων· συνωκοδομοῦντο γὰρ τοῖς τοίχοις οἱ κίονες (so L. Dindorf for οἱ τοῖχοι τοῖς κίοσιν codd.), ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ νεὼ ἔχοντες τετράγωνον· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς μέρους ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἢ περιφέρεια ποδῶν εἴκοσι, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὰ διαξύσματα δύναται ἀνθρώπινον ἐναρμόζεσθαι σῶμα, τὸ (L. Dindorf cj. τοῦ) δ' ἐντὸς ποδῶν δώδεκα. τῶν δὲ στοῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐξαισίου ἐχουσῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ἔω 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. διαφέρουσιν cett. codd.), ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς δυσμᾶς τὴν ἄλωσιν 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<sup>m</sup>, upper diameter 3·10<sup>m</sup>), engaged externally in the wall of the *naós*, appear internally as rectangular pilasters. If completed, they would have the normal number of twenty flutes, flutes of so vast a size (0·55<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> × 56·30<sup>m</sup>. The architrave (3·20<sup>m</sup> 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.



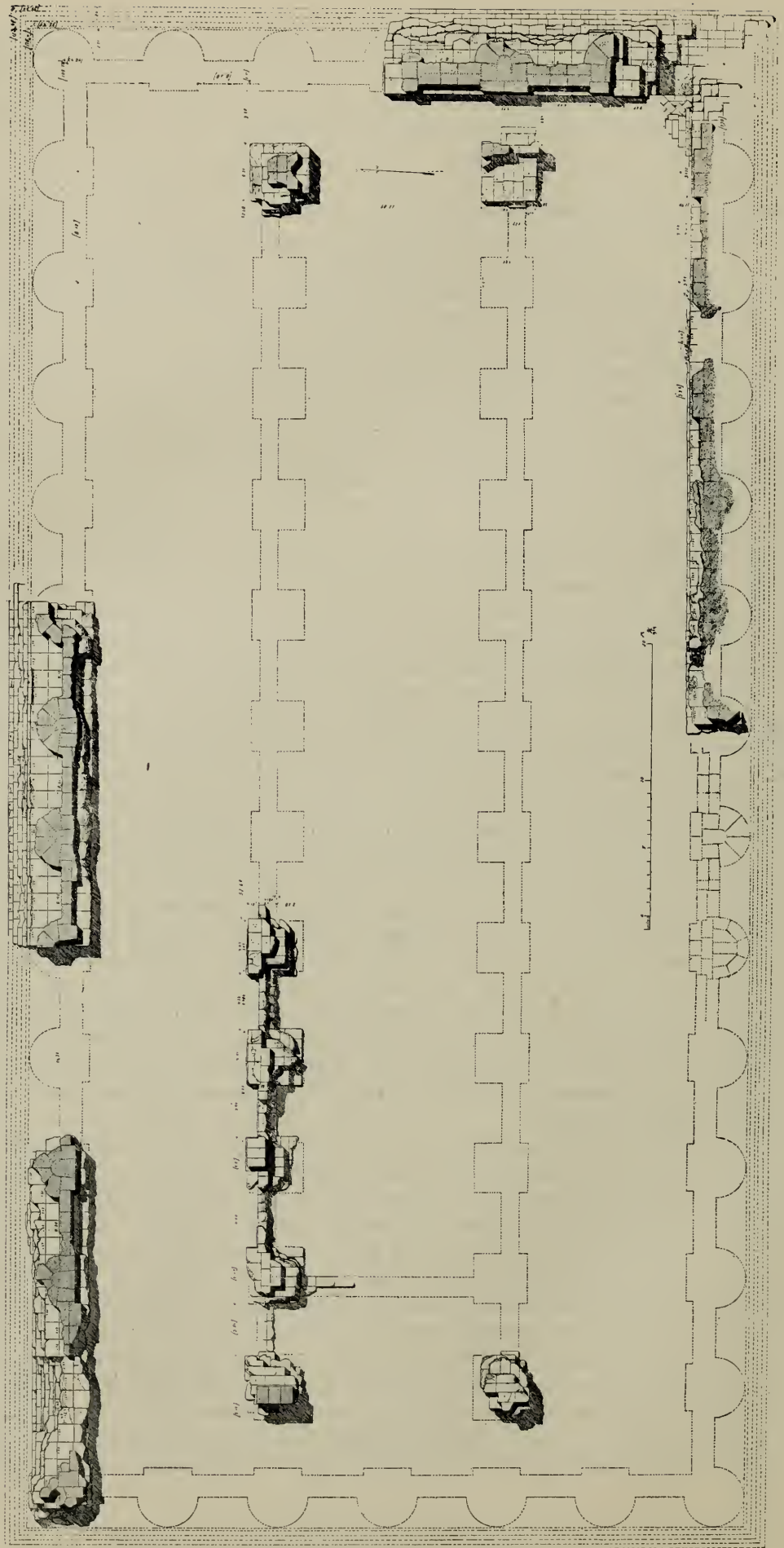


Fig. 825.

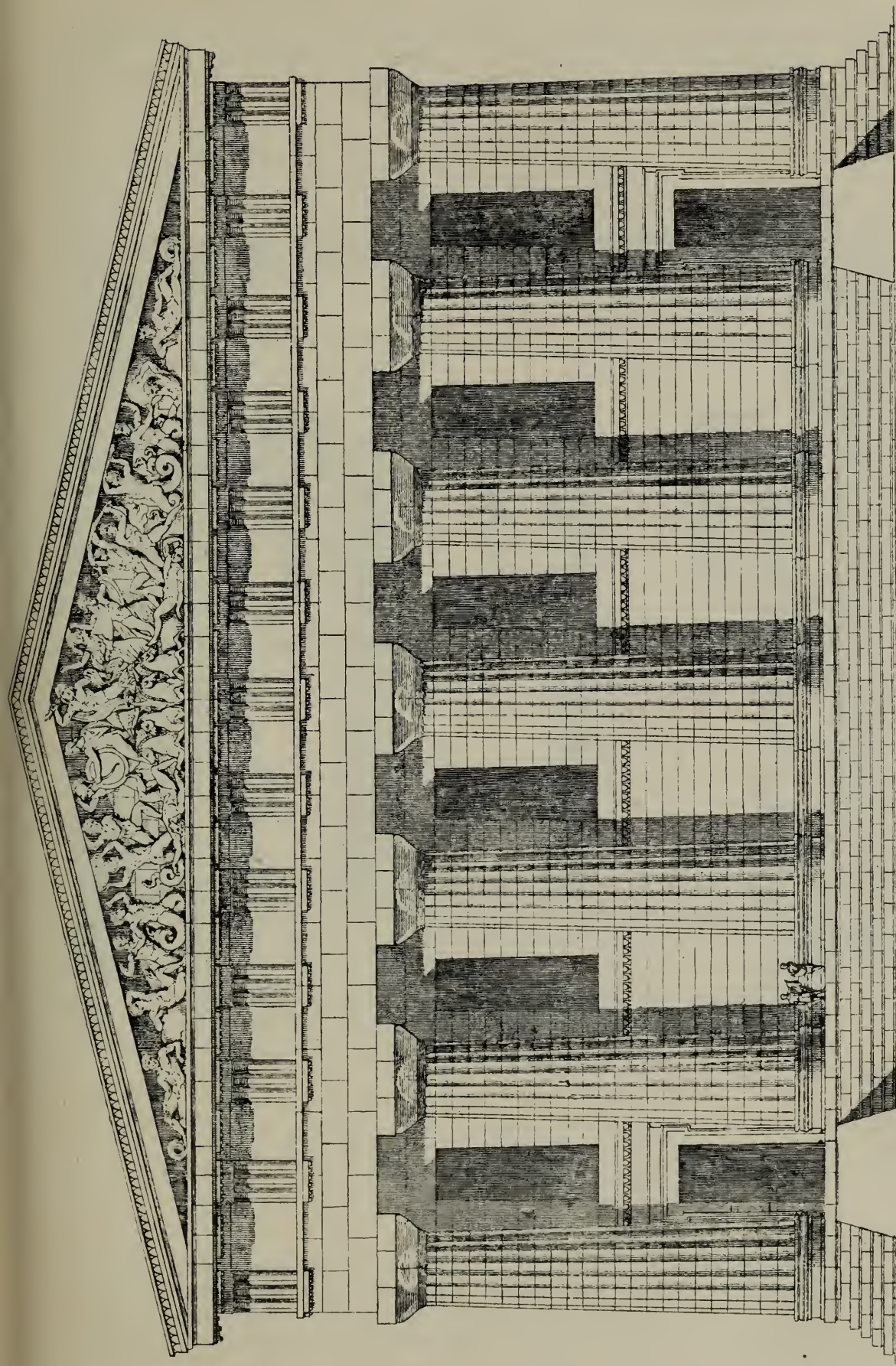


Fig. 826.



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

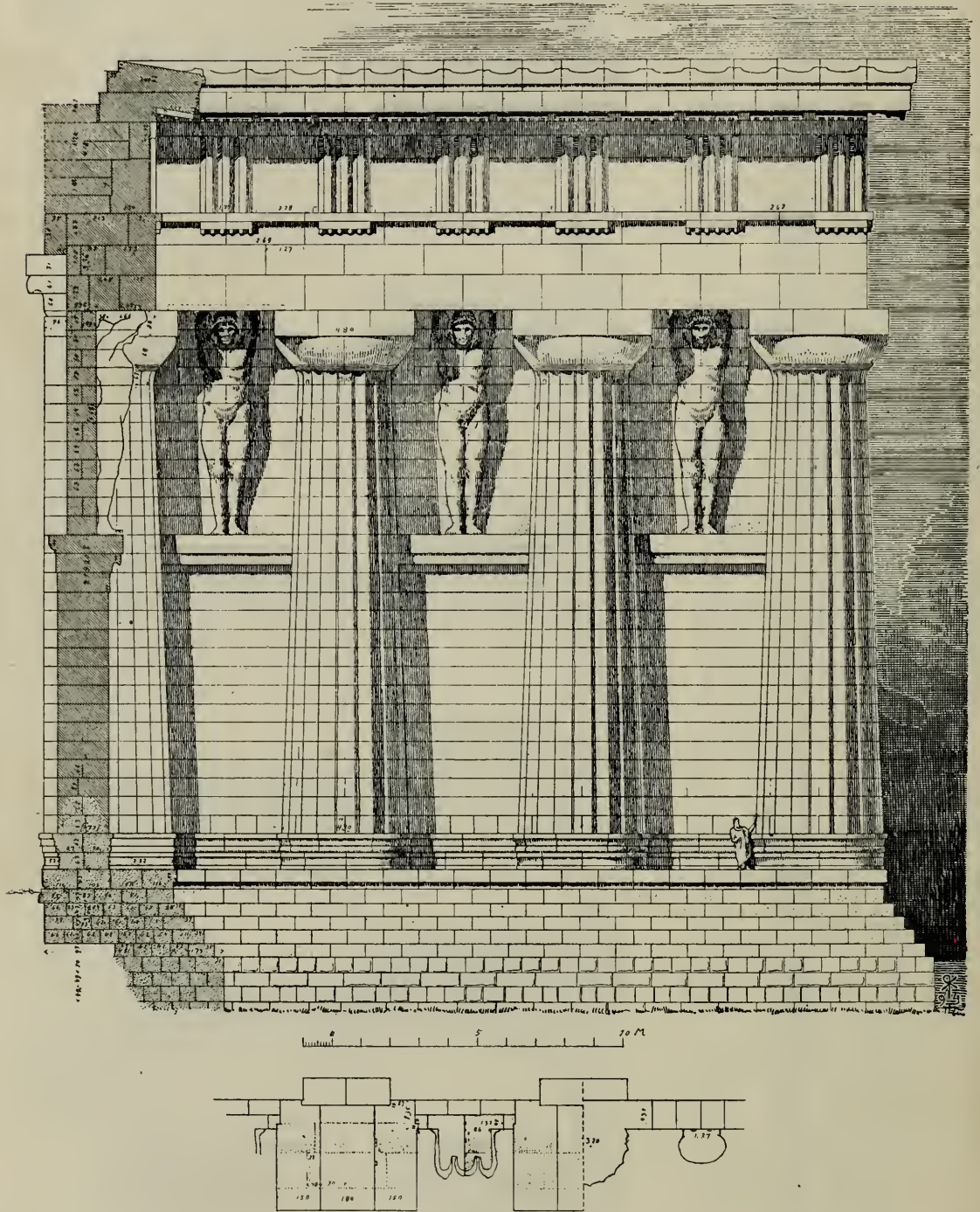


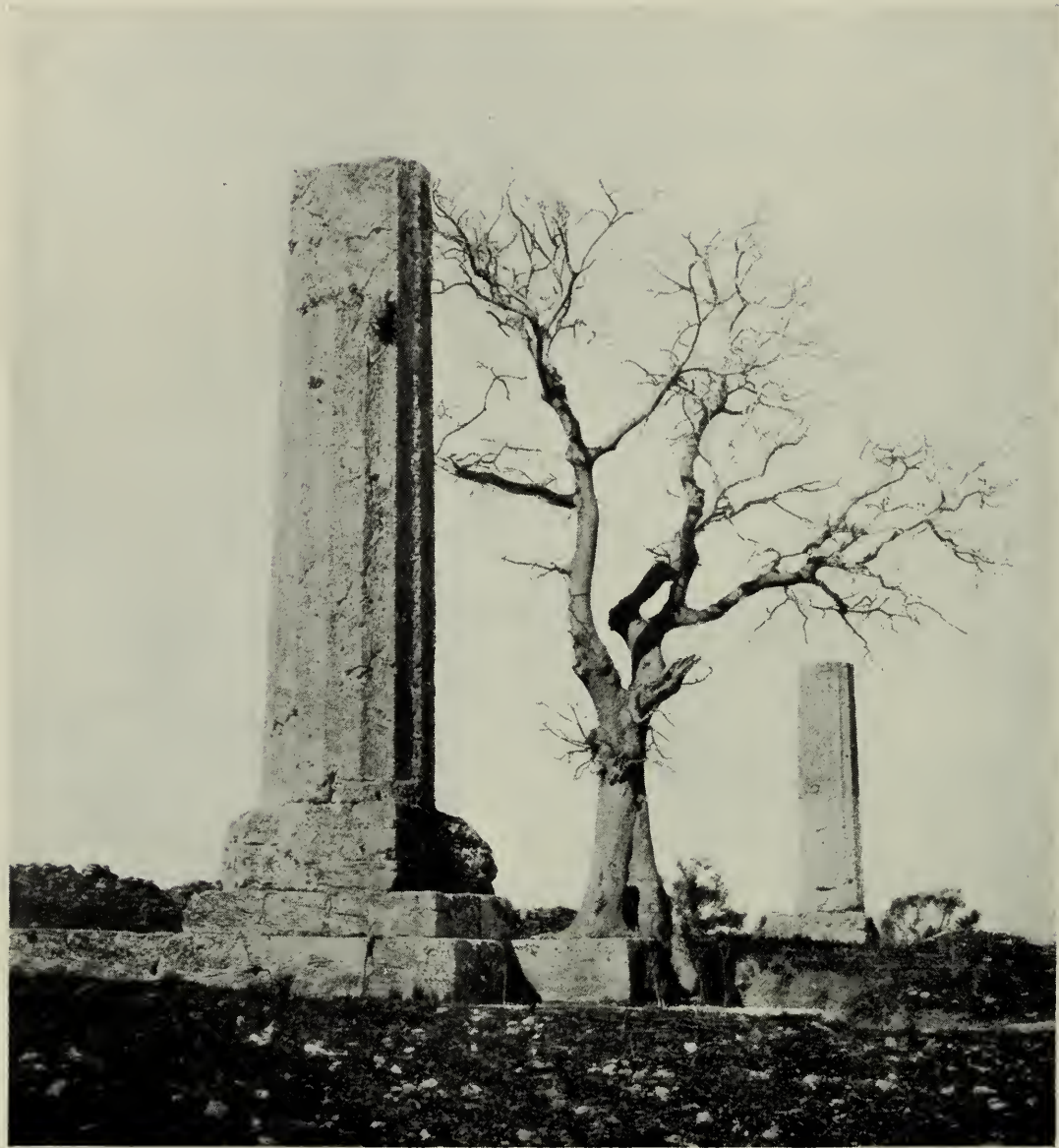
Fig. 827.

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





Plate XLI



The Olympieion at Syracuse.

*See page 915 n. 2.*

Akrai<sup>1</sup>.Syracuse<sup>2</sup>.

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 *adyton* (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<sup>m</sup> 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 Caes (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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 210 f. figs. 138—140 and Index p. 368, *ib.*<sup>3</sup> 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').

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (11)).

<sup>2</sup> 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 Ὀλύμπιος. 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<sup>m</sup> in height and *c.* 1·85<sup>m</sup> in diameter. They were monolithic and had no *éntasis*. 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<sup>m</sup> 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 τῶ[ν] 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 ἤρέθη πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλεσαν οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τοῦτοις τοῖς ἀρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ιστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλαγῆς. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων 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 Πολίχνα or 'Small Town' (Thouk. 7. 4, Diod. 13. 7, 14. 72), which, never permanently fortified by the Syracusans, was frequently occupied by forces attacking their city.

Hippokrates tyrant of Gela, after vanquishing the Syracusans in the battle on the Heloros (493/2 B.C.), encamped in the sanctuary of Zeus. Having caught the priest and certain Syracusans trying to carry off various votive offerings of gold and in particular the golden *himétion* 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 *himétion*, 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 *himétion* 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

Tyndaris<sup>1</sup>.

(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 τὸς 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 Ὀῦριον nominant, pulcherrime factum* (Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 128, *supra* p. 708), I am inclined to think that the masterpiece in question was a votive figure in the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, whose position enabled him to control winds and wars alike, rather than a cult-statue erected in some hypothetical temple believed to have stood near the shore adjoining the *emporion* of Achradine (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

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

Another handsome temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was founded by Hieron ii in the *Agorá* of Achradine (Diod. 16. 83, Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 119). The Gallic and Illyrian spoils presented to Hieron by the people of Rome (Plout. *v. Marc.* 8) were hung in this temple, but were commandeered by the insurgents under Theodotos and Sosis in 214 B.C. (Liv. 24. 21). The central *kerkis* of the Syracusan theatre bears the name of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 3, 5 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).

<sup>1</sup> 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.



**Naxos**Mount Drios<sup>1</sup>.**Paros**Mount *Kounádos*<sup>2</sup>.**Delos**Mount Kynthos<sup>3</sup>.

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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 190. These coins imply the cult, not only of Tyndaris (Helene) and the Tyndaridai (Kastor and Polydeukes), but also of Zeus to whom the children of Tyndareos were early affiliated (*supra* i. 279 f., 780).

Among the ruins of Tyndaris (for which see Serradifalco *op. cit.* v. 48 ff. pls. 29—35) was found a colossal statue of Zeus, finely carved in Greek marble. It is now in the *Cortile Grande* of the Museo Nazionale at Palermo. The head, right arm, left leg, and lower part of right leg were restored by the local sculptor Villareale. But enough of the original remains to show that Zeus stood erect, his right arm raised to hold a long spear or sceptre, his left wholly enveloped in the *himátion* that covered him from the waist downwards. W. Abeken 'Giove Imperatore ossia Urio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 62—72 pl. A, 1—3 justly compared the figures of Zeus Στρατηγός on a coin of Amastris (*supra* p. 707 fig. 639) and of Zeus Οὔριος 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').

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

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (5).

<sup>3</sup> Mt Kynthos in the centre of Delos is a granitic cone, which rises to a height of 112.60<sup>m</sup> (*Délos* 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 ὑψηλόν, 'high,' into ψιλόν, 'bare.' It is true that the granite and gneiss, of which the mountain is composed (geological detail in *Délos* iv. 1), do not afford the earth required by tree-roots. But, for all that, ὑψηλόν 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 *Kύνθιος* 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.

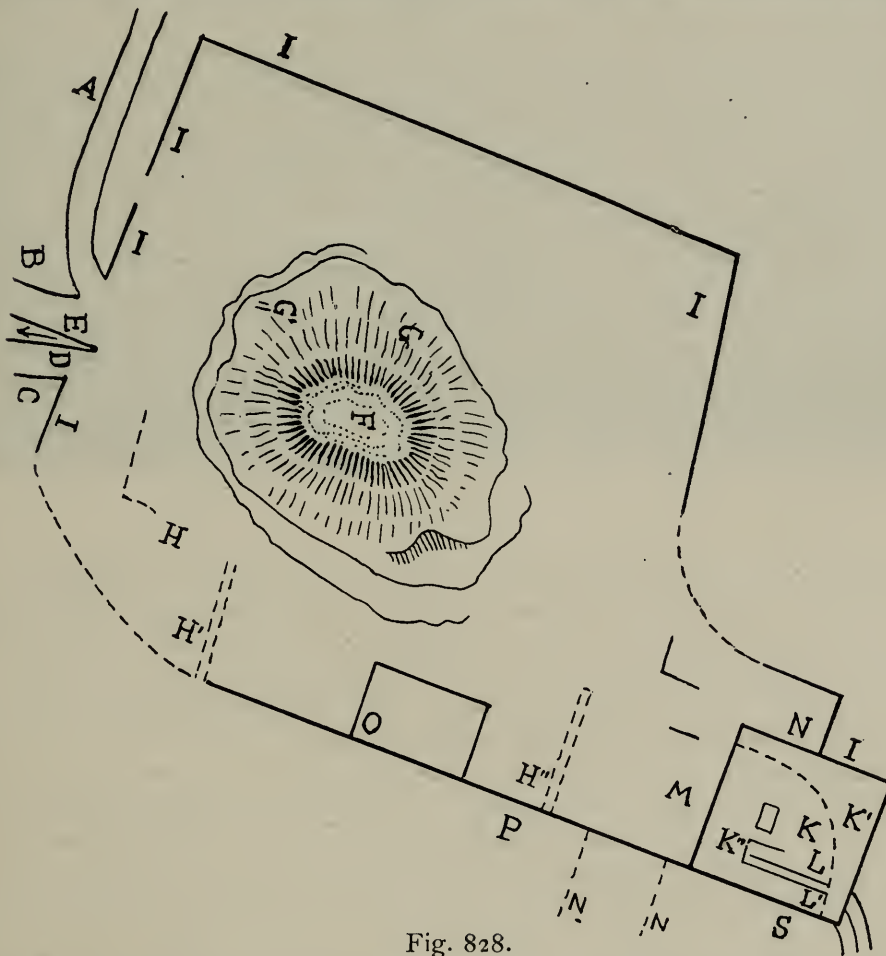


Fig. 828.

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



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

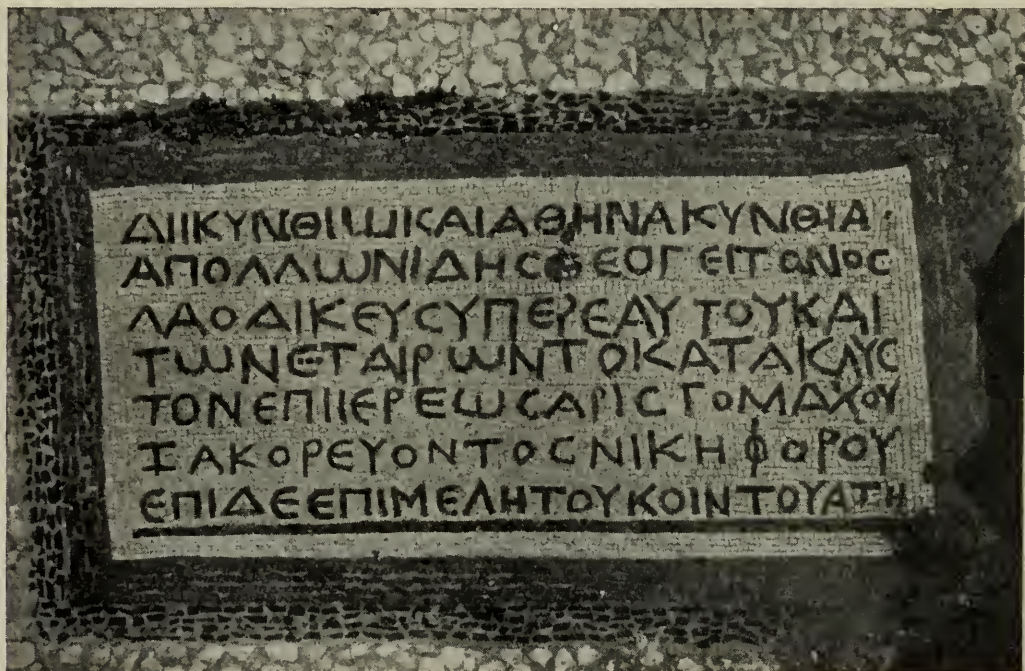


Fig. 829.

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

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

Zeus and Athena, though their association on *akropóleis* etc. is old (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1217 f.), were not the original occupants of the summit. [In 'Minoan' times it was probably tenanted by the sky-father (Kronos) and the earth-mother (Rhea), the cave-temple beneath it (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2) being a Delian parallel to the sacred caves of Mt Dikte and Mt Ide. The cult of Kronos, however, has left no trace, unless we can claim as such a broken sherd bearing the letters KPO, which was found buried in charcoal under a limestone slab outside the south-west angle of the cave-temple (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 65 f.). Rhea presumably had lions; and in this connexion it should be noted, not only that the late marble statue of a youthful god (Apollon?) erected on the ancient granite libation-table (?) of the cave-temple had a tree-support covered with a lion-skin (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 60, 63 ff.), but also that a whole row of lions in Naxian marble, comparable with the lions of Branchidai (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 22 f. nos. 17 and 18: no. 17 has on its back a *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.*<sup>3</sup> 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 Trochoeidés* (P. Leroux in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 348—353, *ib.* 1908 plan opposite to p. 162). Apparently Rhea had, here as elsewhere (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 47. 4 p. 36, 6 ff. Stählin *μηδ' (sc. ἀμφιβάλλετε) εἰ τὰ ἐν Πατάρους τῆς Λυκίας ἀγάλματα Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Φειδίας πάλιν ἐκείνος [τὰ ἀγάλματα] καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἴργασται· εἰ δέ, ὡς φασί τινες, Βρυάξιος ἡ τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι· κ.τ.λ., Inscr. Gr. ins. iii Suppl. no. 1346 the rock-cut relief of a lion inscribed in s. iii B.C. (*supra* i. 117 n. 1) α' Ἀπόλλωνι | Στεφανηφόρῳ, β [τ]εῦξ[ε] λέοντα θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον Ἀρτεμίδωρον | ἐν σεμνῶι τεμένει μνημόσυνον πόλεως. Cp. a statue of Apollon, seated on a tripod over a lion, now in the Villa Albani (S. Raffai *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*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848)), passed on her lions to Apollon.]*

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

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

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



**Imbros**Imbros<sup>1</sup>.**Skiathos**Skiathos<sup>2</sup>.**Lesbos**Mytilene<sup>3</sup>.**Chios**Mount Pelinnaion<sup>4</sup>.**Rhodes**Mount Atabyrion<sup>5</sup>.

P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 227 n. 6). Orientals would naturally regard the mountain-top as one of their own high places. Hence Zeus Κύνθιος came to be associated with the Egyptian divinities (A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 328 f. no. 23 a small column (1<sup>m</sup> high) inscribed Διὶ Κυνθίωι, | Σαράπιδι, Ἰσιδι, | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, | Νεοπτόλεμος | Φιλωνίδου. | ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δικαίου | τοῦ Δικαίου Ἰωνίδου, | κλειδουχοῦντος | Εὐκράτου Διονυσίου τοῦ Σεύθου, | ζακορεύοντος | 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. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1906 ii. 259 no. 91, P. Roussel in the *Mélanges Holleaux* Paris 1913 p. 276 f. no. 4 and *op. cit.* p. 228 n. 4. Lines 11 ff. run: *ιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱε|[ρόν τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Κυνθίου | [καὶ τῆ]ς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Κυνθί[ας, χερ]σὶν καὶ ψυχῇ καθα|[ρᾶ, ἔ]χοντας ἐσθῆτα λευ|[κῆν, ἀνυ]ποδέτους, ἀγνεύοντα[s] | [ἀπὸ γυν]αικὸς καὶ κρέως. | [μηδὲ . . . .] εἰσ|[φ]έρει[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<sup>m</sup> 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 ΔΘΗΝΑΙΗΚVΝΘΙΗ (*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.]

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (8)).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (6)).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (10)).

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

<sup>5</sup> 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, νῶτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου | μεδέων, κ.τ.λ. with schol. vet. *ad loc.* ἐπάνω γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἴδρυται ὁ Ζεὺς (Ἀταβύριον ὄρος ὑψηλότατον Ῥόδου οὗ ἄνωθεν ἴδρυται Ζεὺς cod. C.), Strab. 655 εἰθ' ὁ Ἀτάβυρις (τάβυρις cod. F.), ὄρος τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλότατον, ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, Lact. *dív. inst.* 1. 22 cited *supra* p. 588 n. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀτάβυρον· ὄρος Ῥόδου. Ῥιανὸς ἔκτω Μεσσηνιακῶν (= Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῆδίας* 13 (i. 387, 8 f. Lentz)). τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀταβύριος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἀταβύριος Ζεὺς, *id.* *s.v.* Κρητηνία· τόπος Ῥόδου, ἐν ᾧ ᾤκουν οἱ περὶ Ἀθλαιμένην, ὅς

χρησθεὶς ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτενεῖ ἔφυγε, καὶ νυκτὶ πλοίῳ συναντᾷ ἐν Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ὡς ληστὰς νομίσας ἀναιρεῖ 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 Kretenia (κρητινίαν cod. R., followed by R. Hercher and R. Wagner. κρατινίαν 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 Πολιεύς at Lindos (C. Blinkenberg *Die lindische Tempelchronik* Bonn 1915 p. 8 ff. B, 18 ff. Μίνως ἀργύρεον ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέγραπτο· “Μίνως Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ,” ὡς φασι | Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῇ Ἀ τῆς χρονικῆς συντάξις, | Γόργων ἐν τῇ Ἀ τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης | ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ). 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 Minyan Oleiai and Psoloeis at the Agrionia of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38 with Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: 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. εἰσὶ δὲ χαλκαὶ βόες ἐν αὐτῷ, αἵτινες ὅταν μέλλῃ ἀτοπὸν τι γενέσθαι, μυκῶνται, 160 c εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ βόες χαλκοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ῥόδου, οἱ ὅταν μέλλῃ τι τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι κακὸν μυκῶνται, Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 390—393 (= 4. 704—706) Ῥόδιόν ἐστιν ὄρος, | τὴν κλήσιν Ῥαταβύριον, χαλκᾶς πρὶν ἔχον βόας, | αἱ μυκηθμὸν ἐξέπεμπον χωρούσης Ῥόδῳ βλάβης· | Πινδαρος (? *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. Iuliani.* 3 p. 88 c Aubert (lxxvi. 636 A Migne) καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσίγονος ὁ Κιτιεὺς (C. Müller cj. ὁ Νικαιεὺς) ἐν Ῥόδῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ταῦρόν φησιν 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 640. I have two specimens of the sort in my collection): the head is presumably that of Zeus Ῥαταβύριος. Cp. also *supra* i. 132.

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

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

## Crete

Mount Aigaion<sup>1</sup>.

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. 473 f. no. 3842, 5 f. ('In oppido hodierno, prope hospitium equitum D. Ioannis in basi oblonga marmoris caerulei') καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]αταβυριαστᾶν Ἀγαθοδαιμονιαστᾶν Φιλ(ω)νείων κοινού | θαλλῶι στεφάνωι). The other, at Lindos, established by a man named Euphranor and later headed by one Athenaios of Knidos, worshipped Dionysos, Athena, and Zeus Ἀταβύριος (Sir C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* ii. 135 f. no. 358, 2 ff., 12 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 937, 2 ff., 12 ff. = H. van Gelder *loc. cit.* iii. 1. 568 f. no. 4239, 2 ff. ('Found at Mallona near Lindos in 1862... On a circular altar or pedestal of white marble, which has been hollowed out, probably to form a mortar with a hole at the bottom') [----τ]ε[ιμα]θέντα ὑπὸ | τοῦ κοινού τοῦ Διονυσιαστᾶν Ἀθαναῖστᾶν Διοσ[αταβυριαστᾶν Εὐφρανορ]ίω τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίω Κνιδίω | χρυσέω στεφάνω καὶ ἀναγορεύσεσιν ἰσος τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. | κ.τ.λ., 12 ff. καὶ τᾶς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρέτης μὲν τειμαθει[σας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινού τ[οῦ Διον]υσιαστᾶν Ἀθαν[αῖ]στᾶν Διοσαταβυριαστᾶν | Εὐφρανορίων τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίω Κνιδίω καὶ ἀναθεῖσας τῷ κοινῷ (τῷ) | Ἀθανα[ῖ]στᾶν ----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]ῖ[τ]α[ι] χο[ρ]εῦ[ε]τα[ι καὶ Δι]ῖ Ἀτα[β]υρ[ι]ω[ι--]). See further F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 pp. 58 f., 181, 237.

The cult of the Rhodian Zeus even found its way to Skythia. At *Kermenchik* (Neapolis?) near *Symphheropol* three inscriptions have come to light recording dedications made *c. s.* i B.C. (?) by one Posideos to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 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 Διὶ Ἀταβυρίω Ποσίδεος Ποσιδέου | χαριστήριον), to Athena Λινδία (*ib.* i. 216 f. no. 243), and to Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (*sc.* Leuke) (*ib.* i. 217 no. 244). E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476, 479 treats Posideos, not as a Rhodian, but as an Olbiopolite living at Neapolis and trading with Rhodes. See also M. Rostovtzeff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* Oxford 1922 p. 163.

<sup>1</sup> 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 πῖονα δῆμον, | ὀππότε' ἄρ' ὀπλότατον παίδων τέξεσθαι ἔμελλε (so G. Kinkel for ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι), | Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μὲν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη | Κρήτη ἐν εὐρείῃ τραφέμεν ἀπιταλλέμεναί τε. | ἐνθα μιν (so J. G. J. Hermann for μὲν codd., *cp. schol. ad loc.*) ἴκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν | πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον (G. F. Schömann's *cj.* Δίκτην is mischievous)· κρύψεν δέ ἐ χειρὶ λαβοῦσα | ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠλιβάτω, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθει γαλις, | Αἰγαίω (Salmasius *cj.* αἰγείω, Wilamowitz *cj.* Αἰγείω. But see G. M. Columba *Aigaion* (extr. from the *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 1914 iii) Napoli 1914 p. 21 n. 3) ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι).

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 ΑΝΤΡΟΝ' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277—291 (see *infra* n. on Mt Dikte).

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

The Cave itself consists of an upper grotto and a steep slope of c. 200 ft leading down to a subterranean pool and a series of stalactite halls (plan of grotto *supra* p. 531 fig. 401). The upper grotto contained an altar (3 ft high) of roughly squared stones, close to which lay a libation-table in steatite inscribed with three linear characters (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114 fig. 50). An adjoining gateway gave access to a paved *témenos* enclosed by a massive 'Cyclopean' wall. At the back of the enclosure were the mouths of natural funnels communicating probably with the lower halls and water-channels in the heart of the hill. In the upper grotto, especially round the altar, the topmost *strata* yielded swords, knives, axes, bracelets, etc. of iron with remains of the earliest Hellenic pottery; the lower *strata* had scattered objects mainly in bronze—the model of a two-wheeled car drawn by an ox and a ram and intended to carry one or more little figurines (*ib.* p. 108 fig. 39), images of bulls, a knife with a handle ending in a human head (*ib.* p. 111 fig. 44), long hair-pins with ornate ends, lance-points, darts, knives, wire needles, rings, miniature circular shields (?) (*ib.* p. 109 fig. 41), etc.; also hundreds of little plain earthenware cups for food or incense; a small clay mask with lips, eyelids, and lashes painted in ochre (*ib.* p. 106 fig. 37, 3); a great stoup patterned with checker-work etc. and a polyp in lustreless red (*ib.* p. 103 f. figs 31, 32); ivory ornaments from sword-hilts, bone articles of the toilet; small altar-like tables in steatite and limestone, three of which bore linear inscriptions (*ib.* p. 114 pl. xi). The *témenos* was less rich in metal, but extraordinarily prolific in sherds of 'Minoan' pottery, e.g. fragments of large unpainted *píthoi* with a band of decoration in relief under the rim—embossed double-axe, head of wild goat, rows of *thucrania*, 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 aegagrus*, *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 Amen-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 Amen-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 Dikte<sup>1</sup>.

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

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

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



Fig. 830.

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

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



et Phariae Isidis et Cereris Eleusinae, cp. Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 481 f. ditior ille animi, cui tu, Dictaeae, secundas | impuleris manifestus aves) derived his title from a cave in Mt Dikte, where he was born (Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 375 F cited *supra* i. 653 n. 3, Apollod. 1. 1. 6 ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν εἰς Κρήτην, ὀπηνίκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμονοῦσα ἐτύγχανε, γενῶν δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δία, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐν τῇ Δίκτῃ, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον τῆς Ἰδης, Diod. 5. 70 τὴν δὲ ῥεάν ἀγανακτήσασαν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένην μεταθεῖναι τὴν προαίρεσιν τὰνδρός, τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Ἰδῇ (Δίκτῃ codd. C. F. G.) κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδης... ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον 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... εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ τέκω τίκτω, τίκτα τίς οὔσα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ τεχθῆναι τὸν Δία) and reared (Ap. Rhod. 1. 508 f. ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κούρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς, | Δικταῖον ναῖεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος with schol. *ad loc.*, Arat. *phaen.* 30 ff. εἰ ἔτεδν δῆ, | Κρήτηθεν κείναι γε (*sc.* the two Bears) Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι | οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὃ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα | Δίκτῳ (Zenodotos of Mallos read δίκτῳ = δικτάμῳ) ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίῳ, | 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.* 408 Ἀρριανὸς δὲ φησὶ· 'Κρής, οὗ Κρήτη ἐπώνυμος, ὃ τὸν Δία κρύψας ἐν ὄρει Δικταίῳ, ὅτε Κρόνος ἐμάστευεν ἐθέλων ἀφανίσαι αὐτὸν,' Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante quam regnaret Iuppiter, qui est in Dictaeo, Cretae monte, nutritus), being fed by bees (Verg. *georg.* 4. 149 ff. nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse | addidit expediam, pro qua mercede, canoros | Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae, | Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro, Colum. *de re rust.* 9. 2 nec sane rustico dignum est sciscitari, fueritne mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa, quam Iuppiter in apem convertit, an (ut Euhemerus poeta dicit) crabronibus et sole genitas apes, quas nymphe Phryxonides educaverunt, mox Dictaeo specu Iovis exstitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere dei sortitas, quibus ipsae parvum educaverant alumnum. ista enim, quamvis non dedeant poetam, summam tamen et uno tantummodo versiculo leviter attigit Virgilius, cum sic ait: 'Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro,' Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 104 sane nati Iovis fabula haec est: Saturnus postquam a Themide oraculo comperit a filio se posse regno depelli natos ex Rhea uxore devorabat, quae natum Iovem pulchritudine delectata nymphis commendavit in monte Cretae Dictaeo; ubi eum aluerunt apes = Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Ach.* 387 = Myth. Vat. 1. 104, cp. 2. 16. See further L. Weniger and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2637 ff. *s.vv.* Melissa, Melissaos, Melisseus, Melissos) or a goat (*supra* i. 112 n. 3, 529 n. 4, 653 n. 3, 665 n. 3. See further E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 pp. 18—43 ('De Amalthea')) or a pig (*supra* i. 653 n. 3) or doves (Moiro of Byzantion c. 300 B.C. *frag. ap.* Athen. 491 A—B Ζεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ Κρήτῃ τρέφετο μέγας, οὐδ' ἄρα τίς νιν | ἠεῖδει μακάρων· ὃ δ' ἀέξετο πᾶσι μέλεσσι. | τὸν μὲν ἄρα τρήρωνες ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ τράφον ἄντρῳ, | ἀμβροσίην φορέουσαι ἀπ' Ωκεανοῖο ῥοάων· | νέκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων | γαμφηλῆς, φορέεσκε ποτὸν Διὶ μητιέντι. *Supra* i. 182 n. 8), while the Kouretes, or by later confusion the Korybantes, drowned his infant cries with the clashing of their weapons (*supra* i. 150, 530 n. 0, 534, 659, 709. See further O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1587 ff., J. Poerner *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xxii. 2) Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 245—428, Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa xi. 1441 ff., 2202 ff.).

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





Plate XLII



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

*See page 929 n. o.*

the nurses of Zeus. Laïos, 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. 1. 1129 ff. Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρηταιέες, οὓς ποτε νύμφη | Ἀγχιάλη Δικταίων ἀνά σπέος ἀμφοτέρησιν | δραξαμένη γαίης Οἰαξίδος ἐβλάστησεν with schol. *ad loc.*, translated by Varr. *frag.* 3 Baehrens *ap. Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 1. 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 ἀπῆγε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ Δικταῖον ἄντρον ἐρυθριῶσαν καὶ κάτω ὀρώσαν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ἦδη ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἄγοιτο). Minos, their son, used to descend into the Dictaeon Cave and thence return with the laws of Zeus (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 ὦν ὁ μὲν (*sc.* Minos) ὁμιλητῆς ἔφη γενέσθαι τοῦ Διός, καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς τὸ Δικταῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τραφῆναι τὸν Δία μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ Κρήτες ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων ἔτι νεογνὸν ὄντα, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐκεῖ συνθεῖς ἐκόμιζεν, οὓς 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 Ἀθήναζε Κρῆς ἀνὴρ, ὄνομα Ἐπιμενίδης, κομίζων λόγον, οὕτωςι ῥηθέντα, πιστεύεσθαι χαλεπὸν· ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἄντρῳ κείμενος ὑπνῷ βαθεῖ ἔτη συχνά, θναρ ἔφη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸς θεοῖς καὶ θεῶν λόγοις καὶ ἀληθείαι καὶ δίκη. κ.τ.λ.).

Sir A. J. Evans at first identified Mt Dikte with Mt *Lasithi*, the Dictaeon Cave with the *Psychro* 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 Dikta' 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.*<sup>2</sup> no. 462, 2 ff., *ib.*<sup>3</sup> 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 τοῖ Ἰτάνιοι π[ά]ν[τες] Δία Δικταίων καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θε[ο]ῦς τοὺς ἐν Δίκται καὶ Ἀθαν[α]ϊαν Πολιάδα καὶ θεοῦς, ὅσσοι[ε]ς ἐν Ἀθαναίαι θύεται, π[ά]ντας | [κ]αὶ Δία Ἀγοραῖον καὶ Ἀπόλλων[α] Πύθιον καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκαύ[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.*<sup>2</sup> no. 427, a 15 ff., *ib.*<sup>3</sup> no. 524, a 15 ff. cited *supra* p. 731 n. o. The restoration  $\delta\mu\nu\acute{\omega}\Delta\eta\eta[\nu\alpha\Delta\iota\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\nu]$  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 Ἐτεόκρητας, ὧν εἶναι πολίχνην Πρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν, id.* 478 *εἴρηται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πρᾶσος, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν· 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.*<sup>2</sup> no. 929, *ib.*<sup>3</sup> 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. Ἰτάνιοι πόλιν οἰκοῦν|τες ἐπιθαλάσσιον καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες προγονικὴν γειτονοῦσαν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου ἱερῶι, ἔχον|τες δὲ καὶ νήσους καὶ νεμόμενοι, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Λεύκην, 47 ff. οὕτως Ἱεραπύτνιοι τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀμφισβητεῖν Ἱτανίοις ἐπεβάλαντο, φάμε|νοι τὴν μὲν χώραν εἶναι ἱερὰν τοῦ Ζηνὸς τοῦ Δικταίου, τὴν δὲ νῆσον προγονικὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπάρ|χειν, iii, 69 ff. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκτὸς τῆς διαμφισβητουμένης | χώρας ὄντος καὶ περιοικοδομήμασιν καὶ ἐτέροις πλείοσι[ν ἂ] ποδεικτικοῖς καὶ σημείοις περιλα[μ]βανο|μένου, 81 f. νόμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις ἄνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο ἵνα μηθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου μήτε ἐννέμη μήτε ἐναυλοστατῆι μήτε σπείρηι μήτε ξυλεύηι).

Finally, excavations of the British School at Athens undertaken in 1902 at Heleia (*Palaikastro*) 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<sup>m</sup>. The temple itself has wholly vanished, huge blocks of freestone having been carried off by the villagers of *Palaikastro* about a generation ago. But the position of the altar is fixed by a bed of grey wood-ash, at least 3<sup>m</sup> long by 0.25<sup>m</sup> thick. Round it were found bronze bowls, miniature shields, and an archaic scarabaeoid seal.

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

The votive offerings belong mostly to the archaic period (s. vii—v B.C.) and comprise: (i) *Bronzes*. At least four large shields decorated with zones of animals. One (0.49<sup>m</sup> across) had as central boss the head and forepart of a lion, which pins down a couple of sphinxes and is flanked by two lions rampant on either side of a 'tree-of-life.' A dozen small shields, a miniature cuirass, a miniature helmet. Parts of about fourteen tripods. Eight bowls. Numerous small figures of oxen. (ii) *Terracottas*. About forty lamps and twelve torch-holders (*ib.* p. 307 fig. 23). About thirty large cups or bowls.

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

Δικταῖος (R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1908—1909 xv. 340, S. A. Xanthoudides in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1908 p. 197 ff. no. 1 fig. 1 ἐπὶ τῆς Καμυρίδος (sc. a tribe at Hierapytna, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ιεράπυτνα) κοσμώντων | τῶν σὺμ Βουάω τῷ 'Αμφέροντος, | ἐπεμέληθεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ | [Ζ (or Τ)]ηνὸς Δικταίω, τὰ ἀρχαῖα | [ἀ]γάλματα θαραπεύσαντες, | [θεὸς] ἐπισκευῶσαι καὶ χρυσῶ[σαι] 'Αθανῖαν, "Αρτεμιν, "Ατλαν[τα, τ]ὰς Σφίγγας ἀστραγαλίσ[αι] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποποδίων, καὶ | [? Ποσ]οιδᾶ, Δία, "Ηρας πρόσωπον, | [? Λατῶ]ν καὶ Νίκαν ἀναγράψαι. | [οἶδ' ἐκ]όσ(μ)ιον, Βουάος 'Αμφέ[ροντος, 'Ακ]άσων Βραμισάλ].....s 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 Δικταῖος, where it had probably been set up during the same period of Hierapytna's supremacy.

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

<p>'Ιώ, Μέγιστε Κουῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος, βέβακες 5 δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ- πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ, Τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἄμ' αὐλοῖσιν, 10 καὶ στάντες αἰείδομεν τεδὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν εὐερκῆ. 'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ. 'Ενθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον, ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆες] 15 παρ' 'Ρέας λαβόντες πόδα κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυσαν]. 'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ. . . . . . . . . . . 20 . . . . . . . . . . τᾶ]ς καλᾶς 'Αο(ῦ)ς.</p>	<p>'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ. [°Ωραι δὲ βρ]ύον κατήτος καὶ βροτο(ῦ)ς Δίκα κατήχε 25 [πάντα τ' ἄγρι' ἄμφεπ]ε ζῶ' ἀ φίλλοβος Εἰρήνα. 'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ. 'Α[μιν θόρε, κέσ στα]μνία, καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ἐ[ς ποίμνια, 30 κέσ λήϊ]α καρπῶν θόρε, κέσ τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους]. 'Ιώ, κ.τ.λ. [Θόρε κέσ] πόληας ἀμῶν, κέσ ποντοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶας, 35 θόρε κέσ ν[έους πολ]είτας, θόρε κέσ Θέμιν κ[αλάν].</p>
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This hymn, engraved c. 200 A.D. but composed c. 300 B.C., expresses in cultured poetical Greek, with a dash of Doric dialect, beliefs that had descended from much earlier times. It invokes Zeus as the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line' to come to Dikte for the new year at the head of the *daímones* (perhaps the gods in general (Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 Ε στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, cp. *supra* pp. 43, 63 n. ο) 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 harps and pipes. It goes on to tell how the Kouretes once received him as a babe from Rhea and hid him in safety with the sound of their beating feet, [how under the reign of Zeus foul Darkness was followed by] fair Dawn, the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year, Justice spread over the world, and Peace brought wealth in its train. And now once more comes the invitation to leap in the ritual dance, which shall ensure full jars, fleecy flocks, crops in the fields, and honey in the hives, prosperity alike on land and sea, youthful citizens and established Right.



Mount Ide<sup>1</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> Mt Ide bore a name ("Ιδη) which, like many mountain-names (Schrader *Reallex.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *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 εἰσὶ· μία μὲν ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ ἀντροῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ* (so J. G. Schneider for *τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰδῇ* cod. U. *τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰδῆς* codd. M. V. *ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ* edd. Ald. Heins.), *ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνάκειται, ἄλλη δὲ μικρὰ πλησίον· κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *ib.* 2. 2. 10, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 69), though Pliny describes it as a willow (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110 *salix...una tamen proditur ad maturitatem perferre solita in Creta insula ipso descensu Iovis speluncae durum ligneumque (sc. semen), magnitudine ciceris*). Iron-coloured stones shaped like the human thumb were found in Crete and known as *Idaei dactyli* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170, *Isid. orig.* 16. 15. 12, Solin. 11. 14): if these were fossil belemnites (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1465), they were doubtless viewed as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 76 f. ('Thunderstones (Belemnites)')).

Mt Ide, which, as the ancients said, sees the sun before the sunrise (Solin. 11. 6, Prisc. *per.* 527 f. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 194 Müller)), was not unnaturally associated with the Hellenic sky-god. From s. v B.C. onwards we hear of Zeus Ἰδαῖος (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *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 Διὸς no. (50) ἰδαίου, 266 Ἐπιθετα Διὸς no. (42) ἰδαίου, 281 Ἐπιθετα τοῦ Διὸς... ἰδαῖος*. In Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 236 *καὶ χθόνα Νωδαλοῖο Διὸς κ.τ.λ.* G. Falkenburg, G. H. Moser, and Count de Marcellus would read *χθονὸς Ἰδαλοῖο*. J. J. Scaliger cj. *χθονὸς ὠδαλοῖο*. F. Graefe cj. *χθόνα Δικταλοῖο*).

Zeus is never said to have been born on Mt Ide (in Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra* p. 928 n. 0 the right reading appears to be *Δίκη*, not "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 Κούρησι 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 μίσγουσαι τὸ παιδίον ἔθρεψαν καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφὴν παρέιχοντο*, Ov. *fast.* 5. 115 f. *Naïs 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 <Αἰγokέρωτος.> οὗτός ἐστι τῷ εἶδει ὁμοῖος τῷ Αἰγίπῳ. ἐξ ἐκείνου*

δὲ γέγονεν. ἔχει δὲ θηρίου τὰ κάτω μέρη καὶ κέρατα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἐτιμήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ σύντροφος εἶναι τῷ Δίῳ, καθάπερ Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ ἱστορῶν φησιν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ συνῆν αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Τιτῶνας ἐστράτευσεν (οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ εὐρεῖν τὸν κόχλον, [ἐν] ᾧ τοὺς συμμάχους καθώπλισεν), <ῆ> διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἥχου Πανικὸν καλούμενον, ὃ οἱ Τιτῶνες ἐφευγον. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὸν ἔθηκε καὶ τὴν αἰγα τὴν μητέρα. διὰ δὲ τὸν κόχλον τὸν θαλάσσιον παράσημον ἔχει ἰχθύος, cp. schol. Arat. *phaen.* 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 ἄθυρμα | κείνο, τό οἱ ποίησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδρήστεια | ἄντρῳ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ ἔτι νήπια κουρίζοντι, | σφαῖραν ἐντρόχαλον... | ... | χρύσεια μὲν οἱ κύκλα τετεύχονται· ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάστῳ | διπλοῖα ἀψίδες περιηγέες εἰλίσσονται· | κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαὶ εἰσιν· ἔλιξ δ' ἐπιδέδρομε πάσαις | κνανέη. ἀτὰρ εἴ μιν εἰς ἐνὶ χερσὶ βάλοιο, | ἀστὴρ ὡς, φλεγέθοντα δι' ἠέρος ὀλκὸν ἔησιν. 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 Attribute des Zeus* Leipzig 1884 p. 45 ff.) is apparent) and put him to sleep in a golden *liknon* (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46 ff. Ζεῦ, σὲ δὲ Κυρβάντων ἐτάραι προσεπηχύναντο | Δικταῖαι Μελλαι, σε δ' ἐκοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια | λίκνω ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ, σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πίονα μαζῶν | αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὺ κηρίον ἔβρωσ. | γέντο γὰρ ἐξαπιναῖα Πανακρίδος ἔργα μελίσσης | Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι, τά 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. ο: '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 Ἀετὸς 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 paelicatus dolore eum in avem vertit, quae ab ipso αετὸς 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Ἰδην, ἐν ἣ συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἄντρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν δίαίταν εἶχε καθιέρωται καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνεῖνται περὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὄντες). He had repaid his debt to the bees by turning them gold-bronze in colour and making them impervious to wintry weather (*id. ib.*). Concerning the cavern-ritual we know but little. Votive offerings were to be seen in the entry (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 quoted *supra*). Pythagoras is said to have gone down into the Cave with Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 8. 3 εἶτ' ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατήλθεν



Fig. 831.



εἰς τὸ Ἴδαϊον ἄντρον), who was both a Cretan and a Koures (*supra* p. 191). Fortunately further details are given us by Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). It appears that Pythagoras first repaired to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone (τῆ κεραυνία λίθῳ—probably a belemnite (*supra*)), at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. He then descended into the Idaean Cave wearing black wool, spent there the customary thrice nine days, made a funeral offering (καθήγισε) to Zeus, saw the throne which was strown for the god once a year, and inscribed on his tomb an epigram entitled 'Pythagoras to Zeus,' which begins ὦδε θανῶν κείται Ζάν, δν 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 Ἴδαῖος 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 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *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 *boustrophedón* 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 *statêres* (F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 204 ff. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 257 f. no. 4985, S. A. Xanthoudides in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 236 θιοί. ἐπὶ τοῖδ(δ)ε Ἴρι[ττέν]ι[οι Γ]ορ[τυννίους αὐτ]όν[ο]μ[ο]ι καὶ[τ]όδοικοι (space) [τ]ὰ θ[ύ]ματα παρέκοντες ἐς Βίδαν [τρ]ι[τ]οι [Fέ]τει τριακακτίος στατέρας 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 Βιδάρας (= *Fidáras*, the god of Mt Ide. So first J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 217 Βιδάρας (Ἰδήτης?), cp. S. A. Xanthoudides *loc. cit.* H. B. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273 wrongly assumed connexion with the Phrygian and Macedonian βέδν (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 357, 11 ff. Stählin) and concluded that Βιδάρας meant *ύέτιος*, *δυβριος*). A treaty of *c.* 150 B.C. between Lyttos and Olous makes the Lyttians swear by Zeus Βιδάρας (*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. [ὁμνύω τὰν Ἐστίαν καὶ Τῆνα Βιδάταν καὶ Τῆνα [-] | [-] καὶ Ἀπέλλω]να Πύτιον καὶ Λατῶν καὶ [Ἄ]ρ[τεμιν -] | [-] καὶ τὰν Βριτόμαρτιν καὶ τὸς ἄλλοις θιός -]. 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 Βιδάρας on the frontier of Priansos (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f. [-] ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ? Ττη]] [νός] τῶ Βιδατάω κῆς τὰνς Ἄντρι[-]. Cp. *ib.* 60 and 77 (cited *supra* p. 723 n. 0)).

The oldest cult-cavern of Mt Ide seems to have been the grotto, known locally as *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 Camares on Mount Ida' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 437—451 with map, elevation, plan, and section (map and plan copied by L. 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.* 1912—1913 xix. 1—34 with figs. 1—8 and pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (section), 4—12 (pottery)). The finds included a couple of neolithic sherds, a few pieces of 'Early Minoan' spouted vessels, many handsome vases of 'Middle Minoan i and ii' date, a little 'Middle Minoan iii' ware, and a very little 'Late Minoan,' the series ending with two *Bügelkannen*. The grotto, which is free from snow for only a few months in the year, can hardly have been a dwelling and must rather be regarded as a sanctuary, presumably of the 'Minoan' mountain-goddess Rhea.



A. Taramelli in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 434 held that it was the cult-centre of Zeus 'Ιδαίος 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 Ἐψηλωρετης), which attains the height of 8060 ft, is occupied by a small Greek monastery of the Holy Cross (*Timios Stauros*). Mr T. Fyfe, who spent a night on the summit, tells me (Jan. 9, 1923) that of the monastery little now remains except the church. This has a western domed compartment (13 ft 6 ins in diameter) with a narrow door leading to an oblong nave (11 ft 6 ins long by 8 ft 3 ins broad) covered by an elliptical dome. Eastwards of this is the sanctuary, entered by a semicircular arch and containing an aumbry opposite to a shallow recess for a seat. At the extreme east end is a built-in altar-table. The whole is very roughly constructed of rubble stone-work and is probably not very ancient, though the circular



Fig. 832.

western portion is said to be older than the remainder. About 3060 ft below the summit, but still at an altitude of some 5000 ft, lies *Nida*. And the Cave in the western side of its mountain-wall is used as a shelter both by shepherds and by travellers making the ascent from *Anogeia* (T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 9, 19. For *Anogeia* see *supra* i. 163 n. 1). In the summer of 1884 a shepherd named G. Pasparakis, 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. Mitth.* 1885 x. 59—72 with plan and 9 figs., *id.* 'Zur Idäischen Zeusgrotte' *ib.* p. 280 f.) and to a systematic exploration in 1885 by F. Halbherr and G. Aeraki under the auspices of J. Hazzidakis and the Syllagos of Kandia (F. Halbherr 'Scavi e trovamenti nell'antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 689—768 with numerous figs., pls. 11 (two photographs, of which the second = my fig. 832), 12 (a plan, b—d sections = my figs. 833—836), and an Atlas of 12 pls., P. Orsi



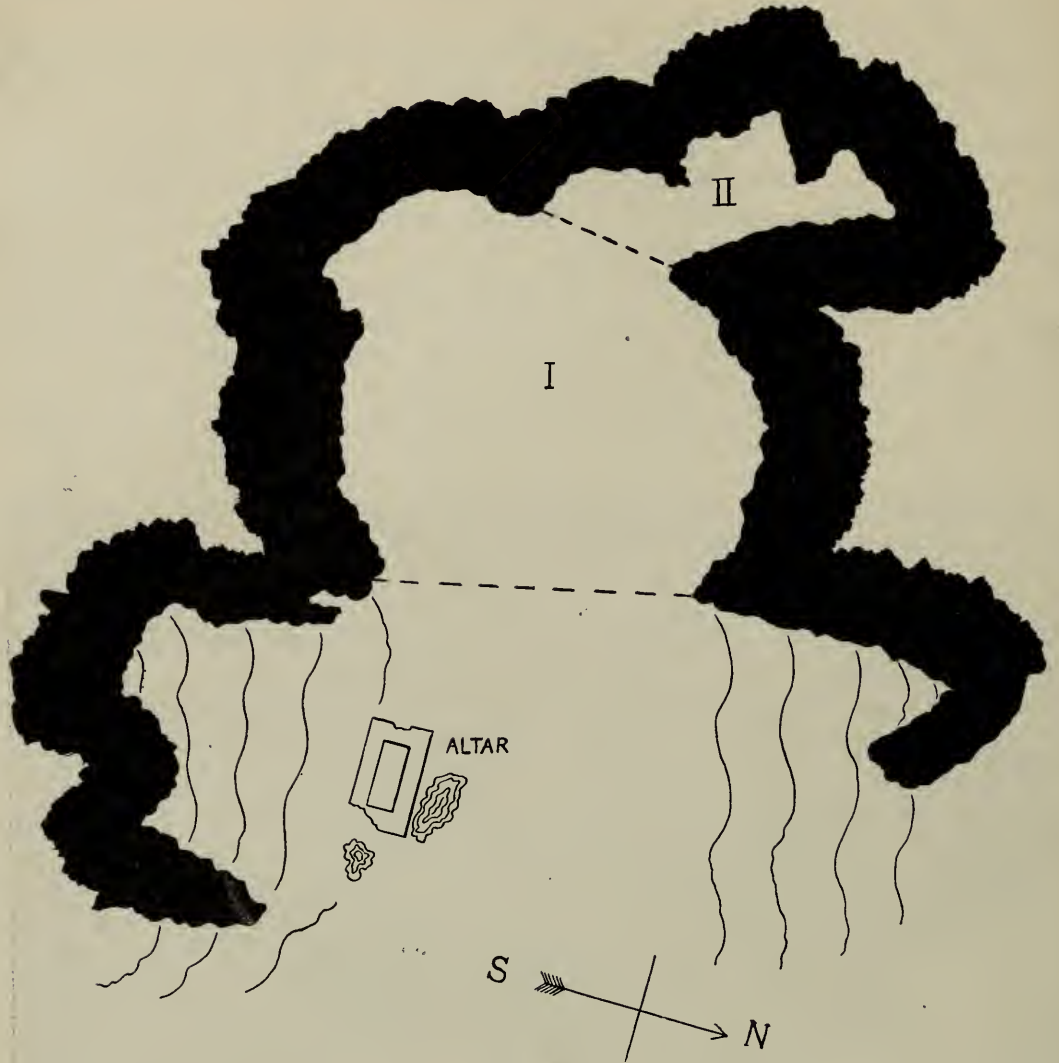




Fig. 833.

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

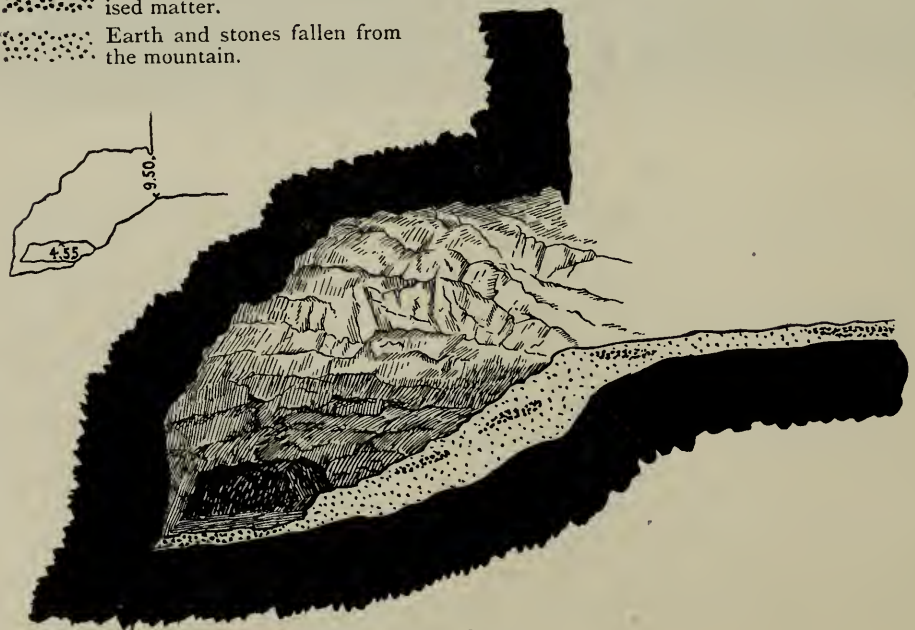


Fig. 834.

'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 Kuretengerät' 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<sup>m</sup> long, 1·95<sup>m</sup> broad, 0·88<sup>m</sup> high) with a wide step all round it (c. 1·45<sup>m</sup> broad, c. 3<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> high), forms a wide hall (25<sup>m</sup> to 31<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> long, 8<sup>m</sup> broad, over 4·50<sup>m</sup> 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-máš*, the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 117 figs. 94—96 and Index p. 362, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1463 f. figs. 24, 26—29). It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aigokeros came to Crete from the same quarter and along the same route as Zagreus (*supra* i. 651). Further, in Mesopotamian star-lore the constellation *Suhur-máš* is so intimately related to the constellation *Našru*, Aquila, that the 'Eagle' on occasion takes the place of the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *loc. cit.*); and the 'Eagle' is personified as the god Zamama (A. Jeremias *Handbuch* p. 129, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492). It might be contended, without undue rashness, that we have here the ultimate reason for the Cretan association of Aigokeros with Zeus. But Jeremias goes far beyond this, when he suggests that Zamama and his 'Eagle' are actually the *Urbild* of Zeus and his eagle (*id. ib.*) *Panbabylonismus*!

Votive objects found in the Cave include the following: (1) Convex circular shields of thin bronze, with central boss representing lion's head, eagle or hawk, etc. in high relief and concentric zones of decoration (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 695 ff. nos. 1—9 Atlas pls. 2—5, 9, 1, 10, 3 f.). (2) A *tympanon* of thin bronze with a quasi-Assyrian representation of Zeus and the Kouretes (*id. ib.* p. 709 f. no. 10 Atlas pl. 1 = *supra* i. 645 pl. xxxv). (3) Cymbals of thin bronze (*id. ib.* p. 712 ff. nos. 1—10 with figs.). (4) Bronze *phidlai*, eight of which are embellished with low reliefs in three distinct styles—Cypriote, Egypto-Phoenician, and Mesopotamian (*id. ib.* p. 718 ff. nos. 1—7 Atlas pls. 6, 7, 8, 9, 2 f., 10, 1 f., 12, 8, 10). (5) Bronze *oinochóai* (*id. ib.* p. 725 Atlas pl. 12, 9, 12 f.). (6) Bronze *lébetes* (*id. ib.* p. 725 ff. nos. 1—5 Atlas pl. 12, 4). (7) Very archaic groups of decorative figures in cast bronze, e.g. war-ship with rowers, chariots, warriors, man milking cow, hounds, etc. (*id. ib.* p. 727 ff. nos. 1—14 Atlas pl. 11). (8) Archaic bronze statuettes of nude male and female figures (*id. ib.* p. 732 ff. nos. 1—5 with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 1 f.). (9) Votive animals in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 736 f. nos. 1 sheep (?) with fig., 2 bull, 3 bulls' horns, 4 goats Atlas pl. 12, 3). (10) Ornamental figures in bronze, e.g. sphinxes, lion, horse, doves, snakes (*id. ib.* p. 745 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 18). (11) Handles of vases, rings and feet of tripods, etc. in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 737 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 11, 14—17, 19 f.). (12) Disks of thin gold decorated with dots or rays (*id. ib.* p. 749 ff. with figs.). A small plaque of thin gold stamped in relief with a procession of four warriors bearing circular shields, within an oblong framework of spirals (*id. ib.* p. 751 with fig.): this may be of sub-'Minoan' date. Another plaque of gold inscribed ΙΟΥΩΗ | ΖΑΙΙΗ | . . . . | <ΟΟΖΑ, apparently a 'Gnostic' charm ending with [φύλλ]ίσσου. 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 Juktas<sup>1</sup>.

(20) A tablet of terra cotta bearing in rubricated characters of Roman date the crucial inscription Δι' Ἰδαί[ω] | εὐχῆν | Ἀστῆρ [Ἄ] | λεξάν|δρου (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. Bürchner 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. Bürchner *loc. cit.*) as the 'Bear's Hole' (from ἄρκος, a doublet of ἄρκτος: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 53, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 78 f.)—a view which might be supported by the existence of a cavern usually described as that of the Bear (*Arkhoudhes*) in the promontory of *Akrotiri*, east of Kydonia (Canea) (Miss D. M. A. Bate in A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 248). After all, bears had some claim to be regarded as the nurses of the infant Zeus (*supra* i. 112 n. 5).

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

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



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

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

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

mentitaque manes | Creta tuos. Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 44 τάφος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς καθ' ὑμᾶς δεικνυται, κἄν ψεύδεσθαι τις τοὺς Κρήτας λέγη. Loukian. *Iur. trag.* 45 εἰ δ' ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστὶ, σὺ ἄμεινον ἂν εἰδείης ἐκεῖθεν ποθεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀφυγμένος, ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἐκ Κρήτης ἤκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγοῦνται, τάφον τινὰ ἐκεῖθι δεικνυσθαι καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαν ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσειεν ἂν ὁ Ζεὺς πάλαι τεθνεώς, *de sacrific.* 10 οἱ δ' αὖ Κρήτες οὐ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τραφήναι μόνον τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσι· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα τοσοῦτον ἠπατήμεθα χρόνον οἴομενοι τὸν Δία βροντᾶν τε καὶ ὕειν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐλελήθει πάλαι τεθνεώς παρὰ Κρησὶ τεθαμμένος, *philopat.* 10 ἀλλ' ἐτι ἀνεμνήσθη τὰ τῶν Κρητῶν, οἱ τάφον ἐπεδείκνυντό μοι τοῦ Διὸς σου καὶ τὰ τὴν μητέρα θρέψαντα λόχμια (so M. Solanus and F. Guyet for δόχμια), ὡς ἀειθαλεῖς αἱ λόχμια αὐταὶ διαμένουσι, *philopseud.* 3 τὸ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἤδη καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ κοινῇ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ψεύδεσθαι πῶς οὐ γελοῖον; εἰ Κρήτες μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον δεικνύοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, κ.τ.λ., *Τίμιον* ὁ ἤδη ποτὲ οὖν, ὦ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱέ, τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ νήδυμον—ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην γὰρ κεκοίμησαι—καὶ ἀναρριπίσας τὸν κεραυνὸν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐναυσάμενος μεγάλην ποιήσας τὴν φλόγα ἐπιδείξαιό τινα χολὴν ἀνδρώδους καὶ νεανικοῦ Διὸς, εἰ μὴ ἀληθὴ ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς μυθολογούμενα. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 f. Schwartz (after quoting Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.) πιστεύων, Καλλιμαχε, ταῖς γοναῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ νομίζων ἐπισκιάσειν τᾶληθές καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῦσι κηρύσσει τὸν τεθνηκότα κἄν μὲν τὸ ἄντρον βλέπης, τὸν Ῥέας ὑπομνησκη τόκον, ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδης, ἐπισκοτεῖς τῷ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόνος αἰδῖος ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός. Theophil. *ad Autol.* 1. 10 πεύσομαι δὲ σου κἀγὼ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, πόσοι Ζήνες εὐρίσκονται· Ζεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις προσ-αγορεύεται Ὀλύμπιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Λατεάριος (*leg.* Λατιάριος), καὶ Ζεὺς Κάσιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Προπάτωρ, καὶ Ζεὺς Παννύχιος, καὶ Ζεὺς 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 Ἰδην; πότερον τελευτήσας, ἢ οὐκ ἐτι ἤρρεσεν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος; ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπορεύθη; εἰς οὐρανοῦς; οὐχί. ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖς εἰς Κρήτην; ναί, ὅπου καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ ἔως τοῦ δεῦρο δεικνυται. Clem. *Al. protr.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 6 ff. Stählin ζῆτει σου τὸν Δία· μὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυ-πραγμόνει. ὁ Κρῆς σοι διηγῆσεται, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τέθραπται· Καλλιμαχος ἐν ὕμνοις (*h. Zeus* 8 f.) “καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο.” τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφόρει) ὡς Λήδα (J. Markland cj. ὦ Λήδα), ὡς κύκνος, ὡς αἰετός, 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, φυσιολογία τε καὶ θεολογία πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι καταγελωμέν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δεικνυται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον σέβομεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, οὐκ εἰδότες, πῶς καὶ καθὼ Κρήτες τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιούσιν. ὄρα οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις ἀπολογεῖται μὲν περὶ Κρητῶν καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ, αἰνιττόμενος τροπικὰς ὑπονοίας, καθ' ἃς πεπλάσθαι λέγεται ὁ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς μῦθος· ἡμῶν δὲ κατηγορεῖ, ὁμολογούντων μὲν τετάφθαι τὸν ἡμέτερον Ἰησοῦν 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 ποιούσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες, φήσομεν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλιμαχος, πλείστα ὅσα ἀναγνοὺς ποιήματα καὶ ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν πᾶσαν ἀναλεξάμενος Ἑλληνικὴν, οὐδεμίαν οἶδε τροπολογίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ. κ.τ.λ. (a quotation and discussion of Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., 10, 6 ff.). Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 8 eius (*sc.* Saturni) filius Iuppiter Cretae excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit: adhuc (C. A. Heumann cj. illic adhuc) antrum Iovis visitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur. Cypr. *de idol. van.* 2 (iv. 567 A Migne) antrum Iovis in Creta visitur (uisitur cod. L. uisitor cod. C<sup>1</sup>. uisitator cod. C<sup>2</sup>. 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 pro- genitus, 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) καὶ πάλιν φήσαντος (Titus 1. 12) “εἰπέ τις ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται, 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 Λίβυς τὴν μαρτυρίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συνανέτεινε, ψευδῶς περὶ Διὸς λέγων, Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται· κ.τ.λ. (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.). Hieron. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (xxvi. 573 A—C Migne) sunt qui putent hunc versum de Callimacho Cyrenensi poeta sumptum, et aliqua ex parte non errant. siquidem et ipse in laudibus Iovis adversus Cretenses scriptitans, qui sepulcrum eius se ostendere gloriantur, ait: ‘Cretenses semper mendaces; qui et sepulcrum eius sacrilega mente fabricati sunt.’ verum, ut supra diximus, integer versus de Epimenide poeta ab apostolo sumptus est; et eius Callimachus in suo poemate est usus exordio. sive vulgare proverbium, quo Cretenses fallaces appellabantur, sine furto alieni operis in metrum retulit. putant quidam apostolum reprehendum quod imprudenter lapsus sit et (*alii* ut), dum falsos doctores arguit, illum versiculum comprobarit, quod propterea Cretenses dicuntur (*alii* dicunt) esse fallaces quod Iovis sepulcrum inane construxerint. si enim, inquiunt, 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 vitiauit, sororibus stuprum intulit, multiformis magi sepulcrum evidens est apud Cretenses, qui tamen scientes et confitentes infanda eius atque incesta opera et omnibus enarrantes ipsi eum confiteri deum non erubescunt. Caesarius (youngest brother of Gregorius Nazianzenos) *dial.* 2. respons. ad interrogat. 112 (xxxviii. 992 Migne) οἱ δὲ τούτοις πειθόμενοι οὐ θεῷ ἀλλὰ σποδῶ προσκυνοῦσι Διὸς (so Cotelarius for διὰ) τοῦ πατραλοῦ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τέκνων τοὺς γάμους φθειραντος καὶ ἐν τάφῳ παρὰ Κρησὶ (so Cotelarius for κρίσει) φθαρέντος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι θεοῦ. Chrysost. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3. 1 (lxii. 676 f. Migne) καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διελέγετο, μεταξὺ τῆς δημηγορίας φησὶν, “Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ”· καὶ πάλιν, “τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν.” Ἐπιμενίδης οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ εἰρηκῶς, Κρής καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν· ἀλλὰ πόθεν κινούμενος, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· οἱ Κρήτες τάφον ἔχουσι τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιγραφέντα τοῦτο· “ἐνταῦθα Ζᾶν κείται, ὃν (*leg.* τὸν) Δία κικλήσκουσι.” διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ὁ ποιητὴς ψεύστας τοὺς Κρήτας κωμῶδων, προῖόν πάλιν ἐπάγει, αἴξων μᾶλλον τὴν κωμῶδιαν· “καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ’ οὐ θάνες, ἐσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ.” κ.τ.λ. Paulin. Nol. 19. 84 ff. (lxi. 515 Migne) Marcus, Alexandria, tibi datus, ut bove pulso | cum Iove nec pecudes Aegyptus in Apide demens, | in Iove nec civem coleret male Creta sepultum. Kyrill. Al. c. *Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 B Migne) γέγραφε δὲ πάλιν περὶ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Πυθαγόρου) Πορφύριος (*v. Pyth.* 17)· “εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα, τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἑνέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε καὶ καθήγισε τῷ Δίῳ, τὸν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ’ ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμα τε (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 cited *supra* p. 345 n. 1) ἐνεχάραξεν ἐν τάφῳ, ἐπιγράψας ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩ ΔΙΙ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,—ὦδε μέγας κείται ΖΑΝ, ὃν ΔΙΑ κικλήσκουσιν.” κ.τ.λ. Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 114 ff. ἀλλ’ ὅτε Δικταῖης Κορυβαντίδος ὑψόθι πέτρης | γείτονος Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώιον ἔδρακεν (*sc.* Ἡρη) ὕδωρ, | ἔνθα οἱ ἀλλοπρόσαλλος ὄρεστιὰς ἤντητο δαίμων (*sc.* Ἀπάτη)· | καὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ψευδήμονι τύμβῳ | τερπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἠπεροπήτες. 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 ποιητὴς. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς διὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον τοὺς Κρήτας ὠνόμασε ψεύστας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἀληθῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ τὴν ποιητικὴν βεβαιῶν μυθολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Κρητῶν διελέγχων τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀβέβαιον· ἀντὶ τοῦ, καλῶς ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσε ψεύστας· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ καθεστήκατε. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸν καλούμενον Δία τεθνᾶναι καὶ τούτους μάτην οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν τάφον. Sedulius Scotus *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (cii. 244 C Migne) *Cretenses semper mendaces.* hoc Epimenides sive Callimachus Cyrenensis de laudibus Iovis contra Cretenses dixit, qui dicebant apud eos sepultum quem raptum putabant in caelum. Schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 (cited *supra* p. 342). Soud. *s.v.* Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς παραδοὺς τὴν τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὴν τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ Ἐρμῇ τελευτᾶ, ζήσας

κ' καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη· καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεθῆναι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ <ἐν μνήματι>, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐνθάδε κείται θανῶν Πήκος 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, κατελλθὼν ἐν τῇ δύσει κρατεῖ τῆς Ἰταλίας. εἶτα ὁ Ζεὺς ὑποχωρήσας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ὁ δὲ παραχωρεῖ αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι βασιλεύσας εἶτα τελευτήσας κατατίθεται ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ...μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τελευτὴν Φαῦνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃς μετωνομάσθη Ἑρμῆς. An attempt to trace the antecedents of the version common to Soudias 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 ἔθηκον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ· ὅπερ μνήμᾳ ἐστὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ᾧ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κατὰκειται Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος 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 ἔθηκον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνήμα ἐστὶν ἕως τοῦ παρόντος ἐν Κρήτῃ. ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθα κείται θανῶν Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' the *Chronicon Paschale* 44 B—C (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐτελεύτα, ἐκέλευσεν τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ταφῆν τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κρήτῃ κείμενον ἕως τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κείται θανῶν Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν'· περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος 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 Ἑλλησιν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη ἱστορικωτέρα, καὶ ἴσως ἀληθεστέρα. αὐτὸν τε γὰρ καὶ τὸν τούτου πατέρα τὸν Κρόνον οἱ μῦθοι ὁμόθεν ἀπὸ Κρήτης γεννώσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅπου γῆς κατορώρκεται, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνῶν· εἶτα, τὴν θνητὴν ὑπερναβάντες φύσιν, ἀγχισπόρους ποιοῦσι τῆς οὐσίας τῆς κρείττονος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς θειότητος εἶδος μεταβιβάζουσι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἑρμῆς προστίθεται ὁ Τρισμέγιστος. τᾶλλα γὰρ παραθεωρῶν τοὺς μύθους, τοῦτον δὲ μόνον γυμνὸν 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' *píthoi* (*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' 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 Petsofà (J. L. Myres in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 382); in the burnt earth, larger goats and oxen, the raised arms of a worshipper, clay locks of human hair, flat shell-like coils, and a limestone ladle with traces of an inscription in linear characters (class A). A similar ladle likewise inscribed was found in a deposit of the same date on *Troullos*, a foot-hill of Mt Juktas (S. A. Xanthoudides in the *'Eφ. 'Apχ.* 1909 p. 179 ff. figs. 1—4).

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

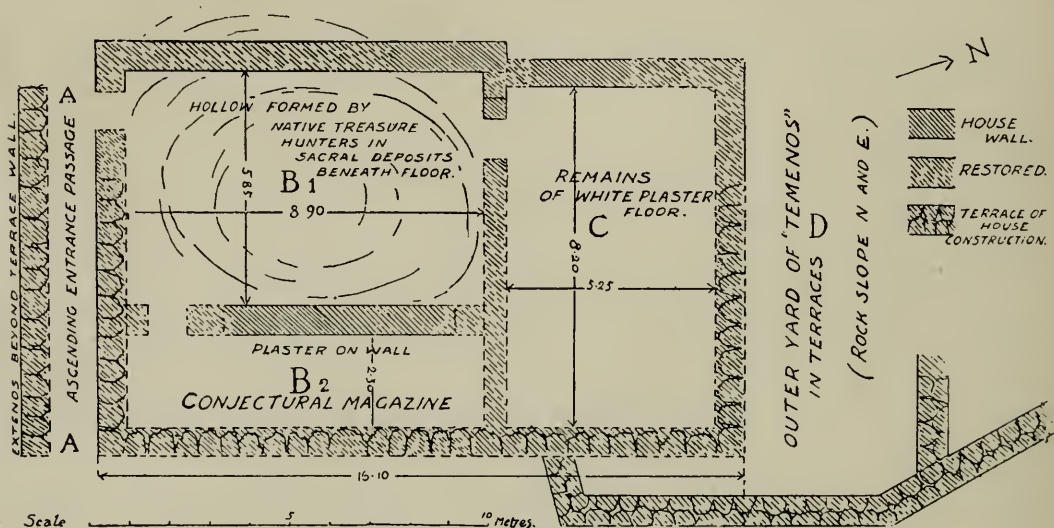


Fig. 837.

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

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

Personally I should rather suppose that, just as Kinyras and his descendants were buried in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (Ptolemaios of Megalopolis *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 66 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 *Kataskopta* 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 (?)<sup>1</sup>.Mount Arbios<sup>2</sup>.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἄρβιος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄρβιος·...ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἄρβιος ὄρος, ἐνθα τιμᾶται Ἄρβιος Ζεὺς). C. Müller in his commentary on Ptol. 3. 15. 3 Ἰνατος πόλις...Ἱερὸν ὄρος...Ἱεράπυτνα and on Anon. *stadiasm. Mar. Magn.* 320 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 506 Müller) identifies Ἱερὸν ὄρος with the mountain of Zeus Ἄρβιος—a view accepted by L. 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 Coast' [<sup>2</sup>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 'Επιρύντιος (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Επιρύντιος· 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.* "Ενδενδρος· παρὰ 'Ροδίου Ζεὺς· καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Βουωτιᾷ), being derived from ἐπί + \*ῥνυς for ἔρνυς = ἔρνος (P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1890 xxx. 584 'von ἔρνυτες.' Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 161 wrongly prefers the spelling ἐπερύντιος).

In this connexion we should note that silver *statères* of Phaistos struck *c.* 360—300 B.C. have *obv.* ΖΟΙΛΑΧΛΞ A youthful, beardless god seated to the left amid the branches of a leafless tree; his right hand caresses a cock perched on his knee; his left hand rests on an animal's skin, which passes beneath him and falls over the upper part of his right leg: *rev.* ΙΤΞΙΑΦ or ΦΑΙΞΤΙΟΝ (ΦΑΙΞ) A bull standing to the left, or plunging to the right, sometimes with a gad-fly on its back, sometimes surrounded with a bay-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 63 pl. 15, 10 and 12, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 28 pl. 14, 37, *id. Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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

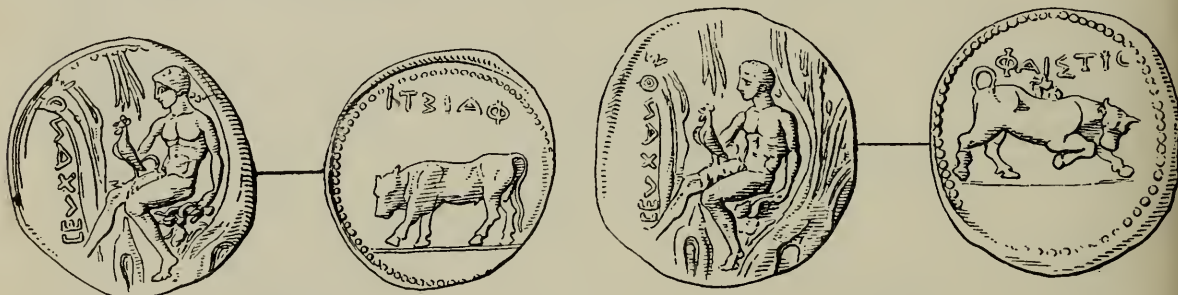


Fig. 838.

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 Κρησίν (so J. V. Perger for *κρυσίω* cod. Musurus cj. 'Ακρισίω). 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 *φέλκος*, 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*. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 62). And to bring in the Hesychian glosses ἡκανός· ὁ ἀλεκτρύων (A. J. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 76) and σέρκος· ἀλεκτρύων. καὶ ἀλεκτρορίδες σέλκες 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 **CEΛXANOS** 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 *φέλκ* glänzen abzuleiten, das in der Form *φλεκ* auch in dem Gottesnamen Ἡφέκτωρ Ὑπερίων der Sonnengott bei Homer wie in den mythischen Namen Ἡλέκτρα und Ἡλεκτρύων erscheint. Gleichen Stammes ist auch ἄβλαξ (= ἄ-φλαξ)· 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*<sup>4</sup> Göttingen 1890 i. 133 ('*Φελχάνος* = *Vulcânus*'), and last by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*<sup>2</sup> p. 853 f. ('Doch sind die angeführten Stützen für ein \**uelq-* 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*, *wilwe*, Anglo-Saxon *welig*, Dutch *wilg*, Low German *wilge*). 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. Lincei* 1905 xiv. 381 notes the discovery at *Hagia Triada* of numerous tiles incised with the name of the god *Φευχάνος*, a dialect form of *Φελχάνος*). (2) Gortyna (J. de Protte *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 range<sup>1</sup>.

Bosporos Kimmerios

Gorgippia<sup>2</sup>.

Tanais<sup>3</sup>.

Moesia

Naissos<sup>4</sup>.

Pirot<sup>5</sup>.

1 a very archaic inscription in retrograde lettering from the Pythion (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πύθιον)—[ια]ρά | τετελημέ[να] . . . . . υ | τῶι [F]ελχανί[ωι] -- α | ἐν τῶι πέντα[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 κοσμιόντων Κνωσοὶ μὲν τῶν | σὺν Κύδαντι [τ]ῶ(ι) Κύδαντος μηνὸς Ἐλχανίω, Λατοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | σὺν Διοκλεῖ τῶ(ι) Ἡρώδα μηνὸς Βακινθίω, ἐν δὲ Ὀλόντι τῶν σὺν Τηλεμάχω(ι) τῶ(ι) Γνώμιος μηνὸς [s] Ἄ . . . νίω, κ.τ.λ., where the month Ἐλχάνιος probably corresponded with our May—June). (4) Lyttos (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 61 ff. no. 6, 1 ff. ---|[τ]ῆς δόσεως τοῖς σταρτοῖς (=στρατοῖς, the classes of the Lyttian population) κατὰ | τὰ πάτρια καὶ 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· |[ἐ]δοξέν Κ[ρ]ηταιέων τῶι κοινῶι συνελ[θ]ουσῶν [τ]ᾶμ πολλίων πασῶν ἐς Βίλκω[να] (an unknown place in Crete) ἐς τὸ ἰε[ρ]ὸν τῶ Ἀπέλλωνος τῶ Βιλ[κ]ωνίω, ἀγουμένων Γορτυνίων ἐπὶ | κόσμω(ι) Κύδαντος τῶ Κυρνίω· κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 25 ff. τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τότε εἰστάλαν λιθίαν | ἀναγράψαντας ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῶ Ἄ[πελ]λωνος τῶ Βιλκωνίω, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Kern *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros* Berlin 1894 p. 14 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 472, W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 54 n. 2).

<sup>1</sup> The Tallaia range, midway between Oaxos and the sea, reaches a maximum height of 1092<sup>m</sup>. 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 Ταλαιός (Hesych. *s.v.* Ταλαιός cited *supra* i. 729 n. 1) or Ταλλαῖος at Dreros (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 463 (*ib.*<sup>3</sup> no. 527), 14 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 2) and at Olous (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 514 (*ib.*<sup>3</sup> 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 ἰαρώ(ι) τῶ Ζηνὸς 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.).

<sup>2</sup> Θεὸς Ἄψιστος (*supra* p. 883 n. 0 no. (27)).

<sup>3</sup> Θεὸς Ἄψιστος (*supra* p. 884 n. 0 no. (27)).

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

<sup>5</sup> Θεὸς Ἐπήκοος Ἄψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (11)).

Between *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*<sup>1</sup>.

**Thrace**

Anchialos<sup>2</sup>.

Perinthos<sup>3</sup>.

Selymbria<sup>4</sup>.

**Troas**

Mount Ide<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (11)).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ἰψιστος Ἐπόπτης (?) (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Δοφέλης (*supra* p. 874 n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Θεὸς Ἄγιος Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

<sup>5</sup> Mt Ide, a long range with numerous foot-hills (Strab. 583 σκολοπενδρώδης) and springs (πολυπίδαξ eight times in the *Il.*, cp. Plat. *legg.* 682 B), derived its name (*supra* p. 932 n. 1) from abundant woods of pine (schol. *Il.* 12. 20), pitch-pine (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 128), terebinth (*id. ib.* 13. 54), larch (*id. ib.* 16. 48), ash (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 11. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 62), bay (*id. ib.* 15. 131, Dioskor. 4. 145 (147) p. 624 f. Sprengel), fig (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 68), and raspberry (*id. ib.* 16. 180). Its inhabitants were familiar with silver fir, oak, plum, filbert, maple, ash, Phoenician cedar, prickly cedar, alder, beech, and sorb (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 6. 5). Here grew the magic herb *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 *aēr* to *aithēr* (*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 (Thrasyllus of Mendes *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 503 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 21 p. 85, 2 ff. Stählin. Cp. the *Phoronis frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129). Here too the herdsman Magnes discovered the loadstone, to which his hobnails and ferule stuck fast (Nikandros *frag.* 101 Schneider *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 127).

Diod. 17. 7 (after Kleitarchos (?): see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 683 f.) gives an interesting account of Mt Ide: 'There is a tradition that this mountain got its name from Ide daughter of Melisseus. It is the greatest of the ranges near the Hellespont and has in the midst of it a sacred cavern in which, they affirm, the goddesses were judged by Alexandros [Cp. bronze coins of Skepsis, struck by Caracalla, which show the judgment of Eros in place of Paris on Mt ΙΔΗ (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1883 x. 155 f. fig., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 291 f. pl. 9, 20, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 548). One specimen names the head·[Ι]ΔΗ (Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 139 no. 1 pl. 4, 15 and in his *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 42 no. 2 pl. 2, 2).

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



mountain-town Γάργαρος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρα, *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 f. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 757 f. cp. *Gargissa* some 33 kilometers to the north-east of it). Mt Ide in general was an important centre for the cult of Kybele (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1653, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2859, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 864 f., Schwenn *ib.* xi. 2287), who as 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' ἵκανε πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν, | Γάργαρον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις. | ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων, κατὰ δ' ἡέρα πουλὸν ἔχευεν. | αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῇσι καθέζετο κύδει γαίω, | εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν), on which as on the top of Troy Hektor used to burn for him the thigh-pieces of oxen (*Il.* 22. 169 ff. ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ | Ἔκτορος, ὅς μοι πολλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρὶ ἔκηεν | Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε | ἐν πόλει ἀκροτάτῃ). For the altar was served by those who claimed to be akin to Zeus and to have his blood running in their veins (Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 162 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Plat. *remph.* 391 E, cp. Strab. 580, Loukian. *Dem. enc.* 13, οἱ θεῶν ἀγχίσιποροι | οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς, ὧν κατ' Ἰδαίου πάγον | Διὸς πατρώου βωμός ἐστ' ἐν αἰθέρι, | κοῦπω σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἶμα δαιμόνων). Gargaros, eponym of the town, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρά· ... ὠνομάσθη δ' ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Λαρίσσης ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ = *et. mag.* p. 221, 31 f. ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, ὡς δημοῖ Νυμφίος (*leg.* Νύμφις) 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 ἱεὺς | Ἰδαίου ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὡς τίετο δῆμῳ). Epicharmos in his *Troes* made one of his characters pray to the Zeus of Gargara (Epicharm. *frag.* 130 Kaibel *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 20. 5 Ζεὺς ἀναξ, ἀν' ἄκρα (ανααδαν cod. G. Kaibel cj. ἀν' ἄκρα. F. G. Schneidewin cj. ἀν' Ἰδαν) ναίων Γαργάρων (so A. Meineke for γαργαρά cod.) ἀγάννιφα). Quintus Smyrnaeus did the same in the case of Priam (Quint. Smyrn. 1. 184 f. εὔχετ' ἐς ἱερὸν αἰπὸν τετραμμένον Ἰδαίου | Ζηνός, ὃς Ἴλιον αἰὲν εἰὸς ἐπιδέρεται ὄσσοις); 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 πατρί, καὶ εὔχεο οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι κ.τ.λ., 290 f. ἀλλ' εὔχεο σύ γ' ἔπειτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίῳ | Ἰδαίῳ, ὃς τε Τροίην κατὰ πᾶσαν ὀράται, 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 ἠῦδα· | 'Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε, | δός μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἔλθειν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν, | πέμψον δ' οἰωνόν, ταχὺν ἄγγελον,' κ.τ.λ.). Virgil and the pseudo-Plutarch associate the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος with that of the Phrygian mother-goddess (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 139 f. *Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine Matrem* | *invocat* (*sc.* Aeneas), Plout. *de flux.* 13. 3 παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ) ὄρος Ἰδῆ, τὸ πρότερον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Γάργαρον· ὄπον Διὸς καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν βωμοὶ τυγχάνουσιν). Lastly, writers of the Graeco-Roman age treat Gargaron as an appropriate background for the myth of Ganymedes (Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 2, *Charid.* 7) or that of Paris (Ov. *her.* 16. 107 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 20. 1).

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

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(Σ) ΚΗΨΙΩΝ 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 [ἡ γ]ερουσία | [τὸν] ἱερέα τοῦ Δι[ὸς τ]οῦ Ἰδαίου καὶ | [τῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν Γ[ν][αῖ]ον Φλάβιον Ὀλυ[μ][πι]οδώρου υἱὸν | [Ῥ]ολ[υμ]-



Fig. 842.



Fig. 843.

πιόδωρον, | [τὸ]ν ἐκ προγόνω[ν] | [τῆ]ς πατρίδος εὐ[εργέ]τ(η)ν καὶ ἔαυ[τῆ]ς σ[υ]μ[μ]ποσιάρχην). 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· ἡ τῷ τῆς Κρήτης, ἡ τῷ τῆς Τροίας. ἀντιποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ Τρῶες τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, καθὰ φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος): 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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. Pétr.* 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.v. ‘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 Ἰδης ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ κειμένη, ἣν κατῶκουν Λέλεγες· ἐξ ἧς διὰ τὸ κρυῶδες ὑποκατέβησαν οἱ Γαργαρεῖς, καὶ ὤκισαν 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 Πολυμήδιον ἐστὶ χωρίον τι ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, εἴτ’ ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα Ἄσσοσ (so C. Mannert for ἄλσος codd.), μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, εἴτ’ ἐν ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα Γάργαρα· κείται δὲ τὰ Γάργαρα ἐπ’ ἄκρας ποιούσης τὸν ἰδίως Ἀδραμυττηνὸν καλούμενον κόλπον. Assuming Strabon’s distances to be cumulative, not consecutive, he infers that Palaiā Gargaros is the ruined town with walls of polygonal masonry still to be seen on the top of *Kozlu Dagħ* 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 *Ođjak Kaya*, the most westerly summit of the *Dikeli Dagħ*, which rises immediately behind *Tschibne* to a height of 780<sup>m</sup>. Palaia Gargaros (wrongly equated by Clarke with *Lamponeia*) was visited by E. Fabricius, who reports that it has terrace-walls of 'Cyclopean'

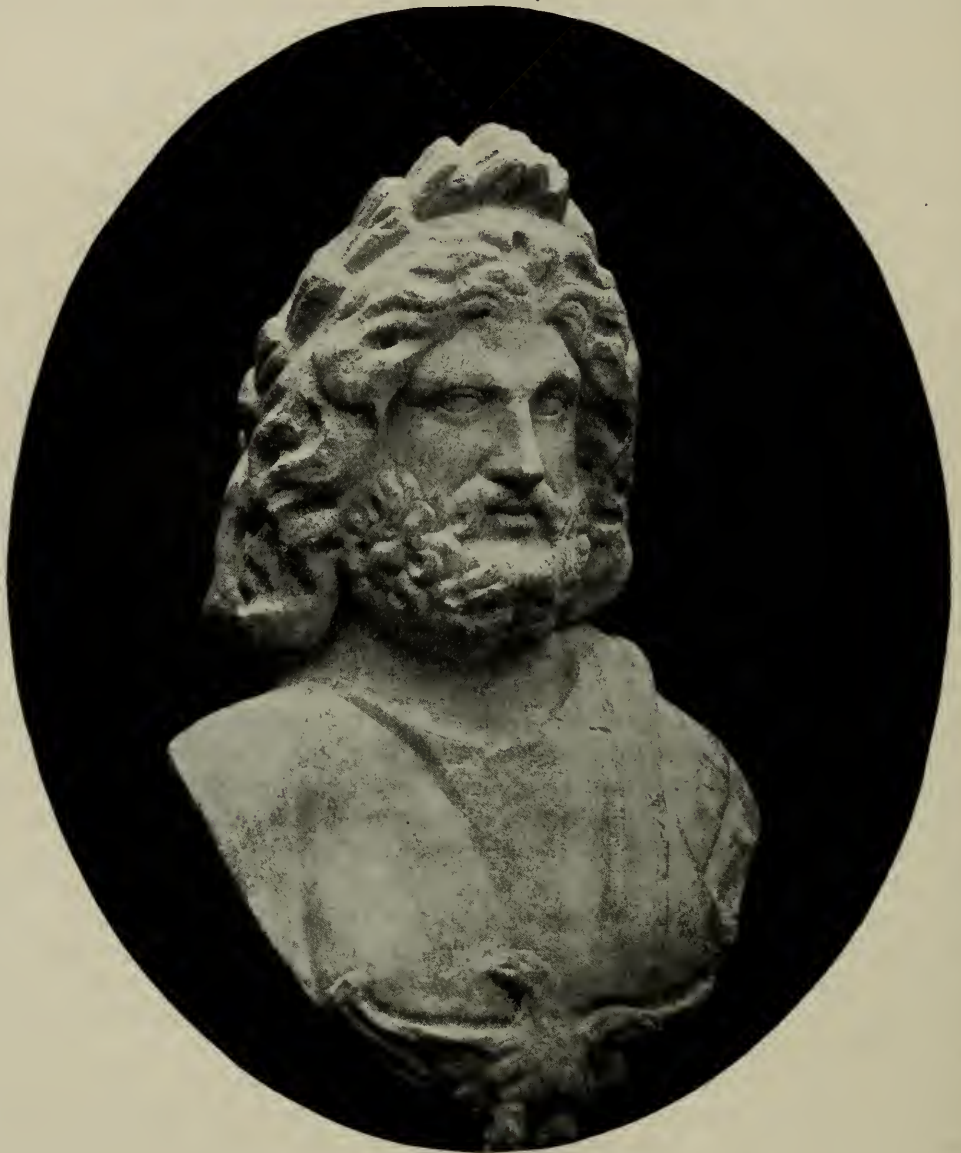


Fig. 844.

masonry well adapted for the erection of houses and an elliptical *akrópolis* enclosed by a ring-wall (now *c.* 1<sup>m</sup> high, *c.* 3<sup>m</sup> thick) some 500<sup>m</sup> round. On the west side of this wall is a gateway (2·35<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>).

## Mysia

Kyzikos<sup>1</sup>.Mount Olympos<sup>2</sup>.Pergamon<sup>3</sup>.

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

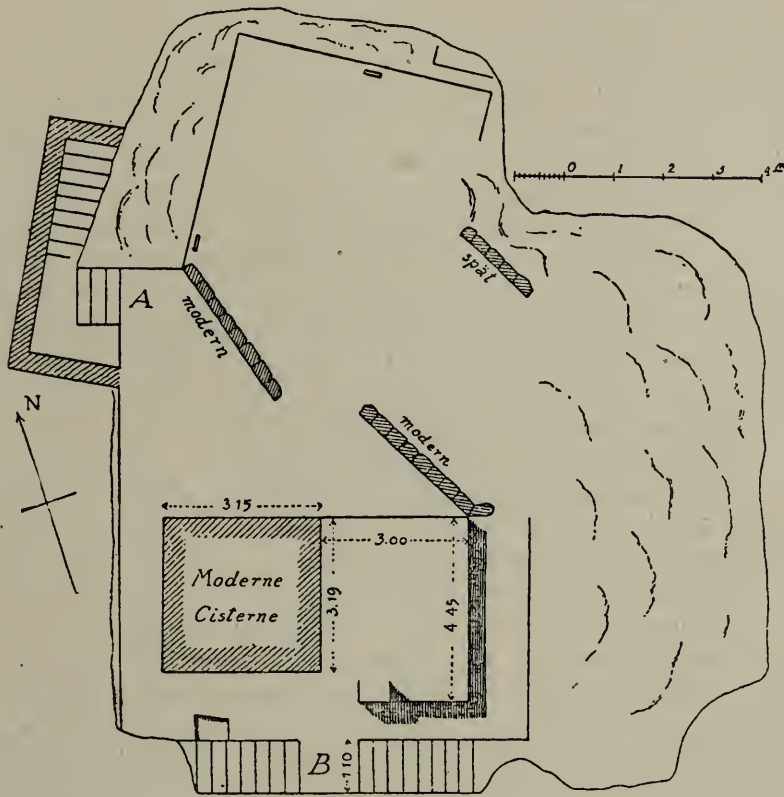


Fig. 845.

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.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ἰψιστος and Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 881 n. 0 no. (21)).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (Mnaseas frag. 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap. schol. T. II.* 20. 234 Μνασέας μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Ταυτάλου ἠρπάσθαι (sc. Γανυμήδην) καὶ ἐν κνηγεσίῳ πεσόντα ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς). *Supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124.

<sup>3</sup> The district of Pergamon was of old sacred to the Kabeiroi (Paus. i. 4. 6 ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβείρων ἱεράν 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 τούτοις καὶ μυστήρια, ἃ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχειν πεπίστευται ὥστε χειμῶνων τε ἐξαισίων (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 Saxonum 1911 p. 143 f.), was perhaps at one time carried on in connexion with the apsidal building hidden by the foundations of the great Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 120). They are represented on the large frieze of that altar as two youthful warriors attacking a huge bovine giant with double axe and sword respectively (*supra* i. 110 n. 4). Coppers of Severus Alexander (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 158 pl. 32, 3) and Gallienus (*ib.* p. 162 pl. 32, 8) show two youthful male figures standing on either side of an altar: one



is handing to the other a ram's head. H. von Fritze in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 ff. and in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 63 f. pl. 6, 1 identifies them with the Kabeiroi, aptly citing a Pergamene decree first published by B. Schroeder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 152 ff. no. 1 (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 764, 6 μυστηρίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς Καβείροις κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 27 καὶ τὰ κριοβόλια τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων μεταπαιδιᾶς 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 Γρύνειος as F. G. Welcker *Sylloge epigrammatum Graecorum*<sup>2</sup> Bonnae 1828 p. 231 and A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538 supposed, nor Apollon Χρηστήριος of Aigai as M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 thought probable, but Apollon Κλάριος as C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 190 ff. and in his *Épiphèse 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 Σαβάξιος: *supra* p. 287 n. 2), and to Asklepios, and feasting themselves on bull's flesh (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538 = M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 f. = Kaibel *Épigr. Gr.* no. 1035 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 172). The oracle begins:

Τηλεφίδαῖς, οἱ Ζηνὶ πλέον Κρονίδη βασιλῆϊ  
ἐξ ἄλλων τεισκοόμενοι Τευθραντίδα γαῖαν  
ναίουσιν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐρισμαράγοιο γενέθλη  
ἡμὲν Ἀθηναίη πολεμηδόκω ἀτρυτώνη  
ἠδὲ Δι(ω)νύσωι λαθικηδέϊ φυσιζώωι  
ἠδὲ καὶ εἰητήρι νόσ(ω)ν Παιήονι λυγρῶν·  
οἰσι πάρ' Οὐρανοῦ νῆες ἐθηήσαντο Κάβειροι  
πρῶτοι Περγαμῆς ὑπὲρ ἄκ(ρι)ος ἀ(σ)τε(ρ)ο(πητ)ή(ν)  
τικτόμενον Δία, μητρῶιην ὅτε (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]αθῆι τύχηι.  
[Οὐλύμποιο] μέτωπον, ἄκρην Τειτηνίδα, ναίων,  
[ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα,] χαῖρε. λιταζομένωμ πολιητέωμ  
[κλύθι, πάτερ μ]ακάρων τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτων ἀνθρώπων,  
5 [λαμπρῶς οὐραν]ῆιν ἐφέπων ἔτυν αἰγλήεσαν,  
[δημιοεργέ βίου] πεφατισμένε σοῖς ὑπὸ φύλοισ·  
[τῶν ἀγαθῶν γὰρ] φαῦλα διακρέιναι πάρος ὕλης  
[πᾶσιν ἔδωκας χ]ρῆσιν ἐπάρκιον ἡμερλοισιν,  
[νείμας καὶ γαῖάν] τε πολύκλυστον τε θάλασσαν,  
10 [αἰθέρα καὶ πά]ντ' ἄλλα, τὰ σὴ ποιήσατο μήτις.  
[ἐλθέ σε κληῖζο]υσι, μάκαρ, μάκαρ, εἴλαος ἡμῖν  
καὶ πτό[λιν ἰθύν]ουσιν ἀμύμοισιν Περγαμίδαισιν,  
ἐλθέ σὺν ἰητήρι θεῶμ Παιήονι κλειτῶι  
θεσπεσίην Ἐγείαν ἐς ἀγλαὰ δώματ' ἄγοντι  
15 Εὐνομίηι τε καὶ Εὐστασίηι λιπαρῆι τ' Εἰρήνηι  
Ἥρηι τε ζυγίηι, ἀλόχῳ σέο κυδέσσει,  
καὶ Θέμδι ἀρχ[εγ]όνωι, προυφητίδι καρτεροβούλωι,  
καὶ γάμον [ἀζο]μένηι γλαυκώπιδι Τριτογενείηι  
κ[α]ὶ [παίδων μεδ]έοντι διακτόρωι Ἐρμάωνι  
20 [καὶ Μοίραις κλυμέ]νηισιν ἀμύμοισιν Ἀδ[ρ]ηστ[ε]ίαις.

- [κοίρανος οὐρα]νίαισι κεκασμένους ἤνε[κ]ες ὤραις,  
 [ἦρι περιστέλλο]ντι κ[ό]μην εὐθρεπτον ἀ[ρ]ούραις  
 [ἡδὲ θέρει καρπὸν πολι]όσταχυν ἀμώντ[ι]  
 [πορφύρεβν τε τρυγῶν]τι βότρυν λιπαρῶι μ[ε]θοπώρω[ι]  
 25 [καὶ χειμῶνι βροτοῖς] ὄρην εὐκρητον ἄγο[ντ]ι,  
 [ἐλθέ πόλιν σώζ]ειμ, μάκαρ, ὄλβιε, καὶ λ[ύ]ε πῆμα,  
 [ὅττι κακῶς ὠμῶς τ]ε κατὰ φρένας ἔλλ[α]βεν ἡμᾶς.  
 [ταρβέομεν γὰρ πάν]τες αἰε κήτεια [πέλωρα]  
 [λοίμης· ἦ μάλα λ]αδν ἄρειον ἀμ[ύ]μονα τρύχει,  
 30 [οἴστρωι λυσσηέ]ντι κατ[ασκήπτουσα πολίταις].  
 [ἀλλὰ σύ, κάρπιμ]ε 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) *ιερείων τῶν θυομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγᾶμω· 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) | Ἐπιγένη[ς] καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατ[ιῶ]ται | οἱ συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γ[α]λάτας | καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχας χαρισ[τ]ήρια | Διὶ, Ἀθηνᾶι. | Ἐ(πι)γόνου ἔργα) 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 | εἶδρυνσε 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 Ἀρεία and ἡ Ταυροπόδος (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.*<sup>2</sup> no. 592, 27 ff. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμένῃ | βέβαια Ἀσκληπιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνου τοῖς | Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἐπιτελεῖν ὀρκωμόσιον τὴν πόλιν | ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος τῶι βωμῶ[ι] | καὶ ὀμόσαι 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 χρυσοῦν ἐφιππον ἐπὶ στυλίδος μαρμαρίνης παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς [τ]οῦ Σωτήρος βωμόν, ὅπως ὑπάρχηι ἡ | εἰκὼν ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κ.τ.λ.*); but this must refer to the *agorá* at Elaia, not at Pergamon (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 156).



## Aiolis

Temnos<sup>1</sup>.

## Lydia

Mount Sipylos<sup>2</sup>.

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

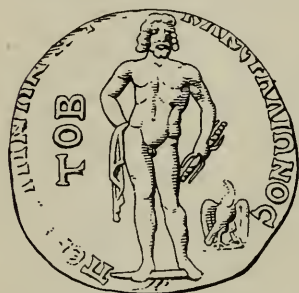


Fig. 846.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (9)).

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

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

Philadelpheia<sup>1</sup>.

Mount Tmolos<sup>2</sup>.

Tralleis<sup>3</sup>.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> According to Eumelos, Zeus was born in Lydia; and on the top of Mt Tmolos, west of Sardeis, was a place called Γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετίου and subsequently Δεύσιον (*Lyd. de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 14 ff. Wunsch Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορινθῖος (*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 Τιμόλου τόπος ἐστίν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν Γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετίου νῦν δὲ παρατραπίσης τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως Δεύσιον (G. Kinkel prints Δευσίου 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 Σαβάζιος brought the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos (Orph. *h. Sabaz.* 48. 1 ff. κλύθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου νιέ, Σαβάζιε, κύδιμε δαίμον, | ὃς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, εἰραφιώτην | μηρῷ ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθη | Τιμόλων ἐς ἠγάθειον παρὰ 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 Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 257 f.). See further K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 16 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 284 n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Tralleis (*Aidin*) occupied a high plateau on a southern spur of Mt Messogis. Its *akropolis* (320<sup>m</sup>) 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 φασι εἶναι τὰς Τράλλεις Ἀργείων καὶ τινῶν Θρακῶν Τραλλίων, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦνομα, *cp.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τραλλία and Diod. 17. 65). A bronze coin struck by M. Aurelius has for reverse type ΤΡΑΛΛΕΥ C ΚΤΙCCTHC (*sic*) Tralleus as a soldier, standing to left, with right hand outstretched and left supported on spear (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 203 no. 642 b, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 661).

Larisa, a village higher up on the slopes of Messogis, thirty stades from Tralleis, gave its name to Zeus Λαρίσιος (Strab. 440 (in a list of towns called Λαρίσα) καὶ τῶν Τράλλεων διέχουσα κώμη τριάκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Καῦστρου πεδίου διὰ τῆς Μεσσωγίδος ἰόντων κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰσοδρόμης Μητρὸς ἱερὸν, ὁμοίαν τὴν θέσει καὶ τὴν ἀρετῇ ἐχουσα τῇ Κρεμαστῇ Λαρίσῃ (so *cod. A*, with another σ added by the second hand. *λαρίσση 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 ἐκέϊθεν ἐπωνόμασται*), as did Larisa on the Caystrian Plain to Apollon *Λαρισηνός* (Strab. 620: *id. ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα* has *Λαρισηνός*). Pythodoros of Tralleis, the friend of Pompey, is mentioned along with *Μηρόδωρος, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ ἄλλως σεμνὸς καὶ βαρὺς, ἔχων τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισαίου* (Strab. 649). The name *Λάρισα* seems, however, to have been assimilated to the Carian place-names *Ἄρπασα, Βάργασα, Μύλασα, Πήδασα*, etc. (cp. Ptol. 6. 2. 13 *Λάρασα* in Media); for Zeus *Λαρίσιος* or *Λαρισαῖος* regularly appears on coins and in inscriptions as Zeus *Λαράσιος*. His cult, the most important of all cults at Tralleis, has been well studied by J. O. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares cultio 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. Bürchner 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, | Ἐνδρονίκου (νί)όν, | τὸν ἀγορανόμον, | τὸν ὑπέρτατον | λογιστ(ή)ν καὶ | σωτήρα καὶ | κτίστην τῆς | πατρίδος, | τῆς λαμπροτάτης | πόλε(ω)ς τῆς νε|ωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | ἱερᾶς τοῦ Διός, 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. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 111 ff. no. 12 (time of Caracalla) *Φλάουιον Φ[λ](αουίου) | Διαδοῦμενον | (ἐπίτροπον?) | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑπ[α]τικῶν συγγενῆ | ἡ κρατίστη <ι> Κλαυδία | βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ[μο]ς [τῆς] | λαμπροτάτης [μητρο]πόλεως τῆς [Ἀσίας καὶ] | νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ ἱερᾶς τοῦ [Διὸς τοῦ Λα]ρασίου κ[ατὰ τὰ δόγματα] | τῆς ἱερωτάτης συνκλήτου Kaisa[ρέων Τραλλια]νῶν πόλ[εως] | διὰ τὴν (ὑ)περ(τ)ά[την?] | ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖ[ς καὶ λειτουργ]γίαις 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 | [τό]δε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός, Μ. Pappakonstantinou Αἰ Τράλλεις ἤτοι συλλογῆ Τραλλιανῶν ἐπιγραφῶν Athens 1895 no. 42 (of s. iii B.C.) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σελευκείων* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 108) . . . *ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ [?] προ* (suppl. J. O. Schäfer)] *νάφ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ* or Zeus *Λαράσιος* (A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 466 ff., v. 11 ff. (of s. iii B.C.) [*ἀναγ*]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε εἰς τ[ὰς περὶ τούτων ἐπι[σκευασθείσας στήλας καὶ στή]σαι μίαν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρ]ασίου, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν | [ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθη]νᾶς, Μ. Pappakonstantinou in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 411 no. 2, 5 ff. *ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δ(ἐ) αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλε[ως ὡς καὶ] τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην | [καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρ]ασίου, κ.τ.λ., A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 318 ff. no. 143, 66 ff. (a decree of Seleukeia (Tralleis) cited in a pact of 212/11 B.C. between Miletos and Seleukeia) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις συ[ν]τελέσαι θυσία[ν] τῷ Διὶ τῷ Λα[ρ]ασίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας κα[ὶ] | [τοὺς (8—10 letters missing) καὶ τοὺς θ]εοκ[όλου]ς ἐπευχομένους συννεγκεῖν ἀμφοτέραις | [ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα καὶ εἶναι] ἐπὶ σωτηρία καὶ εὐτυχία· ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην] καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ | [Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρ]ασίου· 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 ψηφί[σ][μ]ατα εἰς στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ ἰσῆται τῆμ μὲν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[οῦ] | [Δ]ιὸς τοῦ Λα[ρ]ασίου 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 b = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii. 200 no. 597 (beneath a well-carved eagle *minus* its head) *Διογένης Ὀρθί[ων]ος Θεῶ Διὶ εὐχα[ρ]ιστῶν τούτους | δύ' ἀετοὺς ἀνέ[θηκε]. The formula Θεῶ Διὶ is exceptional and sounds like a Latinism, cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 80, 1 f. deo | Iovi and the like) and an effigy of Dionysos (M. Pappakonstantinou Αἰ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ. no. 150 *ἀγαθὴ τύχη· τῷ Διὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ἀγαθήμερος ἱερός* (on this title see G. Cardinali 'Note di terminologia epigrafica II Ἱεροί' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1908 xvii. 165 ff., O. Kern 'Hieroi und Hierai' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 300 ff., Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1471 ff.)).****

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





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 Δυδοίς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἑταιρεῖν, ἀπαξ δὲ καταξευχθείσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν (but hardly the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 915 n. 6). The significance of such customs in general is disputed (see e.g. M. P. Nilsson *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* Lundae 1900 pp. 119-121, *id. Gr. Feste* pp. 365-367, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 914-917, F. Cumont *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*<sup>2</sup> Paris 1909 pp. 143-286, H. Ploss-M. Bartels *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*<sup>10</sup> Leipzig 1913 i. 614-616, 648-654, Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>3</sup> i. 36 ff., 57 ff.) and investigators have been apt to confuse similar effects produced by dissimilar causes (see E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189-202). The Trallian inscription perhaps implies that women, believed to represent a mother-goddess, used to mate with men, believed to represent a father-god, their union being thought to promote the fruitfulness of the land and its occupants. If so, the παλλακίδες may have been comparable with the Egyptian παλλακίδες of Zeus Θηβαιεύς (Hdt. i. 182 (*supra* i. 348 n. 1), cp. Hekataios of Abdera *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 390 Müller) *ap.* Diod.<sup>4</sup> 1. 47 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων τάφων, ἐν οἷς παραδέδοται τὰς παλλακίδας τοῦ Διὸς τεθάφθαι, κ.τ.λ., Strab. 816 τῷ δὲ Δί, δν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐειδιστάτη καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱεράται, ἃς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παλλάδας (Xylander *cj.* παλλακάς. W. Dindorf *cj.* παλλακίδας. But see G. Kramer *ad loc.*): αὕτη δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γέννηται κάθαρσις τοῦ σώματος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδεται πρὸς ἄνδρα· πρὶν δὲ δοθῆναι, πένθος αὐτῆς ἄγεται μετὰ τὸν τῆς παλλακειᾶς καιρὸν). And the ἀνιπτόποδες recall the priests of Zeus at Dodona (*Il.* 16. 234 ff. Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων, | Δωδῶνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ | σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες, 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 659) have *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* humped bull, with ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above and magistrate's name below, all within maeander-border (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtminzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 169 pl. 7, 7). Some specimens add ΔΙΟΣ above and ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ below the bull (*id. ib.* p. 169 no. 3). One, in place of the maeander, gives ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ (*sic*) (*id. ib.* p. 169 f. no. 4), cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 985, 6 ff. (Philadelpheia in Lydia: s. i B.C.) Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ Ἑστίας 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

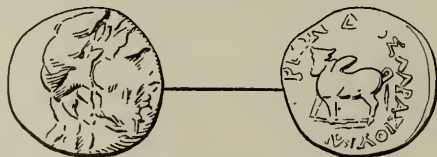


Fig. 847.

imperial times have sometimes *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* Δ[ΙΟΣ] 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 ΡΑΙΟΙΟΣ bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.*

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

bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.* ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ humped bull walking to right, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 101 f.), or ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ bunch of grapes, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 103). Other imperial coppers represent Zeus *Λαράσιος* as a seated figure, who wears a *himátion* round his legs, holds Nike on his outstretched right hand, and rests upon a sceptre with his left (*ib.* p. 340 no. 93 ΛΑΡΑΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕ ΩΝ time of Nero—Domitian, p. 345 no. 129 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΛΑΡΑΚΙ ΟΣ 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.* ΔΙΟΚΓΟΝΑΙ the infant Zeus asleep on a mountain with an eagle hovering above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 661. *Supra* i. 151 fig. 119, 535 n. o). Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 13 rightly rejects B. V. Head's former view that the legend is Διὸς Γοναί(ου). Cp. Aristodemos of Thebes *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 310 Müller) *ap. schol.* *Il.* 13. 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν Ἔκτωρ ὁ Πριάμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν εὐτύχησε τιμῆν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτία Θηβαῖοι πιεζόμενοι κακοῖς ἔμαντεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. χρησμός δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδόθη παύσεσθαι τὰ δεινά, εἰ ἐξ Ὀφρυνίου τῆς Τρωάδος τὰ Ἔκτορος ὄστᾶ διακομισθῶσιν εἰς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον τόπον Διὸς Γονάς. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχον Ἔκτορα, κατὰ τε τοὺς ἐπείγοντας καιροὺς ἐπικαλοῦνται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀριστοδήμῳ = Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 18, 7 ff. with Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1585. (2) A copper of M. Aurelius has *rev.* the infant Zeus suckled by a goat (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 472 no. 723). (3) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* the infant Zeus nursed by Rhea, with an eagle on the ground at her feet and three Kouretes clashing their shields about her (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadt Münzen* p. 177 f. pl. 7, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 347 pl. 36, 5 (*supra* i. 151 fig. 121 from a cast), *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 661). (4) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ΕΙΟΥΓΓΑΜΟ[Ι] Io in long robe and bridal veil led towards the left by Hermes, who wears a *chlamýs* and holds a *caduceus* in his right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 348 pl. 36, 8, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *himátion* extending his right hand to a fully draped and veiled female figure (Io?), who stands in the entrance of a wattle shed or hut (perhaps the βούστασις of Aisch. *P. v.* 651 ff. σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ ἴπολακτίσης λέχος | τὸ Ζηνός, ἀλλ' ἐξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν | λειμῶνα, ποιμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός, | ὡς ἂν τὸ Διὸν ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πύθου) (so B. V. Head and W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1903 iii. 337 f. no. 30 pl. 12, 1 (=my fig. 848 from a cast) with the alternative suggestion (*ib.* p. 338 n. 45): 'Or the scene...may possibly refer to a later incident, when Io, at the Egyptian Canopus, is restored to sanity by the gentle touch of Zeus's hand and becomes the mother of Epaphus the ancestor of the Argive Danaoi' [Aisch. *P. v.* 846 ff.], *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 661). *À 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

Smyrna<sup>1</sup>.Ephesos<sup>2</sup>.

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 Πεισαῖος, Κεραύνιος Σωτήρ, Τερμινθεύς, Ὀμοβούλιος und Καταιβάτης; endlich ist ein kleiner Altar Διὸς ἐλπίδων gefunden').

Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. 0 no. (17)).

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (8)).

<sup>2</sup> The Zeus-cult of the Ephesians can be traced back to the first half of s. vii B.C. (Kallin. *frag.* 4 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 2 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Strab. 633 ἡνίκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλίνος πού οὕτως ἠνόμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφεσίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ· 'Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέησον'· καὶ πάλιν· 'μνήσαι δ' εἰ κοτέ τοι μηρία καλὰ 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 ὑπέρεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοις ὄρος ὁ Σολμισσός, ὅπου στάντας φασὶ τοὺς Κουρήτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ὄπλων ἐκπλήξαι τὴν Ἥραν ζήλοτύπως ἐφεδρέουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχείαν τῇ Λητοί. κ.τ.λ.).

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

Bronze coins issued at Ephesos by Domitian (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 75 no. 215) and Severus Alexander (*ib.* p. 93 pl. 14, 7 (= my



Fig. 849.

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 Μαγνητίδας). And Hadrian as his vicegerent shared the honours of his festival (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2810, 17 f. Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, iii no. 5913, 30 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1102, 30 f. Ἐφεσον τρίς Ἀδριάνια Ὀλύμπια, Βαβύλλη 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.*

Magnesia ad Maeandrum<sup>1</sup>.Miletos<sup>2</sup>.**Karia**Halikarnassos<sup>3</sup>.Myndos<sup>4</sup>.Iasos<sup>5</sup>.Lagina<sup>6</sup>.Mylasa<sup>7</sup>.Panamara<sup>8</sup>.Stratonikeia<sup>9</sup>.

vet.<sup>2</sup> 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 Διοπετές as having fallen from Zeus (Acts 19. 35 τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οἶσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦς; Oikoumenios *comm. in acta apost.* 19. 18—34 (cxviii. 253 Migne) δείκνυσι πολλὴν εἶναι τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν τῶν Ἐφεσίων ὁ γραμματεὺς ἔκ τε τοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ εἶδωλον αὐτῆς τιμᾶν, ὅπερ καὶ Διοπετές ἔλεγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός. ἦτοι γὰρ τὸ ὄστρακον ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνο πάντες (*leg.* πάντως) Διοπετές τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν, ἦτοι καταπτὰν καὶ γενόμενον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγαλμα, ἦτοι τὸ Παλλάδιον, καθὼς ἐμύθεον οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀκεραιότερων, ὅπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς διαπλασθῆναι ᾤοντο 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 *expos. in acta* text. alt. 29 (cxv. 1013 Migne) 'καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦς.' τὸ εἶδωλον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐκαλεῖτο Διοπετές ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός. ἦτοι τὸ ὄστρακον [ἔλεγον] ἐκεῖνο πάντως Διοπετές τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν ἦτοι καταπτῶν (*leg.* καταπτὰν) καὶ οὐ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καθὼς ἐμύθεον Ἕλληνες, Isidoros of Pelousion 4 *epist.* 207 (lxxviii. 1299 Migne) οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι τὰ ξάνα κατασκευάσαντες, φόβον ἐμποῖησαι τοῖς ὀρώσι βουλόμενοι, ἔφασκον ὅτι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη ἡ κατέπτη, κρεῖττον ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός. διὸ καὶ διοπετές αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας προσηγόρευον = Souid. *s.v.* διοπετές. ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερχόμενον. ὅτι οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι τὰ ξάνα κατασκευάζοντες, φόβον ἐμποῖησαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς ὀρώσιν, ἔφασκον ὅτι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη καὶ κατέπτη, κρεῖττον ὑπάρχον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός καὶ ἀνάλωτον. ὅθεν καὶ διοπετές αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας ἐκάλον, Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 2. 5 (lxvii. 945 C Migne) γυμνωθέντες δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ῥοπῆς οἱ νεωκόροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς προῦδωκαν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώματα καὶ τὰ διοπετῆ καλούμενα). Cp. the passages cited by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1527 C, to which add Apollod. 3. 12. 3 τὸ διοπετές Παλλάδιον, Konon *narr.* 34 τὸ διοπετές Ἀθηναῖς Παλλάδιον, Io. Philop. *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀρ.* 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.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (7)).

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (5)).

<sup>4</sup> Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (6)).

<sup>5</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

<sup>6</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

<sup>7</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Ὅσογῶα or Ζηνοποσειδῶν see *supra* p. 576 ff.; and for Zeus Λαβραῦνδος or Zeus Στράτιος, *supra* pp. 576 ff., 585 ff., 705.

<sup>8</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Πανάμαρος, Πανήμερος, Πανήμεριος see *supra* i. 18 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).



## Kos

Kos<sup>1</sup>.

## Bithynia

Prousa ad Olympum<sup>2</sup>.

## Phrygia

Aizanoi<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. ο no. (18)).

<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 517). A later coin-type gives two agonistic urns, with palms and five balls (? apples, cp. *supra* p. 490 n. ο 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 bear 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.

<sup>3</sup> Aizanoi (*Tchavdir-Hissar*) (*Aizanis* only Ptol. 5. 2. 17 *ed. pr.*), the chief town of Aizanitis in Phrygia Epiktetos (Strab. 576), is situated on a high plateau (1085<sup>m</sup> above the sea) near the sources of the river Rhyndakos. Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσώδιας* I (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 (*οὐανόβν*) and a hedgehog (*ἔξιπ*). The gods were satisfied and sent fertility again. Thereupon the people chose Euphorbos as their priest and ruler (*ιερέα καὶ ἄρχοντα*), the town being called Ἐξουάνουον after his sacrifice. Cp. the coins of Aizanoi (second half

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



Fig. 853.

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



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

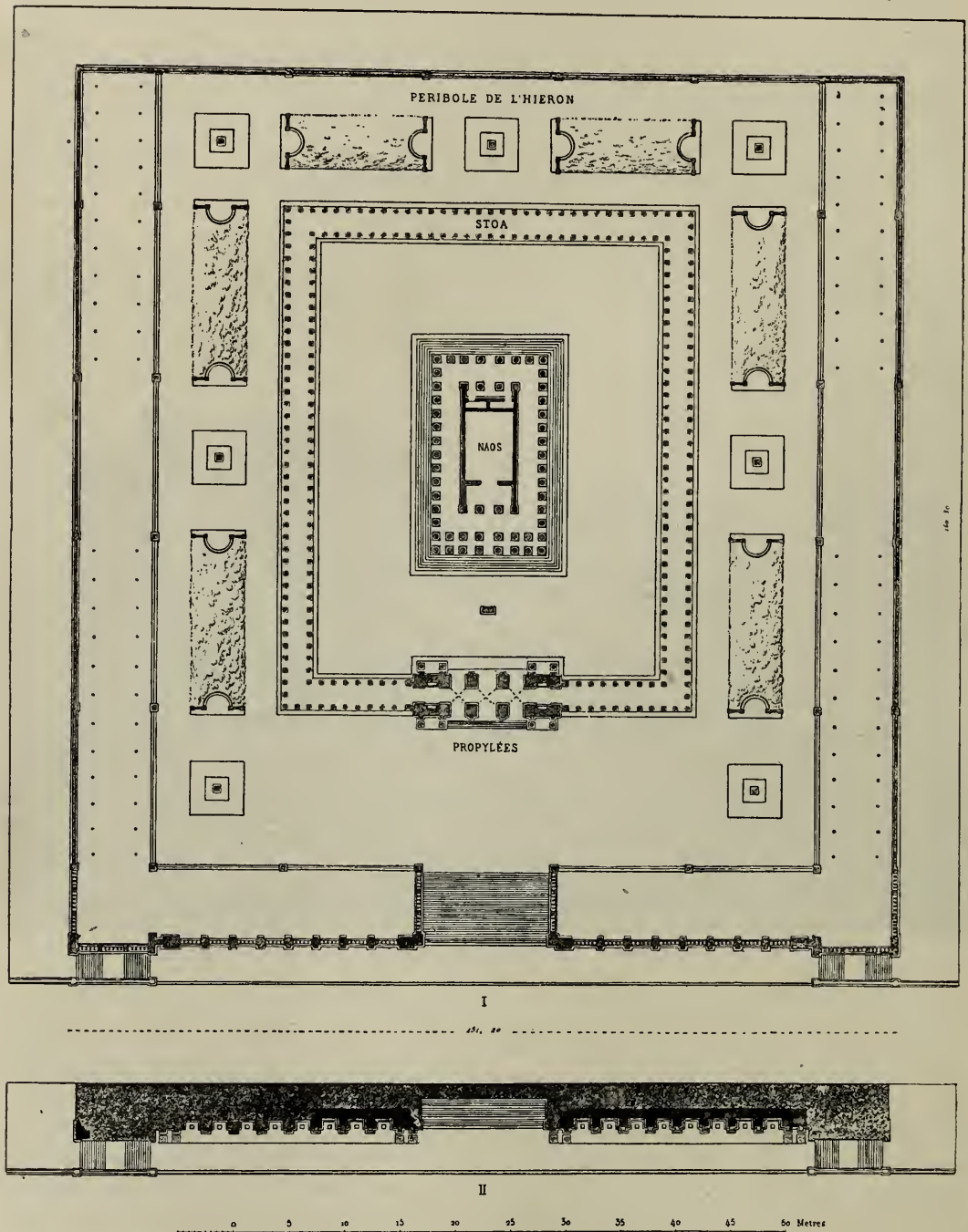


Fig. 854.

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

Inscriptions record a priest of Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3831 *a*<sup>1</sup>, 2 ff. Μηρόφιλον Νεικοστράτου | ιερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς δεκάκις, no. 3831 *a*<sup>3</sup>, 2 ff. Μενεκλέα | Μενεκλέους, υἱὸν τῆς | πόλεως, ιερατεύσαντα | δις τοῦ Διός, no. 3831 *a*<sup>9</sup>, 7 f. ιερατεύσαντα τοῦ |

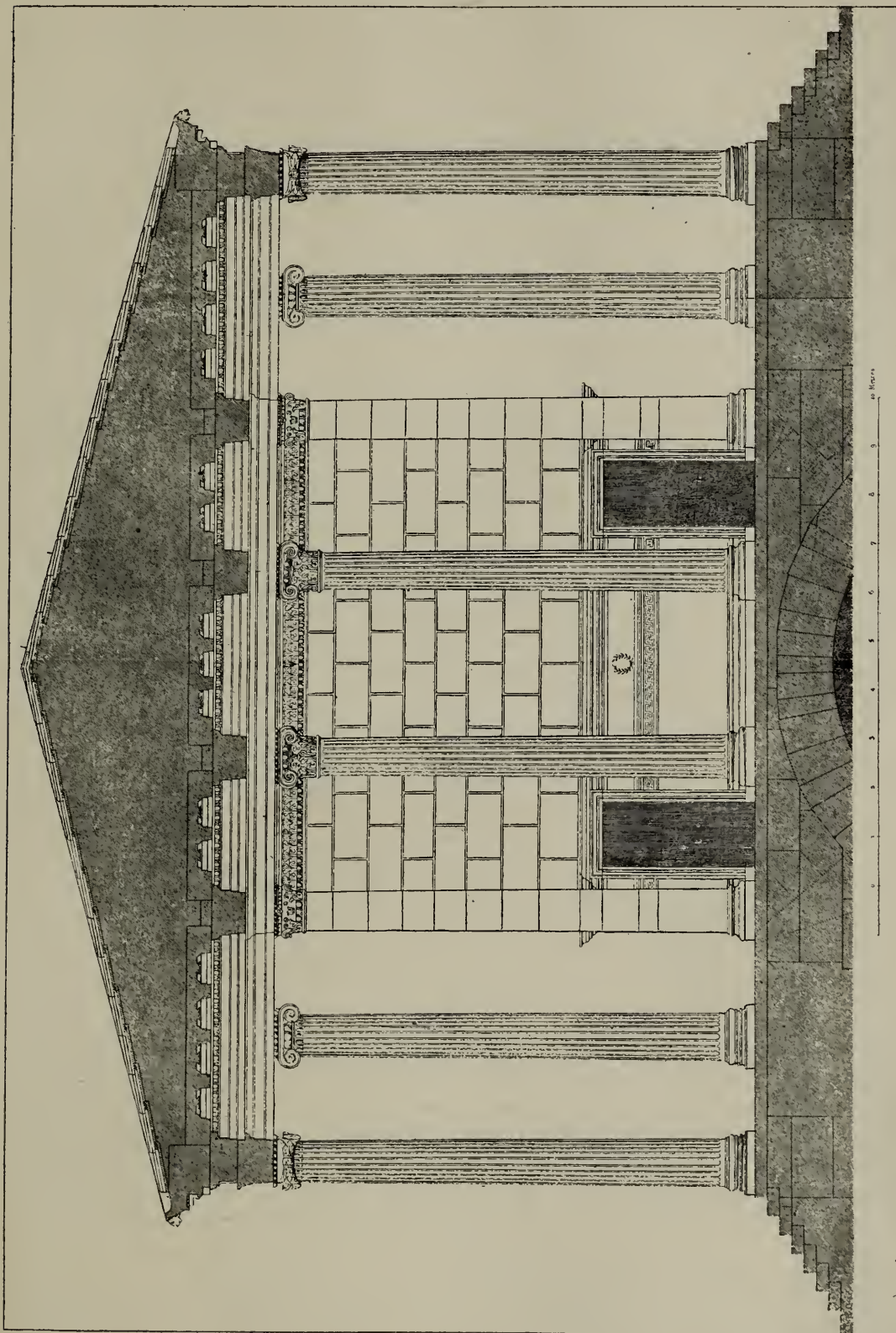


Fig. 855.

[Διός]) and a νεωκόρος of Zeus (*ib.* no. 3831 *a*<sup>4</sup>, 4 ff. Ἰουλιανὸν Τρύφωνος, νεωκόρον τοῦ Διὸς | διὰ βίου, no. 3831 *a*<sup>7</sup>, 2 f. Ὀρδ(εώ)γιον Ἀντιόχου, νε[ωκ]ό[ρον] [τ]ο[ῦ] Διός, cp. no. 3841 *a*, 8 ff. ὁ νεωκόρος | τοῦ Διός, ἱερός | καὶ (ἄσυλος) (Ἀ)ί(ζα)[νειτ](ῶν) δῆμος | [ἐκ



Akmoneia<sup>1</sup>.Apameia<sup>2</sup>.Laodikeia ad Lycum<sup>3</sup>.

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

The neokorate is further evidenced by coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 28 no. 34 ἐπὶ Ἴου. Οὐλπι. Σενηρείου ἀρχινεωκόρω (*sic*), no. 35 pl. 5, 6 ἐπὶ Ἴου. Σενηρείου 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 ΔΙΟΣ).' Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 664).

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



Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

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

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

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

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

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

Nakoleia<sup>1</sup>.

Synnada<sup>2</sup>.

Upper valley of the Tembrogios or Tembrios<sup>3</sup>.

#### Galatia

Mount Agdos<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Θεός Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

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

<sup>3</sup> Θεός Ὑψιστος = Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς (*supra* p. 883 n. o no. (23)).

<sup>4</sup> 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 Perieget* Berlin 1886 p. 247 ff. showed that Pausanias and Arnobius are really dependent on Alexandros Polyhistor, who in turn got his facts from Timotheos, Promathidas, etc. (see Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 47 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 233 Müller, cp. *ib.* p. 202) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάλλος), and that Arnobius, in addition to Polyhistor, used a Roman source, probably the priest Valerius, thereby contaminating the Pessinuntine tradition of Agdistis with current tales of the Mater Magna and Attis. Hepding summarises the resultant myth, enclosing within square brackets points of divergence between Pausanias and Arnobius:

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



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

Throughout this narrative (with which cp. Paus. 1. 4. 5) it is clear that Agdistis is only a Pessinuntine appellation of the Great Mother. So Strab. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον, καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδὴν κατοικοῦντες Ῥεῖαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτη, Μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν (so I. Casaubon for ἄγεστιν epit. Palat. αἶεστιν codd. plerique) καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυλήνην καὶ Πεσσιουντιίδα καὶ Κυβέλην, 567 Πεσσινοῦς δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνον· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀγδιστιν (so I. Casaubon for ἀγδίστην codd. r.o. ἀγγιδίστην (with ι added over the η) cod. D. ἀγγιδιστιν codd. rell. *Angidistam* Guarino da Verona), Hesych. s.v. Ἀγδιστις· ἡ αὐτὴ τῆ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν. In Plout. *de flux.* 13. 3 Αἰγέσθιος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διοσφόρου, κόρης Ἰδῆς ἐρασθεὶς, συνῆλθεν τῇ προειρημένη καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς εἰρημένους Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους. γενομένης δ' αὐτῆς ἄφρονος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥεῖας ἀδύτῳ, Αἰγέσθιος εἰς τιμὴν τῆς προειρημένης τὸ ὄρος Ἰδὴν μετωνόμασεν R. Unger acutely cj. Ἀγδιστιος (Ἀγδεστις? 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 ἐτεῖ[μυσην] | Μόνιμον Ἀρίστων[ος,] | τὸν λαμπαδάρχη, [ἱερέα Διὸς] | Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καὶ] | Μηνὸς Ἀσκαηνοῦ [καὶ Μητρὸς] | θεῶν Ἀγδίστεω[s καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] | Δαίμονος καὶ ε(ῦ)σε[βεστάτης Σε]||βαστῆς Εἰρήνης, κ.τ.λ. (2) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3993, 1 ff. (Ikonion) [θ]ε(ο)ὺς σωτῆρας τῆν τε Ἀγγ[διστιν καὶ τῆν Μ[ητέ]ρα Βοη[θη]νήν καὶ θεῶν τῆν Μη[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 | εὐχήν. (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 ΑΓΓΙΣΤΤΤΤ) 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

Ankyra<sup>1</sup>.

Lykia

Mount Kragos<sup>2</sup>.

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.

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

<sup>2</sup> 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 ὀκτῶ (κράγας ὀκτῶ codd. ἄκρας ὀκτῶ Eustath. in Dionys. per. 847. ἄκρας δύο Eustath. in II. p. 635, 19. We should probably translate 'eight summits,' not 'eight headlands') καὶ πῶλον ὁμώνυμον. περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας· ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄπῳθεν καὶ ἡ Χιμαίρα φάραγξ τις, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατεινούσα (the glen of *Avlan*: 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 Λυκιακῶν (Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 235 Müller)). ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλου υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδικῆς νύμφης. ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπονομαζόμενα θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. ἀπαθανατισθῆναι γὰρ φασι τοὺς 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 φασιν 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 ὑμᾶ[ς] καὶ Τλωεῖς καὶ | Πιναρεῖς γενεαλ[ογίαν Τρεμί][λ]ου καὶ Πραξιδικῆς, ἐξ ὧν Τλω[ος] καὶ | [Κ]ράγος καὶ Πίναλος ἀνήκον, δι[αδῆ][λ]ῆς γενεαλο[γί]ας καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολ[λάκ]ις δεδηλωμένης κατὰ τὰς Πο[λ]υχάρμου καὶ ἐτέρων ἱστορίας, *ib.* C, 9 ff. ἐν δὲ Σιδύμοις, κτίσματος Σιδύμου | υἱοῦ Τλώου καὶ Χελειδόνος τῆς | Κράγου, Ἀπόλλωνα τόπω πρὸς | θαλάσση Λοπτοῖς σπηλαίῳ | ἀποκρύφῳ δυσεισόδῳ ἐκ κορυφῆς δὲ φωτοῦλλον ἀνοιγμα | μεικρὸν ἔχοντι. μέσον εἰς δ κα|θοπτεῦσαι θελήσασά τις ἄφνωσ | ἀψοφητὶ τὸν θεὸν κατη|νέχθη, καὶ λίθος κείται πτώμα | φόβου δεῖγμα κατασκοπῶν· | διὸ καὶ κροτ[οῦ]ν[τε]ς ἐπ' ἄσματι | 'χαῖρε, Ἀπολλον, ὃ ἐγ Λοπτῶν' | εἰσερχόμενοι φωνοῦμεν | τήνδε. 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. ἄγριοι θεοί· οἱ Τιτᾶνες), perhaps as being chieftains or kings (*supra* i. 655 f.). Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1186 n.<sup>1</sup>



Mount Olympos (?)<sup>1</sup>.

Pisidia

Prostanna (?)<sup>2</sup>.

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 ἀρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον ("Ἄρνον Theodoret.) καὶ Τόσοβιν, ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὁποιδήποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἐκείνους μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκληροὺς (σκιρροὺς Theodoret.) θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρως ἐπὶ τούτων ποιείσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους.

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

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 100 n. 11. Methodios, bishop of the Lycian town Olympos at the beginning of s. iv. A.D., claims to have seen on the summit of this mountain *agnus castus* growing, quite unharmed, round a fire that sprang from the earth (Method. *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 298 b 23 ff. Bekker *ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἐγὼ* (ἄρος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀλυμπος τῆς Λυκίας) πῦρ αὐτόματως κατὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν τοῦ ἄρουρος κάτωθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόμενον, περὶ δὲ πῦρ ἄγνος φυτὸν ἐστὶν, οὕτω μὲν εὐθαλὲς καὶ χλοερὸν, οὕτω δὲ σύσκιον, ὡς ὑπὸ πηγῆς μᾶλλον αὐτὸ δοκεῖν βεβλαστηκέναι. κ.τ.λ.) The good bishop describes the phaenomenon in terms reminiscent of Moses and the burning bush; and it is noteworthy that Mt Olympos, otherwise called Phoinikous (Strab. 666), is nowadays named *Musa Dagħ*, the 'mountain of Moses.' This mountain rises to a height of c. 1000<sup>m</sup> due south of the town Olympos on the eastern coast of Lykia. But the perpetual fire is commonly associated with Mt Chimaira (*Yanâr-tash*), a height of some 250<sup>m</sup> 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 Kibyratiss* 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 Hephaestion (Sen. *epist.* 79. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 100), Hephaistia (Solin. 39. 1), or the mountains of Hephaistos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 236). Skyl. *per.* 100 speaks of a sanctuary of Hephaistos above the harbour Siderous: ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἡφαίστου ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς καλεῖται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννυται. Hence Hephaistos appears, forging the shield of Achilles, on a copper of Olympos struck by Gordianus iii Pius (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 326 f. no. 10 pl. F, 14).

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

<sup>2</sup> 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 Solymos<sup>1</sup>.

*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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>1</sup> Termessos (Termessus Maior) was built, a good 1000<sup>m</sup> 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.* COΛΥ ΜΟC Solymos standing to left, with cuirass, spear, and short sword, 272 no. 36 pl. 41, 14 COΛV ΜΟC Solymos enthroned to left, with crested helmet and right hand raised to face, cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 410 no. 6 pl. 15, 15 and 411 no. 10 pl. 15, 17, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 712). As a warlike hero he was affiliated sometimes to Zeus (Antimachos *frag.* 16 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *ap.* schol. P.T. *Od.* 5. 283 ὄθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν (δὲ add. T., omissis ὄθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι) ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος δηλοῖ, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 (Iupiter vitiat) Chalceam nympham, ex qua nascitur Olympus (where O. Höfer *cj. Chalcedonian and Solymus*: see his remarks in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1154), Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πισιδία· οἱ Πισίδαὶ 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 Καλδῆνης τῆς Πισίδου καὶ Ἀρεως· οἱ νῦν Ἰσαυροί).

The principal deity of the town in classical times was Zeus Σολυμεύς. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 138 no. 228 gives (after Sestini) a coin reading ZEYC COΛΥΜΕΥC, and J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 xii. 6 figures another, at Berlin, with *obv.* ΔΙ[ΟC] 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>) adjoining the southernmost part of the gymnasium and close to a group of other temples (N3 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<sup>m</sup> high), which once supported a bronze statue (of Zeus?), is adorned with a relief of a priest presiding at the sacrifice of a humped bull (E. Petersen *op. cit.* ii. 32, 48 f. figs. 7 and 8) and bears the inscription Ὅτανις ΙΟΓΑΚ | ἱερ(ε)[ύ]ς | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ· | Διονύσιος Ἡρακλε[ίδου] | Ἀλεξα[ν]-δρε[ύ]ς [ἐποίει (?)] (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 ἱερέως | Σολυμέως 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[υμέως] | γενόμενον Λαέρτην Να[νναμόου] | Λαέρτου κ.τ.λ., cp. 207 no. 85, 2 ff. [ἀρ]χιερέα αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | [ἱερ]έα Διὸς Σολυμέως διὰ βίου Λα[ε]ρ[τ]την | [Νανναμ]β[ου] φιλόπατρι καὶ πατέρα πόλεως). Other life-priests of Zeus Σολυμεύς are recorded (*id. ib.* ii. 200 no. 39, 4 f. Τι. Κλ. Τειμῶδωρον, 200 no. 41, 4 Τι. Κλ. Τειμῶδωρον, 201 no. 48, 6 ff. Μᾶρ. Αὐρ. Μειδια[γ]νὸν Πλατωνιανὸν | Οὐᾶρον, 208 no. 93, 4 ff. Μᾶρ. | Αὐρ. Μειδιανὸν | 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

*Βευυκ Ευλία*<sup>1</sup>.

xxiii. 165—192, 280—286 (e.g. p. 169 no. 7, 9 f. ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ ,α, p. 171 no. 13, 7 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεῖσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ ,α, p. 173 no. 18, 2 δώσει ὁ πειράσας προστείμου Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ ,β, p. 182 f. no. 41, 5 ff. ὁ τολμήσας | ἢ παραενχειρήσας ἀποτελεῖσει | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ἱερὰς καὶ ἀπαραίτητους δραχμὰς δισχειλίας πεντακοσίας, p. 184 f. no. 44, 5 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐνσχεθήσεται ἐνκλήματι | τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἐκτελεῖσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ ,αφ', p. 188 no. 52, 3 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεῖσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ ,η καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ✕ ,η, p. 189 f. no. 54, 7 ff. ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ἐνοχος ἔσται ἐνκλήματι τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἀραῖς ταῖς εἰς τοὺς κατοιχομένους καὶ προσαποτελεῖσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ ,α. See also pp. 167 f. no. 4, 7 ff., 170 no. 10, 7 f., 171 f. no. 14, 4 ff., 172 no. 15, 8 f., 173 f. no. 20, 10 f., 175 no. 24, 2 ff., 175 f. no. 25, 10 f., 176 no. 26, 7 f., 179 f. no. 34, 7 f., 183 f. no. 43, 9 f., 185 no. 45, 3 ff., 186 f. no. 48, 9 ff., 187 no. 49, 5 ff., 187 no. 50, 3 ff., 187 f. no. 51, 9 f., 188 f. no. 53, 11 f., 191 no. 57, 5 ff., 280 f. no. 62, 6 ff., 283 no. 64, 7 ff., 284 no. 66, 10 f., 285 no. 67, 8 ff., 285 f. no. 68, 9 f.), and a few by K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 217 no. 154\*, 2 f., 218 no. 167, 6 ff., 218 no. 171<sup>a</sup> (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 *h*), 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. ἐκτελεῖσει | τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ | ✕ ,μὲν κὲ τῷ Διὶ | Σολύμῳ ✕ ,μὲν, adding: 'The form Σόλυμος for Σολυμεύς is unusual; it occurs again on an inscription on p. 493 [of a MS. volume transcribed by S. Birch].' The form suggests that the eponymous hero Solymos, by a process already exemplified in the case of Kragos (*supra* p. 971 n. 2), had been raised to the rank of Zeus.

Other inscriptions from Termessos attest a cult of Zeus and Dione (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 77 on a lintel from the southernmost part of the gymnasium [τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου Διὸς καὶ Διώνης Ἀλφείδου Μολέους | [τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς | ὑποστάσεως (i.e. ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου κ.τ.λ.), 219 no. 175<sup>a</sup> (= *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 ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Διώνης | Γαῖος Διοτείμου Ἐρ. | Τρ. Γαίου Γειλίου Χυ. τὴν | σωματοθήκην ἐαυτῷ καὶ | Ἀρτέμει Ἐρ. Τρ. Γαίου Γειλίου Π. αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.) and a cult of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 203 no. 58, 26 ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Διδότος Ἐρμαίου Ἀρτεῖμου ✕ 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 = ἐλευθέρα Τερμησσεῖ | ἡ το(ὺς) κάπους ἔχουσα, which I take to be a tag from some popular chorus (hence the *quasi*-Doric κάπους) performed at a festival of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος).

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

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

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 Στράτιος and his cult. Their

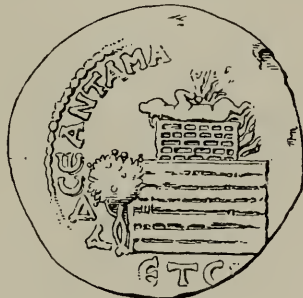


Fig. 858.



Fig. 859.



Fig. 860.



Fig. 861.

discoveries may be resumed as follows. Some four miles due east of Amaseia rises a rounded hill (1350<sup>m</sup>) 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 İlyâ*. 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 και Βιβλιοθήκη της Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνη* 1878—1880 p. 164 no. 78 = S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 157 an inscription from *Divlit* near Koloë (*Κουλα*) in Lydia *ἔτους τκ', μη[νὸς] Περειτίου β', Αὐρ.* | Στρατόνεικος β', ἐπειδὴ κατὰ | ἄγροισιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσου[ς] ἔκοψα | δένδρα θεῶν Διδὸς Σαβαζίου και | Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναίτις κολασ|θεῖς, εὐξάμενος εὐχαριστή|ριον 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 Anaitis 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*<sup>3</sup>: The Magic Art ii. 40—45.] The summit of the hill forms a flattish space *c.* 250<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> 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) Φίλων | ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου) and two inscriptions from the neighbouring village of *Ebimi* preserve dedications to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 140 on a small limestone altar Διὶ | Στρατίω | Βασι|λεὺς (a frequent name in Pontos) | εὐχῆ, no. 141 on two portions of a limestone balustrade Διὶ Στρατίω [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρία ἐπὶ τῆς συνῆ|αρχίας Πομ[πωνίου] . . . . . τοῦ?] Κανδίδου, νεωκο|ροῦντος γ' [ . . . . . ο]υ' Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ | τῶν συν(λ)ε[λεγμένων χρημάτων]ν Ϝ ἔτους Ϝ ρά Ϝ (=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 Geburtstage* Berlin 1903 p. 277 ff. = J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *op. cit.* i no. 143 κείμε Γεμέλλος ἐγὼ | ὁ πολλοῖς θεάτροις | πολλὰ λαλήσας | καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς | αὐτὸς ὁδέουσας, | καὶ οὐκέτι μου στόμα | φωνά[ς] ἀπολύει, | οὐδὲ χειρῶν κρότος | ἔρχεστε, ἀλλ' ἀποδοὺς | τὸ δάνιον ('my debt to nature') πεπόρευμε. | 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 Chilikomon (*Soulou-Ova*). Here was found a marble altar of *s.* i (?) A.D. dedicated to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 152 Διὶ Στρατίω εὐ[χ]ῆς | καὶ εὐσεβίας [χ]ά|ριν Κῆρος καὶ | Φιλέταιρος οἱ | Κλάρου. The letters χ, χ, being crosses, have been effaced by some zealous Mohammedan) and sundry remnants of his temple (Ionic and Corinthian capitals, a column-shaft in red marble, fragments of cornice, blocks of marble) scattered through the village. The temple itself probably stood on a small polygonal plateau cut out on a spur of the mountainous heights above *Ghel-Ghiraz* (map xii).

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

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

## Kappadokia

Mount Argaios (?)<sup>1</sup>.

pontique, grec et iranien, dont la combinaison caractérise la religion comme la civilisation de ces contrées.’<sup>1</sup>

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*<sup>3</sup> 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*.

<sup>1</sup> Mt Argaios (*Erjäus*), the culminating point of Antitauros and the highest (3840<sup>m</sup>) peak in Asia Minor, has its summit covered with perpetual snow (Strab. 538, Solin. 45. 4). On the side facing Kaisareia (*Kaiserieh*) 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *Erkélet*, 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.* *Καϊσάρεια*). 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 752 f. fig. 331. Figs. 863, 866, 867, 870, 871, 876 are from specimens in my collection. See also *supra* i. 603 n. 2). Cp. a red jasper intaglio in the British Museum, which shows Mt Argaios with a wreath above it and a goat's head below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 135 no. 1107), another from the Blacas collection, which represents the mountain inscribed ΑΡΓΑΙΟC and topped by a radiate figure holding a *patera* in his left hand, a sceptre in his right (*ib.* p. 135 no. 1105), and a third at Berlin, which crowns the summit with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak (Furtwängler *Ge-schnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 313 no. 8558 pl. 61).

This famous type has been discussed at length by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. xxxviii—xli and by O. Rossbach in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1901 vii. 406—409. The general shape of the mountain with its crater above and volcanic cones below is adequately rendered. The woods which formerly fringed its sides (Strab. 538 ἀξύλου γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης σχεδόν τι τῆς συμπάσης 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**

Anazarbos<sup>1</sup>.  
Mount Olympos (?)<sup>2</sup>.

**Kypros**

Amathous, Golgoi, Kition<sup>3</sup>.  
Mount Olympos (?)<sup>4</sup>.

**Assyria**

Mount Zagros<sup>5</sup>.

**Kommagene**

*Nemroud Dagh*<sup>6</sup>.

**Syria**

Chalkis sub Libano (?)<sup>7</sup>.

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

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



Fig. 878.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις (*supra* i. 597 n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* i. 100 n. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (15)).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 100 n. 14.

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

<sup>6</sup> Zeus Ὠρομάσδης (*supra* i. 741 ff.).

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

Mount Kasion<sup>1</sup>.

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.*<sup>1</sup> p. 655 (but not *ib.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Euboeia (so also *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 360, Anson, *Num. Gr.* v. 19 nos. 133—135).

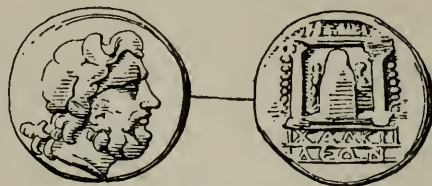


Fig. 879.

<sup>1</sup> Mt Kasion (*Djebel-el-Akrá*) rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 5318 ft. The ancients declared that from its summit the sun could be seen in the fourth watch of the night (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 80, Solin. 36. 3, Mela 1. 61 (confuses with Mt Kasion in Egypt), Mart. Cap. 680) or at second cock-crow (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4). According to Euhemerus 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 Protogonos had descendants as mortal as themselves named Phos, Pyr, and Phlox, who discovered and taught how to make fire from the friction of wood on wood. They in turn had gigantic sons, who gave their names to the mountains that they occupied—Kassion, Libanos, Antilibanos, and Brathy (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 102 herba Sabina, brathy appellata a Graecis, duorum generum est, altera tamarici folio similis, altera cupresso; quare quidam Creticam cupressum dixerunt). Hence sprang Samemroumos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* renders 'der hohe Herr des Himmels'), also called Hypsouranios, <and Ousoös (on whom see Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 392)>, who were named after their mothers, the women of that age being free to mingle with any whom they met (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 9). Synkellos states that Kasos and Belos, sons of Inachos, founded Antiocheia on the Orontes (Synkell. *chron.* 126 A (i. 237 Dindorf), cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf). Stephanos of Byzantion declares that Mt Kasion in Syria was colonised from Kasos, one of the Kyklades, which was called after Kasos the father of Kleomachos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσος, but cp. *id. s.v.* Κάσιον where much the same is said of Mt Kasion in Egypt). The true derivation of the name is still to seek: for modern conjectures see W. W. Baudissin *Studien 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 quarum adventum ab Iove precibus inpetrant Casii* (so Hermolaus Barbarus for *casini* edd. vett. *casmi* cod. F<sup>2</sup>. C. Mayhoff prints *Cadmi*) montis incolae fruges eorum locustis vastantibus. nec unde veniant quove abeant compertum, numquam conspectis nisi cum praesidio earum indigetur). The Antiochenes honoured Triptolemos as a hero with a festival on Mt Kasion (Strab. 750). Some said that Kyparissos, a Cretan boy of great beauty and purity, fled from Apollon or Zephyros to the river Orontes and Mt Kasion, where he was changed into a cypress-tree (interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 680).

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



the month Xanthikos (April) offered sacrifice to Zeus Κάσιος upon Mt Kasion : an eagle carried off a morsel of the sacrificed flesh towards the sea-shore and so showed him the right site (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf, cp. *ib.* pp. 199 f., 202 f. *Infra* Append. N *med.*). Trajan, accompanied by Hadrian, visited Seleukeia in the month Apellaios (December) 113 A.D. on his way to fight the Persians (Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 270 Dindorf). Here Trajan dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος silver bowls and a great gilded ox-horn for his victory over the Getai (Soud. *s.v.* Κάσιον ὄρος), while Hadrian commemorated the occasion in a tactful epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 332 (Adrianos) Ζηνὶ τὸδ' Αἰνεάδης Κασίῳ Τραϊανὸς ἄγαλμα, | κοίρανος ἀνθρώπων κοιράνῳ ἀθανάτων, | ἄνθετο, δοιὰ δέπα πολυδαίδαλα καὶ βοδὸς οὔρου | ἀσκητὸν χρυσῶ παμφανόωντι κέρας, | ἔξαιτα προτέρης ἀπὸ ληίδος, ἦμος ἀτειρήs | πέρσεν ὑπερθύμους ᾧ ὑπὸ δουρὶ Γέτας. | ἀλλὰ σὺ οἱ καὶ τήνδε, κελαινεφές, ἐγγυάλιζον | κρήναι ἐγκλειῶs δῆριν' Ἀχαιμενίην, | ὄφρα τοι εἰσορῶντι διάνδιχα θυμὸν ἰαίνῃ | δοιὰ, τὰ μὲν Γετέων σκύλα, 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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) εἰς τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος παρὰ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀναβὰs Δία μεσημβρίας σταθερὰs εἶδέ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἰδὼν ἀέστη καὶ συμβουλὴν ἐδέξατο, δι' ἧs 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 ΚΑΣΙΟC (*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 ΚΑΣΙΟC 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

Kyrrhos<sup>1</sup>.  
Palmyra<sup>2</sup>.  
Seleukeia Pieria<sup>3</sup>.

**Phoinike**

*Abédat*<sup>4</sup>.  
Berytos<sup>5</sup>.  
Byblos<sup>6</sup>.  
Libanos<sup>7</sup>.  
*Sahin*<sup>8</sup>.

**Samaria**

Mount Gerizim<sup>9</sup>.

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 Ƙašiu (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 *omphalós* (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. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7330 Deo | Casio | Ovinus | 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.).

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

<sup>2</sup> Zeus "Υψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος, less often Zeus "Υψιστος, Zeus Μέγιστος "Υψιστος, Zeus "Υψιστος Μέγιστος Ἐπήκοος (*supra* p. 885 n. 0 n. (29)).

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 869 n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Zeus Οὐράνιος "Υψιστος Σααρναῖος Ἐπήκοος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

<sup>5</sup> Θεὸς "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

<sup>6</sup> Zeus "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 887 n. 0 no. (30)).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* i. 551 with i. 581 f.

<sup>8</sup> Θεὸς "Υψιστος Οὐράνιος Ἐπατος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

<sup>9</sup> Zeus Ἑλλημιος or Ξένιος, Zeus "Υψιστος, Iupiter Sarapis (?) (*supra* p. 887 n. 0 no. (31)).



## Ioudaia

Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>.

## Aigyptos

Alexandreia<sup>2</sup>.Atribis<sup>3</sup>.Mount Kasion<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 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. Bethleem nunc nostram et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo Psalmista canit 'Veritas de terra orta est' (Ps. 85. 11), lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est Adonidis, et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur = Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 31. 3 (lxi. 326 C—327 A Migne) nam Hadrianus imperator, existimans se fidem Christianam loci iniuria perempturum, in loco passionis <statuam Veneris, in loco resurrectionis (*ins.* A. B. C.) > simulacrum Iovis consecravit, et Bethleem 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.

<sup>2</sup> Θεὸς Ἰψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτης (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

<sup>3</sup> Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

<sup>4</sup> 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. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 20 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χερβὸν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Διοσκοῦρων σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες ἐπλευσαν, καὶ ἐκριφέντες περὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος ναὸν αὐτόθι ἀφιέρωσαν). The story is late, but the sanctuary must indeed have received many a dedication from travellers who had escaped the dangers of the shallow sea and the shifting sand (T. Wiegand in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv Arch. Anz. p. 87 f.). Near this spot Cn. Pompeius Magnus the triumvir was murdered as he stepped ashore, on Sept. 29, 48 B.C., and here he was buried (Strab. 760, Vell. Pat. 2. 53, Lucan. 8. 560 ff., Plout. *v. Pomp.* 78—80, Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 84—86, Dion Cass. 42. 3—5, *alib.*). His partisans erected bronze statues to his memory near Mt Kasion (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). In the winter of 69—70 A.D. Titus and his army passed from Pelousion to the sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος, and thence to Ostrakine, Rhinokoroura, etc. *en route* for Jerusalem (Ioseph. *bell. Iud.* 4. 11. 5). In 130 A.D. Hadrian, on his way from Palestine to Egypt, offered a sacrifice (*ἐνήγισε*) to Pompeius and rebuilt his ruined tomb (Dion Cass. 69. 11, Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), clearing it of sand and replacing the bronze statues, which had been removed to the *adyton* of the sanctuary (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). Hadrian's epigram on the tomb is still extant (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 402 (Adrianos) τῷ ναοῖς βριθοντι πόση σπάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου).

The little town of Kasion made a *spécialité* of intricate woodwork; whence the proverb Κασιωτικὸν ἄμμα (Diogeneian. 5. 44, Apostol. 9. 46, *prov. Bodl.* 527 p. 62 Gaisford, Souid. *s.v.* ἄμματα, Κάσιον ὄρος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄμματα). A papyrus of 283 A.D. mentions Casiotic joiners (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1898 i. 112 ff. no. 55, 6 Κασιωδῶν). We might have supposed that the local manufacture of Κασιωτικὰ ἱμάτια (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον) or Κασιανὰ ὑφάσματα (Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 260) rested on a blunder (*ἱμάτια* or *ὑφάσματα* for ἄμματα). But Makrisi too speaks of certain fabrics called *gassiah* 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

Pelousion<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 95 ff. no. 16 Θεῶι Μεγάλω | καὶ Διὶ Κασίωι καὶ Ταχνήψει | Ὄρος Ὄρου Κασιώτης | ὑπὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου · | γυναῖκα μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρέοις ἄνδρα · | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, no. 16 *his* [Θεῶ]ι | [Μεγά]λωι | [καὶ Διὶ Κ]ασίωι καὶ | [Τα]χνήψει | [Ὄρο]s Ὄρου Κασ(ι)ώτης | [ὑ]πὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου, | κατὰ πρόσταγμα · | γυναῖκα δὲ μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρέοις ἄνδρα). Similarly a native of Berytos gave a thankoffering in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος (*id. ib.* p. 97 no. 17 Ξενοφῶν | Διονυσίον | Βηρύτιον | 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 Ὄρος, Θεὸς Ἀγαθός, Ζεὺς Κάσιος, Ἀπόλλων, Διόνυσος, des [Διόνυσος und der] Ἀριάγ[νη?, der Μήτηρ θεῶν, der [Οὐρ]ανία Ἀφροδείτη Νείκη ἐν Κανώπῳ.' A. Salač, who publishes the inscription in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 182—187, revises this list as follows: *vv.* 3 f. [Ἄρπο]κράτους, 5 Ὄρου, 6 Ἀγαθοῦ δεοῦ, 7 Διὸς Κασίω[υ], 9 Ἀπόλλωνος, 11 Διονύσο[υ] — Μητρὸς θεῶν, 13 ἐν Κ[α]νώπῳ (*i.e.* Sarapis at Kanopos (Strab. 801)) — [Οὐρ]ανίας Ἀφροδείτης, 14 [Ἴσιδος Ταποσ]ειριάδος).

J. Clédat in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1905 pp. 602—611, *ib.* 1909 pp. 764—774, *ib.* 1911 p. 433 proves that Mt Kasion was not situated, as is commonly held, at *Ras-Bouroun* on the narrow strip of land between the sea and the lake, but at *Mahemdiah* (*Mohamedieh*) some 40 kilometers further to the west, that is, about 15 kilometers east of Pelousion. Here at the western end of the lake and close to the sea rises a rounded sandhill (maximum height 13·30<sup>m</sup>: Lucan. 10. 434 f. exaggerates), on which he detected and partially excavated (1) a large (*c.* 20·0<sup>m</sup> × 20·0<sup>m</sup>) public bath, built of gypsum and baked brick in late Roman times; (2) a small (9·60<sup>m</sup> × 6·0<sup>m</sup>) 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 ΚΑΣΙΟC (*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).

<sup>1</sup> 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 *περεμοσι*) 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<sup>m</sup> in length, 1·0<sup>m</sup> in diameter) and two architrave-blocks (1·80<sup>m</sup> long, 0·96<sup>m</sup> high, 0·80<sup>m</sup> 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 σύ[μπαν]τος αὐτοῦ ο[ἴ]κου Διὶ Κασίω Μ[εγίστω θεῷ Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς] | [ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυτοῦ Τιτιανοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέθηκεν Καί[κλι]ος Κάσιος Δί[ων Ἀπο]λλωνίου τ[οῦ---] | [τὸν σηκὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ πρόναον καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτοῖς πάντα κοσ[μῆσα]συνοροσηκ[. . . .]μωματι[---] | [--- αὐ]τοῦ. I cannot make head or tail of the concluding words, unless we may suppose κοσ[μῆσα]s, τὴν ὄροφὴν [τῷ κομ]μῳματι [διαποικίλας κ.τ.λ.] or the like. A fragment found to the left of the first block is inscribed ANO with C! beneath it: this might be a portion of [Τραϊ]ανοῦ[υ] and [ἐπιτροπεύοντο]s τ[οῦ]. Another architectural block (2·50<sup>m</sup> long, 0·49<sup>m</sup> high, 0·90<sup>m</sup> deep) bears the central part of a second inscription: [--- τ]οῦ προγεγραμμένου [---] | [---] ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυτοῦ Τιτιανοῦ [---].



A. Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 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 Ἄμμων. 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 ἄγαλμα Κασίου· τὸ δ' ἄγαλμα νεανίσκος, Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον εἰκώς· οὕτω γὰρ ἡλικίας εἶχε· προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ροιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ροιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός. προσευξάμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ τοῦ Σατύρου σύμβολον ἐξαιτήσαντες (καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον μαντικὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν) περιήειμεν τὸν νεών. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ὀρώμεν εἰκόνα διπλῆν· καὶ ὁ γραφεὺς ἐνεγέγραπτο· Εὐάνθης μὲν ὁ γραφεύς, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Προμηθεύς, κ.τ.λ., 8 ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἐγεγόνει. κ.τ.λ.), was modelled upon a previously existing cult-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 Diktyinna 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 τρόφιμον Δίκτυν τῶν κρομμύων ἐπιδραττόμενον ἐσχάτως ἀπίθανον· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ κρόμμυον παραφυλάττοντες, ὅτι τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης μόνον εὐτροφεῖν τοῦτο καὶ τεθλέναι πέφυκεν. ἔστι δὲ πρόσφορον οὔτε ἀγνεύουσι οὔτε ἐορτάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι διψῆν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι δακρύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς προσφερομένους), and that taboo (as to which see the references collected by J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 15. 9) was specially characteristic of Pelousion (Plout. *comm. in Hes. frag.* 11. 52 Dübner *ap.* Gell. 20. 8. 7 'id etiam,' inquit, 'multo mirandum est magis, quod apud Plutarchum in quarto in Hesiodum commentario legi: "cepelum revirescit et congerminat decedente luna, contra autem inaescit adolescente. eam causam esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii, cur Pelusiotae cepe non edint, quia solum olerum omnium contra lunae augmenta atque

## Uncertain locality

Mount Hynnaron<sup>1</sup>.

damna vices minuendi et augendi habeat contrarias," Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 ἰδίᾳ δὲ Μεμφίταις μὲν ὁ βοῦς θεός, Πηλουσιώταις δὲ κρόμμυον, καὶ ἄλλοις ἴβις ἢ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἄλλοις κυνοκέφαλος ἢ αἰλουρος ἢ πίθηκος, Hieron. *comm. 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, Κύνων a cane, Λέων a leone, Θμοῦις 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 καθιερουμένων τῷ κατὰ Πηλουσίον Κασίῳ Δί, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τῆς κατὰ Λιβύην Ἀφροδίτης σκορόδου γεύσαιτο ἂν. ἀπέχονται δὲ ἐν μὲν ἱεροῖς μίνθης, ἐν οἷς δὲ ἡδύσμου, ἐν οἷς δὲ σελίνου). Sextus' phrase τῶν καθιερουμένων τῷ...Κασίῳ Δί coupled with that of Achilles Tatios (*supra*) τῆς δὲ ροιᾶς 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 (Zerekli in *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* herausg. von der Generalverwaltung: Griechische Urkunden no. 827 (P. 7150), 1 ff. Ζοῖς Ἀπ[ολ]ιναρίῳ τῷ ἀδελ[φ]ῷ χαί[ρ]ω. τὸ προσκύνημά | σου παρὰ τῷ Δί τῷ Κασίῳ. γινώσκω σε θέλω ὅτι εὖρη|κα τὴν γυναῖ<κα> τοῦ Ἀχαρίς (?) | κα[ί] δέδωκα αὐτῇ τὰ γεγρα|μμένα πάντα κ.τ.λ. addressed on the back ἀπό(δος) Ἀπολιναρίῳ ἀπὸ Πετρωνίου δρομ|δαρίου ἀπὸ Πη|λουσίου). 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 Κα|σίου, Ἀθην|ᾶς Ἀπι|ανού ι[. . .] (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 Graecas et Latinas* Lugduni Batavorum 1842 p. 28, *Corp. inscr. 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.* τιμάται)) 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 aufgefischt mit hebräischen, lateinischen und zwei griechischen Inschriften; die eine galt Aphrodite σῶζουσα, die andere Ζεὺς Κάσις 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 Pelusiatic 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 xlv. 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.'

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. *s.v.* Ὑνναρεὺς· Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑνναρίου θρους, ὕννας· αἰξ ἀγρία, ὕννη· αἰξ. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀρότρου σιδήριον τὸ τέμνον τὴν γῆν <ὕννη>. καὶ ὕννης ὁμοίως, ὕννος· πῶλος ὁ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ νοσήσας, πρὶν κηθῆναι <ἰννός>. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 824 n. 7 concludes that Zeus Ὑνναρεὺς (*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)<sup>1</sup>, C. Nyrop (1881)<sup>2</sup>, G. Krek (1887)<sup>3</sup>, L. Laistner (1889)<sup>4</sup>, G. Polívka (1898, 1918)<sup>5</sup>, N. G. Polites (1904)<sup>6</sup>, P. Sébillot (1904)<sup>7</sup>, W. R. Halliday (1916)<sup>8</sup>, F. Settegast (1917)<sup>9</sup>, and Sir J. G. Frazer (1921)<sup>10</sup> have all said their say, most of them making valuable contributions to the subject. But the palm must be awarded to O. Hackman (1904)<sup>11</sup>, 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 origin<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 550—554 summarises nine tales after J. F. Lauer *Homerische Studien* Berlin 1851 p. 319 ff. and W. Grimm *loc. cit.*

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> G. Polívka 'Nachträge zur Polyphemsage' 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.

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

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

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

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.'

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

<sup>12</sup> O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 166 f.

- ii The escape of the hero, who gets off either ( $\alpha$ ) by clinging under a sheep, goat, ox, etc., or more often ( $\beta$ ) by putting on a sheep-skin, goat-skin, ox-hide, etc. Of these alternatives ( $\alpha$ ), which implies gigantic sheep, was earlier than ( $\beta$ ), 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 tale<sup>1</sup>, 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)<sup>2</sup>. 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 like<sup>3</sup>.

Group C (47 variants) is a late combination of i ( $\beta$ ), the blinding of the giant by way of cure, with iv, the name-trick. It is found only in Finland, Lettland, and Esthonia<sup>4</sup>.

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, altogether<sup>5</sup>, 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 sun<sup>6</sup>, reaches the cautious conclusion : 'Das Stirnauge des Riesen, das jedenfalls schon der Grundform angehört hat, war wohl ursprünglich ein die Sonne symbolisierendes Attribut des Himmels- oder Sonnengottes. Doch hat diese frühzeitig in Vergessenheit geratene mythologische Bedeutung des Stirnauges nichts mit der Sage im Übrigen zu tun<sup>7</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 177 ff.      <sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 204.      <sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 189 ff.      <sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 206 ff.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* pp. 3 ff., 217 f.

<sup>7</sup> *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 heaven<sup>1</sup>, but also that the Kyklops himself was in the far past a sky-god like Zeus<sup>2</sup>. 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 wheel<sup>3</sup>. 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 ring<sup>4</sup>. This recalls the curious legend that Zeus presented Prometheus with a ring fashioned out of his chains<sup>5</sup>. In Germanic belief, too, the one-eyed Wodan possessed a gold ring from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight<sup>6</sup>. 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 Athens<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup>. The Famous<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 313, 323, 462.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* i. 320.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 325 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 989 n. i.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* i. 329 n. o.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 62 n. i.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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*<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> A spirit made from grapes (*ράξ, ραγίζω*) 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 Kappadokia<sup>1</sup>.**

' 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 Tepekozis<sup>2</sup>. The Tepekozis hastened (and) seized the seven priests (and) carried them to his house. In the evening he cooked one priest. He ate him. He was fat. He ate him. He got drunk. The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Tepekozis' eye. They blinded the Tepekozis. They went into the

<sup>1</sup> 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 Thomâs Stephânou 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.

<sup>2</sup> *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 doors<sup>1</sup>. 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 Gortynia<sup>2</sup>.

'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<sup>3</sup>"; for he had seen and learnt much of the world.'

<sup>1</sup> *θύρε*, plural of *θύρι*: cp. *Od.* 9. 240, 313, 340 *θυρεδν μέγαν*.

<sup>2</sup> Text in N. G. Polites *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 *Μονόματοι*) is given to a race of wild and impious men believed to inhabit a foreign land of unknown situation and to have but a single eye in their forehead. The same expression is applied to people, who in character and behaviour resemble these mythical savages (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 203). For instance, in Akarnania the natives of Xeromeros detest the uncivilised and unsociable mountaineers of Baltos and speak of them as *μονομάται*, 'one-eyed' monsters (L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 259).

<sup>3</sup> "Μέ λένε Κοσμοτριγυριστή." Cp. *Od.* 1. 1 ff.



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

(4) **The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Zakynthos<sup>1</sup>.**

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 Mountain<sup>2</sup>. 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 bag<sup>3</sup>. 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 declared<sup>4</sup>. 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-

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> 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 it<sup>1</sup>. They then took him and struck him on the ankle-bones till he died.

(5) The Three-eyed Ogre in a Folk-tale from Kypros<sup>2</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Text in A. Sakellarios *Tà Kypriaká* Athens 1868 iii. 136 ff. Translation (here condensed) in É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. xiv, 115—131 'Le Trimmatos 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 Brüder 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 ( $\beta$ ), 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 Psara**<sup>1</sup>.

Long, long ago there lived at Therapia 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Odysseus<sup>1</sup>, or thought of it now for himself, he drew his sharp seaman's knife, killed the biggest ram in the flock, stripped off its skin, threw the carcase into a well, wrapped himself in the skin, and attempted to creep out on all fours, as if he were a ram. Meantime the Drakos had finished his horrible meal, and came waddling down the marble steps, shouting: 'You shall not escape me, you shall make me a tasty supper!' He crossed the court to the little door, threw it open, and blocked the way with his ungainly body, leaving just room enough for one sheep to pass. Then he called his ewes one by one, milked them, and let them go through. Last came the rams, with George in their midst. He approached with fear and trembling. But the Drakos only stroked his back, praised his size and strength, and set him too at liberty.

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

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



plunged into it, and emerged on the other side as so many bands of storks! George now woke up to the fact that this was the land of the storks. Six months later he witnessed their return. A whole cloud of them settled on the further bank of the river, dived into it, and came out on the near side as men<sup>1</sup>. 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 river<sup>2</sup> which gushes out of the rocks near that town. He went into the town and secured a lodging, but returned to his boat the same evening and fetched his bag of precious stones. Next day he sold a dozen of them to some Jews for two tons of gold. With this he bought fine clothes, a number of necessaries, and a big frigate, in which he sailed for Constantinople. He cast anchor off Therapia, saluted his birthplace by firing a number of guns, and invited on board the elders of the place. They came in their best clothes, and it so chanced that George's old father brought their boat alongside. George welcomed them to his table, but insisted that the old sailor must join their company and gave him a seat next himself. He sent each man away with a handful of gold pieces, and bade them come and feast with him on the morrow, only bargaining that the old sailor should bring his family with him<sup>3</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ὀκεανίτιδας νήσους ἀμείβειν τὰ εἶδη ἐς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν, καὶ εὐσεβείας γε τῆς ἐς τοὺς γειναμένους ἄθλον 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.

<sup>2</sup> The river Meles.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a reminiscence of Gen. 42. 14 ff.

servant mount the old sailor's roof and fetch thence the armlet 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 Lesbos<sup>1</sup>.

'Once there was a good man whose fortune was in the sun<sup>2</sup>. 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 liars<sup>3</sup>"; so he nodded without speaking, and did as he was bid. They asked him his name, and he said *Ἀπατός*—"Mr Self." When he had cooked the goat, he beat the three thieves soundly with the spit<sup>4</sup>, 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-tale<sup>5</sup>.

'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 Cyclopes<sup>6</sup>, 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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> κλέφτης μὲ τοὺς κλέφταις, καὶ ψεύτης μὲ τοὺς ψεύταις, *i.e.* do at Rome as the Romans do.

<sup>4</sup> An attenuated form of episode i (a).

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 takes *ciclopi* to be a popular, not a learned, appellation: he cites *cìropiddhu* 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.'

A Sicilian tale from Erice, which G. Pitriè 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 :

(9) The Kyklops in a Sicilian Folk-tale<sup>1</sup>.

'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

<sup>1</sup> G. Pitriè *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 Pitriè.

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

(10) The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Roccascalegna in the Abruzzo<sup>1</sup>.

'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 eye<sup>2</sup>, 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 Rome<sup>3</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> 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 (a) + ii (β) + iii), likewise from the Abruzzo, see A. de Nino *Usi e costumi Abruzzesi* Firenze 1883 iii (Fiabe) 305—307 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 416 ff. no. 7.

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

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



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

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

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

In 1879 S. Baring-Gould contributed the following paragraph to W. Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*<sup>1</sup>: '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 grave<sup>2</sup>," 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 knife<sup>3</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.'

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

# Dioskouroi and Helene in Folk-Tales 1003

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.'

## 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 myths<sup>1</sup>.

#### (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 follows<sup>2</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Text by G. Ch. B. in the *Νεοελληνικά ἀνάλεκτα* 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 similar<sup>1</sup>. 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 prince<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> In the sequel he is called king.

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 interest<sup>1</sup>. 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-star<sup>2</sup>.' 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

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 Euboia.**

(4) A variant hails from Hagia Anna, a small town in the north-east of Euboia<sup>1</sup>. 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'

<sup>1</sup> 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.

(e) **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*<sup>1</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

## Dioskouroi and Helene in Folk-Tales 1009

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 Brittany<sup>1</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> Text unpublished, French translation by F. M. Luzel in *Mélusine* 1878 i. 206 ff. I have abridged F. M. Luzel's rendering.

## Dioskouroi and Helene in Folk-Tales 1011

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.



## (η) 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 afield<sup>1</sup>. J. G. von Hahn, regarding them as essentially tales of 'expulsion' (*Verstossung*), formulated their common characteristics as follows<sup>2</sup>:

- (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 mythology<sup>3</sup>, 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-

<sup>1</sup> See L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 i. 19 ff. no. 5 'Die verstossene Königin und ihre beiden ausgesetzten Kinder,' *ib.* ii. 206 f., G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 328 f. 'La cammisa di lu gran jucaturi e l' auceddu parlanti' (Montevago), *ib.* 330 'Suli e Luna' (Capaci), *ib.* 330 f. 'Stilla d' oru e Stilla Diana' (Casteltermeni), *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.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Id: ib.* 'He!!enische und germanische Sage: fehlt.'

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 recognition<sup>1</sup>. 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*<sup>2</sup>, tells the tale of that heroine in these words<sup>3</sup>: '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 it<sup>4</sup>) that *Lýkos* was an ancient god of daylight comparable with Zeus *Lýkaios*: the Theban Lykos will then be a doublet of the Sicyonian Epopeus, two kings bearing the name of the local god. Again, it might be objected that, on von Hahn's showing, Zethos and Amphion should have slain Dirke, but not Lykos. Here the explanation of the difficulty is simpler still. Hyginus, our ultimate authority for the Euripidean character of the narrative<sup>5</sup>, 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 Amphion<sup>6</sup>.' Euripides, in short, preserved the main outlines of the old-world tale.

<sup>1</sup> On *ἀναγνώρισις* as a strong point with Euripides see e.g. M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1891 iii. 315 f. Karkinos in his *Thyestes* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 797 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) *ap.* Aristot. *poet.* 16. 1454 b 21 ff. used certain congenital signs in the shape of stars (*ἀστέραις*) as the means of effecting such a recognition: this is a parallel to the Breton tale *supra* p. 1011.

<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. 3. 5. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 64 n. 3, 738.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> 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 Dioskouroi<sup>1</sup>. 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 Helene<sup>2</sup>. Zethos and Amphion too were, as we have before seen<sup>3</sup>, 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 stars<sup>4</sup>.

## (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 them<sup>5</sup>.' 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 739, ii. 317, 445.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 739.

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

<sup>5</sup> 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 Amphon 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 bull<sup>1</sup>. As to Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene, an anonymous narrative, probably drawn from the *Kypria*<sup>2</sup>, 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 Leda<sup>3</sup>. A tradition, late in date<sup>4</sup> but early in character<sup>5</sup>, added that Kastor and Polydeukes were born of the same egg<sup>6</sup>, and used the halves of it as conical caps<sup>7</sup>. 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 egg<sup>8</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> See O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 118 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 88, Apollod. 3. 10. 7. The egg was left ἐν τῷ ἔλει (Tzetz.), ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν (Apollod.: ἄλσεσιν cod. S. ἔλεσιν Preller, δάσεσιν Bekker).

<sup>4</sup> A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1159.

<sup>5</sup> E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1113.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> *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 Herodoros of Herakleia (*frag.* 28 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 35, where see C. Müller's note).

<sup>8</sup> Ibyk. *frag.* 16 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *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 Tiberis<sup>1</sup>. 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 out<sup>2</sup>.

(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.* i τὸν Μολιονίδα ἐκείνου, συμφνεῖς τοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι δοκούντας.

<sup>1</sup> Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* i. 273.

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

throughout ancient Greek mythology. The folk-tale hero rides off to get the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden<sup>1</sup>. 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 Ladon<sup>2</sup>. The same folk-tale hero rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten<sup>3</sup>. 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 wise<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1003.

<sup>2</sup> K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2594 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1003.

<sup>4</sup> Hes. *theog.* 285 f., cp. Eur. *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' ἄρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορέϊ. 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 him<sup>1</sup>. He too can be paralleled by Bellerophontes, who captures Pegasus while drinking at the spring Peirene<sup>2</sup>; and Pegasus, we remember, has Chrysaor for brother<sup>3</sup>. 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 jakes<sup>4</sup>, recalls the classical myth of Danae, first shut up in an underground chamber and then sent adrift in a chest on the sea

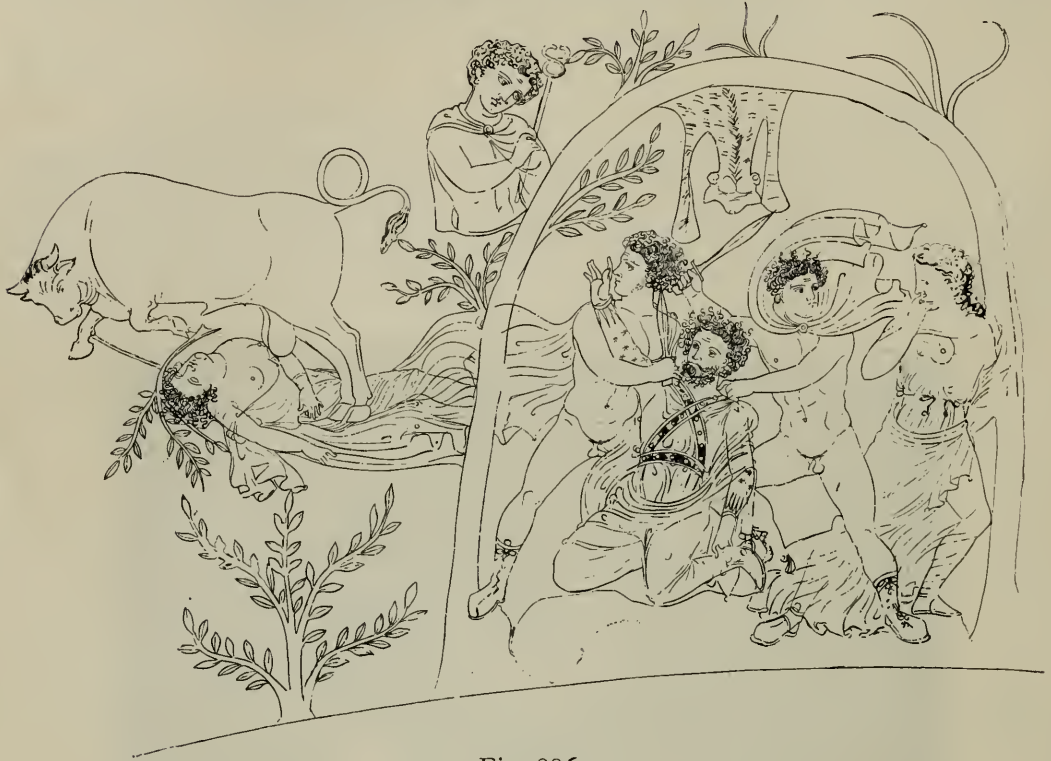


Fig. 886.

with the infant Perseus. And, when the said folk-tale hero vanquishes the Tzitzinaina that turns men into stone<sup>5</sup>, 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 grew<sup>6</sup>.’ 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 Praxiteles<sup>7</sup>.

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.’

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1006.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 379.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1003 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1004.

<sup>6</sup> E. S. Hartland *Mythology and Folktales* London 1900 p. 35.

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

## (λ) 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 heard<sup>1</sup>, 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)<sup>2</sup>.

## 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. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> 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.'

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 1013, 1015.

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

(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. Eysenhardt: *id.* *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3 calls it the garden of the gods; others, the gardens of Zeus (Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 320 Jebb, *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 103. 10 (ed. Gaisford iii. 292) ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀρουσθαι (T. Bergk cj. ἀρύεσθαι) μόνον εὐδαίμονος (leg. εὐδαίμονας) ὄλβους) or the plain of Zeus (Aristoph. *av.* 1758 πέδον Διὸς καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον, cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 749 Ζανὸς μελάθρων παρὰ κοίταις (J. G. J. Hermann cj. παρ' εὐναῖς)), or the gardens of Father Okeanos (Aristoph. *nuβ.* 271), or the meadow of Hera (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164)). The poem concluded with the sixth generation (Orph. *frag.* 14 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Phileb.* 66 C). O. Gruppe thinks that it was probably composed towards the end of s. vii B.C. at Kroton, where Hera *Lakinia* had a garden (Lyk. *Al.* 856 ff. ὄρχατον with Tzetz. *ad loc.* δῆλον τὸν κῆπον λέγειν) and a temple of the Muses (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 50 after Timaios?) may betoken Orphic influence.

[Here I dissent. It seems to me that clear indications point to an earlier age and a very different locality. If the Διὸς ἀπάτη really presupposes an Orphic theogony, that theogony can hardly be later than s. x (see the sober estimates of W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>5</sup> 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. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 2 ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ῥοῦ σχήματι κ.τ.λ., cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4, 785, and Mochos *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ὦν...τὸ δὲ ὦν ὁ οὐρανός). I infer that the Orphic poem took shape somewhere in Asia Minor as the result of early Ionian speculation brought to bear on primitive Thracio-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.* Daïso, cp. the Lesbian Theodaisia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 280 n. 2, 472 n. 2)) produced from an egg a son called Enorches, who founded a temple for Dionysos and called the god after himself Dionysos Ἐνόρχης (Eudok. *viol.* 345, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 212)—a title borne by Dionysos in Samos also (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐνόρχης) and obviously derived from ὄρχεις, 'testicles' (ἐνόρχης, ἐνορχος, ἐνορχις 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 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *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 'bruise': see Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 355), though the Lesbian Thyestes appears in a Dionysiac context (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 660 n. 1) which relates his name to *θυιάδες*, *θυστάδες*, *Θυώνη*, etc. Be that as it may, the association of human sacrifice with the cult of Dionysos takes us from Lesbos (*supra* i. 656 n. 4: see also the story told by Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 2 of the Mytilenaeon Makareus, priest of Dionysos, and his sons, who *μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἱερουργίαν τῷ βωμῷ τῷ πατρῷ προσήλθον ἔτι καομένων τῶν ἐμπύρων· καὶ ὁ μὲν νεώτερος παρέσχε τὸν τράχηλον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἡμελημένην εὐρὼν σφαγίδα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινε ὡς ἱερεῖον*) to Thrace, where the devouring of a dismembered child was not unknown (*supra*, i. 656). Others explained the title *Ἐνόρχης* by the tale of Polyhymnos (Eudok. *viol.* 345, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 212: O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2657—2661, 3154 f. discusses variants). Dionysos, when his mother was struck by the thunderbolt, groped about for her. A young man named Polyhymnos undertook to show him the way to her, if allowed to consort with him. Dionysos agreed, provided that he found his mother first. Following the advice of Polyhymnos, he went down to Hades and brought her up from the spring at Lerna. Polyhymnos having died, Dionysos by way of keeping his promise attached genitals of fig-wood to himself and leathern *phalloi* of deer-skin. Hence his title *Ἐνόρχης*. The clue to the understanding of this narrative is the fact that *πολύμνος* was an appellative of Dionysos himself (*h. Dion.* 26. 7, Eur. *Ion* 1074 f.), kindred names being found in his *entourage* (Polyhymno his Dodonaean nurse (*supra* i. 111 n. 6), Polymnia mother of Orpheus (schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 23) and of Triptolemos (schol. *Il.* 10. 435, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 817, 32, Tzetz. *in Hes. o. d.* 1 p. 28, 6 f. Gaisford)). The descent of Dionysos and Polyhymnos is therefore tantamount to a descent of Dionysos *Πολύμνος*; and the obscene pact between the two, which is missing in the version given by Paus. 2. 37. 5, is a piece of aetiology meant to elucidate the Lernaean *Φαλλαγωγία*. 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 Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, ἔπερ μὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστίν*, 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*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 83, rightly cj. *ιλύς* for *ύλη*; but cp. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 249 B—C) which thickened into earth. Water, the combining element, and earth, the scattered, together produced a snake with three heads, in the middle that of a god, to one side that of a bull, to the other that of a lion. The snake had wings on its shoulders and was named Chronos the ageless and Herakles (cp. Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12). With it consorted Ananke or Adrasteia, a bodiless being whose arms stretch throughout the world and clasp its extremities: she is described as at once male and female. The snake Chronos begat intelligent (but Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n. † cj. *νοτερόν* for *νοερόν*, and C. E. Ruelle *ad loc.* approves the change) Aither, boundless Chaos, and misty Erebus. Among these Chronos produced an egg containing male and female elements, a multiplicity of seeds, and a bodiless god (*supra* i. 311 n. 5: see also

## Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1023

O. Kern *De Orphei 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 ἀννυμνεί καὶ Δία καλεῖ πάντων διατάκτορα καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου, διὸ καὶ Πᾶνα καλεῖσθαι (cp. Orph. *h. Pan.* 11. 12 ἀληθῆς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης)). 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. *praep. 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. Susemihl *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. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὕδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν, with which Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 386 f. well cp. Diod. 1. 10 φασὶ τοίνυν Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν πρώτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τε τὴν εὐκράσιαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τοῦτον γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενον ῥαδίως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ ζωογονηθέντα... ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιουμένου τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἰλῦς 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 ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖόν 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 Mandaite speculation (A. J. H. W. Brandt *Die mandäische Religion* Leipzig 1889 p. 50 ff.). But a similar view was held by Anaximandros (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 255 f.), Diogenes of Apollonia (*id. ib.* i. 294, 296), and Anaxagoras (*id. ib.* ii. 356). Empedokles too had spoken of water as a combining element (*frag.* 34 Diels ἄλφειτον ὕδατι κολλήσας). And the equation of Zeus with Pan is again suggestive of philosophical influence (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 101), conceivably that of Herakleitos (*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 *ιερός λόγος* (Orph. *frag.* 63 Kern *ap. et. mag.* p. 231, 22 ff.) or *ιεροὶ λόγοι* (Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς) and contained in 24 Rhapsodies ascribed by some to Theognetos the Thessalian, by others to Kerkops the Pythagorean (*id. ib.*). Of Theognetos nothing more is known. Epigenes in his work *On poetry attributed to Orpheus* (*ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 21 p. 81, 11 ff. Stählin) regarded Kerkops the Pythagorean as the author of the Orphic *εἰς Ἄιδου κατάβασιν* and *ιερός λόγος* (cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* i. 107). And Pythagorean authorship is not impossible, or even improbable; for Herakleides Lembos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 169 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 7 cites the opening hexameter of a *ιερός λόγος* ascribed to Pythagoras; Iamb. *v. Pyth.* 146 quotes from another *ιερός 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 *ιερός λόγος* written by the Pythagorean Arignote; and Plout. *de gen. Socr.* 24 makes Theanor the Pythagorean describe Simmias' story of Timarchos' visit to the Underworld as *λόγον...ἱερόν*: see further A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 pp. 1—79 ('Un 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 *chiton*' or 'the cloud' (*ib.* 123 (i. 317, 2 f.) ἦτοι τὸ κρούμενον καὶ τὸ κύον ὠὸν τὸν θεόν, ἢ τὸν ἀργῆτα χιτῶνα, ἢ τὴν νεφέλην), from which sprang Phanes, otherwise known as Metis or Erikepaïos. [As to the meaning of these names valuable information is preserved to us by Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf ἔφρασε δὲ ὅτι τὸ φῶς ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα ἐφώτισε τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, εἰπὼν ἐκείνο εἶναι τὸ φῶς τὸ ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα τὸ προειρημένον, τὸ ὑπέρτατον πάντων, οὗ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεύς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξείπε, Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἐρικεπαῖον (*sic*). ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλῶσση βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ (= Kedren. *hist. comp.* 57 D (i. 102 Bekker) βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ, cp. Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς 7 βουλήν, φῶς, ζῶήν = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 84 B (i. 148) βουλή, φῶς, ζῶή) and by Nonnos Abbas *collectio et explicatio historiarum quibus Gregorius Nazianzenus in priore invectiva in Julianum usus est* 78 (xxxvi. 1028 C Migne) Περὶ Φάνητος καὶ Ἐρικεπαίου. ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ποιήμασιν εἰσηρέχθη τὰ δύο ταῦτα ὀνόματα μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν. ὦν τὸν Φάνητα εἰσφέρει αἰδοῖον ἔχοντα

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 Soud. *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 Ἑρικεπαῖος had not. Presumably Μῆτις (masc.) was a *Kose-name* 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 Thracο-Phrygian, cp. Auson. *epigr.* 48. 3 Mysi Phanacen nominant, 49. 1 Μυσῶν δὲ Φανάκης (F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>3</sup> 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 Ἑρικεπαῖος 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 ζωδοτήρ, it is clear that the name was not Greek. I incline to think that it was Thracian or Thracο-Phrygian. Hence its occurrence as a cult-title of Dionysos at Hierokaisareia in Lydia (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein ‘Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis’ in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii. Abh. p. 54 f. no. 112 fig. 51=W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 181 a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii A.D. ἐπὶ ἱεροφάντου | Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Μηνόφιλος, Περηλίας καὶ Σεκοῦνδος Ἀπολλωνίου οἱ συγγενεῖς Διονύσω Ἑρικεπαίω τὸν βωμόν with wreath below and two garlands supported on ram’s-heads). The second element in the compound might be paralleled, as O. Gruppe saw (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2268), from Παντικάπης the river in European Sarmatia and Παντικάπαιον the town in the Tauric Chersonesos: The first element, it seems to me, recurs in the name of the river Ἑριδανός (with which A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 129 and *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 37 compared the river-names Ἀπιδανός in Thessaly, Ἰάρδανος in Lydia, Crete, and Elis). Indeed, if Ἑρι-κεπαῖος meant ‘Giver of Life,’ I would venture to translate Ἑρι-δανός by ‘River of Life’—an appellation suited to that mythical stream (Strab. 215 περὶ τὸν Ἑριδανόν, τὸν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ὄντα, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ 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. *cat. ast.* 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. *cat. ast.* 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), Φαέθων (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), Πήριπος ἄναξ (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), and Ἔρωσ (e.g. Orph. frag. 74 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 433, 31 ff. Diehl, Orph. frag. 37 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Orph. frag. 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 101, 20 ff. Diehl, Orph. frag. 83 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Alcib.* i. 66 Creuzer, Orph. frag. 170 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 11 ff. Diehl and *ap. eund.* in Plat. *Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, cp. Orph. *Arg.* 14 ff.). As μονογενής he was in the time of the emperor Zenon (474—491 A.D.) compared with Christ Himself (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 116 f. ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς Φάνητα φερωνύμως ὁ Ὀρφεὺς προσαγορεύει τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ.). Phanes, when he emerged from the 'white egg' (Orph. frag. 70 Kern *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 55 (i. 111, 17 ff. Ruelle) ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος (so C. A. Lobeck for Κρόνος codd.) αἰθέρι δίφῳ | ὠκὸν ἀργύφειον), contained within him the seed of the gods (Orph. frag. 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 5 f. Pasquali *Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτόν, ὃν τε Φάνητα | πρωτόγονον μάκαρες κάλειον κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον*). Being female as well as male, he begat Nyx, and subsequently consorted with her (Orph. frag. 98 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 22 ff. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 4 Ruelle), cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 170, 4 f. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 22 f. Ruelle)) and by her had three successive pairs of children—Ge or Gaia and Ouranos (Orph. frag. 109 Kern *ap.* Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* pp. 141, 144 (pp. 148, 17 ff., 154, 23 ff. Couvreur)), Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 5 ff. Ruelle)). Nyx as queen (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 25 ff. Ruelle)) received the sceptre of Phanes or Ἐρικεπαῖος, 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 μεθυσθεῖς τοῦ νέκταρος, οἶνος γὰρ οὐπω ἦν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς κῆπον εἰσελθὼν βεβαρημένος ἠΰδεν) ὁ Πόρος τοῦ νέκταρος πλησθεῖς· οὐπω γὰρ οἶνος ἦν. φησὶ γὰρ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἡ Νύξ τῷ Διὶ ὑποτιθεμένη τὸν διὰ μέλιτος δόλον· εὐτ' ἂν δὴ μιν ἴδῃαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν | ἔργοισιν μεθύοντα μελισσῶν ἐριβόμβων, | δῆσον αὐτὸν (Barnes cj. αὐτίκα μιν δῆσον). ὁ καὶ πάσχει ὁ Κρόνος καὶ δεθεῖς 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 ἐπιπηδᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ καταπίνειν δεξιᾶς μέντοι τῆς Νυκτός, Orph. *frag.* 167 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 324, 14 ff. Diehl ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος καταπίνεσθαι τὸν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔφατο παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὄλων· ...ὁ δὲ θεολόγος καὶ οἶον ἐπιπηδᾶν 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 χανῶν μένος Ἑρικεπαίου | τῶν πάντων δέμας εἶχεν ἔῃ ἐνὶ γαστέρι κοίλῃ, | μίξε δ' εἰὸς μελέεσσι θεοῦ δύναμιν τε καὶ ἀλκὴν, | τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα (παρὰ codd. E. Abel prints παντὶ E. Diehl cj. πάντα) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη. | ... πάντα τὰδε κρύψας αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθῆς | μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδῆς προφέρειν πάλι θέσκελα ῥέζων, 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 | αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἠδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὸν ὕψος, | πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτου γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέος ἔδρη (E. Abel has εὔρη), | Ὀκεανός τε μέγας καὶ νεῖατα τάρταρα γαίης | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἄλλα τε πάντα | πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ ἠδὲ θέαιναί, | ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὀππὸς' ἔμελλον, | ἐγγένητο, Ζηνὸς 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 Ζηνὸς καὶ ἐν ὄμμασι πατρὸς ἄνακτος | ναίουσ' ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι | ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὀππὸς' 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 πρῶτος γένητο, Zeus ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος·  
 Zeus κεφαλῆ, Zeus μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·  
 Zeus πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·  
 Zeus ἄρσην γένητο, Zeus ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·  
 Zeus πνοιὴ πάντων, Zeus ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὄρμη·  
 Zeus πόντου ρίζα, Zeus ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·  
 Zeus βασιλεύς, Zeus ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων ἀργικέρανος·  
 πάντας γὰρ κρύψας αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθῆς  
 ἐξ ἱερῆς κραδῆς ἀνεπέγατο μέρμερα ῥέζων.



A fuller version of these lines is found in Orph. *frag.* 168 Kern *ap.* Euseb. *praep. 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·

Zeὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Zeὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος·  
 Zeὺς κεφαλῆ, Zeὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·  
 Zeὺς ἄρσην γένητο, Zeὺς ἄφθιτος<sup>1</sup> ἔπλετο νύμφη·  
 Zeὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·  
 Zeὺς βασιλεύς, Zeὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.  
 ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων γένητο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων,  
 ἐν δὲ<sup>2</sup> δέμας βασιλείου, ἐν ᾧ τὰδε πάντα κυκλείται,  
 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ,  
 καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ<sup>3</sup> καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπῆς·  
 πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς<sup>4</sup> τὰδε σώματι<sup>5</sup> κείται.  
 τοῦ δὴ τοι κεφαλῆ<sup>6</sup> μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα  
 οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεια ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι  
 ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται·  
 ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα,  
 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐραϊῶνων·  
 ὄμματα δ' ἠελίος τε καὶ ἀντιώωσα<sup>7</sup> σελήνη·  
 νοῦς<sup>8</sup> δὲ <οἱ<sup>9</sup>> ἀψευδής, βασιλῆϊος<sup>10</sup>, ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ,  
 ᾧ δὴ πάντα κλύει<sup>11</sup> καὶ φράζεται, οὐδὲ τις ἐστὶν  
 αὐδὴ οὔτ'<sup>12</sup> ἐνοπὴ οὔτε<sup>13</sup> κτύπος οὐδὲ<sup>14</sup> μὲν ὄσσα  
 ἢ λήθει Διὸς οὐας ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.  
 ᾧδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἡδὲ νόημα·  
 σῶμα<sup>15</sup> δὲ οἱ περιφεγγές<sup>16</sup>, ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον,  
 ὄβριμον<sup>17</sup>, ὄβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενές ᾧδε τέτυκται·  
 ᾧμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο  
 ἀῖρ εὐρυβίης· πτέρυγες δὲ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο,  
 τῆς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ'· ἱερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς  
 γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ' ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·  
 μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρυηχέος<sup>18</sup> οἶδμα θαλάσσης  
 καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ρίζαι  
 τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης.  
 πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας<sup>19</sup> αὖθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς  
 μέλλεν<sup>20</sup> ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι, θέσκελα ρέζων.

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

<sup>1</sup> ἄμβροτος Stob.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ om. Stob.

<sup>3</sup> So Prokl. πρωτογενέτωρ codd. A Euseb., F Stob.

<sup>4</sup> Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ Stob. Ζηνὸς μεγάλου Prokl.

<sup>5</sup> δώματι Prokl.

<sup>6</sup> δ' ἦτοι κεφαλῆ Prokl. δὴ τοι κεφαλὴν Euseb.

<sup>7</sup> Heringa cj. ἀνταυγούσα.

<sup>8</sup> Heringa cj. οὐς.

<sup>9</sup> So Prokl. Om. Euseb., cod. F Stob.

<sup>10</sup> Heringa cj. ἀψευδὲς βασιλῆϊον.

<sup>11</sup> κλύει cod. F Stob. and Prokl. κυκλεί Euseb.

<sup>12</sup> οὐδ' Stob.

<sup>13</sup> οὐδὲ Stob. οὐδ' αὖ Prokl.

<sup>14</sup> So Prokl. οὔτε Euseb.

<sup>15</sup> σῆμα cod. F Stob.

<sup>16</sup> πυριφεγγές Prokl.

<sup>17</sup> ἄτρομον Stob.

<sup>18</sup> βαθυηχέος Prokl.

<sup>19</sup> τὰδε κρύψας Prokl.

<sup>20</sup> So cod. F Stob., cp. Prokl. μέλλει Euseb.

προφέρει πάντα καὶ δημιουργεῖ τοῖς νοήμασι. κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 3. 9. 10 f. δι' ὧν ἀνεπι-  
καλύπτως ζῶον μέγα τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τοῦτον Δία προσειπὼν, νοῦν μὲν  
αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰθέρα, σῶμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι. τοιοῦτος μὲν  
τις ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὑπογραφόμενος τυγχάνει Ζεὺς. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐξηγητὴς ἀρξάμενος  
μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολουθῶς λέγει, Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ ζῶων, θεὸς ἐκ  
θεῶν· σαφῶς τὸν θεολογούμενον Δία οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ὁρώμενον καὶ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον  
δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνεύσας). Having asked of Nyx how all things might  
be both one and divided, he was bidden to wrap *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 ἐπιπλώουσιν ἐλίσσεται πάντοθεν ἀφρός· | ἐν δὲ περιπλομέναις ὄραις*  
*ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτεν | παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἣν δὴ παλάμαις ὑπέδεκτο | γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον*  
*ὄμοῦ 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 πόθος πλέον εἶλ', ἀπὸ*  
*δ' ἔκθορε πατρὶ μεγίστῳ | αἰδοίων ἀφροῖο γονή, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ πόντος | σπέρμα*  
*Διὸς μεγάλου· περιτελλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ | ὄραις καλλιφύτοις τέκ' ἐγεργιέλωτ'*  
*Ἀφροδίτην | ἀφρογενῆ* of the second). Zeus also mated with his sister Hera, who  
was said to be *ἰσοτελής*, 'of equal rank,' with him (Orph. *frag.* 163 Kern *ap.*  
Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 20 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* iii. 249, 2 ff. So also Orph. *εὐχή*  
*πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 16, *id.* *h. Her.* 16. 2, *id.* *frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys.  
*per.* 1, Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske). O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.*  
i. 637 ff., in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 716 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.*  
p. 432, in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1140 f.) contends that the Rhapsodic theogony  
further included much that E. Abel (*Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 224 ff.)  
assigns to the *Τελευταί*, in particular the whole story of Dionysos. Zeus consorted  
with his own mother Rhea or Demeter, both he and she being in the form of  
snakes, and had by her a horned, four-eyed, two-faced daughter Phersephone  
or Kore, with whom he, again in snake-form, consorted and had for offspring a  
horned babe, the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus (*supra* i. 398: other notices of



the myth in *Ov. met.* 6. 114, Philostr. *epist.* 30 (58) Hercher, Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 563 ff., Orph. *frag.* 195 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 85, 19 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 198 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. theol.* 6. 11 p. 371 Portus, cp. Orph. *frags.* 180, 192 f. Kern with the remarks of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 550 ff. and Orph. *frag.* 43 Kern). Zeus installed Dionysos or Zagreus on his own throne as king of the gods, allowing him to hold the sceptre and wield the lightning, the thunder, and the rain (*supra* i. 398 f., 647 n. 3). The decrees of the Father were confirmed by the Son (Orph. *frag.* 218 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* iii. 316, 3 ff. Diehl *κράινε μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς πάντα πατήρ, Βάκχος δ' ἐπέκραυε*, 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, ὀλοποιοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ὄντος*). Apollon (Orph. *frag.* 211 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Alcib.* i. 83 Creuzer) and the Kouretes (Orph. *frag.* 151 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 58, 1 ff. Pasquali, *in Plat. Tim.* i. 317, 11 ff. Diehl, *in Plat. theol.* 5. 3 p. 253 Portus and 5. 35 p. 322 Portus) were set to keep watch and ward over the infant king, who was nurtured by the Nymphs (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 43 ff.) like a fruitful olive (Orph. *frag.* 206 Kern *ap. Clem. Al. strom.* 6. 2 p. 442, 8 ff. Stählin) till his sixth (?) year (Orph. *frag.* 257 Kern *ap. Tzetz. exeg. 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. *praep. 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 διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητῆς Ὀρφεύς φησὶν ὁ Θράκιος· “κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγνια, | μῆλά τε χρύσεια καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.” καὶ τῆσδε ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεῖα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος, 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup>: Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>3</sup> ii. 129 n. 4, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 174 ff.) or twenty-six pieces, one for each of his assailants (Diod. 1. 21 = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 1. 16: Diod. 4. 6 calls the assailants Titans)); they then set a caldron on a tripod, boiled the portions, pierced them with spits, held them over the fire (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap. Clem. Al. protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218, cp. Firm.*

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 Οἴνου (= 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 exuit 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 ἀμιστύλλετον ἄνακτος | αἰθέρος ἐν γνάλοισι μερίζομένου ποτὲ Βάκχου | Τητήνων ὑπὸ χερσὶ· πόρες δὲ ἐ πατρὶ φέρουσα, | ὄφρα νέος βουλῆσιν ὑπ’ ἀρρήτοισι 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· ἀρχεγόνου γὰρ | ἐκ κραδῆς ἀνέτελλες, ἀειδομένου Διονύσου (H. Koechly cj. ἀεξόμενος 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<sup>m</sup>. r<sup>1</sup>. fato A<sup>1</sup>. r. v.) suo redditus (F. Oehler cj. *redditur*) 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* r<sup>2</sup>. 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.* Kyrill. *Al. c. Iul.* 2. 44 (lxxvi. 568 B—C Migne) <τῆ> μητρὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγγμεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα <οὐδὲ κατέσχεν vel simile quiddam ins. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 562 n. <sup>f</sup>>, ἀλλὰ μιχθεὶς ἀπλῶς ἄλλῳ παραδέδωκεν αὐτήν. εἶτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ καὶ μελῶν κολλήσεις) and attained a joyful resurrection (Orph. *frags.* 205, 213, 240 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* iii. 241, 5 ff. Diehl, Iust. Mart. *apol.* i. 21 (vi. 360 A Migne), i. 54 (vi. 410 A—B Migne), *cum Tryph. Iud. dial.* 69 (vi. 636 C—638 A Migne), Myth. Vat. 3. 12. 5, Macrobian *comm. in somn. Scip.* i. 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. i. 284 a 1 p. 375, 12 ff. Heiberg, cp. Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662). The bodies of those that had been struck by the thunderbolts were reduced to powder, hence called τίτανος (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 332, 23 ff.: see *supra* i. 655 n. 2), and from their smoking ashes men were made (Olympiod. *in Plat. Phaed.* 61 C p. 2, 27 ff. Norvin καὶ τούτους ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν ἀτμῶν τῶν ἀναδοθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕλης γενομένης γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, cp. Dion Chrys. *or.* 30 p. 550 Reiske ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματος ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἀνθρωποί). It follows that we are part and parcel of Dionysus (Olympiod. *ib.* p. 3, 2 ff. Norvin οὐ δεῖ ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν Διονυσιακοῦ ὄντος· μέρος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμὲν, εἴ γε ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν Τιτάνων συγκεῖμεθα γενοσαμένων τῶν σαρκῶν τούτου), or he of us (Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 77, 24 ff. Pasquali ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς Διονυσιακός ἐστίν καὶ ἄγαλμα ὄντως τοῦ Διονύσου. κ.τ.λ.). Others taught that men arose from the blood of the Giants (Ov. *met.* i. 154 ff., interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 41) or from a rain of blood-drops let fall by Zeus (Ioul. *frag. epist.* i. 375, 21 ff. Hertlein ἀποβλέψαντα...εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῶν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμηι τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πεσοουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν πῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε γένος).

The Rhapsodies, which—as the foregoing summary shows—began with theogony and ended with anthropogony, are supposed by O. Gruppe (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 430, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141 ff., cp. *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215) to have been put together at Athens between 550 and 300 B.C., though they did not obtain much recognition till the time of the neo-Pythagoreans. A *provenance* in Pisistratic Athens is suggested, he thinks, by the dedication of this Orphic poem to Mousaios (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 117, 3), by the identification of Phanes with Metis which allowed Athena (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (μ)) to be viewed as one aspect of the reborn Erikepaios, by the affiliation of Artemis or Hekate (*supra* p. 1029) to Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 41 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, cp. Kallim. *frag.* 556 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 12)—a genealogy known to Aischylos (*supra* p. 252), and by the equation of Rhea with Demeter (*supra* i. 398, ii. 1029) which appears also in Euripides (Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff.) and other fifth-century poets (Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 3 f., Melanippid. *frag.* 10 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *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 γλυκύ | ὄζει, καπνός τ' ἐξέρχεται εὐωδέστερος (T. Bergk cj. εὐωδέστατος); | οἰκεί τις ὡς εἰκεν 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. remp.* ii. 138, 8 ff. Kroll, Syrian. *in Aristot. met.* 2. 4. 1000 b 14 p. 43, 30 f. Kroll, Simplific. *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 Rhapsodies<sup>1</sup>; 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.

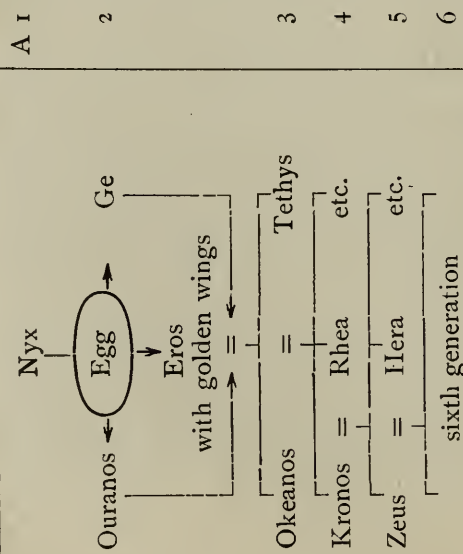
The most striking feature of these theogonies is the cosmic egg—a conception discussed by R. G. Latham *Descriptive Ethnology* London 1859 i. 439—441, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 559 n. 4, Costantin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 355 ff. fig. 6 f., L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 269—271 ('Die Ureimyth'), 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται, but also Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern τῷ δὲ Δίκη πολύποιος ἐφείπετο πᾶσι 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. s. x B.C. (?) as the result of Ionic speculation on Thracio-Phrygian beliefs.



A 1

2

3

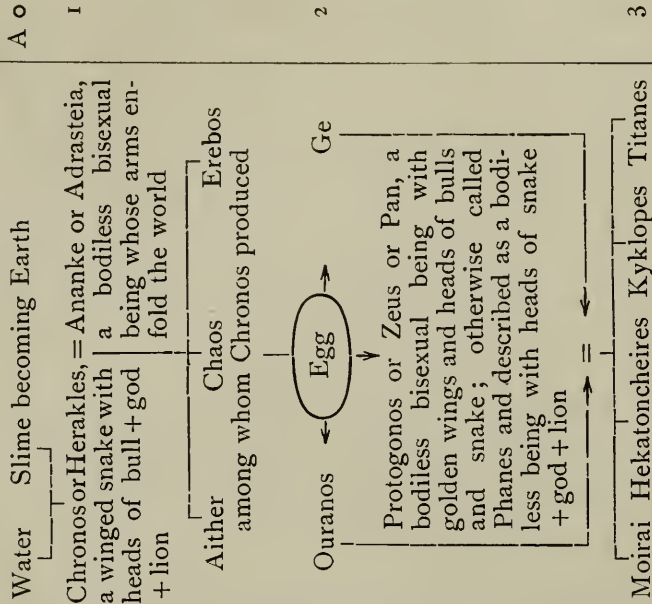
4

5

6

ORPHIC THEOGONY OF HELLANIKOS

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



A 0

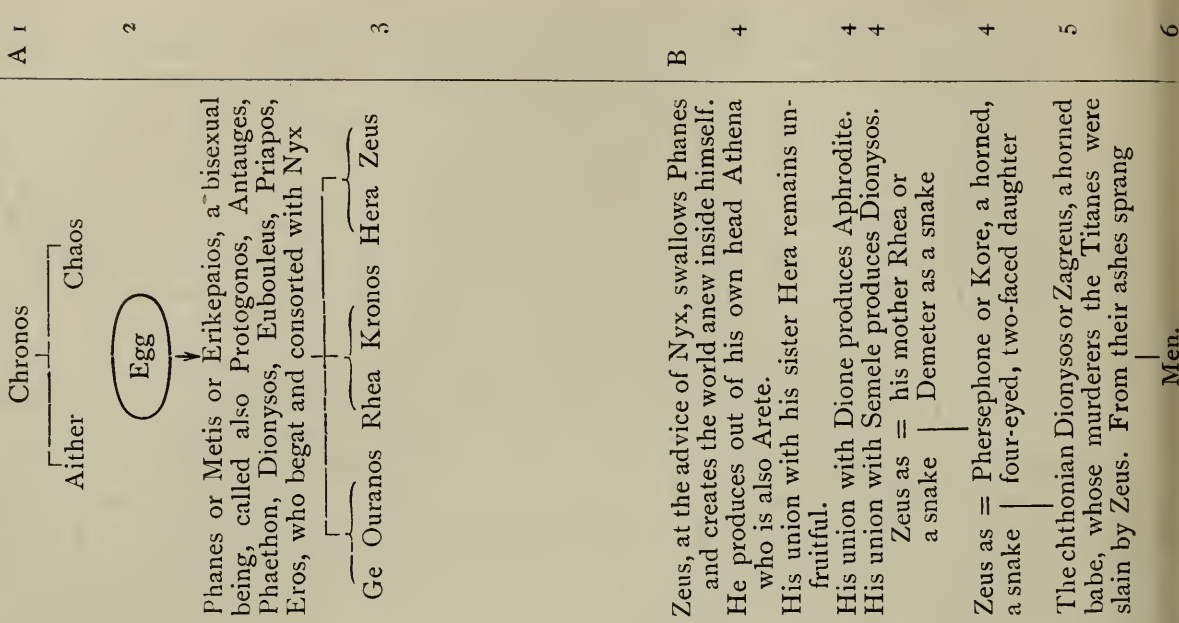
1

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

4

5

6

was originally an egg ('*Weltei*'); (2) the sun in particular is egg-shaped and was originally an egg ('*Lichte*', '*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*<sup>4</sup> 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 Véda* 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, 2<sup>8</sup>) 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, 1<sup>2</sup>) Hiranyagarbha is expressly identified with Prajāpati. In the later literature he is chiefly a designation of the personal Brahmā.' 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 Brahma'... 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. Âditya (the sun) is Brahma... 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 Âditya, the sun'... Cp. the birth of Prajāpati as described in the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11. 1. 6. 1 f. (*The Çatapatha-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 devotions<sup>1</sup> (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 Pragâpati, was produced therefrom... He broke open this golden egg'... or the birth of Brahma as related in the *Laws of Manu* 1. 5 ff. (*The Laws of Manu* trans. G. Bühler (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxv) Oxford 1886 p. 2 ff.) : ' 5 This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness... 6 Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhû, himself)... appeared, dispelling the darkness... 8 He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them. 9 That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun ; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world... 12 The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves ; 13 And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.' Later Hinduism sometimes represented Brahma as born in a golden egg (*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 (*Dīnā-ī Maīnôg-ī Khirad* trans. E. W. West (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxiv) Oxford 1885 p. 84 f.) : ' The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within them are egg-like (khâiyak-dîs), just as it were like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth (L 19 adds 'and below the earth'), like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd ; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky (L 19 has 'and the earth within the sky'), is just like as it were the yolk amid the egg ; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]'. Cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 47 εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ὠρομάξης τρις ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν· ἕνα δὲ ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἶον φύλακα καὶ προόπτῃν ἐγκατέστησε τὸν σείριον, ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέτταρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα θεοὺς εἰς ὧν ἔθηκεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειμανίου γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι διέτρησαν τὸ ὦν· ὅθεν (so D. Wyttenbach, after Xylander, for διατρήσαντος τὸ ὦν γανωθὲν) ἀναμέμκται 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 Phœnician cosmogony we have a threefold account. (i) Eudemos of Rhodes *ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 1 ff. Ruelle) Σιδώνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν συγγραφέα πρὸ πάντων Χρόνον ὑποτίθενται καὶ Πόθον καὶ Ὀμίχλην, Πόθον δὲ καὶ Ὀμίχλης μιγέντων ὡς δυεῖν ἀρχῶν Ἄερα γενέσθαι καὶ Αὔραν, Ἄερα μὲν ἄκρατον τοῦ νοητοῦ παραδηλοῦντες, Αὔραν δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινούμενον τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωτικὸν προτύπωμα. πάλιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοῖν Ὠτον γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νοῦν, οἶμαι τὸν νοητόν. Ὠτος 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 Ὠτος, '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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 799 fig. 352); nor yet to treat ὦτον as a corruption of ὠόν, the cosmic 'egg' (J. Kopp in his ed. of Damaskios (Frankfurt-am-Main 1826) cj. ὠόν, and so did F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>3</sup> 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, ἄηρ, αὔρα, ὠόν. If any change is required, I would rather correct ὦτον to Μῶτον = the Μῶτ of Sanchouniathon's cosmogony (*infra* (iii)). (ii) Mochos of Sidon (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup> Braunschweig 1875 p. 969 f.) *ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ὡς δὲ ἔξωθεν Εὐδήμου τὴν Φοινίκων εὐρίσκομεν κατὰ Μῶχον μυθολογίαν, Αἰθὴρ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ Ἄηρ αἱ δύο αὐταὶ ἀρχαί, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Οὐλωμός, ὁ νοητὸς θεός, αὐτό, οἶμαι, τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ νοητοῦ· ἐξ οὗ ἑαυτῷ συνελθόντος γεννηθῆναι φασι Χουσωρόν, ἀνοιγέα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὠόν, τοῦτον μὲν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητὸν νοῦν λέγοντες, τὸν δὲ ἀνοιγέα Χουσωρόν, τὴν νοητὴν δύναμιν ἅτε 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· ποιοῦσι γὰρ πῶς καὶ τούτους πρὸ τοῦ Οὐλωμοῦ· ὁ δὲ Οὐλωμός αὐτὸς ὁ νοητὸς εἴη νοῦς, ὁ δὲ ἀνοιγεὺς Χουσωρός ἢ μετὰ τὸ νοητὸν πρώτη τάξις, τὸ δὲ Ὦν ὁ οὐρανός· λέγεται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ραγέντος εἰς δύο γενέσθαι Οὐρανὸς καὶ Γῆ, τῶν διχοτομημάτων ἐκάτερον. The names Οὐλωμός and Χουσωρός are presumably Phoenician, not Greek. Οὐλωμός is commonly regarded as the transliteration of the Hebrew עֹלָם ('*ōlām*), 'eternity,' though Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 514 (cp. i. 349, 642) says: 'Dies Wesen war höchst wahrscheinlich zweigeschlechtlich gedacht, da es mit sich selbst den Χουσωρός erzeugt... Demnach scheint es mir (trotz der von Schuster *de vet. Orph. theog. ind. atq. or.* S. 98. Anm. 1 citirten *Kabbalastelle*) zweifello, dass Οὐλωμός nicht... von עֹלָם "Ewigkeit," sondern von עֹלָם "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 עֹלָם (*ōlām*), 'the front, that which is first,' but is more probably the Grecised form of עֹלָם ('*ōlām*), 'eternity.' Similarly Count Baudissin sees in 'Οὐλωμός (wohl עֹלָם)' 'Den Gott der Vorzeit' (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 503 and 488). Cp. Gen. 21. 33 'And Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the Everlasting God' with J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*: 'El [*Ólām*] presumably the pre-Israelite name of the local *numen*, here identified with Yahwe' etc. Χουσωρός, 'the Opener,' remains obscure. H. Ewald 'Über die phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathon's' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1851—1852 Phil.-hist. Classe v. 17 would read Χουσῶρ for Χρυσῶρ in the anthropogony of Sanchouniathon as given by Philon *Bybl. frag.* 2. 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* i. 10. 11 f. χρόνους δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψουρανίου γενεᾶς γενέσθαι Ἀγρέα καὶ Ἀλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἀλιέας εὐρετάς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἀλιεῖς· ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφοὺς σιδήρου εὐρετὰς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας, ὧν θάτερον τὸν Χρυσῶρ λόγους ἀσκῆσαι καὶ ἐπῶδὰς καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡφαιστον, εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὄρμιαν καὶ σχεδιάν, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Δία Μειλίχιον. κ.τ.λ. But Χρυσῶρ may well be an attempt to make the Phoenician Χουσωρός intelligible to Greek readers. Be that as it may, Χουσωρός was doubtless 'the Opener' of the cosmic egg (so F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>3</sup> 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. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερόν, ἐρεβώδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἄπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολὺν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. 'ὅτε δέ,' φησὶν, 'ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἢ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη πόθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων. αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὑδατώδους 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 (Ζωφισημάν cod. H.), τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπται. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ὡοῦ σχήματι. καὶ ἐξέλαμψε Μῶτ ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.' Μῶτ is another conundrum, of which very various interpretations have been given (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3222 f.). F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 136 equated it with the Egyptian Μούθ, 'Mother' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56 : see further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 C—D). H. Ewald *loc. cit.* v. 30 connected it with the Arabic *mâdda*, 'stuff, matter.' W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 11 f., 195 supposes ἰλύν = 𐤇𐤋 'water'; and Sir G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1 likewise says: 'Môt ... is probably a Phœnician form of a word which means *water* in the Semitic languages (ROTH, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251; SCHRÖDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 133).' C. C. J. von Bunsen *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* Gotha 1857 v. 3. 257 n. 25 would correct Μῶτ to Μῶχ = 𐤌𐤇 '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 = 𐤌𐤍 *mavet*, 'death.' Mr N. McLean, who has kindly considered the matter for me, inclines (Sept. 13, 1916) to think that 𐤌𐤍 (*mak*), 'rotteness,' might have an infinitival form 𐤌𐤍 (*mōk*), which would be represented by Μῶκ (not Μῶχ, as Bunsen proposed). He further notes that Ζωφασημίν is a fairly correct transliteration of 𐤌𐤍𐤓𐤕 𐤓𐤌𐤍𐤓 (*sōphē šamayim*), 'observers of heaven.' The three versions of the Phœnician cosmogony may be set out as follows :

EUDEMOS	MOCHOS	SANCHOUNIATHON
Χρόνος Πόθος = 'Ομίχλη   'Αήρ = Αἴρα   ? Μῶτος	'Ανεμος Λίψ Νότος or Αἰθήρ = 'Αήρ   Οὐλωμός   Χουσωρός   Οὐρανός ← 'Ωόν → Γῆ	'Αήρ ζοφώδης καὶ = Χάος θολερόν, πνευματώδης ἐρεβώδες (Πόθος)   Μῶτ   Ζωφασημίν   'Ωόν

## (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 Erikepaios. 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*<sup>3</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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, ἔρως*) 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<sup>1</sup>. (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 ἔπλετο μῦθος*, and perhaps *Od.* 7. 36 *ὠκεῖαι ὡς εἰ πτερόν ἢ ἐ νόημα*) presupposes the view that words had actual wings and flew across from speaker to listener, while the formula *πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο* (*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 *Thes. 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 Tarra-



conensis the earliest coins (s. iii B.C.), copying the Siculo-Punic *drachmai*, 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 ΙΚΕΤΕΣΙ(A), with which festival-name cp. *Od.* 13. 213 Ζεύς σφείας

# Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1041

τίσαυτο ἰκετήσιος 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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

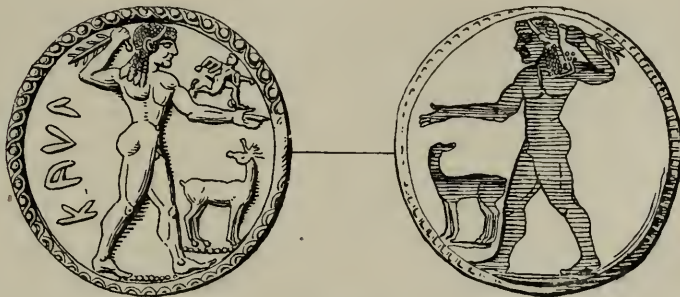


Fig. 888.

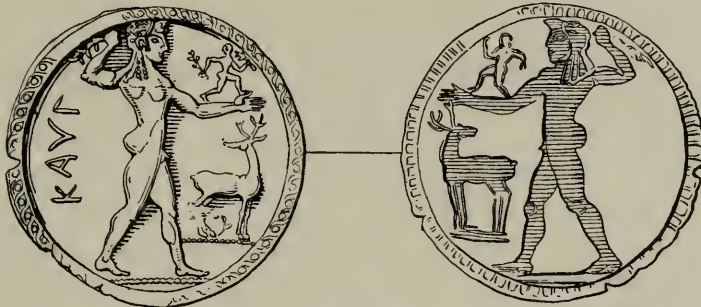


Fig. 889.



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



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

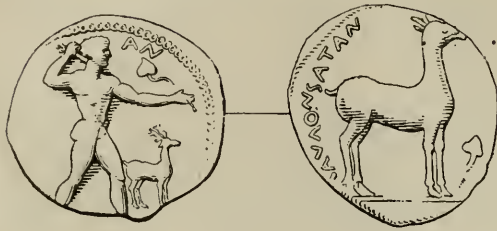


Fig. 891.

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

*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 καθαρής—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.*<sup>1</sup> p. 79 after Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Ἀγών (G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 80, cp. W. Wroth *ib.* 1907 xxvii. 92), or Hermes Ἀγώνιος (Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 85, cp. *Ol.* 6. 133 ff. with scholl. *ad locc.*) or Δρόμιος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 69 f. publishes an inscription from Polyrrhenion Ἐρμῆι Δρομίωι, with which S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 755 cp. Hesych. οὔνιος...δρομεύς), carrying apparently the same emblem, which is also shown growing beneath the stag. P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 86 came nearer to the truth, when he wrote: 'The most plausible alternative view would be to regard him [the small figure] as an embodiment of the χόλος or wrath of the Apollo, who is about to attack the enemies of the deity....' I hold that he is in fact the soul of the god sent forth to work the divine will. The god himself is Apollon, whose epithets ἐκάεργος, ἐκατηβέλτης, ἐκατηβόλος, ἕκατος, ἐκηβόλος are all connected with ἐκών (A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die Griechischen Personennamen*<sup>2</sup> Göttingen 1894 pp. 107, 127, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> 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

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

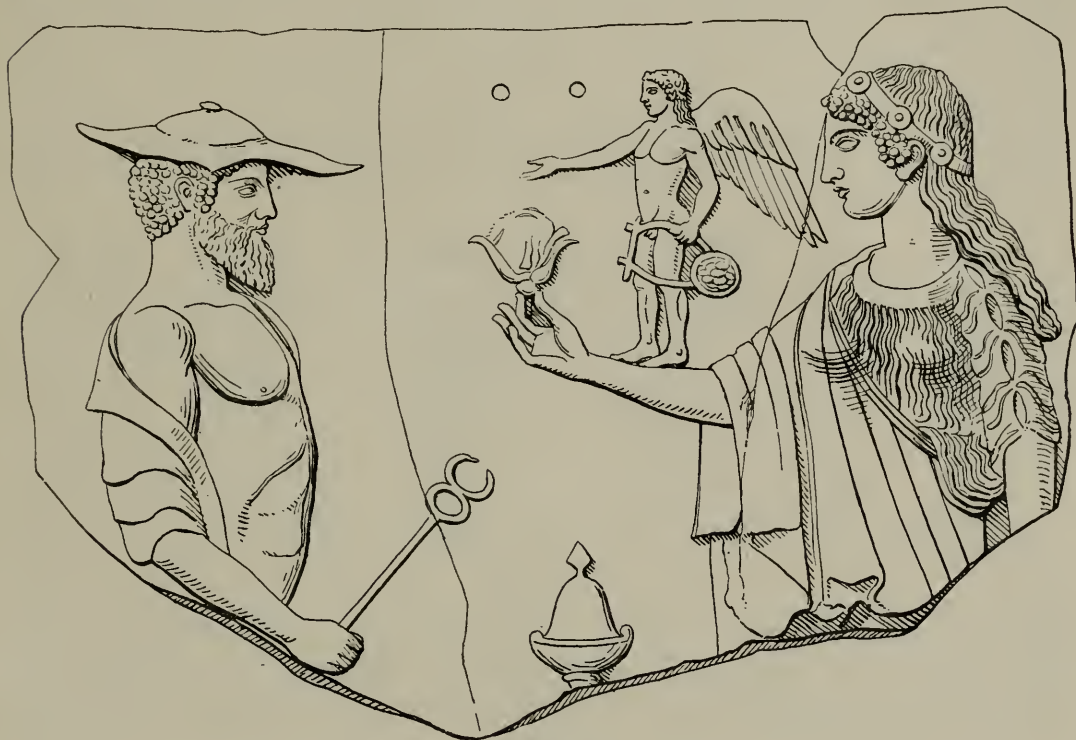


Fig. 892.

*thymiaterion* 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. *praec. coniug.* 1 και γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου 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 = Soud. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστῆς Ἑρμῆς, *id.* *s.v.* Ψιθυριστοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης· ἅπερ πρῶτος ἐποίησεν, ὡς φησι Ζώπυρος (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 533 Müller), Θησεύς, ἐπεὶ Φαῖδρα ὡς φασιν ἐψιθύριζε Θησεῖ κατὰ Ἴππολύτου, διαβάλλουσα αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερόν φασιν Ἑρμῆν Ψιθυριστὴν, παρὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖ συνερχομένους τὰ ἀπόρρητα συντίθεσθαι, καὶ ψιθυρίζειν ἀλλήλοις περὶ ὧν βούλονται = Bekker *anecd.* i. 317, 11 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1881, 1 ff. διὸ καὶ Ψιθύρου Ἀφροδίτης κατὰ Πανσανίαν (*sc.* the lexicographer Pausanias rather than a slip for Harpokration) ἱερὸν ἦν Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ἔρωτος δέ· οὐδὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης, φησί, μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἐκαλεῖτο δέ, φασι, Ψίθυρος διὰ τὸ τὰς εὐχομένας αὐτῇ πρὸς



τὸ οὖς λέγειν, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3198 f. The genesis of the hero Psithyros at Athens (Hesych. s.v. ψιθύρα) and of the god Psithyros at Lindos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 185 f., H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1904 lix. 623 f. (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 467 ff.) in an inscription of early imperial date found by R. F. Kinch near the north angle of the temple of Athena: τῷ Ψιθύρῳ νηὸν πολυκείονα τεύξε Ζέλευκος 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*<sup>4</sup> i. 424 n.\*, A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 79 (misleading) pl. 12, 25 as drawn by Carrey, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 42 fig. 81 photographic view of metope *in situ*, *ib.* fig. 82 photograph of Eros from the cast at Berlin, C. 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<sup>a</sup>, 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<sup>m</sup>)

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<sup>bis</sup>, 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<sup>m</sup>) 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<sup>m</sup>); 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*<sup>8</sup> 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<sup>ma</sup> 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<sup>ma</sup> 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<sup>ma</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 pp. 331—337 figs. 163, 165—169, A. Mau *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* Anhang zur zweiten Auflage Leipzig 1913 p. 48, P. Gusman *Pompeii* Paris 1899 p. 339 with col. pl. 11 opposite p. 388, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 102 f. pl. 43). Eros can be the schoolmaster and wield the whip



Fig. 903.



Fig. 904.



Fig. 905.



Fig. 906.

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



Fig. 907.

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

## Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1049

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*.

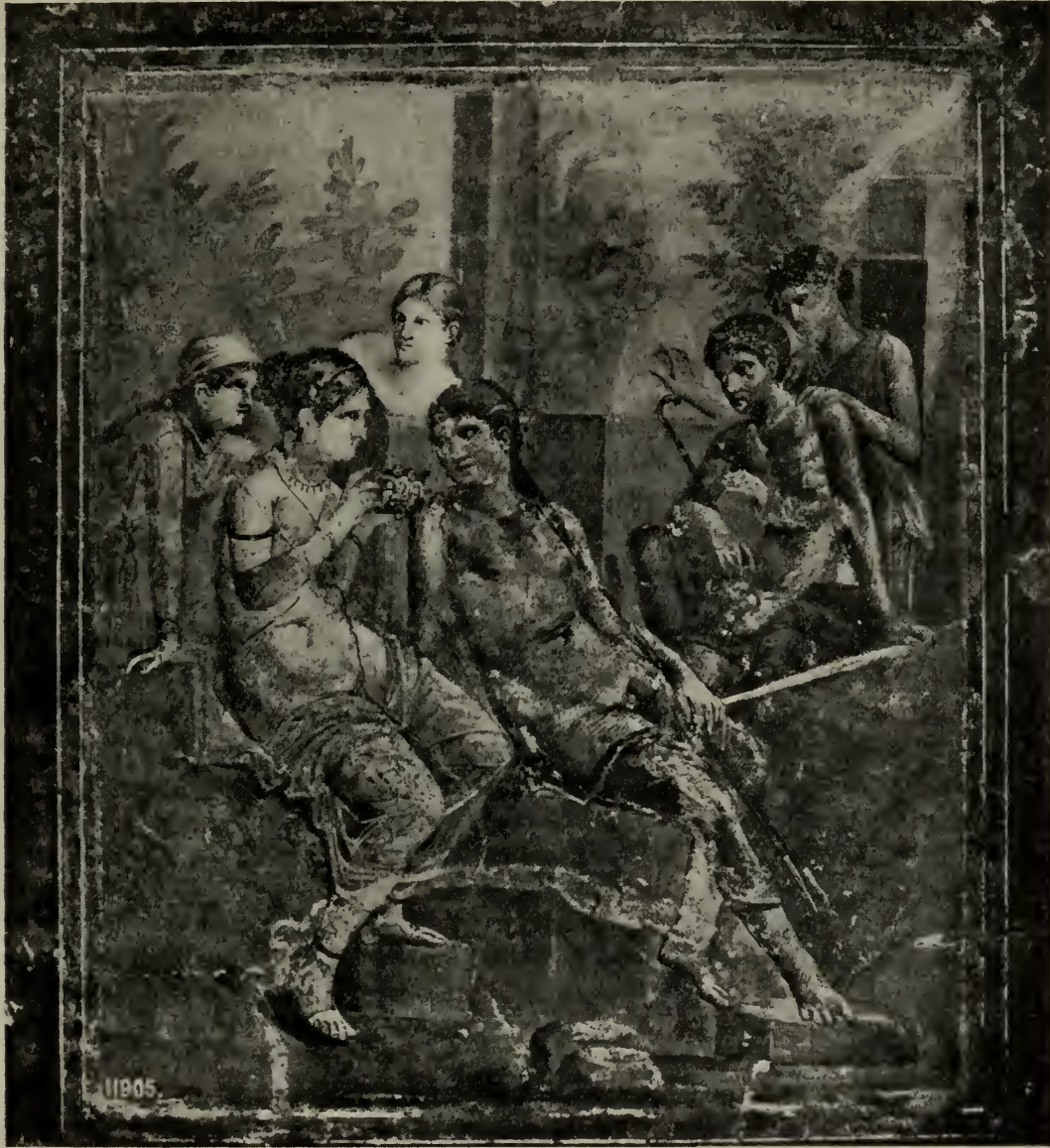


Fig. 908.

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*<sup>4</sup> 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 Archæology* 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 Ἐρέβους... 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

## Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1051

Müller) *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 320, 10 ff. Ruelle)—though schol. Theokr. 13. 1 f. says Ἀκουσίλλας (Kallierges corr. Ἀκουσίλαος) Νυκτὸς καὶ Αἰθέρος (*sc.* υἱὸν εἶπεν τὸν Ἔρωτα), 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 Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 61 no. 1). On a thick slab of white marble (0.71<sup>m</sup> high, 0.49<sup>m</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup> London 1867 p. 399 with fig. on p. 398, *id. Lapidarium Septentrionale* Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1871 ii. 96—98 no. 188 fig., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 395 fig. 315, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 ff. fig. 48 a relief, 1.40<sup>m</sup> high, 0.77<sup>m</sup> 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*

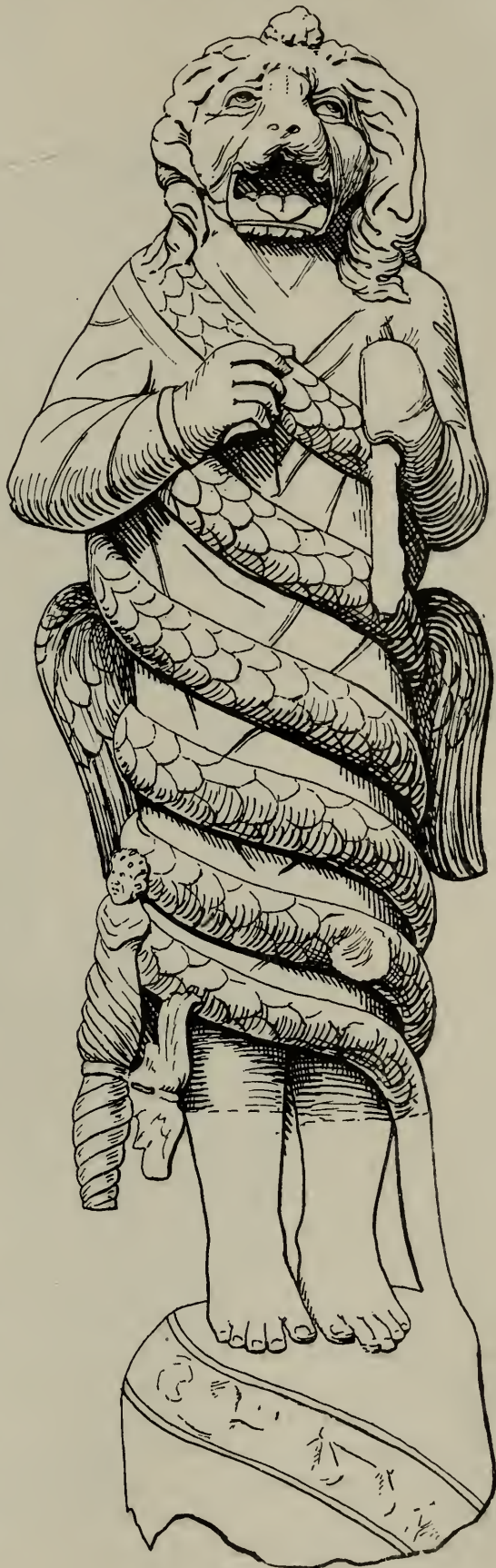


Fig. 910.



*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<sup>m</sup> high, 0.47<sup>m</sup> 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. Valer|ius Heracles pat(er) | et C. Valerii | Vitalis et Nico|mes (*sic*) sacerdo|tes s(ua) p(e)c(unia) p(o)s(ue)r(unt) | D. d. idi. Aug. imp. | Com. | VI et | Septi|miano | cos. = Aug. 13, 190 A.D.). H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1878 iii. 180 f. no. 367, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 258 f. fig. 96, *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> high, 0.35<sup>m</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup> München 1898 p. 771 n. 3) ποτηρίου εἶδος. ἀγγεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ἐν (M. P. Nilsson would delete ἐν) ᾧ τοὺς Κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύουσιν, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἑξηγητικῷ (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2426, ii. 2597 f. makes it highly probable that the reference is to the Ἑξηγητικόν of Autokleides, not Antikleides,—a valuable source for traditional rites) γράφων οὕτως “Διὸς Κτησίου σημεῖα (G. Kaibel *cj.* σιπύας) ἰδρῦεσθαι χρὴ ᾧδε. καδίσκον καινὸν (κενὸν with *αι* above *ε* cod. P.) δίωτον ἐπιθηματοῦντα στέψαι τὰ (so Villebrun and C. F. W. Jacobs for στέψαντα. K. W. Dindorf would follow Jacobs, or else read στέψαντα τὰ) ᾧτα ἐρίῳ λευκῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ᾧμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ κροκίου† καὶ (K. W. Dindorf would omit καὶ) ἐσθεῖναι (so *codd.* A.B. ἐσθῆναι *cod.* P. *edd.* V. L.) ὁ τι ἂν εὐρησῆς καὶ εἰσχέαι (so J. Schweighäuser for εἰσχέαι *cod.* C. ἴσχεται *cod.* P. *edd.* V. L.) ἀμβροσίαν. ἢ δ' ἀμβροσία ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία. ἅπερ ἔμβαλε.” *Cod.* C. epitomizes as follows: φησὶ που Διογένους. εἶτα εἰσχέαι ἀμβροσίαν. ἢ δ' ἀμβροσία, ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνές, 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 κρεμαννύναι, 'lanam suspendito coloris crocei.' Villebrun cj. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιῦ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τι κρόκινον ἀρθῆναι (meaning ἀρτηθῆναι!), ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου 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 εὕρησ. I suspect that we ought to read καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκινόν τι ἐκτείνειν, ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ, and to translate the whole extract as follows: 'The right way to set up the signs of Zeus *Ktésios* is this. Take a new jar with two ears and a lid to it (ἐπιθηματοῦντα is adj.) and wreath its ears with white wool, and stretch a piece of yellow—anything you can find—from its right shoulder and its forehead, and pour ambrosia into it. Ambrosia is a mixture of pure water, olive oil, and all manner of fruits: empty these ingredients in.'

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

The use of the terms ὄτα, ὄμος, μέτωπον reminded Miss Harrison (*Themis* p. 299) 'of the anthropoid vases of the Troad.' But, though such language may have originated in connexion with *Gesichtsurnen* (vide Forrer *Reallex.* pp. 275, 419 and especially J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i), we cannot safely infer that the *kadískos* of Zeus *Ktésios* was of human or partially human shape. The description of it given above recalls rather certain vase-forms developed out of the primitive *píthos* (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 159) such as the large lidded *amphora* of the 'Dipylon' style, or its lineal descendants (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f., A. Brückner—E. Pernice *ib.* 1893 xviii. 143 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 128 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1905 pp. 18 ff., 45 ff.) the *próthesis*-vase of the sixth century and the *loutrophóros* of the fifth. Now all these vases were connected with death and the grave. The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, of which I figure a typical specimen (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 40 f. no. 196 Planches p. 5 pl. 11, A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 131, 139 figs., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 174 fig. 58, 226 fig. 98, S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 196 f. fig. 61. My fig. 911 is from a photograph. Height with lid 0.90<sup>m</sup>), stood half-sunk beneath the surface of the ground (cp. A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 92 fig. 4 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 fig. 4) and—since its bottom is holed—served to convey liquid offerings to the dead beneath it (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 19 'die Vase diente als Hohlaltar, durch welchen man die flüssigen Opfer Milch und Honig, Öl und Wein, vielleicht auch das Blut der Opfertiere hinabströmen lassen konnte'). The lid with its handle in the shape of a vase turned upside down is suggestive of drink-offerings. The procession of chariots above and warriors below would delight the heart of the dead. And snakes moulded in relief round the rim, round the base of the neck, and up either handle sufficiently indicate the funereal character of the whole. The *próthesis*-vase was likewise set up over the grave, as we see from a very remarkable example found at Cape 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<sup>a</sup>—1<sup>e</sup>, pl. 5, 1<sup>f</sup>—1<sup>h</sup> = 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>). 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· γυναικες). (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 :

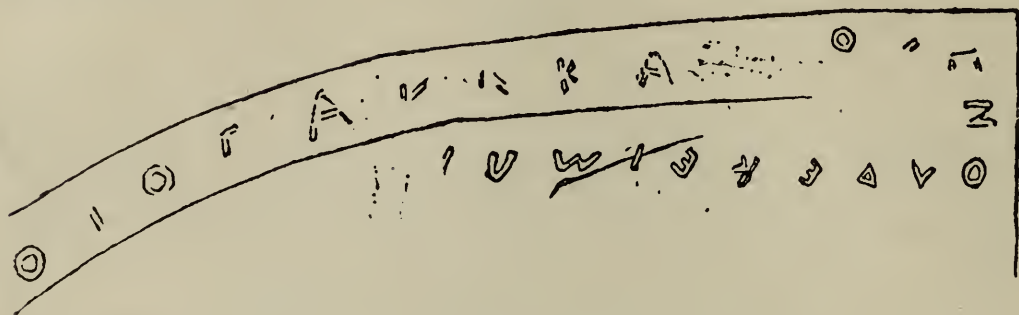


Fig. 913.

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

The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, the *próthesis*-vase, the *loutrophóros*, 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 *σημεία* 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 *ambrosía* (cp. Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 976, 4 f. *κατὰ Πανσανίαν, ὃς λέγει καὶ ὅτι ἀμβροσία γένος τι συνθέσεως ἐξ ὕδατος ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἐλαίου < καὶ (inserui) > παγκαρπίας*): such offerings had come to be conceived as food given by the living to the dead (see e.g. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129 ff., 183 ff.), but were originally a magical means of enabling the dead to make food for the living (see Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 291 ff.). Similar in character was the offering made to the chthonian Zeus in Eur. *frag.* 912 Nauck<sup>2</sup> (from the *Cretes*, according to L. C. Valckenaer) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 11 p. 373, 3 ff. Stählin *σοὶ τῶν πάντων μεδέοντι χοῆν | πέλανόν τε φέρω* (so H. Grotius for *φέρων* cod. L.), *Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἄϊδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις· σὺ δέ μοι | θυσίαν ἄπυρον* (so Abresch for *ἄπορον* L.) *παγκαρπίας* (so Grotius for *παγκαρπίας* L.) | *δέξαι πλήρη προχυθείσαν* (so Valckenaer for *προχυτίαν* L.) | *σὺ γὰρ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαῖς | σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις* (so H. van Herwerden for *μεταχειρίζων* L.) | *χθονίων τ'* (so F. Sylburg for *δ'* L.) *Ἄϊδη (ἄϊδη L.) μετέχεις ἀρχῆς. | πέμψον δ' ἐς* (so A. Nauck for *μὲν* L.) *φῶς ψυχὰς ἐνέρων* (so Nauck for *ἀνέρων* L.) | *τοῖς βουλομένοισι* (Grotius cj. *πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχῶν ἀνέρων ταῖς βουλομένοισι*) *ἄθλους· προμαθεῖν* (so Grotius for *προσμαθεῖν* L.) |

πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ρίζα κακῶν, | τίνα (F. H. M. Blaydes cj. τίμι) δεῖ (so Grotius for δῆ L.) μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενους (so Valckenaer for ἐκθυσσάμενους L.) | εὐρεῖν μοχθῶν ἀνάπαυλαν.

(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. 1 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*<sup>3</sup>: 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 175 denies their identity on grounds that seem to me inadequate) and was conceived as a Jupiter (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, =Wilmanus 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*<sup>2</sup> 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 *πίθοι* the upper parts of which were safeguarded by circular walls, and in these *πίθοι* were remains of human bones (B. Staes in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 p. 15 f. pl. B, 3, *id.* in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895 p. 228 ff. pl. 11, 3, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 524 f., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 222). At Athens a grave of unbaked brick, dating from the same period and containing four bodies, one of them in a crouching attitude, was discovered between 'Pelasgian' house-walls on the S. slope of the Akropolis (A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 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 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 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 ἵα θάπτωσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν'), was viewed as Zeus; for in prehistoric times he had been the representative of the sky-god to his clan. Herein, I take it, lies the ultimate explanation of such cults as that of Zeus 'Αγαμέμνων, who was worshipped at Sparta, if not at Athens (Append. I), Zeus 'Αμφιάραος, who had a popular sanctuary at Oropos (Append. J), Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος, the great oracular deity of Lebadeia (Append. K), and Zeus 'Ασκληπιός, the healer of 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 Thespiai, now in the Museum at Thebes (inv. no. 330), bears the inscription ΔΙΟΣ | ΚΤΗΣΙΟΥ in lettering of s. iii (?) B.C. and below it a relief, partially chipped away to make the block available for building purposes, but still plainly portraying a coiled snake with crest and beard (M. P. Nilsson 'Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios' in the *Ath. Mitth.*



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<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.72<sup>m</sup>. 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 *pîloi*, *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 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 58, and especially M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 331 f. pl. 17, 1—6 gold *statêres* of Tarentum struck *c.* 281 B.C.: obv. head of Zeus to left with ΝΙΚ as monogram in the field to right; rev. ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ and ΝΙΚΑΡ and on one specimen ΦΙ, eagle to right on thunderbolt with two *amphorae*, sometimes surmounted by stars, in the field to right, *id. ib.* 1899 ii. 333 f. pl. 17, 16—18 quarter *statêres* of gold with same reverse type, but obverse showing laureate head of Apollon. The presence of the *amphorae* as symbols on these coins is explained by the fact that at Tarentum there was a cult of the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 n. 6 fig. 8). In 1880 A.D. numerous terra-cottas were found at Tarentum, including a series of votive tablets studied by E. Petersen 'Dioskuren in Tarent' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 3—61 with 2 pls. and many figs. and by G. Gastinel 'Cinq reliefs Tarentins' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 i. 46—58 with 4 figs. The tablets are in the form of *naïskoi* and were originally painted. As classified by Petersen, they comprise the following types:

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

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

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

were retained as signs of the divinised dead long after the custom in question had ceased to be. If Zeus *Ktésios* was, as I maintain, an early Greek king buried in his own house, it is certainly permissible to assume that he was buried in a *phithos*. 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 ὡς περ καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἰσθᾶ πον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούων, οἷοις 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 ὅσαι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καθαίρουσιν, αἶμα ἐπιχέουσαι τοῦ ἱερείου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ αἱ θρηνητρίαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἱ μαῖαι αἱ ἐκτιθεῖσαι ἐν χύτραις τὰ βρέφη = Soud. *s.v.* ἐγχυτρίστριαι = *el. 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 *phithos*-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 *phithos*, would know how to protect his own goods bestowed in other *phithoi*.

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

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

Under this title Zeus was worshipped at Athens (Dem. *in Mid.* 53 Δὲ Κτησίῳ βούν 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 Φιλόνεῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὄντα ἱερὰ (C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 n. 1 would read ὄντι θύειν ἱερὰ) Δὲ Κτησίῳ, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς Νάξον πλεῖν ἔμελλεν. κάλλιστον οὖν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Φιλόνεῳ τῆς



αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ θύσαντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐστιᾶσαι ἐκείνῳ, *ib.* 18 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, οἷον εἰκός, ὁ μὲν θύων Διὶ Κτησίῳ κάκεινον ὑποδεχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἐκπλείν τε μέλλων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ αὐτοῦ δειπνῶν, κ.τ.λ., cp. for the domestic celebration *Isai. or.* 8. 16 καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκείνου πάσας· τῷ Διὶ τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκείνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκοινωνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχειροουργοῦμεν καὶ συνεπετίθεμεν καὶ τᾶλλα συνεποιοῦμεν, καὶ ἠύχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδόναι καὶ κτήσιν ἀγαθὴν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ὄντα πάππου) and Phlyeis (Paus. I. 31. 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ... ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Διήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας < καὶ ins. Siebelis > Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς (Siebelis cj. Τριτώνης) Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν), at Thespiai (*supra* p. 1061), at 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.*<sup>2</sup> no. 576 a white marble boundary-stone inscribed in lettering of c. 400 B.C. Διὸς Ἐρκεῖο Πατρῶιο : καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου), in the Kyklades Syros (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 670 an altar from *Psarriana* inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κτησίου), Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1361 fig. = my

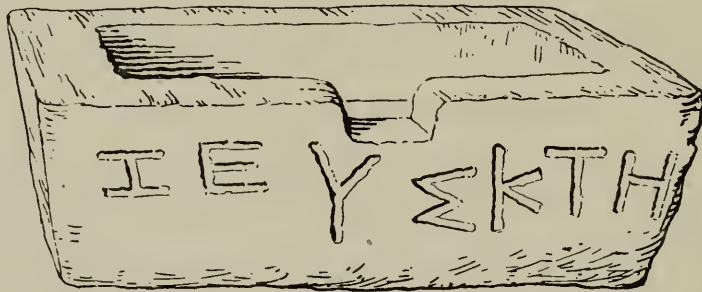


Fig. 917.

fig. 917 a small altar or ἐσχάρα of volcanic stone inscribed Ζεὺς Κτή(σιος)), Anaphe (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2477, 17 [Διὸς?] τοῦ Κτησίου, which is corrected *ib.* p. 1091 to [ὁ]πεῖ ὁ [βω]μὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξο[άνι]ον and in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 201 ff. no. 3430, 12 to [ὁ]πεῖ ὁ βωμὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξοάνιον = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 248, 13 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 853, 12 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Τύχῃ 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'Ormellé de Phrygie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 503 part of an astragalomantic inscription found at *Tefeny* col. iii, 19 δδδδσ α 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 *θαρσῶν ἐν χειρὶ καὶ ἐ[π' ἐ]| λπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός, ὡς.... | μανύει καὶ τὸν νοσέοντ[α δὲ σώσ[ε]μ[ε]. εἰ δὲ τι μαντεύη χρ[ησμός...]. δ]εις ἀπολήψη.* I should venture to restore and read the lines as follows: *θαρσῶν ἐνχειρὶ, καὶ ἐπ' ἑλπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός, | ὡς καλὰ μανύει καὶ τὸν νοσέοντα δὲ σώσει. | εἰ δὲ τι μαντεύη, χρ[ησμούς] ἡδεῖς ἀπολήψη.* 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 | Παπίαν τὸν ἑαυτῆ[s] | ἄνδρα, Τειμοκράτη[s] | τὸν πατέρα, Καρποφόρος τὸν θρέψαντα | κατειέρωσαν. | ἔτους σοά' μη(νός) | Αὐδναίου 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 [*Διὸς Κ*]τησίω | [*M.*] Ἀυρήλιος | 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 | ΠΑΝΚΤΗ|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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 | δῶρων, οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων. | ᾧ μὲν κ' ἀμμίξας δῶη Ζεὺς τερπικέρανος, | ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ. | ᾧ δὲ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δῶη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε. | καὶ ἑ κακῆ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει, | φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.* For full *apparatus criticus* see A. Ludwich *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. *remf.* i. 96, 14 f. Kroll. Dr W. Leaf in 1888 printed *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων. | κ.τ.λ.* and supposed that 'Zeus has two jars of evil for one of good' (cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 143 ff. *ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν 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 εἰῶν = ἕτερος μὲν κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ εἰῶν 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 ἐλεγειοποιὸς τοὺς δὲ ἐποιοιοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν, *pol.* 2. 4. 1262 a 26 f. φόνους ἀκουσίου, τοὺς δὲ ἐκουσίου. Moreover, the existence of the variant κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν, which is not of course 'more careless than the average of Plato's citations' but good evidence of the pre-Aristarchean text, makes it practically certain that the jars were conceived as two in number):

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

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

Finally, it should be observed that sundry Greek antiquarians described the Roman *di Penates* as *θεοὶ Κτήσιοι* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐξηρμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τοῦνομα οἱ μὲν Πατρώους ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ Γενεθλίους, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μυχίους, οἱ δὲ Ἐρκίους, cp. *ib.* 8. 41 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοὶ Κτήσιοι καὶ ἐστία πατρώα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε). The description was apposite; for the *di Penates*, as divinised ancestors (?? see *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 ff.) keeping watch over the *penus*, were in function at least strictly analogous to Zeus *Ktésios*. Perhaps indeed the likeness extended to the signs and symbols of their presence; for the *Penates* of Lavinium were represented by 'caducei of iron and bronze together with Trojan pottery' (Timaios *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 197 Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν πέρι Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται· κηρύκια σιδηρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κέραμον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν 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 Aineias 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.*<sup>3</sup> 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 τὰγαμέμνονος, on which Tzetzes remarks Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. This is confirmed by Lyk. *Al.* 1124 Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (*sc.* ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων) with Tzet. *ad loc.* ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰδρύσαντο Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἥρωος, Staphylos *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 506 Müller) *ap.* Clem. *Al. protr.* 2. 38. 2 p. 28, 17 f. Stählin Ἀγαμέμνονα γοῦν τινα Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλος ἱστορεῖ, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία...σέβει.

For his cult at Athens the evidence is slighter: Lyk. *Al.* 1369 ff. πρῶτος μὲν ἦξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμώνυμος Ζεὺς, ὃς καταβάτης μολῶν | σκηπτῷ πυρώσει πάντα δυσμενῶν σταθμά with Tzet. *ad loc.* Λαπέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *cj.* Λακωνικῆς), ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐστίν. ὁ ὁμώνυμος οὖν τῷ Λαπερσίῳ Διὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, κ.τ.λ. The *cj.* Λακωνικῆς is supported by Soph. *frag.* 871 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 957 Jebb, *ap.* Strab. 364 νῆ τῷ Λαπέρσα (*sc.* the Dioskouroi), νῆ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, | νῆ τοὺς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεοῦς, Rhian. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαπέρσα θηλυκῶς, ὄρος Λακωνικῆς, οὗ μέμνηται Ῥιανὸς ἐν Ἡλιακῶν πρώτῳ· ἀπὸ τῶν Λαπερσῶν Διοσκοῦρων. τὸ ἔθνικόν Λαπερσαῖος. See further W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup> Braunschweig 1875 ii. 773.

With regard to the interpretation of this evidence ancient and modern views have differed widely: Metrodoros of Lampsakos, who allegorized Homer (Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 37), took Agamemnon to be the *aithér* (Hesych. Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν αἰθέρα Μητροδώρος ἀλληγορικῶς). Eustath. *in Il.* p. 168, 11 ff. is hardly more satisfactory: δοκεῖ εὐλόγως παρὰ Δάκωσι Ζεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπιθετικῶς εἶναι, ὡς ὁ Λυκόφρων λαλεῖ· Ἀγαμέμνων τε γὰρ εὐρυκρείων καὶ Ζεὺς εὐρυμέδων. εἰ δὲ ταῦτὸν εὐρυκρείων καὶ εὐρυμέδων, λέγοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο διθυραμβικώτερον καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων Ζεὺς, καθότι καὶ εὐρυκρείων. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 183 regards Ἀγαμέμνων as a title of Zeus, 'Erzwalter.' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 157 renders 'Zeus...der "grosse Sinner"' and *ib.* n. 22 cites the vase inscriptions ΑΛΔΑΜΕΣΜΟΝ 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 3) with which he compares such names as Ἀγαμήδης, Ἀγαμήστωρ. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 12 f., 333 f., following F. Deneken in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2449 f., holds that a god Ἀγαμέμνων (ἀγα-+μεμ-), 'der viel sinnende, viel Sorge tragende, mächtig schirmende und schützende,' whose partner was originally Ἀλεξάνδρα, came to be identified with Zeus. On the etymology see, however, K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*<sup>4</sup> München 1913 p. 89: 'Dass uridg. -nm- auch zu -μν- geworden sei, glauben wir nicht. Man nimmt an, Ἀγα-μέμνων sei aus \*-μενμων (zu ai. *mánman-*) entstanden (DE SAUSSURE, *Mém.* 4, 432). Wäre das richtig, so könnte die besondere Behandlung der Gruppe -nm- 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 \* ἰδμος (falls zu ἰδω, 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. μνῶ neben ion. δμῶς: in einzelnen griechischen Dialekten wurde also δμ zu νμ (vgl. ἰm aus gm § 87, 6) und dieses weiter zu μν (vgl. neuir. meanna=altir. menne 'mens') zu einer Zeit, wo der Wandel von uridg. -nm- zu -μμ- schon längst vollzogen war<sup>1</sup>. (<sup>1</sup>Dass 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<sup>2</sup> 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.* 1. 65 divom pater atque hominum rex, Hes. *theog.* 923 θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν), and in *Il.* 2 478 he is described as ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν (S. A. Naber cj. φθογγήν) ἕκλος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ. See further *supra* p. 1060 f.

## APPENDIX J.

### ZEUS AMPHIÁRAOS.

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

under the protection of Zeus appears from Pind. *Nem.* 9. 58 ff. ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρησχίσειεν κεραυνῶ παμβία | Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερον χθόνα, κρύψειν δ' ἄμ' ἵπποις, | δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν | θυμὸν αἰσχυνθήμεν, 10. 13 ff. γαῖα δ' ἐν Θήβαις ὑπέδεκτο κεραυνωθεῖσα Διὸς βέλεσιν | μάντιν Οἰκλείδαν, πολέμοιο νέφος, Apollod. 3. 6. 8 Ἀμφιαράω δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τρωθῆναι, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἄρματι καὶ τῷ ἠνιόχῳ Βάτωνι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἐλάτωνι (so R. Wagner after Sommer, who suggested Ἐλάτωνι or Ἐλατίω. L. Dindorf cj. Ἐλάτω. ἐλάττω R. ἐλάττωνι \*R<sup>a</sup>. ἐλάττωνον P. R<sup>b</sup>. R<sup>c</sup>. 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 Latinus 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

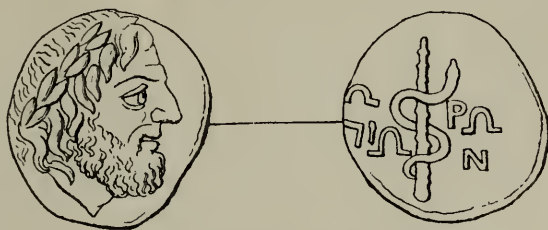


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

Oropos (on which see F. Dürrbach *De Oropo et Amphiarai 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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, *minus* head and extremities, 'παριστὰν δὲ βεβαίως τὸν Ἀμφιάραον ὡς τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, στηριζόμενον ἐπὶ ῥάβδου περὶ ἣν ἐλίσσεται ὄφεις,' and of a small relief representing a similar Amphiaras and Hygieia seated on a rock beside him (cp. 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 102 no. 4, 3 = *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 311, 3, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 106 no. 6, 3 = *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 372, 3, *ib.* i no. 412, 11), while above them appears the head of Pan another partner in their cult (Paus. i. 34. 3).

The hero's name offers a variety of problems. Ἀμφιάραος had a clipped form Ἀμφίς (Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 104 (ii. 205, 16 ff. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 93, 50 ff. = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀμφίς, cp. *et. mag.* p. 159, 31, cites Aisch. *frag.* 412 Nauck<sup>2</sup>). 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 Παισῶ). See further H. Usener in E. Bethe *Thebanische Heldenlieder* Leipzig 1891 p. 65, *id.* *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 355, *id.* in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 40 ff. (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 237 ff.), who holds that Ἀμφίος gave rise, on the one hand to Ἀμφίων (cp. *et. mag.* p. 92, 41 ff.), on the other to Ἀμφιάραος, Ἀμφιάρεως, Ἀμφιάρης. It may, however, be doubted whether Usener has said the last word on the subject; for the etymology of the name Ἀμφιάραος is still far from clear. F. G. Welcker *Der epische Cyclus*<sup>2</sup> Bonn 1882 p. 322 takes Ἀμφιάραος to mean 'der Beter' (ἀράομαι). P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 32, 123 argues that Ἀμφιάρης, for \*ἈμφιάρηΦος, was derived from ἰαρεύς (stem ἰαρηF-) and meant ἀρχιέρεως, but that Ἀμφιάραος was formed by popular etymologizing from ἀράομαι. A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*<sup>2</sup> Göttingen 1894 p. 438 f. connects with Ἄρης: 'Dasselbe Element ist in ἀμφι-άρης Zeus.' Similarly J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 225 suggests that at Argos Areios (Ap. Rhod. 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 πότερ' 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 Ἀμφιτρούων (τρούω, τροπᾶν, 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 *Trepfónios* or *Trophónios* at Lebadeia Rohde *Psyche*<sup>3</sup> i. 125 n. 1 cites the following evidence: Strab. 414 Λεβάδεια δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον ἰδρυται, χάσματος ὑπονόμου κατάβασιν ἔχον, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος, Liv. 45. 27 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Trophonii adit (*sc.* L. 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. *hyrphonis* 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, ἔνθα καὶ μαντεῖον Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν κατεσκεύαστο [*? leg.* μαντεῖον Διὸς, <Τροφωνίου> τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαντος], Phot. *lex.* (p. 154 Hermann) *s.v.* Λεβαδία· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἐν ἣ Διὸς μαντεῖον, Τροφωνίου κατασκευάσαντος, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3090 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 f. no. 423 Ἰππων Ἐπινίκαν Νικίαο | Διὶ Τροφωνίῳ 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 Hermaïa (*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 χρῆσμον Διὸς | Τροφωνίου, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3077, 3 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροφωνίου Τροφωνιανός (the priest being named after his god, as Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 11 f. remarks).

Further, at Lebadeia—as I urged in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 301—Zeus bore the significant title Βασιλεύς (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073, 89 f. and 93 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589, 89 f. and 93 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> 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 *Fί*]διω[ν] δουλι[κὸν | π]αυδάριον Ἀθάνωνα τῷ Διὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τεῖ Τροφωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάν[τα | χ]ρόνον ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς 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 Τροφ[ω]νίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν | τὸν πάντα χρόνον, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3083, 6 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 163 no. 425, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1392, 6 ff. τὸν | *Φίδιον* θεράποντα Ἀνδρικὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ | κῆ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν παρμείναντα παρ | τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώραν *Φέτια* δέκα, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3085, 2 ff. τὸ ἴδιον δουλικὸν παι[δ]άριον | Σωκράτην, παραμείναντα Κι.....] καὶ Ἀριστοκίδι, τὸ[ν] πάντα | χρόνον ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν] ἀνάθ[ε]σιν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βα[σι]λεῖ], *ib.* no. 3091, 1 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 no. 422, 1 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1115, 1 ff. Νέων *Φασκώ[ν]δο*] | ἀγωνοθετεῖ[σας] | τὰ Βασιλεια | τὸ ἐλοχρίσ[τιον] | ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δι] | τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖ] κ[ῆ] τῆ] | πόλι in an inscription



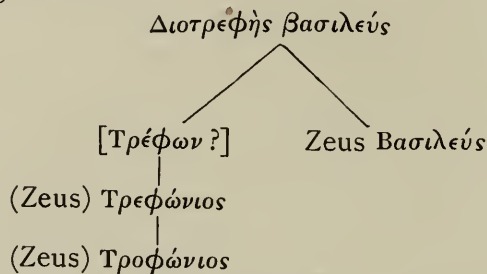
which can be dated shortly after 250 B.C., cp. Polyb. 20. 5. 5, 8, 14, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3096, 1 f. Διὶ Βασιλεῖ | καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* no. 4136, 1 ff. = M. Holleaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 19 ff. no. 10, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 635 B, 27 ff. Καλλικλίδας Δοκρὸς ἐς Ὀπέοντος καταβὰς ἐν Τρεφώνιον ἀνάγγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Διὶ τοῖ Βασιλεῖ ἀνθέμεν | κῆ τοῖ Τρεφώνιοι, κ.τ.λ., 32 f. ὅστις δέ κα τῶ | Διὸς τῶ Βασιλεῖος ἐπιμελειθεῖει 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.* i. 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.* i. 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 ἐφερμηνεῖ, διὰ τὴ Διογενεῖς καὶ Διοτρεφεῖς τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμή. φησὶ γάρ· “τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν,” ἢ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδὴ. ἀφιδρύματα γὰρ ὡσανεὶ Διὸς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ βασιλεῖς, cp. *ib.* p. 316, 33 f.): the relation is moralised by Themist. *or.* 6 p. 79 A—B ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴ καὶ πραότης καὶ εὐμένεια...μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐγγυτέρα τῷ κοινωνοῦντι τῆς φύσεως; αὕτη ποιεῖ θεοεἰκελον, αὕτη θεοειδῆ, οὕτω Διοτρεφῆς γίνεται βασιλεύς, οὕτω Διογενής, οὕτως αὐτῷ τὴν θειότητα ἐπιφημίζοντες οὐ ψευσόμεθα). Now Διοτρέφης, Διειτρέφης, and similar names have a shortened form Τρέφων (A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*<sup>2</sup> 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 Ὀπωρεύς in *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2733 = Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 151 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 213, 396 no. 567 an early inscription from Akraiphia Κρίτων καὶ Θεϊόσδοτος τοῖ | Διὶ τῶπωρέϊ. 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 *thólos*-tomb of an old Boeotian king (cp. schol. Loukian. p. 255, 21 ff. Rabe). Those who descended into it to consult the divinised dead took honey-cakes in their hands (Aristoph. *nub.* 506 ff., Paus. 9. 39. 11, Poll. 6. 76, Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 2, Max. Tyr. 14. 2, Hesych. *s.v.* μαγίδες) for the reptiles that they might encounter (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 19 p. 335 Kayser, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 = Soud. *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 = Soud. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια) or snakes (Soud. *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. Ἐνναία... | Ἐρκυννὴ Ἐριννὸς κ.τ.λ. with Tzetz. *ad loc.* Ἐρκυννὴ Ἐριννὸς ἐπώνυμα Δήμητρος. κ.τ.λ., Hesych. Ἐρκύνια (so S. Potter for Ἐρκήνια)· 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 Amphiaraios; 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 = Soud. *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*<sup>5</sup> 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 Iove (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, Βουλαῖος, 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 Epidaurus, Hermione, and Pergamon is attested by a considerable body of evidence, inscriptional, literary, and monumental.

#### (1) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Inscriptions.

M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1000 Epidaurus [Γᾶ(?)]ος Ἰο[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 Epidaurus ----- ν ----- | ----- ος Διογνήτου ἱερεὺς | Ἀσκληπιῶ Διὶ κατὰ ὄναρ. | with the numeral ρς'. *Id. ib.* i no. 1086 Epidaurus Παταῖος --- | 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 ΠΑΙΛΙΟΣ *i.e.* Πόπλιος Αἴλιος and put a comma between Ἀσκληπιῶι and Δί. M. Fränkel in his note on the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1086 thinks Blinkenberg's reading possible, but demurs to his punctuation. The inventory-symbols, which appear to have been added to the inscriptions *c.* 306 A.D. (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 186), suffice to prove that at Epidauros Asklepios was then known as Zeus Ἀσκληπιός Σωτήρ and Zeus as Asklepios Ζεὺς Τέλειος. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1198 = M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. no. 692 = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 185 no. 3396 Hermione Ξενότιμος Πολυκλέος | Δάματρι Χθονίαι, Δί Ἀ(σκ)λαπιῶι, where K. O. Müller *Die Dorier*<sup>2</sup> 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.

### (2) Zeus Asklepiós in Literature.

Their view is supported by E. Thraemer *loc. cit.*, who adds: 'Besonders häufig findet sich Zeus A. bei Aristeides, nicht etwa ein 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 Asklepieion freilich nichts zu thun, ist vielmehr eine Neuschöpfung des 2. Jhdts. v. Chr., seine Stätte die grösste Ruine der Unterstadt, die früher Basilika genannte, jetzt in Berlin für Thermen gehaltene Anlage über dem Selinos. Dass wir es hier mit dem Tempel und ἄλσος des Zeus A. zu thun haben, werde ich demnächst an anderem Orte nachweisen.' See further K. Pilling *Pergamenische Kulte* Naumburg a. S. 1903 p. 23 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 271) and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 295, 1094 n. 19, 1456 n. 4. Cp. Aristeid. *or.* 6. 37 (i. 64 f. Dindorf) καὶ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιουῦ νεῶν οὐκ ἄλλως οἱ τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐμοὶ σαφῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰκὸς δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον, ἐν ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε τρόπῳ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις εἴρηται, οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ τὸ πᾶν ἄγων καὶ νέμων σωτήρ τῶν ὄλων καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ἀθανάτων, εἰ δὲ θέλεις τραγικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ἔφορος οἰάκων, σώζων τὰ τε ὄντα αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. εἰ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα καὶ τρίτον ἀπὸ Διὸς νομίζομεν αὐτόν, αὐθις αὖ καὶ συνάπτομεν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία γενέσθαι λέγουσί ποτε, πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα 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 *oinochóe*, the wall hung with three garlands and votive limbs, and a Messenian copper of Roman date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 112 pl. 22, 16, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 66 pl. P, 1 f.), on which



Asklepios appears with a large wreath by his side), *or.* 23. 290 (i. 464 Dindorf) καὶ ἄμα λαμβάνω τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸ ποδῶν κειμένην τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, *or.* 26. 332 (i. 516 Dindorf) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἡμῖν κοινῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀναθήματος συνεδόκει καὶ τῷ ἱερείῳ καὶ τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀναθεῖναι ἐν Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ταύτης γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι χώραν καλλίω· καὶ οὕτω δὴ τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἢ 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*<sup>4</sup> 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-statue 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 383 accepting J. Sundwall's date, 177 B.C.; (ii) ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ E. Beulé *op. cit.* p. 401, Head *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> 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-statue 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. 1, 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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. K, 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>1</sup> pl. 1, 26, *id. Monn. gr.* p. 133 no. 2<sup>a</sup>, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Phylomachos (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 Phylomachos 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *phidle* (?); before his feet is a second pine-cone (cp. Asklepios at Sikyon as described by Paus. 2. 10. 3 ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχων γένεα,

χρυσοῦ 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 (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 42 f. no. 173 f., P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885 p. 48 ff. pl. 2, 6 and 1894 p. 11 ff. pl. 1, *id.* *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 22 pl. 9, 21, A. Defrasse—H. Lechat *Épidaure* Paris 1895 p. 83 ff. with figs., Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 3, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt.*



gr. ii. 186 f. fig. 88). Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 148—154 no. 173 f. pl. 31 (cp. my figs. 924, 925) has made out a strong case for supposing that they were metopes from the temple of Asklepios, carved in s. iv B.C. On his showing the one (fig. 924) represents Zeus seated on a throne, the arms of which are supported by winged sphinxes and end in rams'-heads. His right hand held a sceptre; his left was extended. An ample *himátion*, draped over the back of the throne and round the legs of the god, left bare his broad chest. His head wore a metal wreath (holes for attachment remain), and his feet were shod with sandals of strap-work. Altogether he was an august and imposing figure. The other relief (fig. 925) shows Asklepios, very similar in attitude and costume, but curiously diverse in effect. A comfortable man with soft, podgy body, he sits on a cushioned chair with easy back, crosses his feet, and talks with a gesture of his right hand. He might be a Harley Street consultant prescribing for a patient. The same humanity and affability are characteristic of Asklepios, even when an attempt is made to emphasise his Zeus-hood by means of external attributes. For instance, an alliance-copper of Pergamon and Ephesos, struck by Commodus, has Asklepios standing, in his right hand the serpent-staff, in his left a Nike, who offers a wreath to Artemis (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 888,



Fig. 926.

Suppl. i. 295: but cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 164 pl. 33, 4), while coppers of Caracalla show Asklepios with little Telesphoros to the left and the cosmic globe to the right (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 158, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 775 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> iv. 178 no. 329 f. P · M · TR · P · XVIII · IMP · III · COS · III · P · P · S · C · first brass, cp. *ib.* iv. 179 no. 331 do. do. without Telesphoros. Fig. 926 is from a second brass in my collection. For other examples of Asklepios with the globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).

#### (4) *Asklepiós* and the Snake.

Next we must note the constant association of this human Zeus with a snake. Asklepios himself on occasion took that form. He travelled from Epidauros to Sikyon as a snake drawn by mules; and from the roof of his temple in the latter town hung a small figure of Aristodama, the mother of his son Aratos, riding on a snake (Paus. 2. 10. 3): the creature so ridden was presumably none other than the god, who was believed to have consorted with Aristodama in snake-form (Paus. 4. 14. 7 f., cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1). Again, it was as a snake that Asklepios came from Epidauros to Epidauros Limerá on the east coast of Lakonike: he slipped out of the ship and dived into the earth not far from the sea at a place where altars, planted about with olive trees, were erected to him (Paus. 3. 23. 7: see F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 179). At Lebena in Crete there was a famous temple of Asklepios (Paus. 2. 26. 9, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 34 p. 152 f. Kayser), where incubation was practised (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 839, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 303. 1 f.): the divine snake sent by Asklepios to guide his priest the son of Aristonymos to the temple-spring and forty-seven years later sent on a similar errand to show Soarchos, priest in his father's room, how to replenish the failing spring (see the interesting inscription from Lebena (*Leda*) published by T. Baunack in *Philologus* 1890 xlix. 578 ff. and R. Meister *ib.* 1891 l. 570 ff.) should probably be viewed 'als Inkarnation des Gottes selbst' (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.*

p. 1448 n. 7). Whether the snake followed by Antioe, 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 Epidauros 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 aureus 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*<sup>2</sup> 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 (Gnecchi *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 towards the island, where buildings 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, *daidoúchoi*, 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 *stémmata* 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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, Soud. *s.v.* ἄγμασι, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄγμασι).

'Αγλαπιός (G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 131 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a *stèle* at Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) inscribed ΛΑΝΙΚΙΑ | ΑΝΕΘΒΚΕ | ΤΩΙΑΓΛΑΠΙΩΙ in lettering which M. N. Tod *ib.* assigns to c. 350 B.C. and W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1313 to s. v B.C.).

'Ασκληπιός in epic, Ionic, Attic. 'Ασκληπιός thrice in Attic inscriptions (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup> Berlin 1900 p. 89 n. 770), cp. 'Ασκληπιάδης (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 771), 'Ασκληπιόδωρος (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 772).

'Ασκαπιός in non-Ionic dialects. 'Ασκαπιός in a Gortynian inscription (F. Halbherr in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 38 ff. C, 7 ΑΣΚΑΛΠΙΟΝ).

'Ασκληπιός in a Spartan inscription (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1444, 10 ΑΣΚΛΕΙΠΙΟΥ) turns out to be a mistaken reading (H. J. W. Tillyard and A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 212 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 10).

'Ασχλαπιός in a Boeotian inscription (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3191 f., 3 ΑΣΧΛΑΠΙΩ, 37 f. [ΑΣΧ]ΛΑΠΙΩ Orchomenos), cp. 'Ασχλάπων (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 397 no. 571<sup>a</sup>, 10 Akraiphia), but 'Ασκαπιός (*ib.* i. 174 no. 476, 40 Orchomenos).

Αισχλαβιός in the alphabet of Megara or Corinth on the leg of an archaic bronze statuette from Bologna (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 6737, 2, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 549, 2, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 356, 2, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 no. 118 (c), 2 ΔΙΣΧΛΑΠΙΩΙ).

Αισκαπιός 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 ΤΟΙΑΙΜΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ) 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).

Αισκαπιεύς in another early Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 10 from the rim of a bronze vessel ΙΙΙΙΜΙΞΙΓΑΛΧΣΙΑ=τ' Αισκαπιεύ 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).

*Aesclapius* in an inscription at Narona (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1766 AESCLAPIO, cp. *ib.* iii no. 1767, I [AE]SCLAPIO).

*Aiscolapius* in an inscription found in the Tiber (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3833).

*Aescolapius* in a trilingual (Latin, Greek, Phoenician) inscription on the base of a bronze column at *Santuacci* in Sardinia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 7856, I, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1874, I, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 608, I AESCOLAPIO) and in two inscriptions from Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30849, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3834; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30847, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3835).

*Aisculapius* in an inscription from the Tiber-island (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 12, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3837).

*Aesculapius*, the normal form in Latin.

*Esculapius* on a bronze plate from the *ager Praenestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 2846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3838).

In view of Asklepios' early connexion with Thessaly, special importance must be attached to the names Ἄσκαλαπιῶδας at Iolkos (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 115 no. 9, I, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 378 no. 1284, I [Ἄσ]καλαπιῶδ[ας]) and Ἄσκαλαπιῶδωρος 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 \*Ἄσκαλαπιος (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 Ἄσκαλᾶς, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 13 no. 1 near Kotiaieion Ἄσκλης καὶ Ἄσκληπᾶ[s] | οἱ Ἄσκληπᾶ (A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 319). The ultimate meaning of Ἄσκληπιός has been much debated, and is still questionable. The ancients—children in philology—jumped to the conclusion that the second element in the name was ἥπιος, 'mild,' and used this word (Lyk. *Al.* 1054 with Tzetz. *ad loc., et. mag.* pp. 154, 45 ff., 434, 15 ff., Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 991, 10. 712, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 463, 34 f., 860, 9 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 48 f., Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 70, 5 ff. Lang (?), cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 Add. no. 171 b, 8 and 13 = *carm. pho.* 47, 6 and 11 Bergk<sup>4</sup> = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 53. 4 and 9) or its compounds ἥπιωδότης, ἥπιώδωρος, ἥπιόφρων (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 51, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441) of the god himself—Demosthenes is even said to have sworn by Ἄσκληπιός, not Ἄσκληπιός (Plout. *de vit. decem orat.* 8, Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσωδίας* 5 (i. 123, 1 ff. Lentz), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 37 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 64 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 40 f.),—and Ἡπιόνη, Ἡπιώ of his partner (Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 71, 2 ff. Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441 n. 9, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 186 ff.). But the first element puzzled them. They tried ἄσκεῖν (schol. *Il.* 4. 195, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 35 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 43 f.), ἄσκελές (*et. mag.* p. 154, 43 ff., 47 f., *et. Gud.* p. 83, 39 ff., Orion p. 9, 14 ff., Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 38 ff.), Ἄσκλης a supposed king of Epidaurus (Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 41 ff., cp. *et. mag.* p. 154, 45 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 34 f.), Ἀῖγλη 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 Sprachforschung* 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 *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 58, holds that Asklepios was originally a snake and explains the Thessalian \*Ἄσκαλαπιός and the Cretan Ἄσκαλπιός by the help of the Hesychian glosses σκαλαπάζει· ῥέμβεται and σκαλπάζειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν. Thus Ἄσκληπιός would mean 'Creepy-crawly'—a likely enough name for a snake. Ἄσκάλαβος, '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. *cat. ast.* 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 *adyton* (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. *πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα | βωμὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἡγλαΐσεν τέμενος. | οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης | εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἄγνοῦ | πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.* Cp. J. Ziehen 'Über die Lager des Asklepiosheiligtums von Triikka' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 195—197 and especially P. Kastriotis *Τὸ ἐν Τρίκκῃ τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀσκληπιεῖον* Athens 1903, *id.* 'Τρίκκης Ἀσκληπιεῖον' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1918 pp. 65—73) comparable with the *Καταβάσιον* of Trophonios at Lebadeia, which we have already (*supra* p. 1076) taken to be the *thólos* of an ancient king (A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *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 *Κῆρυκος γάμος*), were commonly described as king and queen of Trachis in south Thessaly (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250, Loukian. *Alcyon* 1, Ov. *met.* 11. 268 ff., 382 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 11. 10. See further K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* and H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 249 ff., ii. 1181 f.). Ixion, king of the Thessalian Lapithai, aspired to the hand of Hera, while conversely Zeus was enamoured of Ixion's wife Dia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420, 1906 xx. 378)—a case paralleled by that of Hera in love with the Thessalian Iason and Zeus in love with Medeia (*supra* i. 248). Now it is a very noteworthy fact that all these names, indeed the great bulk of the personages considered in the present discussion,—Amphiaraios, Trophonios, Asklepios, Askalaphos, Salmoneus, Alkyone, Ixion, Iason—belonged to the family of Aiolos (see the pedigree conveniently set forth by Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 ff.). The inference is that this custom of regarding the king as Zeus was characteristic of the Aeolians settled in Thessaly and central Greece. Asklepios, like the rest, was *ab origine* a king (he is *ἄναξ* in *h. Asklep.* 5, Aristoph. *Plout.* 748, Herond. 4. 1 and 18, P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 36 no. 7, 79, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 2292, 1 (Delos)=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 803. 1=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 225. 1 (see R. 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.* 1. 247 β n., Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 33, Orph. *εὐχή πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 37, Cougny *op. cit.* 6. 180. 2 f. *Ἀσκληπιὸς Καῖσαρ* in W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 130 no. 92, 5 f., *ib.* p. 153 no. 130, 4 f.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 375 f. no. 3672, 5 f. is the deified Claudius), who played the part of Zeus during his life and was worshipped as Zeus after his death (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 620 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654 f. draws attention to the fact that several Greek localities could point to an alleged grave of Asklepios: Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 Aesculapiorum...secundus, secundi Mercurii frater. is, fulmine percussus, dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 Stählin *οὗτος μὲν οὖν κείται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος 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, <ὄς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος suppl. C. B. Hase> ὀρίους ἐτάφη, cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Octobris ix. 546 ('Passio S. Philippi episc., Severi presb. et Hermæ diac.' 1. 8) ignis ille divinus...et Scolapium medicum in monte Cynozuridos fulminatum consecrationem mereri in gentibus fecit, where cod. Bodecense rightly reads *Æsculapium* and the Bollandist editors wrongly (?) comment: 'apud Cynozurim Thessaliæ urbem sepultus' (*ib.* ix. 549). Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 tertius, Arsippi et Arsinoæ,...cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 10 ff. Wunsch τρίτος Ἀρσίππου καὶ Ἀρσινώης τῆς Λευκίππου...καὶ τάφος αὐτῶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 21 (ii. 213 Migne) Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ (*sc.* κείται), Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 24 in Epidauro Aesculapii (*sc.* sepulcrum demonstratur). Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 14 Athenienses...Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant with Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 217 n. 4, 218, 222 and F. Kutsch *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* Giessen 1913 p. 16 ff.).

## (7) Telesphoros.

Such an one might even be called Zeus Τέλειος (cp. the dedication Ἀσκληπιῶι Διὶ Τελείῳ *supra* p. 1076). Further, the title τελεσφόρος, 'bringing the end, bringing to maturity' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1971 C ff.), appropriate to the divine monarch (*h. Zeus* 1. f. Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον ἀείσομαι ἢ δὲ μέγιστον, |εὐρύοπα, κρείοντα, τελεσφόρον, κ.τ.λ.) and actually found on a Phrygian altar as his appellative (*supra* p. 838 n. 1), was a likely epithet of his human counterpart. And here it will be remembered that antiquity often associates with Asklepios a subordinate deity Telesphoros, who has been the subject of much speculation (L. Schenck *De Telesphoro deo* Göttingen 1888, W. Wroth 'Telesphorus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 283—300, *ib.* 1883 iv. 161 f., *ib.* 1884 v. 82 n. 2, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 70 f., S. Reinach 'Télesphore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 343—349=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1455 n. 1, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 622, Harrison *Themis* p. 382 f.). We shall not be far wrong, if we regard him as the procreative power of Asklepios, split off from the god, to whom he at first belonged by way of appellative, and endowed with a separate and secondary personality. The existence of *Grabphalli* (*supra* i. 53 n. 1) and the birth-myths of Romulus and Servius Tullius (*supra* p. 1059) lead us to suppose that the buried ancestor in his procreative capacity might take the form of a simple *phallós* (with this interchange of human and phallic shapes cp. the statue of Nabu at Calah figured in two aspects by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 685 f.). Accordingly we sometimes meet with representations of Telesphoros as a *phallós* draped to look like a man or a boy. C. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle *Recueil de monumens antiques, la plupart inédits, et découverts dans l'ancienne Gaule* Paris 1817 i. 86 f., ii. pl. 10, 1—5 (of which 1, 3=my fig. 931) and pl. 11, 5 (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 75 no. 1, J. A. Dulaure *Histoire abrégée de différens cultes*<sup>2</sup> 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.* i. 247 *a, β*: Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*<sup>4</sup> ii, 181). The Copenhagen bronze is inscribed OMORION (Panofka *loc. cit.*), which could be connected with Zeus Ὀμόριος (Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1984 A quotes the title from Polyb. 2. 39. 6; but see *supra* i. 17 n. 4) or Ὀπιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 74) = Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis* (*supra* i. 53, 520 n. 2. Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 4. 11 ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter, ... in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator. E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 argues that the boundary-stone could not have been originally sacred to Iupiter, because at its erection offerings were placed in the hole prepared for it (Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann)—a procedure suggestive of a chthonian rather than of a celestial power. But the lord of the property, who had been a celestial Iupiter during his life would be a chthonian Iupiter after his death). B. Borghesi in the *Bull. d. Inst.*

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(onius) 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.

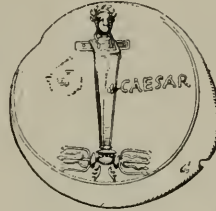


Fig. 934.

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 Phyalos after he had slain various brigands including Sinis, who was related to him through Pittheus<sup>1</sup>.’

Plutarch’s account is rather fuller :

‘So Theseus went on and came to the Kephisos. Here he was met by men of the clan Phyalidai, 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 nowadays<sup>2</sup>.’

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 Phyalidai in their

<sup>1</sup> Paus. i. 37. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Plout. v. *Thes.* 12.



ancestral house<sup>1</sup> on Hekatombaion 8<sup>2</sup>. Plutarch adds that, in return for their entertainment, Theseus gave them charge over a sacrifice at the Oschophoria<sup>3</sup>.

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 rites<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, the festival of this god was observed 'at home'<sup>5</sup> by a clan traditionally associated with the fig-tree and its fruit<sup>6</sup>: 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*<sup>7</sup>.

### (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*)<sup>8</sup>, a deity whose wrath could be readily appeased by the quaking man-slayer? Or does it rather signify 'the god of Figs' (*meilicha*)<sup>9</sup> with special

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Paus. i. 37. 2 quoted *infra* n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. v. *Thes.* 23: see J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 251 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 286 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 422 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Plout. v. *Thes.* 12 καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἀγνίσαντες καὶ Μειλίχια θύσαντες εἰστίασαν οἴκοι.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. i. 37. 2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 24) τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ· ἐνθάδ' ἀναξ ἥρως Φυτάλος ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν | Δήμητραν, ὅτε (A. Meineke cj. *Δήμητρ' ᾧ τότε* L. Dindorf and C. G. Cobet cjj. *Δήμητρ' ὄποτε*) πρῶτον ὀπίρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν, | ἦν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἔξονομάζει· | ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγῆρως. *Infra* p. 1103 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* i. 71 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 12, 2 ff. Lang προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μείλιχον (F. Osann cj. *μείλιχον*; but Aristeid. *or.* 1. 3 (i. 4 Dindorf) has εἰ δέ πη σφαλλόμεθα, ὁ μείλιχος (sc. Zeus) ἡμῖν κεκλήσθω) τὸν Δία, εὐμείλικτον ὄντα τοῖς ἐξ ἀδικίας μεταπιθεμένοις, οὐ δέοντος ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτούς: cp. Liban. *or.* 57. 12 (iv. 154 Foerster) Σευῆρος δὲ χρηστός τε ἦν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τιμῆσειν ἔλεγε τῇ πρᾶότητι τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, κ.τ.λ., *Anth. Pal.* 9. 581. 4 f. (Leon Philosophos?) μηδὲ νοήσω, | Ζηνὸς Μειλιχίῳ λαχὼν θρόνον, ἀνέρος οἶτον. A highly moral explanation: but high morals are out of place in an early cult-title. Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (on whom see Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*<sup>2</sup> Cambridge 1906 i. 323 ff.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 12 ff. Δικαίουσνος Ζεὺς· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δικάϊα τε καὶ ἄδικα δρῶσι τεταγμένος. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς μείλιχα μείλιχος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλα φίλιος adduces would-be parallels. But Zeus Δικαίουσνος is a late divinity (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 302 no. 24 near *Gherzeh* (Karousa) Διὶ Δικαιοσύνῳ | Μεγάλῳ | Πύθῃσι Διονυσίῳ | 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.

<sup>9</sup> Figs were called μείλιχα, 'sweets,' in Naxos—witness Athen. 78 c Νάξιοι δέ, ὡς Ἄνδρῖσκος (*frag.* 3 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) ἔτι δ' Ἀγλαοσθένῃς (*frag.* 5 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) ἱστοροῦσι, Μειλίχιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον διὰ τὴν τοῦ συκίνου

reference to the Phytalidai and their fig-culture? Arguments in support of either interpretation lie near to hand.

It may be urged that Zeus was notoriously sympathetic with the outcast and the vagabond. He was worshipped as *Hikésios*, 'the Suppliant's god'<sup>1</sup>,

καρποῦ παράδοσιν. διὸ καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διονύσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλιον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλιχίου σύκινον. τὰ γὰρ σύκα μέλιχα καλεῖσθαι, where T. Reinesius' proposed alteration of Μειλίχιον...Μειλιχίου...μέλιχα into Μόρυχον...Μορύχου...μόρυχα (cp. Soud. s.vv. Μόρυχος, μωρότερος Μορύχου) is a good example of misplaced ingenuity.

<sup>1</sup> At Athens in s. vi B.C. (Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὁμύναι κελεύει Σόλων, Ἴκέσιον, Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεστήρα, i.e. Zeus under three diverse aspects (cp. Poll. 1. 24), as observed by W. Dindorf *ad loc.*, G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*<sup>4</sup> 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 ἄξοσιν

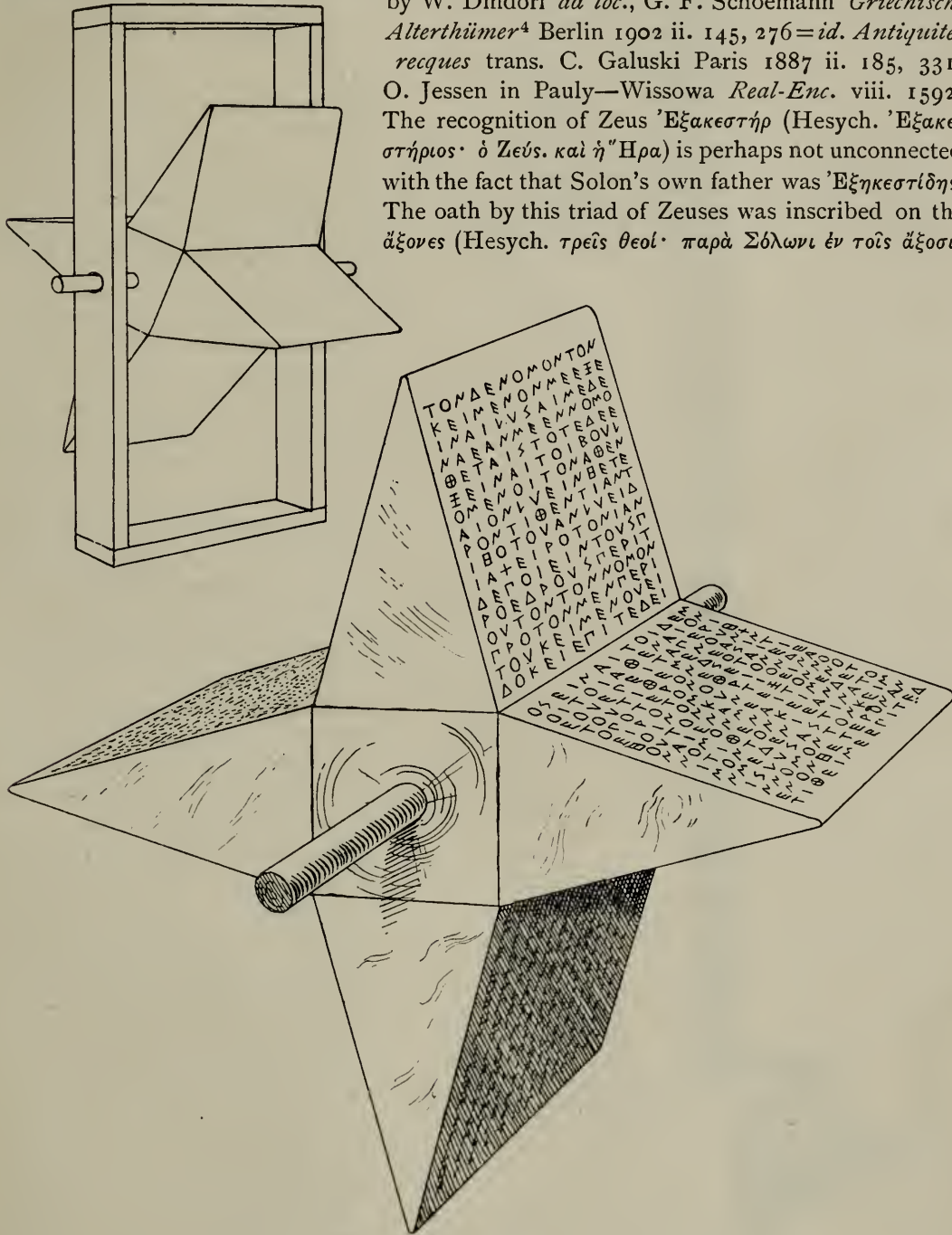


Fig. 935.



ὄρκῳ τέτακται <τρεῖς θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι?>. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν (*sc. Il.* 2. 371,

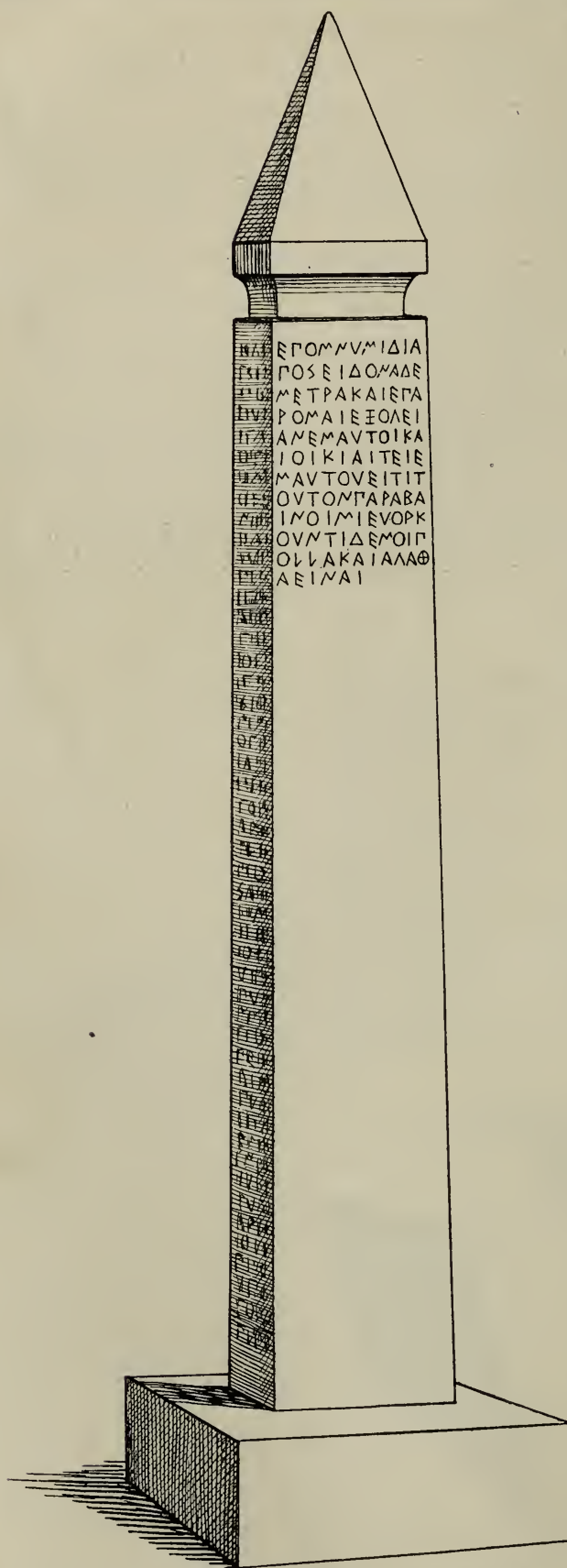


Fig. 936.

4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376 αὐτὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλόν), which are said to have been wooden axles revolving in oblong frames kept in the Prytaneion (Plout. *v. Sol.* 25 καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἄξονας 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.* ἄξονι· οἱ Σόλωνος νόμοι ἐν ξυλίνους ἦσαν ἄξοσι γεγραμμένοι... ἦσαν δέ, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα. διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη. ποιούσι δ' ἐνίοτε 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 ἄξονες, 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*... 'Αριστοφάνης δὲ ὁμοίως εἶναι φησι τοῖς ἄξοσι... ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τὸ κατασκευάσμα τοιοῦτον· πλωθίον τι μέγα, ἀνδρόμηκες, ἡρμοσμένα ἔχον τετράγωνα ξύλα, τὰς πλευρὰς πλατείας ἔχοντα καὶ γραμμάτων πλήρεις· ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ κινώδακας, ὥστε κινεῖσθαι καὶ μεταστρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων). 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. Télyfy *Συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νόμων Corpus iuris Attici* Pestini et Lipsiae 1868 p. 39 f.) *ap. Dem. c. Timocr. 33*; on the latter, *frag. 562* (Télyfy *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 *rta*, 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 Στορπᾶος, Zeus Πάσιος, Zeus Πατρῶος, 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 | θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσαι* (Plout. *v. Sol.* 3). The original form of his famous oath may have been *πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίῳ καθαροῦ 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 Σόλωνος ἄξόνων* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 500 Müller), and modern writers have devoted much attention to them, e.g. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 589, G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 ii.<sup>2</sup> 290 ff., E. Szanto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2636, Lübker *Reallex.*<sup>8</sup> 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 Ἴκεσίῳ | Σιμωνιδᾶν* = W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 161 no. 149 = Callitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 376 no. 3674 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 796 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 929) and at Delos in *s. iii* B.C.



and even as *Hikétas*, himself 'the Suppliant'<sup>1</sup>—a remarkable title dependent, I think<sup>2</sup>, upon the very primitive notion<sup>3</sup> that a stranger suddenly appearing in the midst of the community may well be a god on his travels<sup>4</sup>.

(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 Διὶ Ἰκεσίῳ). More doubtful is an inscription of s. ii B.C. from Netteia in Rhodes (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 2 on a slab of blackish marble [οἱ ἐπιμή]νοι αἰ τοῖ αἰ[ρ]εθέ[ν]τες Ἰκεσίῳ φθί[σ] ἐγ λ- , where F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* supplies Διὶ and notes that φθίς = φθίς, 'cakes').

<sup>1</sup> Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* Add. nov. no. 49a with fig. = my fig. 937 a rough calcareous boundary-stone (0.35<sup>m</sup> long, 0.30<sup>m</sup> high, 0.10<sup>m</sup>—0.11<sup>m</sup> thick), found at Sparta and preserved in the Museum at Teuthis (*Dimitziana*), bearing the retrograde inscription Διοίκετα, | Διῶλευθερ[ω] = Roberts



Fig. 937.

*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 Διὸς in l. 1 to the *spiritus asper* is remarkable; still more so the contraction in Διῶλ. of l. 2 after disappearance of the *h* = σ. Stolz (*Wiener Stud.* VIII. 1886, p. 160), who summarily rejects this explanation, suggests a genitive Διῶ

on the analogy of *o*-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*<sup>4</sup> München 1913 p. 171, citing Cypriote parallels.

<sup>2</sup> H. Roehl *loc. cit.* refers to Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1807, 9 f. καὶ ὁ ἰκετεύσας καὶ ὁ τὴν ἰκετείαν δεξάμενος ἦτοι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς εἰπεῖν ἰκετοδόχος ἰκέται εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις. For the supposed reciprocal sense Eustathios cp. ξένος, προστρόπαιος, χρήστης.

G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*<sup>2</sup> Oxford 1911 p. 291 ('this Zeus of Aeschylus is himself the suppliant; the prayer which you reject is his very prayer, and in turning from your door the helpless or the outcast you have turned away the most high God. The belief was immemorially old') comes much nearer the mark, though I cannot accept the explanation which he adds in a footnote *ib.* p. 291 n. 1 ('Zeὺς Ἀφίκτωρ... is a "projection" of the rite of Supplication').

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: *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.).

<sup>4</sup> This is definitely stated in *Od.* 17. 483 ff. Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν κάλ' ἔβαλες δύστηνον ἀλήτην· | οὐλόμεν', εἰ δὴ πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεὸς ἐστί, — | καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι, | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόλῆας, | 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.), Lykaon (*supra* i. 79 n. 6. There is a reminiscence of the Homeric passage in Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller) ὅτι Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγοῦ υἱός, βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνη. ἀποστῆσαι <δὲ> βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀδικίας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἔφη τὸν Δία ἐκάστοτε φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ μοιούμενον εἰς ἔποψιν τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων = Soud. *s.v.* Λυκάων), and many others.

Similarly the poets spoke of Zeus, not only as *hiketésios*<sup>1</sup>, *hikésios*<sup>2</sup>, 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*<sup>3</sup>: Taboo p. 130, W. Wundt *Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 340 ff.). 'Ἰκέτης or ξένος—who could tell?—might turn out to be Zeus himself. 'Some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb. 13. 2).

At a later stage of religious development Zeus is conceived, not as the actual *ικέτης* or *ξένος*, but as his unseen attendant. Thus e.g. the Phaeacian Echeneos says to Alkinoos: ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξείνον μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου | εἶσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον | οἶνον ἐπικρῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ | σπέισομεν, ὅς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἄμ' αἰδοίσιω ὀπηδεῖ· | κ.τ.λ. (*Od.* 7. 162 ff. with the sequel in line 178 ff.), and Odysseus to Polyphemos: ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεοῦ· ἰκέται δὲ τοὶ εἰμεν. | Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετῶν τε ξείνων τε, | ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίσιω ὀπηδεῖ (*Od.* 9. 269 ff.). Cp. *Od.* 14. 158 f., a variant of *Od.* 19. 303 f.

Ultimately Zeus becomes Ἰκέσιος and Ξένιος (cp. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Ζηνὸς Ἐυξείνιοι Γενηταίων ὑπὲρ ἄκρην with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra* p. 617 n. 1), the god who protects suppliants and strangers in general.

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 13. 213 f. Ζεὺς σφεας τίσαιτο (C. G. Cobet cj. Ζεὺς δὲ σφεας τίσαιθ') ἰκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους | ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίνυται ὅς τις ἀμάρτη with schol. *ad loc.* ἰκέσιος· ἰκετῶν ἐπόπτης and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1739, 18 f. ἰκετήσιος δὲ Ζεὺς δοκεῖ πρωτότυπον εἶναι τοῦ ἰκέσιος (*id. ib.* p. 1576, 14), Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 13. 46 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἰκετήσιος, Hesych. *s.v.* ἰκετήσιος· ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκετῶν Ζεὺς· ἢ ὁ τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐλεῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Aisch. *suppl.* 343 βαρὺς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου κότος, 616 f. ἰκεσίου Ζηνὸς κότον | μέγαν προφωνῶν κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Phil.* 484 πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου, Eur. *Hec.* 345 πέφηνγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἰκέσιον Δία, Aristot. *de muinido* 7. 401 a 23 f. καθάρσιός τε καὶ παλαμναῖός καὶ ἰκέσιος καὶ μειλίχιος, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 f. Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 2. 215 ff. ἰκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνὸς, ὅτις ῥίγιτος ἀλιτροῖς | ἀνδράσι, ... | λίσσομαι with schol. *ad loc.*, 2. 1131 ff. ἀλλ' ἰκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσασθε | ξείνιου ἰκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἰκέται τε | καὶ ξείνοι· ὁ δὲ πού καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται, 4. 358 f. ποῦ τοι Διὸς ἰκεσίοιο | ὄρκια; 4. 700 ff. τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἰκεσίοιο, | ὅς μέγα μὲν κοτέει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνουσιν ἀρήγει, | ῥέξε θυηπολίην 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 *πέλανοι* 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 Λιτὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, κ.τ.λ., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ Φύξιός καὶ Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν (Reiske suggests ὡν for ἂν) ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἴλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιός δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφηνξιν (L. Dindorf restores ἀπόφηνξιν), Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ φιλίας μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι μηδένα ἀνθρώπων = *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ < Φύξιός καὶ > Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἴλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιός δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφηνξιν, Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι δεῖ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin καλὸς γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένιος, ὁ ἰκέσιος, ὁ μειλίχιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος, Heliod. 2. 22 ὁ δὲ Κνήμων θαυμάσας, Ἄλλ' ἢ Ξένιου Διὸς, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς αὐτὰς ἤκομεν, ὦ πάτερ, οὕτως ἀπροφάσιτος ἢ θεραπεία καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐνοῦν τῆς γνώμης ἐμφαίνουσα. Οὐκ εἰς Διὸς, ἔφη, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδρὸς Δία τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Ἰκέσιον ἀκριβοῦντος, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 351. 7 f. (Palladas) ἀλλά σε πρὸς πύκτου Πολυδεύκεος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ | Κάστορος ἰκνοῦμαι καὶ Διὸς ἰκεσίου, Orph. *Arg.* 107 f. οὐ γὰρ



*hiktaïos* (?)<sup>1</sup>, 'the god of suppliants,' but also as *hiktér*<sup>2</sup>, and *aphiktór*<sup>3</sup>, 'the suppliant.' Again, Zeus was known as *alástoros*<sup>4</sup> or *alástor*<sup>5</sup>, 'he that brings a curse<sup>6</sup>,' *Palamnaïos*, 'he of the Violent Hand<sup>7</sup>,' *prostrópaios*, 'he of the

ἄτιμοι | ικεσίον Ζηνὸς κοῦραι Λιταί, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 18 πρὸς Διὸς ικεσίον, τεοῦ, Διόνυσε, τοκήος, Tryphiod. *exc. Il.* 278 πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας ικεσίον, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διός) 49 ικεσίον, *ib.* i. 266 (Διός) 44 ικεσίον.

<sup>1</sup> Aisch. *suppl.* 385 μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ικταίου 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. *ικτίου* 'das wohl eine Kompromissbildung zwischen *ικέσιος* und *ικτήριος* ist genau wie Lykophrons *ἴκτης*, *ἴκτιδες* eine solche zwischen *ικέτης*, *-τις* und *ικτήρ*; vgl. auch die umgekehrte Beeinflussung, die *ικετηρία* (im Gegensatz zu *ικτήριος*) durch *ικεσία*, *ικετεία* erfahren hat ([E. Fraenkel *Griechische Nomina agentis* Strassburg 1910] I, S. 52 ff. mit Anm. 2).'

<sup>2</sup> Aisch. *suppl.* 478 f. ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον | *ικτήρος*. ὕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος. W. Headlam renders 'Zeus Petitionary.'

<sup>3</sup> Aisch. *suppl.* 1 f. Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδου προφρόνως | *στόλον* ἡμέτερον. 'Zeus Petitionary' (W. Headlam).

<sup>4</sup> Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 62, 10 ff. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἀλαστῶ ῥήμα, ἀλάστωρ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπὶ τῶν χαλεπῶν τι πρᾶσσόντων· παρηκτική δὲ ἡ εὐθεία παρὰ τὴν ἀλάστορος γενικὴν· Αἰσχύλος Ἰξίονι (*frag.* 92 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) "πρευμενὴς ἀλάστορος," καὶ Φερεκῦδης (*frag.* 114<sup>a</sup> (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 99 Müller)) "ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστορος καλεῖται." With *πρευμενὴς ἀλάστορος* A. Nauck *ad loc.* cp. Aisch. *Eum.* 236 (Orestes to Athena) δέχου δὲ *πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα* | κ.τ.λ. and Bekker *anecd.* i. 382, 29 f. ἀλάστορον· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλάστορα, ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς ὁ ἀλάστορος, Αἰσχύλος (*frag.* 294 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) "μέγαν ἀλάστορον" εἶπεν. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 67 reasonably supposes that Pherekydes spoke of Zeus *ικέσιος καὶ ἀλάστωρ* (*sic*) in relation to Ixion (*supra* i. 198 n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> 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 τοῦ ἀλάστορα καὶ παλαμναίου κολλάξιν, τῶν μὲν ὠνομασμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μᾶσματα ἀνέκθυτα (ἀνέκπλυτα codd. N. B. G.) ἀποτελεῖν = Eudok. *viol.* 414<sup>g</sup>, Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλάστωρ· πικρὸς δαίμων. Ζεὺς, *et. Gud.* p. 32, 35 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐποπτεύων τοὺς ἀλαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ποιούντας. ἢ ὁ ἀσεβής, ἢ ὁ κακοποιός. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς (περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας 2 = i. 49, 13 f. Lentz reading ὑποπτεύων for ἐποπτεύων; cp. ii. 937, 27 n. Lentz), *et. mag.* p. 57, 25 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ ἀμαρτωλός, ἢ ὁ φονεύς, ἢ ὁ ἐφορῶν τοὺς φόνους Ζεὺς...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διός, οἶον ἀλάστωρ Ζεὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς τὰ ἀλαστὰ πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνειν· ἢ ὁ τὰ ἀλαστὰ (τουτέστι τὰ χαλεπὰ) τηρῶν, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 474, 22 f. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ, ὃν ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν, ἢ ὁ τοῖς ἀλαστα πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, *ib.* p. 763, 36 f. ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ φθόνος καὶ δαίμων ἀλάστωρ ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1692, 43 f. ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ ὁ φθονερός δαίμων ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι.

<sup>6</sup> The derivation of the word is doubtful (cjj. in A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 788 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 293 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> 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.).

<sup>7</sup> Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 5), Orion in F. W. Sturz's ed. of *et. Gud.* p. 628, 17 ff. παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενός καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. Gud.* p. 448, 28 ff. παλαμναῖος· σημαίνει δὲ δύο, ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειριφονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τινὶ βιάσματι κατεχόμενος, *ib.* p. 449, 21 f. καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ Παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. mag.* p. 647, 43 f. παλαμναῖος· ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος, Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος. λέγεται καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Παλαμναῖος (cod. D. omits the last word), Soud. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμ-

appeal<sup>1</sup>—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 Prayers<sup>2</sup>,' and *Kathársios*, 'god

ναῖος· φονεὺς ἢ μιαρὸς· 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 δέ φασι 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 (*Musáki*) 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).

<sup>1</sup> 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. προστρόπαιός τε γὰρ Ζεὺς ἐν ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ (E. Schwabe *Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae Atticistarum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1890 p. 254, 7 ff.: see further Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*<sup>2</sup> Cambridge 1906 i. 323 and L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1478 ff.), ᾧ ἂν τις, φασί, προστρέπειτο δεόμενος. 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 ἰλάσκεσθαι, schol. Plat. *Crat.* 396 E ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι φασὶ τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰνεὶ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινά, schol. Plat. *legg.* 854 B ἀποδιοπομπήσεις· τὰς ἀποστροφὰς τὰς γιγνομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποτροπαίου Διός, διὰ τὸ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινά· ἢ τὰς ἀποπομπὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰνεὶ καθάρσεις καὶ ἰλασμούς, schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 323 προστρόπαιός ἐστιν ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπώμενος τὰ κακά, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τοῦ (so H. Sauppe for τῷ cod. f.) ἀποτρόπαιος, τοῦ ἀποτρέποντος τὰ κακά. 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Litaios* (Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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, | χωλαὶ τε ῥυσαὶ τε παραβλώπες τ' ὀφθαλμῷ, | αἶ ῥα τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι. | ἢ δ' Ἄτη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας | πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δὲ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν | βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους· αἶ δ' ἐξακέονται ὀπίσσω. | ὃς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσπον ἰούσας, | τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἐκλυον εὐχομένοιο· | ὃς δὲ κ' ἀνήνηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποσίπη, | λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι | τῷ Ἄτην ἄμ' ἐπεσθαι, 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 Ζηνὸς ἐριγδοῦπιόιο θύγατρος | εἰσί, κ.τ.λ., Orph.



Fig. 938.



of Purification<sup>1</sup>. The exact relationship of all these appellatives and the growth of the religious beliefs implied by them are still far from clear. Perhaps we shall come within measurable distance of the truth by assuming that development proceeded on some such lines as follow :

*Arg.* 107 f. cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2, and for a parody *Anth. Pal.* 11. 361. 1 ff. (Auto-medon)). How Zeus could have begotten such creatures, 'halt wrinkled squinting,' was a puzzle (Bion Borysthenites *frag.* 44 Mullach *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 56. 1 p. 43, 29 ff. Stählin, Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 768, 28 ff.). But symbolism proved a ready solvent (*vide* the comments of Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, schol. *Il.* 9. 502 f., Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 767, 60 ff., Cornut. *theol.* 12 p. 12, 5 ff. Lang, Eudok. *viol.* 606, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 239, 32 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰται (H. Stephanus restored Αἰταί)). 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 Erinyes see Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *αἴνος* (like *Il.* 19. 91 ff. or the oracle in *Hdt.* 6. 86) misinterpreted and misapplied by a later moralist. But, however understood, it contributes little or nothing to an explanation of Zeus Αἰταῖος. The altar at Nikaia was surely voted to him as 'Hearer of Prayers' for the restored health of the emperor or for some other benefit vouchsafed to a grateful public.

<sup>1</sup> Zeus was worshipped as Καθάριστος at Athens (Poll. 8. 142 (cp. 1. 24) cited *supra* p. 1093 n. 1) and at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8 πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμὸς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαρισίου 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 aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* Darmstadii 1885 p. 17 adopts the same view. But K. Wernicke 'Olympische Beiträge i' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 96 no. 18 f. thinks otherwise). For literary allusions see Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *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, αὔξητά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα, | ἀστράπιε (so G. Hermann for ἀστραπαῖε), βρονταῖε, κεραύνιε, φυτάλιε Ζεῦ.

## MAN-SLAYER.

- (1) The bloodguilty man, appearing suddenly as a suppliant stranger, is deemed a god (Zeus Ἰκέτας, ἰκτήρ, ἀφίκτωρ, ἀλάστωρ, κ.τ.λ.)<sup>1</sup>.
- (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 ὀπηδεῖ)<sup>2</sup>.
- (3) Suppliants and strangers in general are supposed to be *protégés* of the god (Zeus Ἰκέσιος, ἰκετήσιος, ἰκταῖος (?), Zeus Ξένιος)<sup>3</sup>.

## VICTIM.

- (1) The soul (κῆρ) of the murdered man becomes a wrathful spirit (ἔρινός). His curses (ἀραί), prayers (λιταί), and penalties (ποιναί) all pursue the guilty.
- (2) Hence arises the whole tribe of avenging deities (Κῆρες, Ἐρινύες, Ἀραί, Ἀράντιδες<sup>4</sup>, Λιταί<sup>5</sup>, Ποινάι, κ.τ.λ.).
- (3) With the progress of religion deities of this low type are subordinated to a high god<sup>6</sup>, especially to Zeus<sup>7</sup> (cp. Zeus Τιμωρός<sup>8</sup>).

of Chinese

The protective and the punitive powers of Zeus are fused  
(Zeus Ἰκέσιος, Παλαμναῖος, προστρόπαιος).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* pp. 1096, 1098.<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1097 n. o.<sup>3</sup> *Supra* pp. 1093, 1097, 1097 n. o, 1097 n. 2.

A marble statue of Zeus Ξένιος by Papylos, a pupil of Praxiteles, was owned by C. Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli (*pamphili* Gelenius),



Fig. 939.

Praxitelis (K. L. von Ulrichs cj. *Praxitelis*) discipuli). At Sparta—the former home of ξενηλασία—Zeus Ξένιος was grouped with Athena Ξενία (Paus. 3. 11. 11 with H. Hitzig [4-8 For notes 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, see page 1102.]



Zeus *Meilichios* as an angry god readily appeased by the man-slayer might conveniently be ranged under this joint-category, his title being interpreted as 'the Kindly One.'

and H. Blümner *ad loc.* Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 9 aptly cites Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 31 p. 149 Kayser *περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιούντο 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*<sup>4</sup> Roma 1922 p. 217 no. 546). The lower border of the relief bears an archaising inscription, which G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 990 transcribes [ὁ δείνα ...]νοὺς καθ' ὕπνον ἀνέθηκα Διεὶ Ξένιω ... (facsimile in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig 1913 ii. 173 ff. no. 1405 fig. 38).

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1099 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1328.

<sup>7</sup> 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 αἰτιὸς εἰμι, | ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς, | οἳ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἐμβαλον ἄγριον ἄτην | κ.τ.λ. (see further E. Hedén *Homerische Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 134 f.), Aisch. *Ag.* 55 ff. ὕπατος δ' αἰών ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς... | ὑστερῶπιον | πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν, 744 ff. παρακλίνας ἐπέκρανεν | δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς, | δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος | συμμένα Πριαμδαίσι, | πομπῆ Διὸς ξενίου | νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς (see W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 182 f.), Verg. *Aen.* 12. 849 ff. hae (sc. the three Furies) Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis | apparent, acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris, | si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex | molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. | harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo | Iupiter, etc., Val. Flacc. 4. 74 f. gravis orantem procul arcet Erinys, | respiciens celsi legem Iovis.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 1099 n. 0. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 9 cites as a doubtful analogue Hesych. Ζητήρ· Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ = Favorin. *lex.* p. 828, 36 f. F. Guyet in J. Alberti's note on Hesych. *loc. cit.* says: 'An Ζητήρ a ζᾶω, unde Ζᾶν, Ζῆν, & Ζεὺς, a 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 168, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 309). *Supra* p. 444 n. 7.

His Roman equivalent was Iupiter *Ultor*. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9239 (a dedication found at Clunia in Spain) Iovi Aug. | Ultori sacrum | L. Valerius Paternus | mil. leg. x Gem. | optio 7 Censoris exs | voto perhaps has reference to the death of Nero. Pertinax at the last besought Iupiter *Ultor* to avenge his assassination (Iul. Capit. *v. Pert.* 11. 10). Domitian, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, 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. Gnecci in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1888 i. 286 no. 12 pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 941) *rev.*: IOVI VLTORI P·M·TR·P·III· and COSPP· Hexastyle temple with triumphal chariot and statues as *akrotéria*; statuary

Very different is the explanation propounded by Monsieur S. Reinach in an able and persuasive paper already noticed<sup>1</sup>. The altar of Zeus *Meilichios*, at which the Phytalidai purified Theseus<sup>2</sup>, was not far from the spot called *Hierà Syké*, the 'Sacred Fig-tree,' where Demeter first revealed to Phytalos the fruit of the fig<sup>3</sup>. It is, therefore, tempting to surmise that Theseus was purified 'avec du suc des figuiers sacrés (?)'<sup>4</sup> and that *Meilichios* meant originally the 'god of Figs' (*meilicha*)<sup>5</sup>. Whether we accept Monsieur Reinach's further contention that the word *sykophántes* meant the hierophant of this fig-cult<sup>6</sup>, or not, we must admit that the contiguity of a place named the 'Sacred Fig-tree' affords strong support to his derivation of *Meilichios*. Moreover, Zeus *Meilichios* was, according to the myth, a purificatory power, and another purifying Zeus bore the title *Sykásios*, which presumably denotes the 'god of Fig-gathering' (*sykázsein*)<sup>7</sup>. 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.'<sup>8</sup> 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).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1091 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1092 n. 6. Cp. Plout. *symph.* 7. 4. 4, Athen. 74 D, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* *ιερά*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ιερά συκῆ*, *et. mag.* p. 469, 17, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 12 f.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1092.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1572, 58 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Συκάσιος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὁ Καθάρισιος. τῇ γὰρ συκῇ ἐχρῶντο φασὶν ἐν καθαρμοῖς, Hesych. Διὶ Συκασίῳ (so Musurus for διῦσκασίῳ 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 συκάζειν in the sense of συκοφαντεῖν or worse (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1014 A).

<sup>8</sup> 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 Δωριῶνά φησιν ἐν Γεωργικῷ ἱστορεῖν Συκέαν, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν Τιτάνων, διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Διὸς τὴν μητέρα Γῆν ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸ φυτὸν εἰς διατριβὴν τῷ παιδί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Συκέαν πῶλον 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 Sabas<sup>1</sup>. If so<sup>2</sup>, is it a mere coincidence that this Greek martyr, whose festival falls on the first of May, was said to have been hung by his hands upon a fig-tree<sup>3</sup>?

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 niches<sup>4</sup>. At one point<sup>5</sup>, 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-face<sup>6</sup>. To judge from votive reliefs found in the vicinity, the whole site was once sacred to Zeus *Meilichios* and to a kindred deity Zeus *Philius*<sup>7</sup>. 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, Theophanes Nonnos *epitome de curatione morborum* 259, *Geopon.* 11. 2. 7, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 77: see Rohde *Psyche*<sup>3</sup> 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.).

<sup>1</sup> Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 493.

<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii i. 46 (De Sancto Saba, martyre apud Græcos.) *Antiqua MSS. Menæa, quæ Divione apud Petrum Franciscum Societatis Iesu asservari reperimus anno MDCLXII, referunt hisce Kalendis Maji S. Sabam, in fico digitis suis appensum, & sic gloriosa vita functum, & addunt hoc distichon.*

"Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωϊμένης συκῆς

[lege "Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωϊμῆς συκῆς κλάδος

Κλάδος τὸν χειροδεσμοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένον

Τὸν χειροδέσμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον (sic) Σάβαν.]

Σάβαν.

Attulit fructum præmaturæ ficus

Ramus, suspensum è digitis vinctis Saban.

M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 113 confuse this St Sabas with St Sabas the Gothic martyr (April 12), who suffered under Athanaricus in 372 A.D. (G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 566).

<sup>4</sup> A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius—J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1881 Erläuternder Text Heft i p. 60 f., C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 ff., A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 p. 406 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 383.

<sup>5</sup> E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 35 pl. 12, 1.

<sup>6</sup> E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *op. cit.* p. 35 pl. 12, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* Append. N *med.*

as consort of the latter<sup>1</sup>, had a separate precinct near by<sup>2</sup>, as had also on a larger scale Asklepios<sup>3</sup>.

Zeus *Meilichios* 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)<sup>4</sup>. 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 (?)<sup>5</sup>. 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 man<sup>6</sup>, woman, and child, with gestures of greeting. Above, on the architrave, is the dedication:

‘Aristarche, to Zeus *Meilichios*<sup>7</sup>.’

A second relief from the same find-spot adds more to our knowledge of the god (fig. 943)<sup>8</sup>. As before, he is seen within a framework of architecture, which bears the inscription:

‘—toboule, to Zeus *Milichios*<sup>9</sup>.’

As before, he is enthroned on the left with a *phiale* in his right hand<sup>10</sup>, 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 Zeus<sup>11</sup>, marks him as a sort of Plouton, able to dispense abundance. The pig, again, though its bones strewed the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>12</sup>, was an animal commonly sacrificed to Zeus in his chthonian capacity—Zeus *Bouleús* at Mykonos<sup>13</sup>, Zeus *Eubouleús* at Delos<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* Append. N *init.*

<sup>2</sup> Ch. D. Tsountas in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884 p. 169 line 44, W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 388 n. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> 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, *Einzelauftnahmen* no. 1246, 2 with Text v. 21 by E. Löwy, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 19 f. fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 1. Height 0.30<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.40<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* i. 407 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Not the priest (Foucart *loc. cit.*), but the husband (Svoronos *loc. cit.*) or son (Löwy *loc. cit.*) of the dedicant Aristarche.

<sup>7</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579 'Αριστάρχη Διὶ Μειλιχίωι. Rather: 'Αρι(σ)τάρχη κ.τ.λ.

<sup>8</sup> I. Ch. Dragatses in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886 p. 49 f. no. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 p. 408, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 21 f. fig. 6. My illustration is from a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Miss Harrison. Height 0.36<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.24<sup>m</sup>. Traces of colouring subsist on Zeus and his horn (red, yellow), etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579b —τοβούλη Διὶ Μειλιχίω[ι]. Miss Harrison *loc. cit.* after Dragatses prints [Κριτο]βόλη Διὶ Μειλιχίω. But this is inexact. The name of the dedicant should be longer, perhaps ['Αρισ]τοβούλη (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 pp. 6, 9); and the name of the god has no ε.

<sup>10</sup> I. Ch. Dragatses *loc. cit.* says τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν ἀναπαύοντα—another inexactitude.

<sup>11</sup> *Supra* i. 361, 501 f., 598 n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* i. 82.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* i. 668, 717 n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *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*<sup>1</sup>:

'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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ophrynion: there he had sacrifice made and presented whole burnt-offerings of pigs in accordance with his ancestral custom, and the omens were favourable<sup>1</sup>. 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 Gate<sup>3</sup>. These show the same deity in the guise of a monstrous snake<sup>4</sup>, usually bearded (figs. 944<sup>4</sup>, 945<sup>5</sup>) and towering above his human worshippers (fig. 946)<sup>6</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> ἐθύετο καὶ ὠλοκαύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ (πατρῷῳ cod. Eton. etc. followed by Bornemann) νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει (Xen. *an.* 7. 8. 5).

<sup>2</sup> P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. draws up the list.

<sup>3</sup> On the chthonian character of the snake see *supra* pp. 1060, 1061.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 722 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 6, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 17 f. fig. 1 a *stèle* of Hymettian marble inscribed in lettering of s. iv. B.C. — — Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1581). Height 0.58<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.31<sup>m</sup>. 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 | Ἀσκληπιოდῶρου | Διὶ Μιλιχίῳ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1580).

<sup>5</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.19<sup>m</sup>. J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* notes that τῷ θεῷ might mean either Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ or Ἀσκληπιῷ (*id.* in the *Journ. Intern. d' Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 503—507).

<sup>6</sup> *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 723 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 5, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.23<sup>m</sup> to 0.25<sup>m</sup>. The gigantic snake approached by a woman and two men might, again, be either Zeus *Meilichios* or Asklepios.



aliens, freedmen, or slaves. And Foucart suggests<sup>1</sup> 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'<sup>2</sup>: *Ba'al* they translated as *Zeus* and *Milik* they transliterated as *Milichios*<sup>3</sup>. This view has commended



Fig. 944.

<sup>1</sup> P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 511 ff., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f.

<sup>2</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup>: Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>3</sup> ii. 219 ff. ('Moloch the King').

<sup>3</sup> 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 Δα Μιλίχιου 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 Μειλίχιον*. G. H. A. Ewald in W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 15 took *Μειλίχιος* 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 *Μειλίχιος* "der Schiffer" die Bezeichnung *Ζεύς*

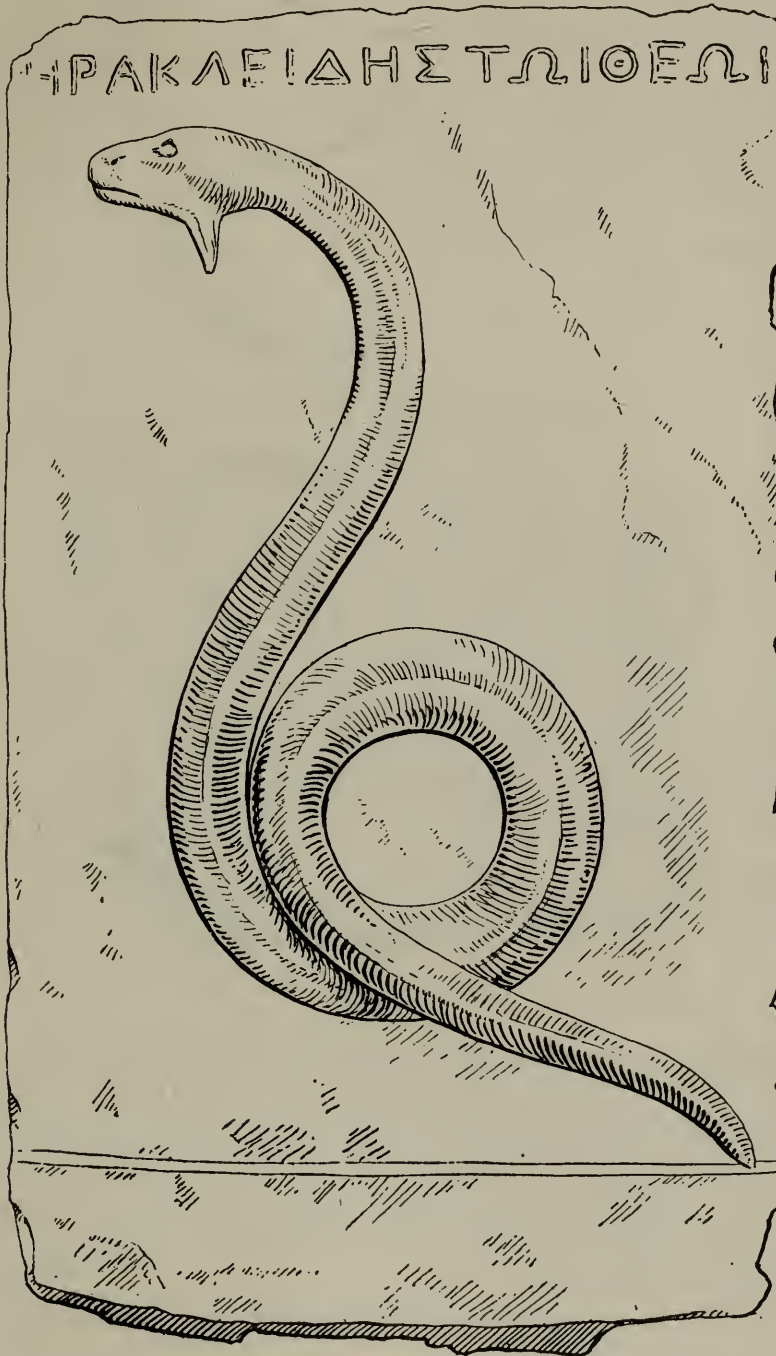


Fig. 945.

erhält, haben wir eine Gottheit in diesem Namen zu suchen, die kaum eine andere als Melkart sein kann (s.m. *Jahve et Moloch* S. 28 f.). *Μελικέρτης*, 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. Clerc<sup>1</sup>, H. Lewy<sup>2</sup>, M. Mayer<sup>3</sup>, O. Höfer<sup>4</sup>, W. Prellwitz<sup>5</sup>, and in a modified form to S. Reinach<sup>6</sup>. But Miss Harrison in-



Fig. 946.

have come to Hebrew & Aramaic as a loanword from Assyrian, where the form is *Malahu*.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 326 f. had already connected the words *Μελιχιος*, *Milichus*, and *Melech*.

<sup>1</sup> M. Clerc *Les métèques athéniens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* lxiv) Paris 1893 p. 127 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 242 f.

<sup>3</sup> M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1521.

<sup>4</sup> O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2561 : but cp. *ib.* p. 2562.

<sup>5</sup> Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 683 holds that in Zeus *Μελιχιος* 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 form<sup>1</sup>.' And R. Dussaud further contends that in point of fact the Phoenicians recognised no such deity as *Milk*<sup>2</sup>. 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 never<sup>3</sup>.' '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 Zeus<sup>4</sup>.' '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 Meilichios<sup>5</sup>.' 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 Zeus<sup>6</sup> and the Graeco-Libyan Zeus<sup>7</sup> with the snake. To recall but a single case: the coinage of Dion in Makedonia shows Zeus standing with a snake at his side<sup>8</sup>. 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Lagrange, *Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques*, p. 105.'

<sup>1</sup> Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 18. Not but what there is ample evidence of serpent-worship among the Semites: see *e.g.* S. Bochart *Hierozyicon* 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 *Encyclopædia 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.* 1. 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 *s.vv.* 'Schlangen, Schlangenkopf,' E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> R. Dussaud 'Milk, Moloch, Melqart' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1904 xlix. 163—168, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 643.

<sup>3</sup> Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 18 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ead. op. cit.* p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* i. 392 ff., 428.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* i. 102 n. 4, 113 fig. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ead. op. cit.* p. 20 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* i. 358 ff., 428.



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*<sup>1</sup>, Zeus *Agamémnon*<sup>2</sup>, Zeus *Amphí-áraos*<sup>3</sup>, Zeus *Trophónios*<sup>4</sup>, Zeus *Asklepiós*<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, from the new standpoint the circumstances of the cult on the Kephisos are readily intelligible. The head of a clan, dead and buried, would be just the personage required on the one hand to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed, on the other to promote the fertility of the fig-trees. His title *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One'<sup>6</sup>,—originally a euphemistic name<sup>7</sup>—would lend itself equally well to two false inter-

<sup>1</sup> Append. H.

<sup>2</sup> Append. I.

<sup>3</sup> Append. J.

<sup>4</sup> Append. K.

<sup>5</sup> Append. L.

<sup>6</sup> E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxvii n. 4 says: 'Juppiter Μελισσαῖος (Hesych. s.v. [Μελισσαῖος· ὁ Ζεὺς]) a μέλισσα abstracto (= ἡπιότης) 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. 0, 932 f. n. 1) or to Aristaios the bee-keeper worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia (*supra* i. 372 n. 7) or to some unidentified cult, we cannot say.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 f.: 'Das gewöhnlichste Mittel, die Geister zu versöhnen, ist die Bewirtung mit Honig; wahrscheinlich nach ihm heisst das Entsühnen μειλισσειν. Nach der besänftigenden Honigspende sind wahrscheinlich Zeus und Dionysos Meilichios genannt worden.' But, as Gruppe himself is aware (*op. cit.* p. 908 n. 2 f.), the connexion of μειλισσειν with μέλι is very doubtful: see now Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 620, 624.

<sup>7</sup> 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 Ἄγεσος became the Εὐξεινος (Strab. 298 f., Ov. *trist.* 4. 4. 55 ff., Mela 1. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 76, 6. 1, Solin. 23. 16, Isid. *orig.* 13. 16. 7), *Maleventum* was improved into *Beneventum* (Liv. 9. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 105, Fest. p. 340 b 7 f. Müller, p. 458, 35 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 34 Müller, p. 31, 17 ff. Lindsay, Steph. Byz. s.v. Βενεβεντός, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 15); it was even supposed that *Epidamnus* had been changed into *Dyrrhachium* (Mela 2. 56, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 145, Fest. p. 340 b 9 Müller, p. 458, 37 Lindsay) and *Egesta* into *Segesta* (Fest. p. 340 b 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay) for the sake of avoiding an evil omen. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: 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 εἴ τι πάθεις, of 'the dead' as οἱ πλείονες (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2560 f.), when the modern Greek calls the small-pox Συγχωρεμένη, the 'Gracious One,' or Εὐλογία, the 'Blessing' (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 236), and the Devil himself ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, 'the Good man,' or ὁ κατάκαλος, 'the Beloved' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 176), these complimentary phrases are best explained as due to downright euphemism. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1398, 50 ff., *et. mag.* p. 144, 20 ff. Further instances are adduced by writers on rhetoric to illustrate the trope *antíphrasis*: see Anonymos *περὶ τρόπων* 14 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci Stuttgartiae et Tubingae* 1835 viii. 722, 10 f.), Tryphon *περὶ τρόπων* 15 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 755, 11 ff.), Gregorios of Corinth *περὶ τρόπων* 18 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 773, 20 ff.), Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 785, 27 ff.), Choiboskos *περὶ τρόπων* 13 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 812, 11 ff.). An example will serve: Helladios *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 535 a 4 ff. Bekker ὅτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. διὸ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἴκημα ἐκάλουσαν, καὶ τὸν δῆμιον κοινόν [a euphemism for a euphemism!], τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύδας Εὐμενίδας ἢ σεμνὰς θεάς, τὸ δὲ μύσος ἄγος, τὸ δὲ ὄξος μέλι καὶ τὴν χολὴν

γλυκεῖαν, τὸν δὲ βόρβορον ὄχετόν. οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν ὀνομάζουσιν. οἶδα δὲ τινὰς, φησί, τῶν φιλολόγων καὶ τὸν πίθηκον ὀνομάζοντες καλλιαν.

Confining our attention to the titles of Greek divinities, we note the following cases:—

(1) The Erinyes were known as Ἀβλαβῖαι (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Athen. 99 B, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγεσίλαος (so Musurus for ἄγες, λαὸς cod.)=Favorin. *lex.* p. 17, 7 f., Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 130 Ἀγεσίλα cited by *et. mag.* p. 8, 32 f. as Ἀγεσίλαφ, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 195. 2=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 551. 2 ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλας for the meaningless inscr. ΕΠΑΓΕΣΙΜΗ, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 Plutoni, cui cognomen Agesilao (*v.l.* Agelasto) fuit. So Nik. *frag.* 74, 72 *ap.* Athen. 684 D Ἡγεσιλάου, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 545. 4 (Hegesippos) ἠγησίλεω... Αἰδος), Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* p. 118 n. 4), Εὐειδής (Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐκλής cited *supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐκλής (*supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐχάλτης (J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1, 24 an oracle of Klaros, s. ii A.D., found at Kallipolis on the Thracian Chersonese: see Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034. 23, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 81 ff., H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 257 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 880, and C. Picard *Éphèse et 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.), Πασιάναξ (on Megarian (?) imprecatory tablets of lead published by E. Ziebarth 'Neue attische Fluchtafeln' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1899 p. 120 no. 21, 1, 3, 7 and p. 121 no. 22, 1. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1664 cp. the Pythian oracle quoted by Phlegon of Tralleis *Olympiades seu chronica frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 Müller)=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 20. 5 f. ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος | Ζηνός), Περικλύμενος (Hesych. *s.v.*: so Salmasius and Soping for περίκλυμος cod.), Πλούτων (*supra* i. 503 f.), Πολύαρχος (Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang), Πολυδαίμων (Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 11: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 2, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2637), Πολυδέγμων (*h. Dem.* 17, 31, 430, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 809 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2639 f.), Πολυδέκτης (*h. Dem.* 9 with the note of E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 14 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 867 n. 5, H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2640), Πολύξενος? (Kallim. *frag.* 478 Schneider *ap. et. Flor.* p. 189 Κλυμένου...πολυξείνοιο. In Soph. *O.C.* 1569 f. ἐν πύλαισι | ...πολυξέστοις S. Musgrave restored πολυξένοις. Cp. Aisch. *suprl.* 157 f. τὸν πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων, where T. Birt would read Δία for Ζῆνα with the citation in *et. Gud.* p. 227, 43 διὰ (*sic*) and in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 13 Διὰ (*sic*). Again, in Aisch. *frag.* 228 Nauck<sup>2</sup> 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), Πυλάοχος (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35), πυλάρτης (*Il.* 8. 367 with schol. *ad loc.*, 13. 415, *Od.* 11. 277, Mosch. 4. 86, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 137, 25 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο, *et. mag.* p. 696, 48 ff., Eustath. in *Il.* pp. 718, 20 f., 914, 18 f., 940, 5 f., in *Od.* p. 1684, 43 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1601, 28 ff.: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3326). *Infra* Append. N *med.*

(3) Persephone was Μελίβοια? (Lasos *frag.* 1 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *ap.* Athen. 624 Ε Δάματρα μέλπω κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν, | ὕμνων ἀναγνῶν Αἰολῆδα | βαρύβρομον ἄρμονίαν: but E. Hiller—O. Crusius read ἄλοχον | μελιβόαν ὕμνων ἀναγνῶν | Αἰολίδ' ἀνὰ κ.τ.λ.), Μελιτώδης (Theokr. 15. 94 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *de antr. nymphe.* 18. In Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 786, 8) καὶ Μελιτώννην τὴν Περσεφόνην Boissonade *anecd.* iii. 292 cj. μελιτώδη), Μελιδία? (Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf: Rohde *Psyche*<sup>3</sup> i. 206 n. 2 cj. Μελίνοια).



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 *meilicha*, 'figs,' would point in triumph to the Sacred Fig-tree of the Phyalidai.

(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 pillar<sup>1</sup>, the other on a quadrangular base<sup>2</sup>. The latter associates him with Helios, possibly as being a god of fertility<sup>3</sup>.

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 precinct<sup>4</sup>. 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 church<sup>5</sup>.'

(4) Hekate was Ἀρίστη (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 57 pap. Par. 1450 καὶ Ἀρίστη Χθονία), Εὐκόλινη (Kallim. *frag.* 82<sup>d</sup> Schneider χαῖρ', Εὐκόλινη, *ap. et. Sorbon.* (cited by T. Gaisford in his note on *et. mag.* p. 392, 27); *et. Ultraiect.* (cited by D. Ruhnken *epist. crit.* ii. 181), *et. Flor.* p. 133, *cp. et. mag.* p. 392, 27 f., Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 182, 23 ff., Soud. *s.v.* Εὐκόλινη), Καλλίστη (Hesych. *s.v.*), Κράταυς (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 Μειλιωθή? (so C. A. Lobeck for Μηλιωθή in Orph. *h. Melin.* 71. 1).

(6) An Arcadian bear-goddess (?) was Καλλιστώ (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff. fig. 26, R. Franz 'De Callistus fabula' in the *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* 1890 xii. 233—365, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 191, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 194 f., 942 n. 8, *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176 f.).

(7) The bogus snake-god of Abonou Teichos was Γλύκων (*supra* Append. L p. 1083 ff.).

Such titles have a twofold aspect. Their value is at once negative and positive. On the one hand, they are substitutes for names that were taboo. 'It is especially,' says Dr Farnell (*Cults of Gk. States* iii. 137), 'in the cults of the powers of the lower world, in the worship of Hades and Persephone, and more especially still in the mysteries, that we discern in many Greek communities a religious dislike to pronounce the proper personal name, either because of its extreme holiness or because of its ominous associations, and to conceal it under allusive, euphemistic, or complimentary titles.' On the other hand, these titles often aim at securing by magical means the blessing that they describe: you call your god what you wish him to be, in order to make him so. See some shrewd remarks by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 33 f.: 'Here, in part (there are other elements also) lies the efficacy of Euphemism. You call the Fairies "Kindly Ones"; behind the conscious motive of putting them into a good temper, and the fear of effecting a connection with them by uttering their name, is further the comfort that you derive by persuading yourself to believe that they are kindly: the fact that you call them kindly makes them kindly.'

*Μειλιχίος* is a case in point.

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1584 Δὲ Μειλιχίωι | Ξωπυρίων.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1585 Ἑλλίωι καὶ Δὲ Μειλιχίωι | Μαμμία.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 4, 424.

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 504 ΣΟΙΔ:ΣΟΦΟΗ and a little lower down no. 505 ΗΟΡΟΣ.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Lykabettos<sup>1</sup> 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 follows<sup>2</sup> in lettering of the late fifth century B.C. :

ΗΙ ΕΡΟΝ :-	Sanctuary
ΔΙΟΣ:ΜΙ	of Zeus <i>Mi-</i>
ΛΙΧΙΟ:Α	<i>lichios, (G)-</i>
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 *Meilichios* on the Ilissos.

Yet another Athenian cult seems to have connected Zeus *Meilichios* as a god of fertility with underground waters. In 1893 A. N. Skias, when exploring



Fig. 947

<sup>1</sup> S. Reinach 'Le sanctuaire d'Athéna et de Zeus Meilichios à Athènes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 411—417.

<sup>2</sup> S. A. Koumanoudes in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 pp. 51—54 no. 1 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 3 no. 528<sup>1</sup> *ιερόν | Διὸς Μελιχίου, (Γ)ῆς, Ἀθην|αίας*. 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 basin<sup>1</sup> 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)<sup>2</sup> shows Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand and a *phiale* (?) in

<sup>1</sup> Marked B in W. Wilberg's plan of the excavations (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 pl. A).

<sup>2</sup> A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1894 p. 133 ff. fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.*

his right, seated on a rock (?)<sup>1</sup>. Before him is an altar of rude stones. Beyond it stand two female worshippers, presumably mother and daughter, conceived on a smaller scale than the god himself. The moulding above bears traces of fifth-century letters, which were read by Skias as a dedication to Zeus *Naios*<sup>2</sup>: they may equally well, indeed better, be completed as a dedication to Zeus *Meilichios*<sup>3</sup>. The second relief (fig. 948)<sup>4</sup> 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*<sup>5</sup>. Behind Zeus stands a female (?)—perhaps Kallirrhoe, daughter of Acheloios,—fronting us with a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and a *phiale* in her right. Before Zeus stand Hermes and Herakles. Hermes has a trefoil *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 *Meilichios*. But it is probable that both do so. The former bears a general resemblance to the *Meilichios*-reliefs of the Peiraius (figs. 942, 943)<sup>6</sup>, 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 Acheloios<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>, height 0·22<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781), *infra* p. 1119 n. o.

<sup>2</sup> ΕΥΙΛΕΝΝΑΙ = [ὁ δαίνα ἀν]έθηκεν Ναί[ω Δι]. The lettering is hardly later than c. 450 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Skias himself supposes that the god portrayed is Zeus *Μελιχιος*, who *qua* watery chthonian Zeus might—he thinks—bear the title *Naios*. But it is surely simpler to restore [Διὶ Μελιχίωι κατ' εὐχὴν ἀν]έθηκεν Ναί[ας] or *Náv[μιον]* or the like.

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>, breadth below 0·53<sup>m</sup>, breadth above 0·60<sup>m</sup>, thickness of base 0·16<sup>m</sup>, thickness of background c. 0·10<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΣ.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1105 f.

<sup>7</sup> A votive relief of Pentelic marble (height 0·42<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0·49<sup>m</sup>, thickness 0·08<sup>m</sup>: 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 Acheloios, and immediately beneath it is set a table for offerings. Ranged round the cavern we see a semicircle of divinities. Zeus in the centre is flanked by Pan (horns) and Kore (torches). Next to Pan is Demeter (?); next to Kore, Plouton (?—possibly Agathos Daimon) (*phiale*, *cornu copiae*). The reclining youth on the extreme left and the seated female figure on the extreme right are insufficiently characterised as deities (Apollon?? Aphrodite?? cp. Paus. 1. 44. 9) and more probably represent the eponymous hero Megaros and his mother, one of the nymphs called Sithnides, who was beloved by Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 1, cp. *et. mag.* p. 228, 21 ff. where the hero is called Megareus): the fact that they alone occupy the ground-level would not justify the inference that they are merely the dedicators of the *ex voto*.

The nearest parallel to this relief as a whole is furnished by the rock-carvings at the entrance to the marble-quarries of Paros: see J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1816 iv pp. ix, 34 f., ch. 6 pl. 5, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*



of the reservoirs above-mentioned must be located<sup>1</sup> 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 cicadas, and blossoms of *agnus castus* perfuming the whole place<sup>2</sup>. 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 temple<sup>3</sup>.' If early graves were to be seen in the vicinity, we might look to find the cult of a chthonian Zeus<sup>4</sup>, 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.

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Skias *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναϊκὴν τοπογραφίαν* pp. 13—16 (= *Ἔστια* 1894 p. 292), *id.* in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B-C.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 18. 8.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1897 p. 81 ff. suggests that the small Ionic temple

terranean springs. Pliny, or his authority, was probably<sup>1</sup> 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-cold<sup>2</sup>.' 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 church<sup>3</sup>. This little edifice perhaps marks the very ground where Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped<sup>4</sup>.

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 Φίλιος, 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 Μητήρ ἐν Ἀγρας.

<sup>1</sup> But see W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 182 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 50 Athenis Enneacrunos nimbose aestate frigidior est quam puteus in Iovis horto, at ille siccitatibus riget.

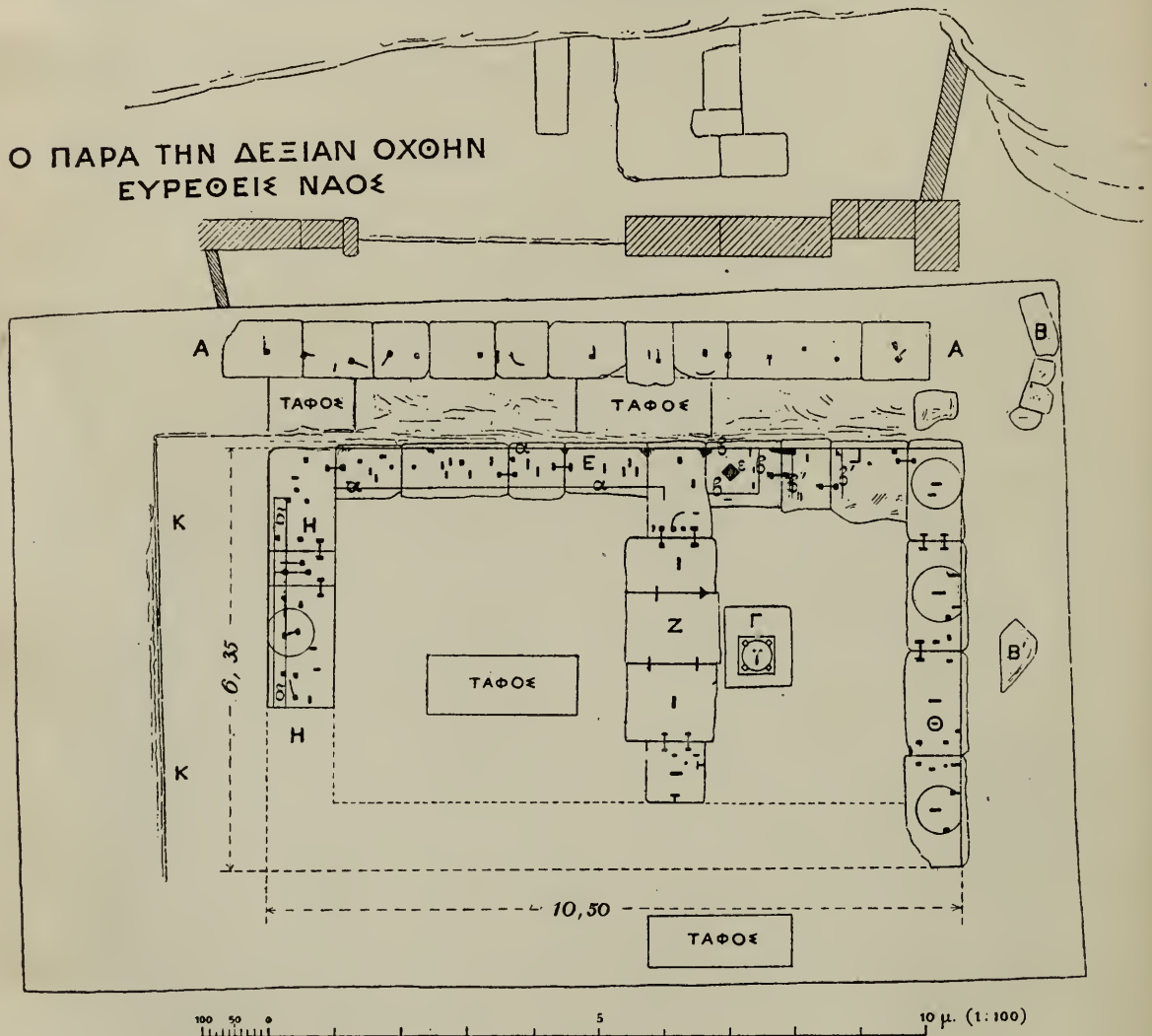
<sup>3</sup> A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 p. 130 ff. pl. A with inset (= my fig. 950). The temple was a peripteral building with 6 columns on each short side and 9 on each long side: the ναός was amphiprostyle with 4 columns at either end (Skias *loc. cit.* p. 131 fig.). The order appears 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 ἣν κατερχόμενος ὁ δοῦξ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐκινεῖτο· ἐκεῖ ἐστι καὶ ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος (νεάκρουνος cod.) πηγὴ ἢ Καλλιρρόη, εἰς ἣν λουόμενος ἀνήρχετο εἰς τέμενος τὸ τῆς Ἡρας 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 Πανελληνίος (Paus. i. 18. 9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίους, ναὸν Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου κ.τ.λ., Dion Cass. 69. 16 τὸν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελληνίον 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 τὴν τ' ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, 2. 17. 1. μηδ' 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 Πανελληνίος 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 Φωκῶν καὶ Εὐβοέων κοινόν, or more briefly τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἢ 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 Πανελλήμιον 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.*<sup>3</sup> no. 842, 2 f., and on *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f., 11). Hadrian not only founded a temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 13, 10 [ναὸν Πανελλήνιου Διὸς ἐφ[ιδρύσατο (sc. Ἀδριανός)]), but also himself assumed the title Πανελλήνιος (*ib.* iii. 1 no. 12, 26 ff. [τ]ὰς δωρεὰς ὡς ἕκασται ἐδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ | μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανῶν Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ | Ὀλυμπίου Πανελληνίου, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 70, 1 f. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν | Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθειον Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 71, 1 f. [τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν



Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθειον Πανελλήνιον], *ib.* i no. 72, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθειον | Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 3491, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν], | θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱόν, Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πανελλήνιον νέον Πύθειον, G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 480 no. 60, 1 f. *Kirk-Agatsch* from Thyateira [αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν, | ...καὶ Πανελλήνιον) presumably as being the earthly representative and vicegerent of Zeus (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314). After his death the divinised Hadrian had as priest the president of the great Panhellenic council (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 681, 2 ff. τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν | σεμνοτάτων Παν[ε]λλήνων [καὶ ἱερέα] | θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ Παν]ελλήνιου [καὶ ἀγῶ]ν[ο]θ[έ]τ[η]ν τῶν Παν[ε]λλήνων[ι]ων....],? cp. *ib.* iii. 2 no. 3872, 1 ff. θεὸν [Ἀδριανόν?] - - - Πανελλήνιον...], Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f. Aizanoi ὁ 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 *Ephópsios* and *Meilichios*.

Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Π[ανελληνίου] | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 1 f. ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων). It would even seem that at Athens the god Hadrian took over the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (so W. Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504 n. 6 understands Dion Cass. 69. 16 cited *supra*). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 (Epeiros) an altar inscribed αὐτοκράτορι Τραιῖα|νῶι Ἀδρια|νῶι Σε|βασ|τῶι, | Ὀλυμπίωι, Διὶ Δωδωνα[ῶι]. The foundation of the Πανελλήνιον in 131 A. D. (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 43 no. 35, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 842, 1 ff. ἔτους γ' τῆς καθιερώσεως τοῦ Διὸς| τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου 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)[ντ]άρχωντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀ(γ)[ῶνος τοῦ] (Π)αν(ε)λληνίου, cp. *ib.* iii. 1 no. 681, 6 ff. [ἀγῶν]ν[ο]θ[έ]τ[η]ν τῶν Παν|ελλη|νίων . . . .), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 682, 1 ff. [ἀγωνοθετήσ]αντα - - - [? Πανελληνίων, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) known as the Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 32, 5 τὸ εἰς τὰ Πανελλήνια), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 127, 3 f. Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 128, 5 νεικήσας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς Πανελλήνια | κ.τ.λ., 10 f. Πανελλήνια | δις | Ἀθή(νας), *Olympia* v. 347 ff. no. 237, 8 f. α' Ἀδρειανεία ἐν Ζυμύρῃ καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσω 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 παι[δων Παν|ελλη|νία γ, *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 5 Ephesos Ἀθήνας παιδων 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 μεγάλα Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17, 3 [τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελλη[νίων] or [τῶν ἄ]λλων Πανελλη[νίων], *ib.* no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) implies that the contest was organised also as a *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[ελλη]νίου οὐθέν cp. *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1184, 20 ff. [με]τ[ὰ τὰ]ς Σεβαστοφορικὰς νομὰς πάσας τὰς διὰ Πανελληνίων ἐπ' ἰσῆς οἱ τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ πε[[ρι τὸ Δι]ογένειον θύσαντες καὶ σπείσαντες ἐν τῷ Διογενεῖω τὰ ἐξιτήρια εὐωχήθησαν, | ο[ὐδε]νὶ δὲ ἄλλω συντελέσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνανκαῖον τῷ καψαρῶ 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 doings<sup>1</sup>.

From what source Antoninus Liberalis, a compiler of the second century A.D. or later<sup>2</sup>, drew this singular narrative is unknown<sup>3</sup>; nor are its incidents—apart from a casual reference in Ovid<sup>4</sup>—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 etymologise<sup>5</sup> and, worse still, to moralise. His tale belongs to a well-defined group, in which an early king (Salmoneus is typical) poses as Zeus and is consequently punished by the real Zeus. This implies, as I have elsewhere pointed out<sup>6</sup>, 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 *Períphas*, 'the Brilliant<sup>7</sup>', was a recognised epithet of Zeus<sup>8</sup>; for an Orphic hymn salutes Zeus *Astrápios*, the lightning-god, as *períphantos*<sup>9</sup>. Now we have repeatedly found a human Zeus of this sort figuring among the kings of Thessaly descended from Aiolos<sup>10</sup>. It is therefore of interest to observe that Lapithes, the eponymous king of the Thessalian Lapithai, was either father<sup>11</sup> or son of a Periphas, who wedded Astygyia

<sup>1</sup> Ant. Lib. 6.

<sup>2</sup> G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2573 ('schwerlich vor dem 2. Jhdt. n. Chr.'). W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>3</sup> München 1898 p. 778 ('aus der Zeit der Antonine'). See further E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonn 1886 pp. 1—61.

<sup>3</sup> 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.'

<sup>4</sup> *Ov. met.* 7. 399 f. Palladias 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*<sup>2</sup> München 1899 ii. 1. 237 f.): venisse etiam Athenas, ubi Phineum (*sic*) et Peripham in aves conversos.

<sup>5</sup> He harps on derivatives of *φαίνω*, real or supposed: *Περίφας...φανήναι...φήνην...ἐπιφαίνεσθαι*.

<sup>6</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 300.

<sup>7</sup> *Περίφας* = *περιφανής* (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 86), *περίφαντος*, *περιφανής*. Cp. *Πολύφας*, *Ἰπέρφας*. For other explanations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1971 f.

<sup>8</sup> H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66 f.).

<sup>9</sup> Orph. *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 1 ff. *κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐρισμάραγον, περίφαντον, | ...ἀστράπιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον, | κ.τ.λ.* adduced by O. Höfer *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 1088.

<sup>11</sup> 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 Ixion<sup>1</sup>. J. Töpffer in an important article<sup>2</sup> insisted on the point that Periphas was at once an Attic autochthon and a Thessalian king: he compared other cases of the same bilocation<sup>3</sup> and, following up the clue thus afforded, reached the conclusion that in prehistoric times some Thessalian tribe (Lapithai? Dryopes?) migrated southwards through Euboia to north-eastern Attike, and so on by sea to the southern parts of the Argolid. Töpffer's hypothesis has been accepted by P. Weizsäcker<sup>4</sup> 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 Achaeans<sup>5</sup>), who, swarming off from Thessaly in days before the great Athenian *synoikismós*, settled in Attike and planted the worship of their<sup>6</sup> Zeus *Olímpios* 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 *Meilichios*. 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 *Olímpios* and the Olympians, from the second to the Heroës, from the third to Zeus *Sotér*, otherwise styled *Téleios*<sup>7</sup>. The sequence suggests that this final offering was in its essence simply

<sup>1</sup> Diod. 4. 69, who—according to E. Schwartz (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)—is here excerpting from an earlier mythographical handbook.

<sup>2</sup> J. Töpffer 'Theseus und Peirithoos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 30—46.

<sup>3</sup> 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 motived by the friendship of Theseus and Peirithoos (Ephoros *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 243 Müller) *ap. Phot. lex. s.v. Περιθοῖδαι*, Soud. *s.v. Περιθοῖδαι*, Apostol. 14. 19).

<sup>4</sup> P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1762.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> A. Fick *loc. cit.* 1914 xlvi. 97.

<sup>7</sup> 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 ὡσπερ 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 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 425 Jebb). 'Ζεῦ παυσίλυπε καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδὴ τρίτου κρατήρος.' τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐκίρασαν, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος, καθὰ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἐπιγόνουσι (*frag.* 55 Nauck<sup>2</sup>). 'λοιβὰς Διὸς μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | Ἦρας τε.' εἶτα· 'τὴν δευτέραν γε (C. G. Schütz cj. δὲ) κρᾶσιν Ἦρωσιν νέμω.' εἶτα· 'τρίτον (A. Nauck cj. τρίτην) Διὸς Σωτήρος εὐκταίαν λίβα.' Διὸς δὲ Σωτήρος ἔλεγον τὸν τρίτον διὰ τὸ τοῦς τοῦτον πίνοντας σταθεροῦς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον 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 εἴρηται τοῦ ἐν ταῖς



συνουσίαις ἔθους· Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐκινῶντο γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, ὡς ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Πολιτείᾳ (Plat. *rep.* 583 B). ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Ἀνδρομέδα (*frag.* 148 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνιστάις (*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 ἐκινῶν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι. τέλειος γὰρ ὁ τρία ἀριθμὸς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀρτιοπέριπτος. Τέλειος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥστε κατὰ λόγον τρίτον τῷ Διὶ σπένδεται τε καὶ ὁ κρατῆρ τρίτος τίθεται. Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ· ‘καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδὴ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ καὶ Πλάτων Πολιτείαις 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 πρῶτην σπονδὴν εἶναι θεῶν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δευτέραν δὲ ἠρώων, καὶ τρίτην Διὸς Σωτήρος, Suid. *s.v.* τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, ὃν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν γε (G. Bernhardt *cj.* μὲν γὰρ) πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί· τὸν δὲ β’ ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ γ’ Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων Πολιτεία· τὸν (G. Bernhardt *cj.* τὸ) δὲ γ’ Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ (cp. Plat. *rep.* 583 B) = Phot. *lex. s.v.* τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, 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, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡμερῶν (*frag.* 179 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller)), Apostol. 10. 5 a κρατῆρ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτήρος· εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐν συμποσίοις οἱ παλαιοὶ κινῶν κρατῆρα πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ, δεύτερον τοῖς ἠρωσι, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος. Σοφοκλῆς τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (A. Boeckh corr. Ναυπλίῳ)· ‘Ζεῦ πανσίλυπε (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 197 notes a *skýrphos* at Athens (no. 12351) with incised inscription ΠΑΥΓΙΑΥΠΡΟΣ) καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδαὶ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ 10. 77 a ‘λοιβὰς <Διὸς> μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | Ἡρας 1ε.’ εἶτα· ‘τὴν δευτέραν <γε> κρᾶσιν ἠρωσιν νέμω,’ 17. 28 τρίτου κρατῆρος ἐγεύσω (a proverb in ancient dactylic metre: *supra* i. 444)· ἐπὶ τῶν μεμνημένων τὰ τελεώτατα καὶ σωτηριωδέστερα. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν κρατῆρες· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ὀλυμπίων, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ· τὸν (*leg.* τὸ) δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε <καὶ> Ὀλυμπίῳ. S. A. Naber on Phot. *lex. s.v.* τρίτου κρατῆρος says: ‘Boethi observatio est.’ A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 425 Jebb remarks: ‘It is clear that our passage was a stock instance with the grammarians, and that all the quotations given above are derived from a common source: this was in all probability Didymus, from whom they may have passed to Diogenian, and thence to the Platonic scholia.’ Another tradition is evidenced by Suid. *s.v.* κρατῆρ· τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἴστασαν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ· α’ Ἐρμῆ, β’ Χαρισίῳ (T. Hemsterhuys *cj.* Χάρισιν), γ’ Διὶ Σωτήρι.

A *kratér* or *stáminos* 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 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, Soph. *frag.* 392 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 425 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 148 Nauck<sup>2</sup> (?), 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*s 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*) ἐπίνομεν 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 | ὕπατοι τε θεοὶ καὶ βαρύ-

drink for the soul of a dead man. As such it was duplicated by the cup of unmixed wine drunk after dinner in the name of the Agathos Daimon<sup>1</sup>. Both

τιμοι | χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, | καὶ Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ | ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In *Ag.* 1385 ff. Klytimestra describes the third and fatal blow dealt by her hand: καὶ πεπτωκότι | τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διός (so R. Enger for αἰδου codd.) νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκαταίαν 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.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the Agathos Daimon various opinions have been held: see E. Gerhard *Über Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung der Dämonen und Genien* Berlin 1852 pp. 12 f., 30 (= *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 248 f., 266), K. Lehrs *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum*<sup>2</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup> 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. Ἀγαθὸς δὲ Δαίμων... προστάτης... καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστὶ τῷ σώσειν καλῶς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον... τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας οἰκείον αὐτῷ φόρημά ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντα ἀλδήσκει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς φερόμενα, 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: ...ι... | 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 356 f. fig. 107, *infra* Append. N *init.* Inscribed: Ἀγέστροτο[s], | Τιμοκρατεία, | Πτωλλεία, | Ἐμπεδονίκα | Ἀγαθοῦ Δήμου[ι] (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1815)). Hence, although the contention of J. Neuhäuser *De Graecorum daemonibus particula prior* Berolini 1857 p. 10 ff. that the word δαίμων was in the beginning 'ipsius summi numinis appellatio' is justly dismissed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, we can understand the reasoning of Paus. 8. 36. 5 Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὀδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐλισσόντα ἔστι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ναός· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρές εἰσιν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὑπατος θεῶν ἐστίν, ἐπόμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τῆν



Fig. 951.



ἐπέκλησιν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιο εἶναι. Others besides Pausanias took the Agathos Theos to be a sort of Zeus. Tiberius Claudius Xenokles, after serving as fire-bearer, set up an altar at Epidauros in 224 A.D. to the local Agathos Theos, whom he represented as a chthonian Zeus with a sceptre in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, and a snake wriggling below (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 45 no. 44, Harrison *Themis* p. 285 f. fig. 75, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1059 with numeral πθ' and circle no. 2 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); cp. another block erected at Epidauros in 187 A.D. by Tiberius Claudius Pollio, after service as *hierapólos*, to the Agathos Theos and to Agathe (P. Cavvadias *op. cit.* i. 44 f. nos. 41—41<sup>a</sup>, 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 ξξ'). The same explanation might well be given of the Zeus-like Theos Megas at Odessos in Thrace,

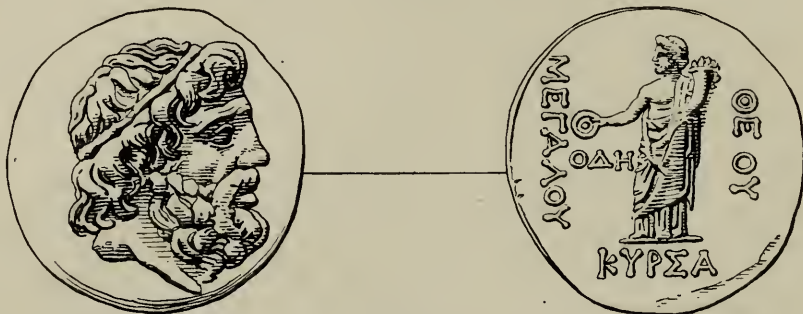


Fig. 952.

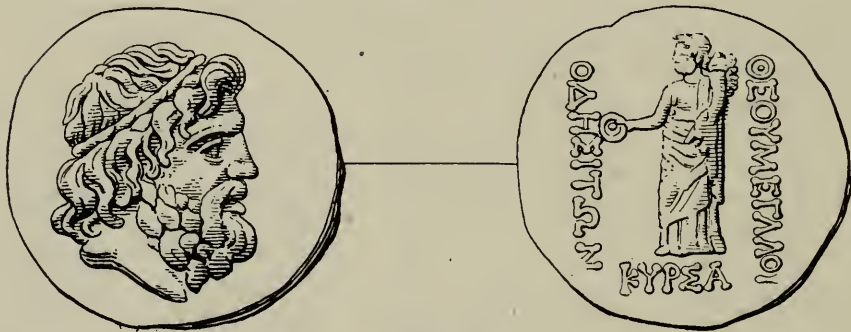


Fig. 953.

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 *phiale* 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 276 fig. 167, inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 pl. 28, 4=my fig. 953 inscribed ΘΕΟΥΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 35 f. fig. detected the type on a bronze medallion struck by Hadrian (Gnechchi *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. 1. 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. 1. 29 p. 38, 18 ff. Kuebler. Cp. pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 ἰδρυμένου δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαίφνης πλάξ μεγίστη ἐξέπεσεν ἀρχαιοτάτη πλήρης γραμμάτων, ἐξ ἧς ἐξήλθον ὄφεις πολλοί, καὶ ἐρπύζοντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἤδη τεθεμελιωμένων οἰκιῶν. [τὴν πόλιν γὰρ ἔτι παρῶν Ἀλέξανδρος καθίδρυσεν τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἰαννουαρίου πρώτῃ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερόν.] ὅθεν τούτους τοὺς ὄφεις σέβονται οἱ θυρωροὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοῦς 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, ἀλήσαντες καὶ ἀθηροποιησάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν (C. Müller cj. ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι θάλλους διδάσιν· ὅθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φυλάττουσι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι, Τύβι (so C. Müller for Τύβη) κέ' τὰ μὲν κτήνη στεφανοῦσθαι, θυσιάζεσθαι <δὲ> τοῖς Ἀγαθοῖς Δαίμοσι τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ διασώσεις (διαδόσεις? C. Müller) τῶν ἀθηρῶν ποιέισθαι). See further Plout. *amiat.* 12 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποτὲ γείτονας ἑώρων δύο διαμφισβητοῦντας ὄφews προσεπύσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἀμφοτέρων μὲν Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦντων, ἑκατέρου δ' ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντος ὡς ἴδιον, Lamprid. v. *Heliogab.* 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 Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, ὃ ἔστιν, | ὡς λέγει Ἐπαφρόδιτος, [ὃ ἔστιν] τὸ ὑποκείμενον· | φρη αν ωῖ φωρχω φννν ρορψις | οροχωωῖ, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρτῃ δ (sic) εὔρο(ν), | μετεβλήθη τὸ πραγματικὸν οὕτως· | αρπονκνουφι ὁ, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 48 ff. Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸ (sc. the snake) Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Κνήφ ἐπονομάζουσι· προστιθέασι δὲ αὐτῷ ἱέρακος κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τοῦ ἱέρακος...ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέσα τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν



θητα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Nero, who in Egypt called himself ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τῆς | οἰκουμένης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 3 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 3 f.), struck



Fig. 955.

billon coins there with the reverse type of a serpent enfolding corn-ears and poppy-heads, inscribed ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜΩΝ = 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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  $\rho$  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 *phidle* and *cornu copiae* to the right and a female figure bearing *oinochóe* and *cornu copiae* to the left: these personages, who both have a *modius* on their heads and are draped alike in *chitón* and *himátion*, 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<sup>1</sup>!'

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*<sup>2</sup>.

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 πόμα = Bekker *anecd.* i. 209, 14 ff., i. 334, 4 ff. = Apostol. 1. 10. Cp. also the 'Αγαθοδαιμονισταί (Hesych. *s.v.*) or 'Αγαθοδαιμονιασταί (Aristot. *eth. Eud.* 3. 6. 1233 b 3 f., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]αταβυριαστῶν 'Αγαθοδαιμονιαστῶν Φιλ(ω)ρείων κοινοῦ κ.τ.λ., with Plout. *symph.* 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, Souid. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, schol. Aristoph. *rax* 300, cp. Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D and *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 693 D—E, and never really confused with it (Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A 'Αρχίλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μεταπιπρίδα | μεστήν Διὸς Σωτήρος, 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is a case of asyndeton, not of apposition. Cp. *e.g.* Herond. 2. 67 f.).

A *kántharos* with knotted handles from Athens (Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 272 f. no. 1173, C. Watzinger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 74 no. 17 fig., P. Wolters *ib.* 1913 xxxviii. 198 n. 2) has round its neck a yellow ivy-wreath, above which is painted in white ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. A small vase at Kentoripa (*Centorbi*) is inscribed ΑΓΑΘΟΥΔΑΜΟΕ, which is perhaps to be read as 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος rather than as 'Αγαθοδάμον (*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.*).

<sup>1</sup> Athen. 427 E τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπέζων· διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς Σθενεβόλας φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ νομίζει τὸν Βελλεροφόντην τεθνάναι, 'πεσὸν δὲ νῦν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερσός, | ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐδᾶ "τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ"' (Eur. *frag.* 664 Nauck<sup>2</sup>). 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 loc.*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κορινθίος ξένος.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *frag.* 190 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 34 φησὶ δ' 'Αριστοτέλης... παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν (sc. Πυθαγόραν)...τὰ...πεσόντ' ἀπὸ τραπέζης μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν 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 Ἑρωσι (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1070 f. Meineke)) 'μηδὲ γεύεσθ' ἄτ' ἂν ἐντὸς (I. Casaubon and W. Canter, followed by C. Jacobitz, *cjj.* ἐκτὸς) τῆς τραπέζης καταπέση' = Souid. *s.v.* Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα.



Secondly, the buried chieftain was *Ερόψιος* because he kept an eye on his descendants and watched over their interests<sup>1</sup>. The title was, however, susceptible of a wider meaning. So Zeus *Ερόψιος*<sup>2</sup> came to be revered as the guardian of suppliants<sup>3</sup>, the observer of right and wrong<sup>4</sup>, the avenger of impious deeds<sup>5</sup>. Like Zeus *Πανόρτες*<sup>6</sup>, he readily took on a solar complexion<sup>7</sup>. And it may be that the story of Zeus transforming himself into a hoopoe (*έφορς*)

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the important passage Hes. *ο. d.* 121 ff. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε, | τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς | ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, | [οἳ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα | ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,] | πλουτοδοταὶ· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον. For *apparatus criticus* see A. Rzach *ad loc.* *Infra* Append. M *fin.*

The adjective *έπόψιος* is used in this sense by Soph. *Phil.* 1040 f. ἀλλ', ὦ πατρώα γῆ θεοὶ τ' ἐπόψιοι, | τείσασθε κ.τ.λ., the substantive *έποψις* by Strab. 676 εἴτ' Ἀμφίλοχον... συμβαλεῖν εἰς μονομαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Μόψον, πεσόντας δ' ἀμφοτέρους ταφῆναι μὴ ἐν ἐπόψει ἀλλήλοις, the verb *έποπτεύω* by Aisch. *cho.* 489 of the buried Agamemnon ὦ γαῖ', ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεύσαι μάχην, *cho.* 1 of Hermes *Chthónios* Ἑρμῆ Χθόνιε πατρώ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη cited by Aristoph. *ran.* 1126, 1138 ff., *Eum.* 220 of the Eumenides τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ, *cho.* 984 ff. of Helios ὡς ἴδη πατῆρ, | οὐχ οὐμός, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε | "Ἥλιος, ἀναγνα μητρὸς ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς, *Ag.* 1270 of Apollon ἐποπτεύσας δέ με, *Eum.* 224 of Athena δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά, *cho.* 1064 f. of God καὶ σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσοι κ.τ.λ., *Ag.* 1578 f. of the gods in general φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους | θεοὺς ἀνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ (see further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1126). Similarly *έφορᾶν* is used of Zeus in *Od.* 13. 213 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 1), Archil. *frag.* 84 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 54) ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀράς | λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά (so Liebel for *κάθήμεστα* or the like), σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει, Soph. *El.* 174 f. ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῶ | Ζεὺς, δς ἐφορᾶ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει. For Zeus "Εφορος see *supra* i. 737 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* i. 737 n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ap. Rhod. 2. 1123 ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου with schol. Paris. *ad loc.* Ἐπόψιος δὲ ὁ ἔποπτος (J. Alberti corr. *έπόπτης*), 1131 ff. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 ff. ἴξο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄκρης ἐν πολίεσσιν, ἐπόψιος οἳ τε δίκησι | λαὸν ὑπὸ σκολιῆς, οἳ τ' ἔμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν.

<sup>5</sup> Orph. *Arg.* 1035 ἀλλὰ οἱ οὔτι λάθον Δί' ἐπόψιον οὐδὲ θέμιστας.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* i. 459 ff.

<sup>7</sup> A stone pillar (height 1·0<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0·23<sup>m</sup>), found on the site of Itanos (*Erिमopoli*) in E. Crete and now serving as a lintel in a cottage near the lighthouse on *Capo Sidero*, bears the following inscription in letters of s. iv B.C. or earlier: Πάτρων Διὶ | Ἐπ[ο]ψί[ω]ι | ἀνέ[θ]ηκε. | τροπα[ί] χει|μεριναί. | εἴ τιμι τού[τ]ων: ἐπιμε|λές: κατὰ | τήν: χοι|ράδα: τήν | μικρὰν | καὶ τήν στη|λήν: 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.*<sup>3</sup> 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 Καλλιστρατος ἐν Κολωνῶ ἀνάθημά τι εἶναι αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Μέτωνος) ἀστρολογικόν and Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 7 ὅτι Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοιεὺς ἀστρολόγος ἀνέστησε στη|λας 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 469 f.), was in all probability a solar symbol. And Zeus on Cretan soil tended to become a sun-god (*supra* i. 545 ff.).

For Ἐπόψιος as a title of Apollon see *supra* i. 737 n. 9.

to win Lamia<sup>1</sup> owes something to popular confusion with the title *Epópsios*<sup>2</sup>. Thirdly, the king was *Meilichios*—a coaxing or cajoling appellation<sup>3</sup>, which he shared with various chthonian powers<sup>4</sup>.

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 Zeus<sup>5</sup>. Much the same is said of

<sup>1</sup> 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]ράψας ὁμοιωθῆ[ν]α <ι> χηνί, Δία <δέ> αὐτ[ῆν | δ]ιώκειν καὶ μιγῆν[αι, | τὴν δ]ε̅ ὠϊὸν τεκεῖν, | [έξ] ὄν γενέσθαι τῆ[ν | Ἐλ]ένην. ὦσ[π]ε[ρ αὐ | Λή]δας ἐρασθεῖς [έ|γ]ένετο κύκνο[s, | Εὐ]ρώπης δὲ ταῦ|[ρος], Λαμίας δὲ ε̅|[πο]ψ (so F. Blass), Δανάης δὲ χ[ρυ]σός]. καὶ παρ' Ἀπολ[λω]νίδη] καὶ παρ' Εὐ[ριπ]ίδη] 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) Λαμία ἐπεμορφώθη ἔποψ, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Lamiam (*sc.* stuprat) mutatus in upupam.

<sup>2</sup> Aisch. *frag.* 304, 1 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 49 B. 633 a 19 τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτην 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· ἐπόπτης. δυνάστης. καὶ εἶδος ὄρνέου.

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* 1. 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 βασιλεῖον ἔχον μῆκει δακτύλων β', ἀπλούμενον καὶ συστελλόμενον· αὐτὸ δὲ τετράχρωμον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὰς δ' τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· οὗτος καλεῖται κουκούφας καὶ ποῦπος, ὡς ἐγράφη τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ 'ἀρχαϊκῇ' καλουμένῃ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ ζῶν ἱερόν. λαβὼν οὖν τὴν τούτου καρδίαν ἔτι πταίρουσαν κατάπτε ἀντίκρυ τοῦ ἡλίου ὥρας πρώτης ἀρχομένης ἢ ὀγδόης ἀρχομένης· ἔστω δὲ ἡμέρα Κρόνου, σελήνης ἀνατολικῆς οὐσης· καὶ ἐπίπτε γαλὰ βοὸς μελαίνης μετ' ὀλίγου μέλιτος ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος αὐθωρόν, ἵνα ἡ καρδία ὑγιῆς καταποθῆ, καὶ ἔση προγινώσκων τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ, καὶ εἴ τις κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχει τι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰ κλίματα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις γίνονται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἄσασιν ἀνθρώποις· ...ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν καρδίαν καὶ ἦπαρ ἔποπος βάλης ἐν τῷ συνθέματι, κρεῖττον ἔσται καὶ ἔτι μνημονικώτερον ποιεί... The sequel deals with a yet more potent charm, in which, among other ingredients, is καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον 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. Swanson *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, ἐπειδὰν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐκτραφῆ, γηράσασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδίδωσι χάριν· ...ἄθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων σκῆπτρων κουκούφα προτίμησις 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).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1112 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> See O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558, 2563.

<sup>5</sup> Ant. Lib. 6 (*supra* p. 1121 f.) διδοὶ φυλάσσειν τὸ ἱερόν σκῆπτρον καὶ προσιέναι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον.



Merops an early king of Kos<sup>1</sup>. Behind such traditions lie definite beliefs. It was supposed, as I have elsewhere contended<sup>2</sup>, 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 eagle<sup>3</sup>; and the sceptre which had descended to him from Zeus<sup>4</sup>, with an eagle perched upon it<sup>5</sup>, was worshipped at Chaironeia as the chief of the gods<sup>6</sup>. The sceptre originally belonged

<sup>1</sup> Schol. *Il.* 24. 293 οἱ δέ, ὅτι Μέροψ ὁ Κῶος ἀπαύστως ἐπένθει τὴν γυναῖκα, ξενίσας δὲ τὴν 'Ρέαν (C. Robert cj. "Ἡραν) μετεβλήθη καὶ συμπάρεστιν αἰὲ τῷ Δίῳ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 f. φέρεται δὲ μῦθος καὶ ὅτι Μέροψ Κῶος, ἀπαύστως τὴν γυναῖκα πενθῶν θανοῦσαν, ξενίσας 'Ρέαν, μετεβλήθη εἰς ἀετὸν, 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.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 386 ff., cp. *ib.* 1905 xvi. 312, 1906 xvii. 165 ff., 313 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Plat. *rep.* 620 B τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ 'Αγαμέμνονος (sc. ψυχὴν)· ἐχθρὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη αἰετοῦ διαλλάξαι βίον. It would not be safe to conclude that Agamemnon's choice was due to Platonic fancy: Platon constantly founds on folk-belief (*supra* i. 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 43 ff., 63 n. o).

<sup>4</sup> *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.

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *av.* 509 ff. ΠΕ. ἤρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ' εἴ τις καὶ βασιλεύει | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν 'Ελλήνων, 'Αγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκῆπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις, μετέχων ὃ τι δωροδοκίῃ with schol. *ad loc.* ἐν γὰρ τοῖς σκῆπτροῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἦν αἰετός. But see *supra* i. 406 f.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δίῳ φησιν "Ὀμηρος" Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα 'Ερμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ 'Ατρει καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ 'Ατρεῖα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν 'Αγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θειότερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· φασι δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὑρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὔρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένους ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ 'Ηλέκτρας τῆς 'Αγαμέμνονος 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) ἱεράμενος ἐν οἰκῆματι ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καὶ οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης. The worship of sceptre or spear was characteristic of a primitive age: Iust. 43. 3. 3 per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci sceptrum dixere. nam et ab origine rerum pro signis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere, ob cuius religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastae adduntur, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 1. 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 564 Müller) ap. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 9. 29 οἱ παλαιῶτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἀνθρώποι, θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρεῖαν εὐρόντας, ἢ καὶ κατὰ τι εὐποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· εὐεργέτας τε τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους ἀγαθῶν ἠγούμενοι ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύουν, καὶ εἰς τὸ χρεῶν μεταστάντας ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι στήλας τε καὶ ράβδους ἀφιέρουν ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλως σεβόμενοι, καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐνενομοῦν αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας Φοίνικες. 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*<sup>3</sup>: 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 Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 385, 398, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 284, H. R. Hall *Aegean Archaeology* London 1915 pp. 57, 242). H. C. Schubart in

to the king as weather-maker, and the eagle on it was no mere decoration<sup>1</sup>

*Philologus* 1860 xv. 400 thought that it was housed in a portable wooden shrine (οἶκημα!). 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 (οἶκημα) 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.).

<sup>1</sup> 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.* 1. 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. 1 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, 1 a, 161 f. pl. 25, 1 ff., 198, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tanis* London 1888 ii. 2. 9, J. T. Bent *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*<sup>3</sup> London 1895 p. 180 ff.), the dove-on-sceptre (*Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>9</sup> 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 σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* and Soph. *frag.* 799 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 884 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 515 ὁ σκηπτροβάμων 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 139 *obv.* CAΛΑ, Dionysos standing with *kántharos* and vine-branch; *rev.* ΣΟΤΕΡ retrograde, Zeus enthroned with eagle-sceptre). On coppers of Ptolemy vi Philometor (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* p. 80 pl. 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 388 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΕΥΛ (the regent Eulaios)) and of Antiochos viii Grypos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 90 pl. 24, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 102 f. pl. 70, 1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ with IE to left, 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 Koson, king of Thrace (??) under the Romans, c. 42 B.C. the eagle carries a sceptre and a wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace* p. 208 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 436, *Ant. Münz. Berlin Paeonia etc.* iii. 2. 23 fig., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Zeus<sup>1</sup>, 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 Rome<sup>2</sup>; indeed, it appears to have lingered on<sup>3</sup> well into the middle ages<sup>4</sup>. In a sense it is still with us<sup>5</sup>. But if the mythopoeic mind fitly transformed any ancient king into an eagle<sup>6</sup>, it did so in the case of Periphas with a clear conscience. For Periphas, as son or father of Lapithes<sup>7</sup>, was near akin to the Phlegyai<sup>8</sup>, whose very name marks them as an 'Eagle'-tribe<sup>9</sup>.

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 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. PROVIDENTIAD EORVM* 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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).



Fig. 958.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76, 164 n. 4, 532 figs. 395—400, 543 n. 6, and especially ii. 187 n. 8, 751 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 76 pl. 226, 5.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1 the dove-on-sceptre.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 1122.

<sup>8</sup> See the pedigrees in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 227 f. ('Lapithen und Phlegyer').

<sup>9</sup> Hes. *sc. Her.* 133 f. (arrows) ὄπισθε | μόρφνοιο φλεγύαιο καλυπτόμενοι πτερύγεσσιν, Hesych. s.v. φλεγύας· ἀετός ξανθός, ὄξυς, Suid. s.v. φλεγύας· ὁ ἀετός, *et. mag.* p. 795, 57 ff. φλεγύας, ἔστιν ἀετός, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλέγειν καὶ λαμπρὸς εἶναι. οἱ δέ, ὄρνεον παραπλήσιον γυπί. 'Ἡσίοδος' Ἀσπίδι, 'μορφνοῖο φλεγύαιο,' τουτέστι μέλανος ἀετοῦ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 27 f. ῥήτωρ δέ τις, κατὰ στοιχεῖον συντάξας ἄπερ ἐπόνθησε, λέγει καὶ ὅτι φλεγύας ξανθὸς ἀετός, κατὰ γλῶσσάν τινα, ὡς ἔοικεν. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1914 xlvi. 77 f. renders φλεγύας 'der Schwarzadler' and adds: 'Das Wort wird soviel als "braun, dunkel" bedeutet haben: wie αἴθων braun, αἴθαλος Russ von αἶθειν 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.







E. T. T.

The central slab from the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon, representing the ritual Apotheosis of the King and Queen at Athens:

1. The relief as extant in the British Museum.

2. The relief with flat coloration and metal accessories restored.

See page 1135 ff.





the sons of Stilbe by Apollon<sup>1</sup>, or by the contiguity of the Olympieion to the Pythion<sup>2</sup>. 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*<sup>3</sup>.

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 him<sup>4</sup>. 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)<sup>5</sup> represents a ritual apotheosis<sup>6</sup>. The 'king' and 'queen' of Athens receive from

<sup>1</sup> Diod. 4. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 189 ff., v. 519 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 344 f.

<sup>3</sup> Poll. 8. 122 ὠμνυσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀρδήττω δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῶον καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

<sup>4</sup> 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 βασιλεύς 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. Blümner *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 Βασιλεύς (Hesych. s.v. Βασιλείος Στοά· 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 Στοά· 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 Στοά·... δύο εἰσὶ στοαί παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἣ Βασιλείος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη τις, ἣ πάλαι μὲν Ἀνάκτιος καλουμένη, Ποικίλη δὲ μετονομασθεῖσα, Soud. s.v. Βασιλείος Στοά· 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 Στοά, G. Bernhardt cj. Πεισιανάκτιος) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ μετωνομάσθη Ποικίλη, 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 Δίσκουροι 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 *péplos*, 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).

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> So at least I ventured to suggest in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: The Dying God p. 89 n. 5. Other interpretations (which to me,

their attendants the sacred *péplos* and two cushioned *díphroi*. Of these *díphroi* one is being handed to the 'queen,' the other with a footstool<sup>1</sup> is reserved for the 'king.' He is a very noteworthy personage. Alone of all the figures on the frieze, he is clad simply in a long *chitón* with short sleeves and in shoes—doubtless the Cretan garment<sup>2</sup> and royal footgear<sup>3</sup>, which we know to have been his distinctive attire. Court etiquette is conservative and these articles of apparel were reminiscent of 'Minoan' predecessors. But, to complete his costume, he needs a *himátion*; and it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that he is about to put on immortality in the shape of Athena's *péplos*<sup>4</sup>. This done, the 'king'

I confess, seem inadequate) regard the scene as (1) the priest receiving the new *péplos* (most archaeologists); (2) the priest folding up and putting away the old *péplos* (G. F. Hill 'The east frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 225 f., E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 291 f., *id.* *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 332 ff.); (3) the priest, about to sacrifice, handing his own *himátion* to the boy, cp. the vase shown in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii pl. 4 (A. Flasch *Zum Parthenon-Fries* Würzburg 1877 p. 99 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 277 f., Sir C. Waldstein 'The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1885 i. 10 ff., *id.* *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 p. 229 ff. ('The central slab of the Parthenon frieze and the Copenhagen plaque') pls. 11 f.); (4) the βασιλεύς, before sacrifice, about to put on his *protónion* (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the Central Groups of the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series (1892) xvi. 73 ff.); (5) the priest receiving a carpet (*στρωμνή*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 589, 9 and 44 f.) to be spread before the seats of the gods for a theoxeny (E. Curtius in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix *Arch. Anz.* p. 181, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 91, 427 f. ('The central group of the east frieze of the Parthenon: peplos or *στρωμνή*?')). See also E. Petersen 'Peplosübergabe' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 136 f., A. Michaelis 'Peplos und Priestermantel' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 p. 178 ff., A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 156 ff., *id.* *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 75 ff., *id.* *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 53, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 427, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 274 ff.

<sup>1</sup> E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 247 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Poll. 7. 77 ἐκαλείτο δὲ τι καὶ Κρητικόν, ᾧ Ἀθήνησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρήτο.

<sup>3</sup> Poll. 7. 85 ὑποδημάτων δὲ εἶδη βασιλίδες· ἐφόρει δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀθήνησιν.

<sup>4</sup> 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 *Kidaría* before smiting the Underground Folk with rods (Paus. 8. 15. 3). The obverse of a gold *statér* with the name and types of Alexander the Great is believed by C. T. Seltman to exhibit the head of Demetrios Poliorketes wearing the helmet of Athena (*Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 267 ff. pl. 20, 3). A Melian copper of imperial date shows a bearded male figure inscribed T·|V|[X]|H, with left arm carrying a child and right arm resting on a pillar (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 23 no. 66 pl. 2, 8), presumably a benefactor of Melos represented as her Tyche holding the infant 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 *Ámmon* (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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 850). Again, it might be pointed out that a woman's *péplos* is really the same garment as a man's *himátion*, both being essentially an oblong piece of woollen cloth folded for wear. But the true defence of the βασιλεύς is more



and 'queen' will take their places on the *díphroi* set for them between the deities enthroned on either hand<sup>1</sup>. With Zeus and Hera on the one side, Athena and Hephaistos on the other<sup>2</sup>, 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 Diasia<sup>3</sup>.

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 (*Πραξιεργίδαί* 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.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Philip of Macedon, immediately before his assassination at Aigai in 336 B.C., *εἶδωλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε...σὺν δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαίδέκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπροπέδς εἶδωλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς* (Diod. 16. 92).

<sup>2</sup> 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 <i>ἐπώνυμοι</i>	ATHENA as goddess of Athens	MILTIADES	APOLLON as god of Delphoi	Five <i>ἐπώνυμοι</i>	[Three later <i>ἐπώνυμοι</i> ]
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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 Poiorketes, 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 <i>ἐπώνυμοι</i>	Six seated DEITIES	KING and QUEEN of Athens with their attendants	Six seated DEITIES	Five <i>ἐπώνυμοι</i>	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.

<sup>3</sup> 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 failure<sup>1</sup>. 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 country<sup>2</sup>.'

The difficulties of the Thucydidean style<sup>3</sup> and the doubts attaching to the text<sup>4</sup> 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 plotting<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thouk. i. 126, Hdt. 5. 71, Aristot. *de Athen. rep. frag.* 8 p. 110, 14 ff. Blass—Thalheim, Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 208 Müller), Cic. *de leg.* 2. 28, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 f., Paus. 1. 28. 1, 1. 40. 1, 7. 25. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Κωλών(ε)ιον ἄγος, Soud. *s.v.* Κυλώνειον ἄγος, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 445.

<sup>2</sup> Thouk. i. 126 *εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθι ποῦ ἡ μεγίστη ἐορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἐτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια* with schol. *ad loc.* *ἱερεῖα· πρόβατα* and *θύματα· τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζῶων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα ἔθνον.*

<sup>3</sup> B. Jowett *ad loc.* would punctuate differently, reading either (1) *ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, 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 Ἀθηναίους 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).

<sup>4</sup> E. F. Poppo—J. M. Stahl *ad loc.* *cj.* *Διάσια ἢ καλεῖται.* C. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1867 ii. 1 ff. *cj.* *ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, κ.τ.λ.* T. Hemsterhuys on Loukian. *Timi.* 7 *cj.* *ἀλλ' ἀγνὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια.* O. Band *op. cit.* p. 4 regards the words *ἔστι—μεγίστη* as a probable and *ἔξω—ἐπιχώρια* as a certain interpolation.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Acheloiios (*supra* p. 1117 n. 7). Megara, like the Ilissos-bank, had its myth of the deluge (Paus. 1. 40. 1). And at Megara too there was an Olympieion with a famous statue of Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 4 *μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς (τοῦ Διὸς τὸ cod. Monac.) τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστὶ θεῶς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ... τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδῖαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν Ὠραὶ καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Πιερωμένην μόνῳ οἱ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for εἰς) τὸ δέον. ὀπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι*



It remains to determine the place, time, and character of the Diasia. O. Band<sup>1</sup> and A. Mommsen<sup>2</sup> conclude in favour of the Ilissos-site. Not without reason; for here Zeus had been worshipped since the days of Deukalion<sup>3</sup>, and here, on the north bank of the river, just outside the Themistoclean wall<sup>4</sup>, there was convenient space for the people to assemble<sup>5</sup>. They did so on Anthesterion 22 or 23<sup>6</sup>, which in the time of Plutarch would have corresponded with March 22 or 23<sup>7</sup>. The inference to be drawn from this dating is that the Diasia, like the Lesser Mysteries of Agra (*c.* Anthesterion 20<sup>8</sup>) or the *Pithoigia*, *Chóes*, and *Chýtroi* (Anthesterion 11—13<sup>9</sup>), had a character at once chthonian and agrarian<sup>10</sup>. Zeus *Meilichios*, the buried king, was the giver of animal and vegetable life.

καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 394) or an eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5), which may be meant for Theokosmos' 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>1</sup> O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 f.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 18. 8, *supra* p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.).

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 Διασίσιον· ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μειλιχίου Διός. ἀγεται δὲ μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος 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.

<sup>7</sup> Plout. *v. Sull.* 14 ἐλεῖν δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι (*frag.* 13 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 131 Peter)) Μαρτίαις καλάνδαις, ἥτις ἡμέρα μάλιστα συμπίπτει τῇ νομηγία τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τύχην ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ συμπεσόντος, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (ε).

<sup>8</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 406, *supra* i. 692 f.

<sup>9</sup> Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 384 ff., *supra* i. 684.

<sup>10</sup> *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 animals<sup>1</sup>. 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*<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, we hear<sup>3</sup> of a cult of Artemis at Syracuse, in which rustic singers were decked with a loaf that had wild beasts moulded upon it<sup>4</sup>, 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 ritual<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1138 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* i. 422 ff. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 4 (following E. F. Poppo on Thouk. i. 126) à propos of the scholion *ιερέα· πρόβατα* says curtly 'Immo χοίρους.'

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Theokr. *proleg.* Β εὔρεσις 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 δέ φασι αὐτοὺς ἄρτον ἐξηρητημένους θηρίων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πλέονας τύπου ἔχοντα καὶ πήραν πανσπερμίας ἀνάπλεων καὶ οἶνον ἐν αἰγίῳ ἀσκῷ, σπονδὴν νέμοντας τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι, στέφανόν τε περικίσθαι καὶ κέρατα ἐλάφων προκίσθαι καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν λαγωβόλον. τὸν δὲ νικήσαντα λαμβάνειν τὸν τοῦ νενικημένου ἄρτον· κάκεινον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων μένειν πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ νενικημένους εἰς τὰς περιουκίδας χωρεῖν ἀγείροντας ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τροφάς· ἄδειν (so H. Schaefer for διδόναι codd.) δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος ἐχόμενα καὶ εὐφημοῦντας ἐπιλέγειν· 'δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τύχαν, | δέξαι τὰν ὑγίειαν, | ἂν φέρομεσ παρὰ τᾶς (so F. G. Schneidewin for τῆς E<sup>b</sup>. A. T. τοῦ K.) θεοῦ, | ἂν ἐκαλέσσατο (ἐκλελάσκετο K. A. H. Ahrens cj. ᾗ 'κλήσατο C. Wendel cj. ἐκλάσκετο or ἐλακῆσατο) τήνα (*carmin. pro.* 42 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 45 Hiller—Crusius).

<sup>4</sup> ? cp. Athen. 646 E ἔλαφος πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολίοις ἀναπλασσόμενος διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου.

<sup>5</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup>: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 95 n. 2 have made full collections of the literary evidence. Countless archaeological finds illustrate the same principle: see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 295 ff. To take a single case, the pig for sacrifice might be replaced by a dog dressed in a pig-skin (so on a red-figured *kýlix* 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 kinsmen<sup>1</sup>, and how on a like occasion he spent an obol on a toy-cart for his little son<sup>2</sup>. 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 years<sup>3</sup>.' 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 Diasia<sup>4</sup>.'

In the *Charidemos* there is a reference to literary competitions at the same festival<sup>5</sup>.

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 shoes<sup>6</sup>, went as herald of Zeus from the former to the latter town, where he was received as a god<sup>7</sup> and entertained in the name of Zeus<sup>8</sup>, 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 omen<sup>9</sup>. But some of the bystanders took it to be a most auspicious sign<sup>10</sup>. And a friend of Hysminias pointed out to him that he might be the eagle, and carry off the bride<sup>11</sup>—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*<sup>12</sup> or Zeus *Philius*<sup>13</sup> or Zeus *Soter*<sup>14</sup>

*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.)).

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* 861 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24.

<sup>4</sup> Loukian. *Tim.* 7.

<sup>5</sup> Loukian. *Charid.* 1, cp. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Eumath. 1. 1 f., 1. 7, 4. 3, 4. 24, 5. 3, 8. 10, 8. 13, cp. 8. 19, 8. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* 1. 3 δέχομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὡς κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ὡς θεός.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* 1. 10 Διασίωι καιρός, κατατροφήσωμεν τὰ Διάσια· ὅλοι γενώμεθα τῆς ἐορτῆς, ὅλοι τῆς πανηγύρεως. Ζεὺς παρὰ τῆ τραπεζῆς, καὶ Διὸς τράπεζα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ κήρυξ οὗτος Διός: cp. 6. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* 6. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* 6. 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* 6. 13.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* 6. 10.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* 3. 9, 5. 18.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* 4. 2, 5. 15, 6. 2, 6. 15, cp. 1. 14.

or Zeus *Xénios*<sup>1</sup>, 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 dead<sup>2</sup>. 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 Gamelion<sup>3</sup>. Now 'sober' offerings consisted in the main of honey<sup>4</sup>, and were specially, though not exclusively, given to chthonian powers (Gaia<sup>5</sup>, the *Bona Dea*<sup>6</sup>, Dis<sup>7</sup>, Hekate<sup>8</sup>, the Eumenides<sup>9</sup>, Kerberos<sup>10</sup>) and the souls of the dead<sup>11</sup>. The same might be said of the pigs sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* at the Peiraieus<sup>12</sup> and by Xenophon 'in accordance with his ancestral custom<sup>13</sup>.' 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.

<sup>1</sup> Eumath. 5. 8 f., 5. 14 f., 6. 1 f., 6. 9, 11. 3.

At the altar of this deity, who is called indifferently Zeus Σωτήρ or Zeus Ξένιος, the parents sacrifice about the third watch of the night (*id.* 5. 15, 6. 5, 6. 14, 6. 16, cp. 10. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24 p. 107, 15 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν έπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγρότητος θύοντες έν αὐτῇ Διὶ Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 7 p. 110, 27 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλουμένη, ἣν είώθεσαν μετά στυγρότητός τινος έπιτελεῖν θύοντες Διὶ τῷ Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 43 p. 117, 14 ff. Rabe ἀποφράς·...έτελείτο δέ ταῦτα κατά τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆνα, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς καταχθονίοις ένήγιζον. καὶ πᾶς οὗτος ὁ μῆν ανέίτο τοῖς κατοικομένοισι μετά στυγρότητος πάντων προϊόντων † έτερον † τρόπον, ὃν καὶ τὰ Διάσια στυγνάζοντες ἦγον Ἀθηναῖοι. M. du Soul marked έτερον as corrupt. T. Hemsterhusius cj. ένέρων. Graeven cj. οὐχ 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 Ἀθήνησι. καὶ σκυθρωποὺς ἀπὸ τῆς έορτῆς ἣν έπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγρότητος θύοντες, on which M. Schmidt acutely observes: 'Fortasse comicus dixerat βλέποντας Διάσια.'

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 4 A, 3 ff., J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 1 ff. no. 1 A, 3 ff. θάρ[γελοι? --- Διὶ Μ][λιχίοι: ε[---νεφ][ἀ](λι)α: Μετρι: [έν Ἀγρας ---][.]σπυριχεια ----- . 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.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 64 n. 167, *id.* *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 199, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 p. 144, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 20 f. <sup>5</sup> Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff. <sup>6</sup> Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Sil. It. 13. 415 f. For bees and honey in relation to Demeter and Persephone see *supra* i. 443 n. 6 f., ii. 1113 n. 0 no. (3).

<sup>8</sup> Ap. Rhod. 3. 1035 f.

<sup>9</sup> Aisch. *Eum.* 106 f., Soph. *O.C.* 98 ff., 480 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Paus. 2. 11. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 ff., Soud. *s.v.* μελιτοῦττα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601.

<sup>11</sup> *Il.* 23. 170 f., *Od.* 10. 518 ff., 11. 26 ff., 24. 67 f., Aisch. *Pers.* 607 ff., Eur. *Or.* 114 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, *I.T.* 159 ff., 633 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff., Soud. *s.v.* μελιτοῦττα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601. See further H. Usener 'Milch und Honig' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1902 lvii. 177—195 (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 398—417) and S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* 11. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1914. No. 1) Kristiania 1915 pp. 102—105.

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* p. 1105.

<sup>13</sup> *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 bloodshed<sup>1</sup>. Argive coppers of imperial date show several types of Zeus. Coins of Hadrian (fig. 961) and Lucius Verus give his head alone<sup>2</sup>. Others, struck by Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus (fig. 962), represent



Fig. 961.



Fig. 962.

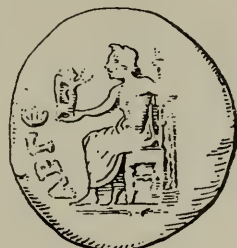


Fig. 963.



Fig. 964.

him enthroned with a *phidie* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left<sup>3</sup>. Others of Septimius Severus and Plautilla (fig. 963) make him hold an eagle or a Nike in place of the *phidie*<sup>4</sup>. 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 feet<sup>5</sup>; while yet another, by Plautilla, figures him striding, naked, with eagle and thunderbolt in his hands<sup>6</sup>. F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner suggest that the Zeus enthroned with *phidie* and sceptre (fig. 962) may be Zeus *Meilichios*, and add that the head

<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>4</sup> 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, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. 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.).

<sup>2</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 36 pl. K, 27 = my fig. 961, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1082.

<sup>3</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 25 = my fig. 962.

<sup>4</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 26 = my fig. 963.

<sup>5</sup> 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, ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου (where H. C. Schubart cj. <τὸ> ἄγαλμα, but H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz and Kayser omit ἱερόν with cod. Leid. a).

<sup>6</sup> 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' statue<sup>1</sup>. But, in view of the large number of Argive Zeuses<sup>2</sup>, these conjectures are admittedly uncertain.

(9) Zeus *Meilichios* at Sikyon.

From Argos to Sikyon<sup>3</sup>, as the crow flies, is less than five-and-twenty miles. But in their representation of Zeus *Meilichios* Argives and Sicyonians differed *toto caelo*. The former could boast a masterpiece shown to visitors as the work of Polykleitos himself; the latter were content with an artless pyramid, not even anthropomorphic<sup>4</sup>. Why Zeus was given this peculiar shape, we are not told.

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to references already given (*supra* i. 117 Zeus 'Αφέσιος, 122 f. Zeus Λαρισαῖος, 134 f. Zeus as a cuckoo, 320 and 462 Zeus with three eyes, 448 and 456 Zeus Νέμειος, 461 Zeus Πανόπτης, ii. 704 ff. Zeus as a cuckoo, 712 ff. Zeus as partner of Hera, 875 n. 2 Zeus Φαλακρός, 892 n. 5 Zeus Λαρισαῖος, Λαρισσεύς) see Paus. 2. 19. 7 Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας ἐκ < > Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον (so most MSS. and H. C. Schubart, who indicated the *lacuna*: he is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner. Some of the older editors read ἐς Διὸς with cod. Paris c. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz, L. Dindorf, and F. Spiro print καὶ Διὸς after cod. Vindob. a. Clavier cj. ὡς Διὸς. A. Kuhn cj. ξόανα) where we should perhaps correct ἐκ Διὸς < κελεύσματος > (cp. *supra* i. 371 n. 1) and suppose a pillar-cult of some sort, 2. 19. 8 βωμὸς Ἰετίου Διὸς (*infra* § 9 (h)), 2. 20. 6 καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτήρος, 2. 21. 2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς, 2. 22. 2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου (*sc.* of Pelasgos) χαλκεῖον ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηναῖς. Λυκίας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανεύς τὸ ἀγαλμα εἶναι Διὸς, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for παραμένειν codd.) πολεμοῦντας, ἔστ' ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῆ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβη· ἐτέροις δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὅσα ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ κείσθαι Ταντάλου. The word χαλκεῖον, which has been much misunderstood (see H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*), presumably means a bronze *cista*. On the lid of it stood three archaic figures—an arrangement familiar to us from extant specimens (*e.g.* the 'Ficoroni'-*cista*, on which see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* ii. 14 ff. pl. 2, P. O. Brøndsted *den Ficoroniske Cista* Kjöbenhavn 1847, E. Braun *Die Ficoronische Cista des collegio Romano* Leipzig 1849, O. Jahn *Die Ficoronische Cista* Leipzig 1852, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 453 f. fig. 500, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 148 f. fig. 146; the handle of another *cista* from Palestrina in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 106 no. 643). Lykeas, as an Argive poet (Paus. 1. 13. 8 f., 2. 19. 5, 2. 23. 8), followed local tradition. And it is possible that the bones in the *cista* really were those of some early chieftain worshipped after his death as Zeus Μηχανεύς (for whom see *infra* § 9 (h) i). Argive inscriptions further allude to the cult of Zeus Νέμειος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 602, 14 ff. καὶ θύσαν|τα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἐκατόμ|βην, *ib.* no. 606, 11 f. = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1123, 12 f. = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* ii. 1. 131 f. no. 3293, 12 f. θύσαντά τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἐκατόν|βαν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον) and Zeus Ὑψιστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 465. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 cited *supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (4)).

<sup>3</sup> 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. (Askl. 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]ὸς Μιλιχίου].

<sup>4</sup> 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 Italy<sup>1</sup>; and, if Eumelos

of later art. A 'third brass' of Geta shows Zeus seated with a *phiale* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 912, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29). A copper of Caracalla (?) has CI KVV N Zeus standing to the left, naked, with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 55, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 29 pl. H, 10=my fig. 965): cp. the obverse type of a quasi-autonomous coin in *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa*, collegit Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici comes Londinii 1746 ii pl. 28, 11, Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 910 Zeus standing, naked, with Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.* rightly see in the British Museum coin an illustration of Paus. 2. 9. 6 τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἔστω ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus p. 151 f.).

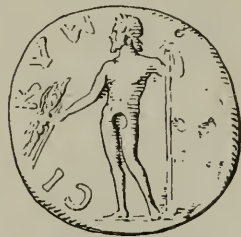


Fig. 965.

<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>4</sup> 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.*<sup>4</sup> p. 359 n. 3), or again that at Médûm built by Snofrûi the last king of the third dynasty, though this at least was probably meant to be cased with polished stone (G. Maspero *op. cit.*<sup>4</sup> p. 359 f. fig., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 24 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *op. cit.* p. 115 fig. 64, E. Bell *op. cit.* p. 25 f. fig.). The form has traceable antecedents, *viz.* the four-sided *tumulus* → the brick-built *mastaba* → the stone-built *mastaba* → a series of stone-built *mastaba* superposed = a stepped pyramid.

(b) The fully developed pyramids of Egypt, those of Kenchreai (A. Blouet etc. *Expédition scientifique de Morée* Paris 1833 ii. 92 pl. 55, 1—3, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 212—214, v. 565 f.) and *Ligourio* near Epidaurus (A. Blouet etc. *op. cit.* ii. 164 pl. 76, 2 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233, v. 570), that at *Astros* in Kynouria (W. Vischer *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 327), that of Cestius on the *via Ostiensis* (A. Schneider *Das alte Rom* Leipzig 1896 pl. 4, 15, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup> 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 Zeus<sup>1</sup>. To be sure, there were rival traditions with regard to Sikyon. Hesiod made him the son of Erechtheus<sup>2</sup>. Asios the Samian genealogist<sup>3</sup> took him to be the son of Metion son of Erechtheus, and this view was preferred by the Sicyonians themselves<sup>4</sup>. Finally, Ibykos deemed him the son of Pelops<sup>5</sup>. But the variants each and all suggest close connexion with Zeus. *Erechtheús*, the 'Cleaver,' was a cult-title of Zeus the lightning-god<sup>6</sup>. *Metion* is

*History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1862—1863 i pls. 61—66, ii. 480—511, *id. Travels & Discoveries in the Levant* London 1865 ii. 214 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 214 ff. no. 1350, J. Fergusson *op. cit.*<sup>3</sup> i. 284 f. fig. 164, P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 224 ff. fig. 77), the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos, the stepped tomb at Mylasa (M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* Paris 1782 i. 144 ff. pls. 85—89, *Antiquities of Ionia* published by the Society of Dilettanti London 1797 ii. 26 pls. 24—26, C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 75 f. with pl.), and that near Delphoi (E. Dodwell *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopiæ, or, Pelasgic Remains, in Greece and Italy* London 1834 p. 20 pl. 36 f.).

(d) A good specimen of the smooth-sided pyramid on plinth is the tomb of 'Zechariah' in the Valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem (T. H. Horne *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* London 1836 i pl. 93 with text). See also *supra* i. 515 n. 5 fig. 388, ii. 814 f. fig. 781, cp. i. 600 ff. figs. 465—468.

Further cp. the pyramids built above the rock-cut tombs of the Maccabees at Modin (Macc. 1. 13. 25—30, Ioseph. *ant. Jud.* 13. 6. 5, Euseb. *onomasticon de locis Hebraicis s.v. Modélu* p. 290, 4 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey = Hieron. *de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum s.v. 'Modeim'* p. 291, 6 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey: see V. Guérin *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* Paris 1868—1880 Seconde partie—Samarie ii. 55 ff. with two pls., Troisième partie—Galilée i. 47 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 361), the three pyramids built near Jerusalem by Helene, sister and wife of Monobazos Bazaïos king of Adiabene (Ioseph. *ant. Jud.* 20. 4. 3, *bell. Jud.* 5. 2. 2, 5. 3. 3, 5. 4. 2, Paus. 8. 16. 5, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 12. 3, Hieron. *epist.* 108. 9 (xxii. 883 Migne): see W. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2836 f.), the pyramid, decorated with Argive shields, beneath which the followers of Proitos and Akrisios were buried (Paus. 2. 25. 7), the pyramidal tombs built by Hieron ii at Agyrion in Sicily (Diod. 16. 83), those made for horses at Agrigentum (Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 155), the rock-cut 'Sepolcro Consolare' at Palazzola (Palazzuolo) above the Alban Lake (A. Nibby *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma* Roma 1819 ii. 125 f.), the 'Sepolcro di Pompeo' or, as the folk of the district call it, 'di Ascanio' on the *via Appia* near Albano (A. Nibby *op. cit.* ii. 110—112), and another tomb near Capua (J. C. Richard de Saint-Non *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* Paris 1781—1786 ii. 249).

All these and other related types (cones etc.) ought to be made the subject of a thorough-going investigation. It would, no doubt, be found that the structures in question were produced by a combination of factors, some of practical exigency, some of symbolic significance. I shall content myself with suggesting that one root-idea was that of a mountain reaching up to heaven—an idea comparable with those of the sky-pillar (*supra* p. 44 ff.), the soul-ladder (*supra* p. 121 ff.), the stepped or spiral tower (*supra* p. 128 f.).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 245 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hes. *frag.* 229 Flach, 102 Rzach *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1606, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>5</sup> München 1908 i. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Asios *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibyk. *frag.* 48 Bergk<sup>4</sup> *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 793.



but another form of *metieta*, *metibeis*, Zeus the 'Magician'<sup>1</sup>. And Pelops too we have regarded as in some sense a human Zeus<sup>2</sup>. 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 general<sup>3</sup>.

(10) Zeus *Meilichios* at Tegea.

From Tegea comes a dedication, of *s.* ii B.C. or earlier, to Zeus *Meilichios*<sup>4</sup>. W. Immerwahr holds that the cult was of recent introduction<sup>5</sup>. But Tegea was an ancient Arcadian town<sup>6</sup>, 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*<sup>7</sup>; and at Tegea Zeus *Téleios* had an altar and a square image (presumably a pyramid-on-pillar) of the usual Arcadian type<sup>8</sup>. 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 town<sup>9</sup>, was, like Erechtheus<sup>10</sup>, a *quasi*-divine king, whose head as shown on autonomous coppers closely resembles that of Zeus (fig. 966)<sup>11</sup>. His house, like the house of Erechtheus, was still to be seen in Pausanias' time<sup>12</sup>. Again, Aleos instituted the cult of Athena *Aléa*<sup>13</sup> and established his kingdom in connexion with her sanctuary<sup>14</sup>. This suggests that he stood to her in the same sort of relation as Erechtheus to Athena *Poliás*. Further hints help to fill in the picture: Athena *Aléa* had a sacred couch in her temple<sup>15</sup>, was served by a boy-priest<sup>16</sup>, and on occasion received the

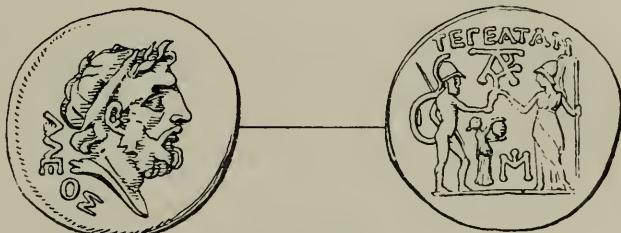


Fig. 966.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* i. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 520 n. 1, ii. 814 f.

<sup>4</sup> O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 33 no. 49, *Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1092, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 90 Διὶ Μελιχίωι Μικύλο|ς ἀνέθηκε where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'Forma  $\Delta$  et dativus in -ωι alterius, sed Μελ- pro Μελ quartii potius saeculi a. Chr. esse videtur.'

<sup>5</sup> Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> There was another Τεγέα in Crete, founded by Talthybios (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τέγεια) or Agamemnon (Vell. Pat. i. 1. 2). Conversely, Tegea in Arkadia had its ὄρος...Κρήσιον (Paus. 8. 44. 7).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 1123.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 8. 48. ὁ πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον· περισσῶς γὰρ δὴ τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονται μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. 8. 45. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra* p. 793 f.

<sup>11</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 8. 53. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Paus. 8. 4. 8, 8. 45. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Paus. 8. 4. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Paus. 8. 47. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Paus. 8. 47. 3 *ἱερᾶται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ 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*<sup>1</sup>. Notice too that, just as the safety of Athens depended on the snake kept in the Erechtheion<sup>2</sup>, so the safety of Tegea depended on a lock of Medousa's hair which Athena had given to Kepheus son of Aleos<sup>3</sup>. The coins represent Kepheus' daughter Sterope receiving it in a jar (fig. 966)<sup>4</sup>. And it is permissible to conjecture that both at Athens and at Tegea the original talisman<sup>5</sup> was the soul of the ancestral king living on as a snake<sup>6</sup> in his burial jar<sup>7</sup>. The comparison will even take us a step further. The perpetual lamp of the Erechtheion<sup>8</sup> was but a civilised form of the perpetual fire burning on the common hearth of a primitive folk<sup>9</sup>. 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*<sup>10</sup>: 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 year<sup>11</sup>. Zeus *Klários* gave his name to the first of the four Tegeate tribes *Klareôitis*, *Hippothoitis*, *Apolloniatis*, *Athaneatis*<sup>12</sup>. But the legend of the lot is probably due to a mis-

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 5. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 168—170 collects the evidence. The precise position of the snake's hole is doubtful (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 f., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 209). H. N. Fowler in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883* Boston 1885 would seek it somewhere under the N. porch of the Erechtheion, a view approved by M. P. Nilsson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 329. Not improbably it is covered by the small round cistern of Turkish (?) origin still to be seen in the N.W. corner of the crypt beneath the N. porch (Πρακτικά τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 = F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1857 Philos.-philol. Classe viii pl. 3 will provide a coloured plan and section. See also P. Cavvadias—G. Kawerau *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis* Athens 1907 pl. Γ', and the remarks of E. M. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 251 f., D'Ooge *op. cit.* p. 207).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 8. 47. 5, cp. Apollod. 2. 7. 3, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Suid. *s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Apostol. 14. 38.

<sup>4</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> For other classical examples see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 433 f. and *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: Taboo p. 317, *ib.*<sup>3</sup>: Balder the Beautiful i. 83 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1108 says 'βόστροχος; ob vielmehr Schlange?'—an acute suggestion.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* Append. H.

<sup>8</sup> Strab. 396, Plout. *v. Num.* 9, *v. Sull.* 13, Paus. 1. 26. 6 f., schol. *Od.* 19. 34.

<sup>9</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup>: The Magic Art ii. 253 ff., *ib.*<sup>3</sup>: Adonis Attis Osiris<sup>3</sup> ii. 174, *id.* *Totemism and Exogamy* London 1910 ii. 491, iii. 239.

<sup>10</sup> The high place in question (684<sup>m</sup> above sea-level) lies to the N. of the town and is now occupied by the modern village of Mertzauzi. Another height (706<sup>m</sup>) 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).

<sup>11</sup> Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 8. 53. 6, *supra* p. 164 n. 6. G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer* Leipzig 1885 ii. 127 notes that, according to inscriptional evidence (*Corp.*



taken attempt to explain the title *Klários*, which has been better interpreted by F. Solmsen as 'god of the High Place' (*Klários* for \**Krários*)<sup>1</sup>. Be that as it may<sup>2</sup>, 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 Minyai<sup>3</sup>, 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 water<sup>4</sup>. The connexion with water recalls the *Meilichios*-cults of Athens<sup>5</sup> 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, Ἴπποβοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιάται. On their topographical distribution see V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 549 with pl. 13.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 874 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Alii aliter.* (1) M. Schmidt on Hesych. κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφους (so M. Musurus for ἐδάφου) ἐσχάροι suggests that Zeus Κλάριος of Tegea drew his title hence.

If Zeus Κλάριος was a god 'of Hearths,' his annual festival was presumably for the purpose of furnishing the people with new fire (Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: Index p. 271 f.). This adds significance to a curious incident in the history of the town. According to Paus. 8. 53. 10, the Lacedaemonians once marched against the Tegeates at the time of the festival: 'It was snowing, and the Lacedaemonians were cold and weary with the weight of their weapons. But the Tegeates unbeknown to them kindled a fire and, not being incommoded by the chill, got under arms, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and beat them in the action.' According to Polyain. 1. 8, when the Lacedaemonians were attacking Tegea, Elnes (?) king of the Arcadians bade the men of military age to charge downhill against the enemy at midnight, but the old men and children to kindle a huge fire outside the town at the same hour. The Lacedaemonians turned in astonishment towards the glare, and so fell a prey to the onslaught from the height. Both accounts presuppose the fire-festival of Zeus Κλάριος.

(2) Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 29 takes Zeus Κλάριος to be 'god of Branches,' i.e. of suppliant-boughs, cp. Hesych. †κλάριοι (Immerwahr rightly adopts M. Schmidt's cj. κλάροι)· κλάδοι and Aisch. *suppl.* 354 ff. ΠΕΛ. ὀρῶ κλάδοισι νεοδρόποισι κατάσκιον | νεύονθ' ὄμιλον τόνδ' (so J. G. J. Hermann for τῶνδ') ἀγωνίων θεῶν followed by 359 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> On the Minyai as Aeolians see A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xlv. 2 f., 5, *ib.* 1914 xlvi. 70, 76 f., 85 ff., 93, 102 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *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.*<sup>3</sup> no. 994 Δαμοθρίδαο ἄρχοντος, | ἱαρείᾳδδοντος | Ἀντιχαρίδαο Ἀ[θ]ανοδῶρω, (ἄ π)όλις Διὶ Μειλί(χ)[v.] | Ἀντιχαρίδας Ἀθανοδῶρω ἐλ[ε]ξε· δεδόχθη τῷ δάμν, ὄπω[s] ἔχω(v)θι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ (θ)ύ(ο)ν(τ)ες ἐ[v] | (τ)ῷ Μειλιχίῳ ο(ῦδ)ατι χρεῖσθη [πο]τίμν, κατασκευάτη κ(ρ)ῶ(ἀναν) | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εἰ πὰρ τὸ (ι)αρ[όν, εἰ κα] | δοκί ἐ[v] καλλιστο[ι εἰμεν].

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1115 ff.

of Zeus<sup>1</sup> by the Danaid Hesione<sup>2</sup> or by Hermippe daughter of Boiotos<sup>3</sup>. Alleged descent from Zeus presupposes a line of kings believed to incarnate Zeus. Was one of them that Minyas, of Aeolian ancestry<sup>4</sup>, whose name was attached by the Orchomenians to their famous prehistoric *thólos*<sup>5</sup>? It would seem so; for among the relics of funerary cult discovered by Schliemann within the *thólos*, relics ranging from 'Minoan' to Roman times<sup>6</sup>, was a slab of white marble inscribed with a late dedication to Zeus *Téleios* and Hera *Teletá*<sup>7</sup>. The old pre-Greek king, whose underground cupola with its rosettes of glittering bronze mimicked the midnight sky<sup>8</sup>, was indeed aptly succeeded by an Aeolian dynast revered as a nether Zeus<sup>9</sup>. 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 monastery<sup>10</sup>, Orchomenian troopers, who

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. *in Il.* p. 272, 31 ὁ Βοιώτιος δὲ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομενῶ ἐπωνόμασται.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 230 Ἡσιόνης (Ἰσιόνης cod. Paris.) δὲ τῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ Διὸς γίνετα Ὀρχομενός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ὀρχομενός καλεῖται (ἐκλήθη cod. Paris). Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 Hippodamiam et Isionen Danai filias (*sc.* vitiat Iupiter), quarum unam Hippodamiam <matrem (*inserui*)> Olenus, Isionen vero Orchomenus sive Chryses habuit. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 939 f. conjectures that the mother's name was Ἰσονόη; but see G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1240.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. D. *Il.* 2. 511 τὸν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ λέγει Ὀρχομενόν, τὸν ὑπὸ Μιννοῦ βασιλευθέντα, τὸν ὀνομασθέντα ἀπὸ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Διὸς υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμίππης τῆς Βοιωτοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094 Αἰολίδην Μινύην with schol. *ad loc.* (cod. Paris.) Αἰολίδην δὲ τὸν Μινύαν λέγει, οὐχ ὡς ἔντα υἱὸν τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἀλλ' ὡς μητρὸθεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καταγόμενον. Σισύφου γὰρ τοῦ Αἰόλου παῖδες Ἄλμος καὶ Πορφύριον, Χρυσογόνης δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας. ὥστε ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Αἰολίδης ὁ Μινύας, πατρὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος.

<sup>5</sup> The genealogy of Minyas is very variously given: see *in primis* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 80 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μινύαν οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογούσιν, ὡς Φερεκῆδης (*frag.* 84 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)), ἔνιοι δὲ ἔμπαλιν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μιννοῦ, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐπεοκλέος γενεαλογούσι, Διονύσιος (*quis?* Perhaps the Rhodian, *cp.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 109, *Nem.* 3. 104) δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει, Ἀριστόδημος (*sc.* ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, *cp.* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 11) δὲ Ἄλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεύθεν γράφει προσηγορεῖσθαι with K. Tümpel's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3016 ff.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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 [... Δὲ Τελε]είω, Ἡρα Τελεεία.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* i. 751 f.

<sup>9</sup> Notice *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3218 Orchomenos [... τὸ]ν ἐαυτῶν γυμνασί-αρχον | .....λου 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 ἀνέθειαν | τοὶ ἐφ' Ἰππωνος ἄρχοντος | τοῖς Δαιμόνεσσι | κ.τ.λ. (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 375 ff. no. 28, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 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?

<sup>10</sup> The monastery named after the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*, the 'Falling Asleep of the Mother of God,' is believed to occupy the site of the ancient temple of the Charites (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 186, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 38. 1, K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipsic 1889 p. 188, J. Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*<sup>7</sup> 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*<sup>1</sup>.

At Thespiæ, another ancient city of Boiotia, Zeus *Milichos* had a consort *Miliche*<sup>2</sup>. Since Thespios, the eponymous hero of the place, was said to have been an Athenian and the son of Erechtheus<sup>3</sup>, or of Teuthras son of Pandion<sup>4</sup>, we may legitimately compare the cult with that of Zeus *Meilichios* at Athens. Accordingly, we are not surprised to learn that Thespiæ made much of Zeus *Saótes*, the local equivalent of Zeus *Sotér*. Pausanias heard all about him:

‘The Thespians have in their town a bronze image of Zeus *Saótes*. The story they tell of it is this. Once upon a time, when a snake (*drákon*) 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 *Saótes* (the “Saviour”)<sup>5</sup>.’

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-slayer<sup>6</sup>. 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 *Saótes*, like the Elean *Sosípolis*<sup>7</sup>, 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)<sup>8</sup>. 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-cake<sup>9</sup>, 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 Eteonos<sup>10</sup> (later Skarphe), the cave may well represent the burying-

<sup>1</sup> 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 [τοὶ ἱππότες τοῖ] ἐν τὰν Ἀσία[ν] στ[ρατευσάμενοι βα]σιλεῖο[s] Ἀλεξάνδρω στραταγίοντος, ..... | . ὀδωρίω φιλαρχίοντος, Διὶ Σωτείρι ἀν[έθιαν · κ.τ.λ.].

<sup>2</sup> P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 404 no. 15, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1814 *Θυνοκλίδας Διονουσίω Διὶ Μιλίχῳ κῆ Μιλίχῃ* (an inscription of s. ii or iii B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 4. 29, Paus. 9. 26. 6 (with Thespiæ daughter of Asopos as alternative eponym).

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Θέσπεια*, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 266, 6 f.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 26. 7 and the authorities cited *supra* i. 178 n., 782.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 6. 20. 5. See further C. Robert ‘*Sosipolis in Olympia*’ in the *Att. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 37—45 and the excellent article of L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1222 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *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*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.495<sup>m</sup> to 0.505<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> So Harrison *Themis* p. 282.

<sup>10</sup> C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *loc. cit.*, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin loc. cit.*

place of Oidipous in the sanctuary of Demeter. Lysimachos of Alexandria<sup>1</sup> in his work on *Theban Marvels* wrote as follows<sup>2</sup>:

‘When Oidipous died, his friends thought to bury him in Thebes. But the Thebans, holding that he was an impious person on account of the misfortunes which had befallen him in earlier times, prevented them from so doing. They carried him therefore to a certain place in Boiotia called Keos and buried him there. But the inhabitants of the village, being visited with sundry misfortunes, attributed them to the burying of Oidipous and bade his friends remove him

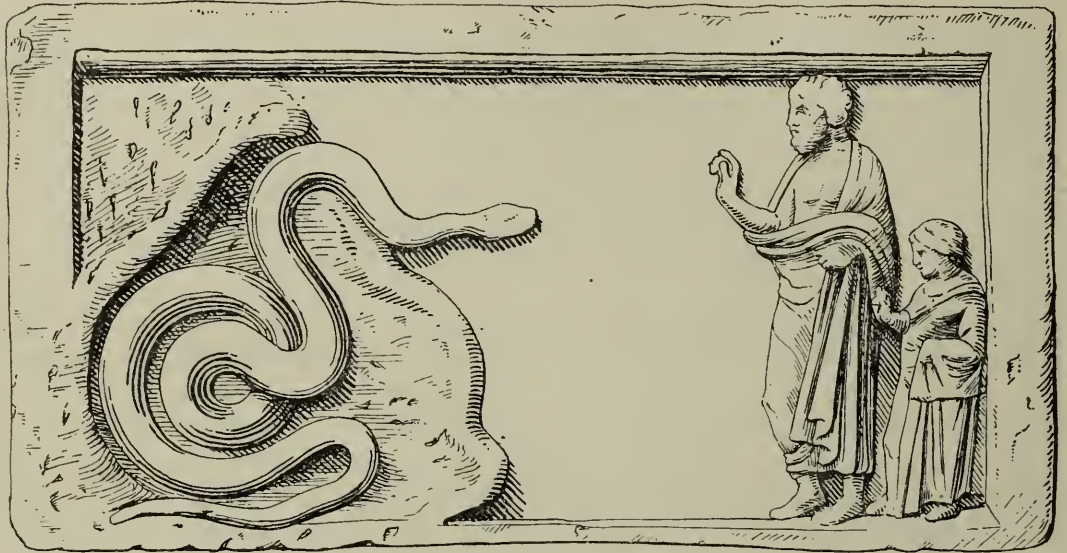


Fig. 967.

from their land. The friends, perplexed by these occurrences, took him up and brought him to Eteonos. Wishing to bury him secretly, they interred him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter—for they did not know the locality. When the facts transpired, the inhabitants of Eteonos asked the god what they should do. The god bade them not to move the suppliant of the goddess. So Oidipous is buried there, and’—adds Lysimachos—‘the sanctuary is called the *Oidípodeion*.’

Demeter at Eteonos bore the surname *Euryódeia*<sup>3</sup> and was certainly an earth-goddess<sup>4</sup>. Oidipous, buried in her precinct with the honours due to a suppliant<sup>5</sup>, 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 *Oidípous*, ‘Swell-foot,’ actually denoted a snake, being a euphemistic

<sup>1</sup> W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>5</sup> München 1911 ii. 1. 184.

<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> Hesych. *Εὐρύοδεια* · *μεγαλάμφοδος* (so Musurus for *μεγαλάμφεδα* cod.). *καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ οὕτως ἐν Σκαρφείᾳ* (so M. Schmidt for *Σκαρφία* cod.). *καὶ ἡ γῆ*.

<sup>4</sup> *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 ἐπιθετὸν τῆς γῆς*.

Cp. schol. *Od.* 16. 118 ‘*Ἀρκείσιος Εὐρυοδίας* (W. Dindorf cj. *Εὐρυοδείας*) *καὶ Διὸς* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1796, 34 *ιστέον δὲ ὅτι γενεαλογοῦσι Διὸς μὲν καὶ Εὐρυοδίας Ἀρκείσιον*, which presupposes a union of Zeus with the earth-goddess.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly in the Attic version Oidipous at Kolonos *ικέτευεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν Δημήτρος καὶ Πολιούχου Ἀθηνᾶς* (Androtion *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 374 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 16. 271. The passage continues *καὶ Διὸς. ἀγόμενος < δὲ > ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.* But W. Dindorf, following J. T. Struve, *corr.* *καὶ βία ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.*)



appellation for the swollen coils of the creature appropriate to a chthonian hero<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 968.

<sup>1</sup> P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 191 n. 3  
 'Οιδίπους erinnert an einen anderen rätselhaften mythischen Namen, den des frommen  
 Sehers Μελάμπους: beides sind chthonische Heroen... Chthonische Wesen haben einen  
 Schlangenableib 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)<sup>1</sup>, represents two youths, with *himátia* and sticks, standing to right and left of a *stéle*, which marks the grave of Oidipous. In the background hangs a pair of *haltêres*<sup>2</sup>, the sign of their devotion. But the most interesting feature of the design is the inscription on the *stéle*, a metrical couplet in which the grave apparently (though the speaker is not named) announces:

Mallows and rooty asphodel upon my back I bear,  
And in my bosom Oidipodas, Laïos' son and heir<sup>3</sup>.

Now mallows and asphodel were the common vegetable food of the Boeotian peasant, as we learn from a famous passage of Hesiod<sup>4</sup>. 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 Boeotisms<sup>5</sup>.

It appears, then, that Oidipous in his grave played a part not easily distinguishable from that of Zeus *Meilichios*<sup>6</sup>. 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 Zeus<sup>7</sup>. 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?'

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann *loc. cit.* says 'ein Ball.'

<sup>3</sup> νῶτωι < μὲν > μολάχην τε καὶ ἀσφόδολον πολύριζον | κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Λαῖου < υ > ἰὸν ἔχω (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 120). A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8429 quotes Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1698, 25 ff. ἐφυντεύετο ἐν τοῖς τάφοις τὸ τοιοῦτον φυτὸν (sc. ὁ ἀσφόδελος), ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τι τῶν παρὰ τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐπιγραμμάτων λέγον ὡς ἀπὸ τινος τάφου ὅτι νῶτωι μὲν μαλάχην καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον, κόλπῳ δὲ τὸν δείνα ἔχω 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 Ἰππόθοον τ' ἠδὲ Πύλαιον for τὸν δείνα in Eustath. *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> μολάχην for μαλάχην, ἀσφόδολον for ἀσφόδελον, Οἰδιπόδαν for Οἰδιπόδην, if not also (as Dr P. Giles suggests to me), Λαῖο = Λαῖω for Λαῖον. J. Millingen *loc. cit.* p. 87 n. 5 says 'according to the Æolic dialect'; P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 224 f., 'in attischem Dialekt,' regarding μολάχην as a blend of μαλάχην and μολόχην (Athen. 58D), ἀσφόδολον as a case of vulgar assimilation. *Decernant peritiores.*

<sup>6</sup> Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1329 an inscription in lettering of s. ii B.C. found at *Akketsi* near Thebes *Λυσίμαχο[s] | Μειλιχίους.*

<sup>7</sup> O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 743 'Ist Oidipus vielleicht eine Hypostase des Zeus χθόνιος?' This suggestion should not be tossed on one side till the evidence adduced *ib.* p. 741 ff. has been carefully weighed.



thunders of Zeus *Chthónios*<sup>1</sup>. 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 behold<sup>2</sup>,' 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 follows<sup>3</sup>:

Makon, son of Omphalion, (dedicated) the temple  
to Zeus *Meilichios* and to *Enhodia*<sup>4</sup> and to the City<sup>5</sup>.

The cult of the chthonian Zeus here had civic importance, and may fairly be connected with the founder of the state, Akrisios<sup>6</sup>, who—struck on the foot and slain by the *diskos* of Perseus—was buried in a *heróion* outside the town<sup>7</sup> or else in the temple of Athena on the akropolis<sup>8</sup>. Akrisios was represented by Attic vase-painters of s. v B.C. as a bearded king, twice with a long sceptre<sup>9</sup>, once with a long staff and a wreath of olive<sup>10</sup>. He had a divine doublet in Akrisias, the

<sup>1</sup> Soph. *O. C.* 1606 κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς Χθόνιος κ.τ.λ. *Supra* p. 805 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Soph. *O. C.* 1650 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 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[όν] | Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ καὶ Ἐνοδίᾳ καὶ Πόλει].

<sup>4</sup> For this appellation of Hekate at Larissa cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 575, 2 f. εὔξατο: δ' Ἀγέ[τ]ορ | φαστικᾶι : Ἐνοδίαι.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 31, 2 (Hypata) Ἐρμᾶι καὶ τᾶι πόλει[ι], no. 94, 5 (Larissa Kremaste) Ἐρμᾶι καὶ τᾶι πόλει.

<sup>6</sup> *Hellanikos frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 49 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1156, 25 f., Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα.

<sup>7</sup> 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!).

<sup>8</sup> Antiochos *frag.* 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 184 Müller) ap. Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 1 p. 34, 9 f. Stählin.

<sup>9</sup> (1) On a red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. 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).

<sup>10</sup> On a red-figured *hydría* at Boston (P. Hartwig 'Danaé dans le coffre' in the *Mon.*

Phrygian Kronos<sup>1</sup>. It seems probable, therefore, that Akrisios was the royal embodiment of a sky-god<sup>2</sup>. And the story of his death from the *diskos* of Perseus, like that of Hyakinthos' death from the *diskos* of Apollon<sup>3</sup>, is best explained as a genuine solar myth<sup>4</sup>. Whether Akrisios or Akrisias, as O. Gruppe supposes<sup>5</sup>, was originally a mountain-god, is doubtful<sup>6</sup>. Still more so is Gruppe's attempt<sup>7</sup> to equate him with *Arkésios* or *Arkeisios*, a clipped form of *Arkesílaos*<sup>8</sup>, god of the underworld<sup>9</sup>. 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 *Meilichios* was adored by the intimates of a certain Polyxenos<sup>10</sup> and that *Meilichios* received the offering of a 'singed' victim<sup>11</sup>. Boundary-stones inscribed 'Of Zeus *Meilichios*' have been found at *Palaiópolis* in Andros<sup>12</sup>, at Arkesine in Amorgos<sup>13</sup>, 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).

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. 'Ακρισίας· Κρόνος, παρὰ Φρυξίν.

<sup>2</sup> On Kronos as a sky-god see *supra* p. 548 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> *Pace* S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 182 n. 2, 1105 n. 1 starting from *ἀκρις*=*ocris* derives 'Ακρισίος from the former, *Ocrisia* from the latter and cp. Hesych. 'Ακρία· ἡ 'Αθηναῖ ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπὶ τινος ἄκρας ἰδρυμένη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ 'Ακρισίος (so Musurus for *ὀκρισίος*). M. Schmidt suggests ὁ 'Ακρισίος ὠνομάσθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ "Ἡρα καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη ἐν Ἄργει, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπ' ἄκρω ἰδρυμένοι, cp. Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 52, 40 f. 'Ακρισίος· ὁ ἦρας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἄκρας. οὕτως Μεθόδιος.

<sup>6</sup> A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 411 proposed to connect the Phrygian 'Ακρισίας with Hesych. *ἀκριστίν· κλέπτριαν* (C. A. Lobeck cj. *πέπτριαν*). *ἀλετρίδα*. *Φρύγες*. This, though groping in the dark, is better than *et. mag.* p. 52, 41 f. ὁ δὲ Ἔρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίζω 'Ακρισίος, ὡς παρὰ τὸ θαυμάζω θαυμάσιος. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κρίσις κρίσιος, καὶ ἀκρίσιος, ὁ ἄκριτος καὶ ὠμός. [*ἀκρίζω δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἄκροισι πορεύεσθαι· κ.τ.λ.*].

<sup>7</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 253, 778, 1105 n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1906 xxx. 279: 'Αρκεσίσιος [*Od.* 14. 182, 16. 118, *alib.*] würde richtig 'Αρκέσισιος=*Αρκεσίλαος* heißen; den Anlass zu der Entstehung gab der Schreibung mit *einem* σ.'

<sup>9</sup> *Cp. et. mag.* p. 144, 33 ff. cited *supra* p. 549 n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> With *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλίχιος τῶν | περὶ Πολύξενον (fig.) cp. the other rock-cut inscriptions from the same locality *ib.* no. 1317 Ζε(ὺ)ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ] Ἀάκιον and *ib.* no. 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περὶ Ὀλ[υμ]πιόδωρον. *Supra* i. 144 n. 2 with i. 143 n. 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 (*supra* i. 144 n. 1).

<sup>12</sup> E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 9 f. no. 4=*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 727 on a large unworked stone ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΝ (fig.)=*Διὸς | Με(ι)λιχί(ο)υ*. E. Pernice and F. Hiller von Gaertringen *loc. cit.* regard the line after O as a mere crack.

<sup>13</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 89 on a rough stone in letters of s. iii or iv B.C. [Δι]ὸς *Με(ι)λιχί(ο)υ*, *ib.* no. 90 on a fragmentary slab of marble with lower moulding [Διὸς *Με(ι)λιχί(ο)υ*. Note also *ib.* no. 92 on a small white marble base of Roman date Διὸς Σωτήρος, *ib.* no. 93 on a broken block of bluish marble in letters of s. iii B.C. Διὸς | Σωτήρο[s], *ib.* no. 94 on a fragment of rough bluish marble Διὸς Τε[λείω], *ib.* no. 91 on a large marble slab



Saint Anna beyond *Bounáki* at Chios<sup>1</sup>. A dedication to the same god has been recorded at Chalkis in Euboeia<sup>2</sup>. Nisyros had its sect of Diosmilichiastai<sup>3</sup>, and Crete a joint-cult of Zeus *Melichios* and Hera *Melichía*<sup>4</sup>.

Our search might be extended eastwards into Asia Minor and Egypt, westwards into Sicily and Italy. An altar 'Of Zeus *Meil[íchos]*,' discovered at Knidos by Sir Charles Newton, is now in the British Museum<sup>5</sup>. Xenophon sacrificed pigs to Zeus *Meilichios* at Ophrynion<sup>6</sup>: but we have no reason to think that there was a local cult of this deity. Achilleus Tatios (? s. vi. A.D.<sup>7</sup>) brings Kleitophon and Leukippe, the hero and heroine of his novel, to Alexandria, his own native town.

ΔΙΟΣΑΝΑΛΩΙΟΥ = Διὸς Ἀνα(δ)ώ(τ)ου, 'of Zeus who sendeth up his Gifts from Below'—an obviously chthonian god (cp. *supra* p. 321 n. 1).

Other Zeus-cults of the same town: *ib.* no. 88 on a rough altar of bluish marble in letters of s. iv B.C. [Δ]ιὸς Ἀποτροπαίου (cp. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 119 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1285 Epidauros, not later than s. iii B.C. Διὸς Ἀποτροπαίου, O. Rayet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 107 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839 B, 19 f., C, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 1014 b, 69 f., c, 114 ff. Erythrai, a sale of priestships dating from the first half of s. iii B.C. Διὸς | Ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτροπαίας [Δ] | τ | τ, ἐπώνιον. τ [τ] and Διὸς | [Ἀποτ]ροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτ[ρο]-[παί]ας Η[Δ], ἐπώνιον [τ]), *ib.* no. 95 a metrical inscription on a marble slab *Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα* cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 33. 1], | κ.τ.λ., *supra* i. 194 f.

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Paspates *Τὸ Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον* Athens 1888 p. 421 f. no. 58 on Chian marble ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΙΛΙΧΙ[. .] = Διὸς | Μιλιχί[ου].

At *Mestá*, six kilometers S.E. of the capital, is a place still called *Ολύμπι*, where was a cult of Zeus *Ολύμπιος* and Herakles (Paspates *op. cit.* p. 410 no. 24 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς).

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2150 ΕΡΜΙΩΝΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥΔΙΛΙΟΝΙ which A. Boeckh *ad loc.* would read as Ἐρμίων Μιλιχί(ω) Δι(ι ἀ)ν(έ)[θηκεν].

<sup>3</sup> A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 134, S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 702, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 104 a cylindrical base of white marble now serving as pedestal for an *eikón* in the church at *Mandráki* 1 ff. Γνωμαγόραν Δωροθέου | Νεισύριον | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 13 ff. καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἐρμαϊζόντων χ[ρυσέοις στεφάνοις πλεονάκις, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀφροδισιαστᾶν Σύρων καὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς Μιλιχιαστᾶν, | [καὶ] τειμαθέντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ στεφανωθέν[τα ὑπὸ Διου]νσιαστᾶν Εὐ[ρυνθεμδ]ίων τῶν σὺν | [τῷ δέινι -- --]. I should prefer to read (with Kontoleon and Reinach) Διοσμυλιχιαστᾶν, cp. Διοσαταβυριαστᾶν (*supra* p. 924 f. n. ο).

<sup>4</sup> 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 | ΩΤΑΟΥΤΕ | ΡΤΑΡΔΑΛΑ | ΕΥΧΗΝ = Ζηνὶ Μηλιχίω κα(ι) Ἡρᾷ | Μηλιχίᾳ. | Σώτας ὑπέρ Παρδάλα | εὐχὴν.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Μελ[ίχιου] with inventory number. In addition to this mark of ownership the altar bears a second inscription, which Schoell took to be a modified hexameter [ἀθα]νάτοις | [θυ]θέντα | [δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ[πο]κρά(ς) ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν. Hicks reads [ἀθα]νάτοις | [θυ]θέντα | [δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ[πο]κράς ζ ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν, and suggests with hesitation that ζ may be a numeral. He thinks that the name, Harpokras or the like, was substituted for that of an earlier dedicator. *Non liquet.*

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1107.

<sup>7</sup> W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 245.

'By a stroke of luck,' says Kleitophon<sup>1</sup>, 'we happened upon a sacred month of the great god, whom the Greeks call Zeus and the Egyptians Serapis<sup>2</sup>. 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 *Ouránios*<sup>3</sup>. So, after breathing a prayer to the great god and beseeching him that our troubles might at last come to a standstill, we reached the lodging hired for us by Menelaos.'

It may be inferred from this passage, not only that the Alexandrines had a statue of Zeus *Meilichios* and a temple of Zeus *Ouránios*<sup>4</sup>, 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 ii<sup>5</sup> on the north coast of Sicily, an inscription records among other topographical features 'the road past the *Meilichieion*<sup>6</sup>.' 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*<sup>7</sup>.

Further indications of the cult might be sought in theophoric names<sup>8</sup> such as Meilichios, a magistrate of Hierapolis in Phrygia<sup>9</sup>, or Meilichion, a woman of Elateia in Phokis<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ach. Tat. 5. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* i. 188 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *ἔθεασάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, καὶ τὸν Διὸς Οὐράνιον* (so C. B. Hase, W. A. Hirschig, and S. Gaselee for *οὐράνιον* codd.) *νεών*.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 8, 565 n. 2, 647 n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 565.

<sup>6</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5594 col. dextra, 15 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 352 i, 15 f. *κατὰ τὰς ὁδοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὸ | Μειλιχίειον ἐς τὸν ῥόσκον κ.τ.λ.*

Coppers of Alaisa, struck during Timoleon's war with the Carthaginians (340 B.C.), have *obv.*  $\text{I}\epsilon\Upsilon\text{S}\ \text{E}\lambda\epsilon\Upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  head of Zeus; *rev.*  $\text{A}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\eta\omega\eta\eta\text{N}\ \Sigma\Upsilon\text{M}\text{-}\text{M}\alpha\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\text{N}$  torch between two ears of corn (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 175, *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 126).

<sup>7</sup> H. Grassmann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 103, J. Zvetiaeff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum* Petropoli 1878 i. 41 ff. no. 62, 5 ff., ii pls. 10, no. 5, and 10<sup>a</sup>, 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|la Iúveis Meeilíkiieis* (= *iidem viam Pompeianam terminaverunt perticis III usque ad aedem* (cp. *caeli templa* in *De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'templum' § 2) Iovis Milichii).

<sup>8</sup> E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 238 f. no. 21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. lxxvii ...  $\text{I}\alpha\lambda\omicron[\Sigma]\ |\ \text{M}\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  on the reverse of a copper struck by Augustus.

<sup>10</sup> *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 174 a cone of grey limestone found near the E. foundation-wall of the temple of Athena *Kranata* at Elateia and now preserved in the local museum at *Drachmani*: the cone has a hole in its truncated top and is inscribed on the side  $\text{M}\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\chi\iota\omicron\eta\text{N}\ |\ \Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\ |\ \text{M}\iota\kappa\alpha\ |\ \text{X}\omicron\iota\pi\iota\eta\text{N}$  = *Μειλίχιο[ν], | Δαμοστράτα, | Μίκα, | Χοίπινα*. P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 345 f. no. 15 at first read *Μειλίχιο[s]*, but concluded in favour of *Μειλίχιο[ν]*.



(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, *daímones* 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*<sup>1</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> Schrader *Realex.* 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 bekannten 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 *δαίωμα*, 'I divide,' or from the Sanskrit root *div*, 'to shine') are all unsatisfactory. I regret to see that Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 103 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 162 still cling to *δαίωμα*.

The word \**δασι-μων* is perhaps related to the name *Δάσιμος* or *Δάξιμος*. *Δάσιμος Πύρρον* is engraved on a bronze helmet from Anxia (*Anzi*) 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 Πύρρω*, 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 illustrandas dialectos selectae Lipsiae* 1905 no. 18 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8). The *l*-form of this name occurs in  $\Lambda\Delta\Sigma\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}\Sigma$   $\text{E}\Gamma\text{P}\text{A}\Psi\text{E}$ , 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  $\Delta\Lambda\text{I}\text{M}\Lambda\text{C}$  (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), *Δάσιος* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 68 no. 52  $\Delta\Lambda\text{Z}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma$  on a coin of Dyrrhachion, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 130 no. 1 f.  $\Delta\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}\Upsilon$  on coins of Arpi, *ib.* p. 144 no. 4  $\Delta\Lambda\text{I}\text{E}\text{N}\text{I}$  and no. 6  $\Delta\Lambda\text{I}\Upsilon$  on coins of Salapia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 53 no. 1 pl. 4, 10  $\Delta\Lambda\text{I}\text{O}\Upsilon$  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 xlvi. 192 holds that the *-da* of *Larunda* is identical with the  $\Delta\alpha$ - of  $\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$  and regards *Larunda*  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\nu$   $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$  (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 ἦτοι 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 *daimones* by the will of mighty Zeus,  
Good spirits that tread the ground and guard mankind,  
Givers of wealth—a guerdon meet for kings<sup>1</sup>.

The late writer of an Orphic hymn strikes the self-same note:

I bid the *daimon* to draw near, dread chief,  
The Kindly Zeus, begetter and life-giver,  
Great Zen, much-roaming<sup>2</sup>, curse-bringer<sup>3</sup>, 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 thine<sup>4</sup>.

The *daimon*, in short, was the *theós* incarnate<sup>5</sup>. And the Agathos Daimon *par excellence* was Zeus *Meilichios*.

## APPENDIX N.

### ZEUS *PHÍLIOS*.

It was pointed out by H. Usener<sup>6</sup> 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 *Meilichos* 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 allusions<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff. cited *supra* p. 1130 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1096 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1098 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> 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, ὅπότ' ἄν γε βρυάζων οἶκον ἐσέλθη, | ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων· | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ κληῖδες λύπης τε χαρᾶς τ' ὀχέονται. *Supra* i. 504 n. 2, ii. 1098 n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 587, 624, 657, *ead.* *Themis* pp. 307, 386.

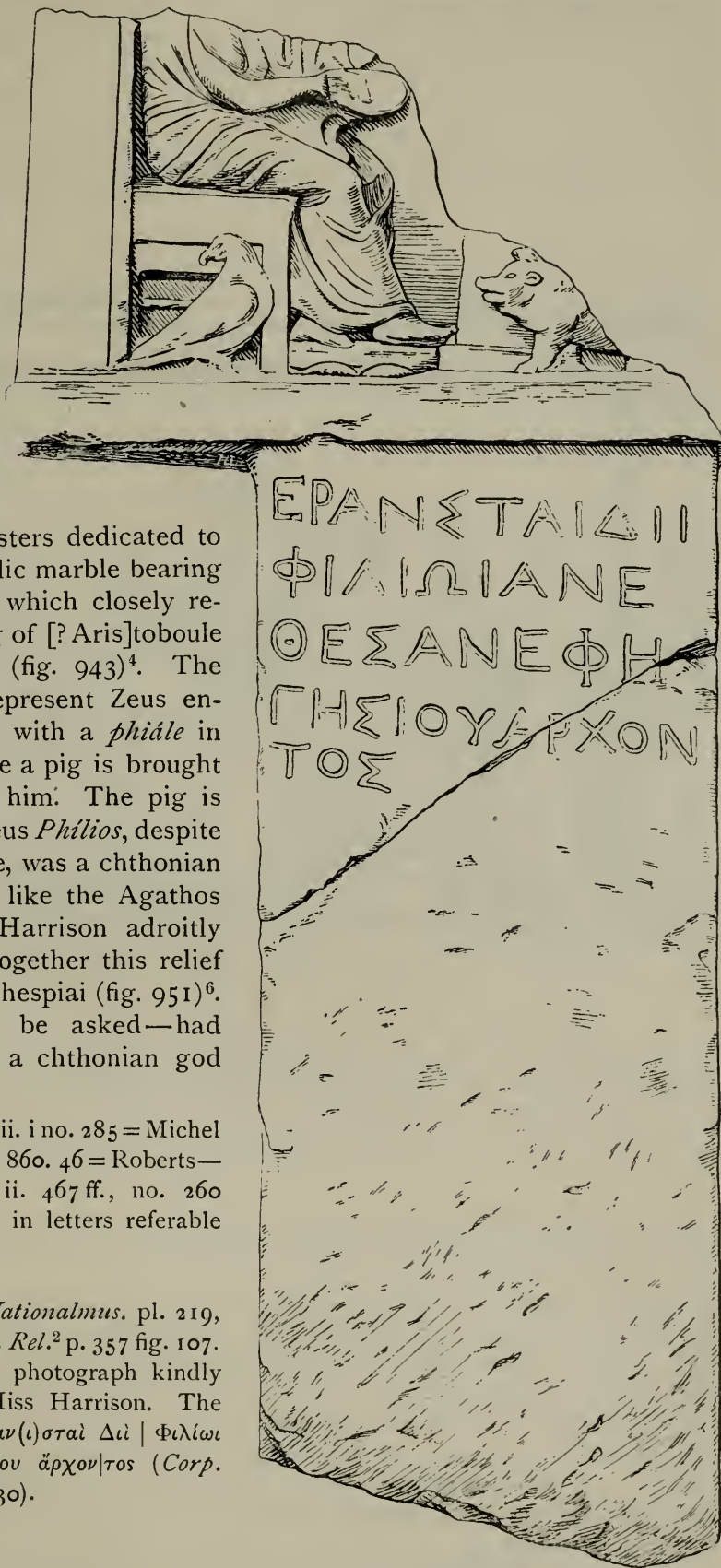
<sup>6</sup> H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 56 ff. ('Erneuerung des Begriffs').

<sup>7</sup> 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 theatre<sup>1</sup>. On the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, where—as we have already seen<sup>2</sup>—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 *eranistai* or club-feasters dedicated to him a *stèle* of Pentelic marble bearing a relief (fig. 969)<sup>3</sup>, which closely resembles the offering of [? Aris]toboule to Zeus *Meilichios* (fig. 943)<sup>4</sup>. The club-feasters too represent Zeus enthroned on the left with a *phidie* 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 god<sup>5</sup>—a god much like the Agathos Daimon, as Miss Harrison adroitly shows by figuring together this relief and another from Thespiæ (fig. 951)<sup>6</sup>. But what—it will be asked—had feasters to do with a chthonian god



<sup>1</sup> *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.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1114.

<sup>3</sup> Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 357 fig. 107. My fig. 969 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Miss Harrison. The *stèle* is inscribed: *ἐραν(ι)σταί Διί | Φιλίωι ἀνέθεσαν ἐφ' Ἡ|γησίου ἀρχοντος* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1330).

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1105 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1105.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1125 n. 1.

Fig. 969.

akin to a divinised ancestor? In view of our discovery<sup>1</sup> 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 communion<sup>2</sup> and safeguard the participants against the intrusion of evil<sup>3</sup> 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)<sup>4</sup>. Within an architectural framework we see the man-turned-god

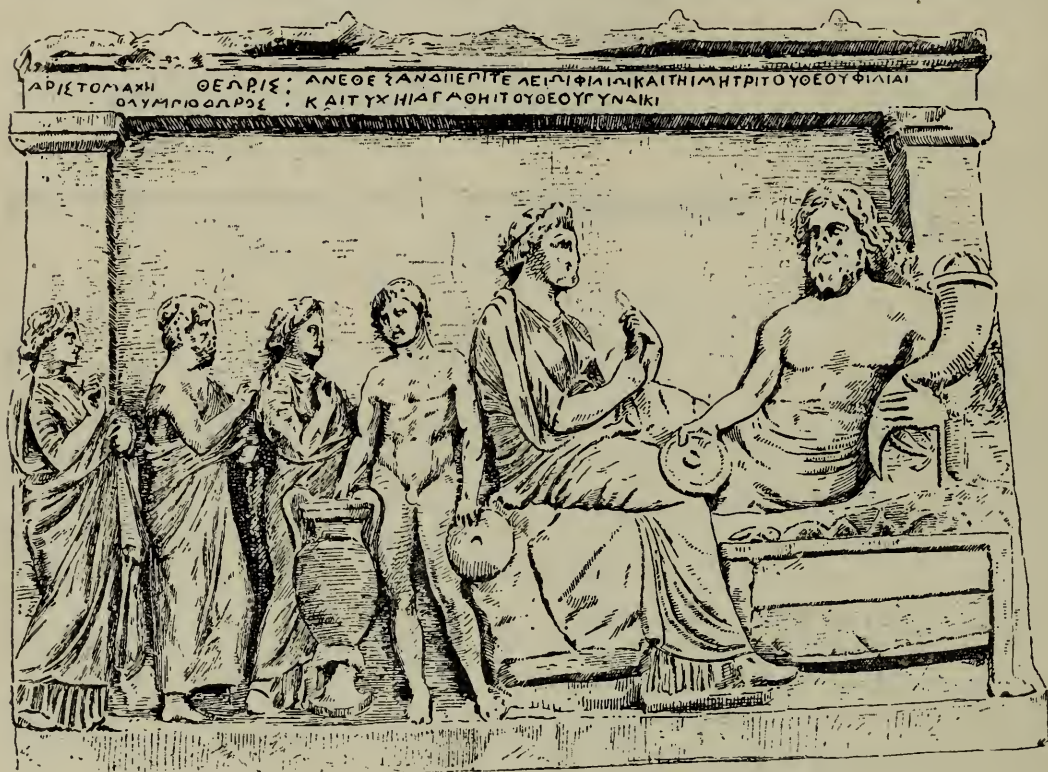


Fig. 970.

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 honey<sup>5</sup>) 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*<sup>6</sup>), the carving

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1129.

<sup>2</sup> On communion with the dead by means of food see e.g. Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>: *Spirits of Corn and Wild* ii. 154. *Infra* p. 1170 ff.

<sup>3</sup> An important consideration during a repast, when the mouth must be opened and bad spirits as well as good food might gain a ready entrance. In the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 22 ff. I have argued that the common *kóttabos*-stand was originally a feasters' gong intended to keep evil at a distance.

<sup>4</sup> *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker* 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 354 ff. fig. 106, *ead. Themis* p. 312 f. fig. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2250 D.

<sup>6</sup> *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 *phiale* 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 *Epitéleios* *Phílios* and to *Phília* the mother of the god and to Tyche *Agathé* the god's wife<sup>1</sup>.'

We gather that the dedicators are worshipping their kinsman transformed into a chthonian Zeus—*Epitéleios* because he has himself come 'to maturity',<sup>2</sup> *Phílios* 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 *Phília*, the feminine form of *Phílios*, 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<sup>3</sup>. Possibly also an effigy of *Phília* was added in paint on the smooth background between Zeus *Epitéleios* *Phílios* 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 *Phílios* the familiar type of a *Totenmahl* or hero-feast<sup>4</sup>. Now Mr J. C. Lawson<sup>5</sup> in a chapter marked by equal insight and eloquence has gone far towards proving, partly from ancient literature<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> 'Αριστομάχη, | 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, | Θεωρίς | ἀνέθεσαν Διὶ 'Επιτελείω Φιλίω καὶ τῆι μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Φιλίαι | καὶ Τύχηι 'Αγαθῆι τοῦ θεοῦ γυναικί. 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, 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, 'Αριστομάχη.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Plat. *legg.* 784 D μήτε γὰρ εἰς γάμους ἴτω μήτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων ἐπιτελειώσεις with Hesych. *s.v.* ἐπιτελειώσις· ἀξήσις. Zeus 'Επιτέλειος 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 ἱερέως | Διὸς Τελείου βουζύγον in lettering (fig. 971) not earlier than s. ii A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> So Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> p. 356.

<sup>4</sup> Lübker *Reallex.*<sup>8</sup> p. 1052 gives a brief bibliography, to which should be added Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1049 n. 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 349—362, 614, *ead.* *Themis* pp. 307—316.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 574 f., [653 f.,] 804 f., 810 ff., 891 ff., 1203 ff., 1240 f., [Eur. *Tro.* 445, *Or.* 1109, *I. A.* 460 f.,] Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 80 θεῶ δὲ ἢ θεῶ μιγῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ περανθῆναι νοσοῦντι μὲν θάνατον σημαίνει (θανάτου σημεῖον cod. B.)· τότε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὰς τῶν θεῶν συνόδους τε καὶ μίξεις μαντεύεται, ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἦ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὸ σῶμα ᾧ ἐνοικεῖ· κ.τ.λ., 2. 49 ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκκομισθῆναι καὶ κατορυγῆναι...ἀνδρὶ...ἀγάμφ γάμον προαγορεύει· τέλη μὲν γὰρ ἀμφότερα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι νενόμισται καὶ ὁ γάμος καὶ ὁ θάνατος. αἰεὶ δὲ

ΙΕΡΕΩΣ  
ΔΙΟΣΤΕΛΕΙ  
ΟΥΒΟΥΙΥΓΘ

Fig. 971.

partly from modern folk-song<sup>1</sup>, 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 Hades<sup>2</sup>. 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-mint<sup>3</sup>’

appropriate to any bridegroom. Were they not the magic means by which he

δείκνυνται ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων. ὅθεν 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 συγγραφὴ κτημάτων, 2. 65 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος ἔοικε θανάτῳ καὶ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ cod. B.) ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐπιμνησθῆναι (ὑπομνησθῆναι cod. B.) αὐτοῦ. γαμεῖν παρθένον τῷ νοσοῦντι θάνατον σημαίνει· ὅσα γὰρ τῷ γαμοῦντι συμβαίνει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι.

Mr Lawson might have found further support for his theory in the rich storehouse of ancient Greek epitaphs. Turning over the leaves of the *Anthology* I lit upon the following: *Anth. Pal.* 7. 13. 2 f. (Leonidas or Meleagros) Ἡρινναν... | Αἰδας εἰς ὑμέλαιον ἀνάρπασεν, 7. 183. 2 (Parmenion) Αἰδης τὴν Κροκάλης ἔφθασε παρθενίην, 7. 401. 9 (Krinagoras) χθῶν ὦ δυσνύμφευτε, 7. 492. 6 (? Anyte of Mitylene) νυμφίον ἀλλ’ Αἶδην κηδεμόν’ εὐρόμεθα, 7. 507<sup>b</sup> (? Simonides = frag. 124 B Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 105 Hiller—Crusius) οὐκ ἐπιδῶν νύμφεια λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἄφυκτον | Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον, 7. 547. 3 f. (Leonidas of Alexandria) κατέστνευε δ’ οὐχ Ὑμεναίω, | ἀλλ’ Αἶδα νύμφαν δωδεκέτιν κατάγων, cp. 7. 221. 5 f. Αἶδη δυσκίνητε, τί τὴν ἐπέραστον ἐταίρην | ἤρπασας; ἢ καὶ σὴν Κύπρις ἔμηνε φρένα; Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 43 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 50 ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολοῦσαν | Φαναγόραν κατέχει Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος, Cougny 2. 122 a. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 35 a. 3 f. ἔθανες, Διούσιε, καὶ τὸν ἀνάγκης | κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον, Cougny 2. 127. 3 f. Γλαυκιάδης... | ἦλθ’ ἐπὶ πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον, 2. 214. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 201. 3 f. συγκέχυται γενέτας δὲ Ποσειδίππος κλυτὸν ἔρνος | ζαλωτῶν πέμψας Περσεφόνας θαλάμοις, Cougny 2. 268. 1 f. = Kaibel no. 570. 1 f. οὐχ ὀσίως ἤρπασας ὑπὸ [χθόνα], κοίρανε Πλουτεῦ, | πενταέτη νύμφην κ.τ.λ.

See also R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 p. 73 n. 3, E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 865 n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> 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 πεθερά, 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. Ἐψὲς ἐγὼ παντρεύθηκα, ἐψὲς ἀργὰ τὸ βράδυ. | Ὁ ἄδης εἶν’ ὁ ἀντρας μου, ἡ πλάκ’ ἡ πεθερά μου (‘Yesterday was my marriage-day, late yesteren 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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. Schröder *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38 and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 141—143.

<sup>3</sup> Aristoph. *av.* 159 f. τὰ λευκὰ σῆσαμα | καὶ μύρα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.



was empowered to impregnate his bride<sup>1</sup>? Raised from mortal to immortal

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *rax* 869 πλακοῦς γαμικὸς ἀπὸ σησάμων πεποιημένος, διὰ τὸ πολύγονον, ὡς φησι Μέανδρος (*frag.* 435 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 318 Meineke)). A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 347 refers to L. G. Gyraldus *Operum 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 foecunditatem, & multiplicem generationem ac foetum significare volebant. Sunt enim huiusmodi semina multae foecunditatis, & vt Graeci dicunt, πολύγονα. Sed quod de sesamo dicimus, aliqui ex eo placentam fieri solitam in nuptijs, eadem ratione tradunt.’

Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 445—455 begins his article on the myrtle by distinguishing a lucky aspect of the plant as sacred to Aphrodite from a sepulchral aspect of it as sacred to chthonian deities. He finds a connecting link in the cult of Venus *Libitina*, Aphrodite *Epitymbía*, 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. Pét.* 1868 p. 160=F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 570 fig. 2637=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 313, 1 f.) or by the Orphic devotee (*supra* p. 555) marked him as the prospective consort of a chthonian deity. The botanical fact underlying these beliefs is the polyspermous nature of the myrtle: ‘The fruit is a purplish berry, consisting of the receptacle and the ovary blended into one succulent investment enclosing very numerous minute seeds’ (*The Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>11</sup> 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· τό τε γὰρ στρογγύλον καὶ περιφερὲς αὐτῶν παρίστησι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς σφαιροειδοῦς οὐσης, ἢ τε ἀνωμαλία τὰς κοιλότητας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν ὀρῶν, τὰ δ’ ἐντὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώδεσι καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἔουκε, σπέρματά τε ἀναρίθμητα γεννώσιν ὡσπερ ἡ γῆ]. The poppy of Demeter (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1179 n. 2) was passed on to Rhea (*id. ib.* p. 1542 n. 1) and to Isis (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 450 ff. fig.). Kanachos made for the Sicyonians a chryselephantine Aphrodite with a poppy in one hand, an apple in the other (Paus. 2. 10. 5): and here again the influence of Demeter may be suspected; for certain persons derived the old name of Sikyon, Μηκώνη, from the ‘poppy,’ μήκων, which Demeter there first discovered (*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, τσισύμβριον 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 better<sup>1</sup>.’

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 consort<sup>2</sup>. The summons has been sent. The call must be obeyed. But—

‘Who knows if life be death and death be life<sup>3</sup>?’

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 young<sup>4</sup>,’

and find a further significance in the representation of Death as Love<sup>5</sup>.

wearing of a wreath made from it betokened disease (Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 77), that was due to the fact that the plant in question was recognised as a cure for diseases (Nik. *ther.* 896). Greeks called it the garland of Aphrodite, Romans the herb of Venus (Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 271 Sprengel); and the medical writers enable us to guess the reason, cp. Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 272 Sprengel *δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει θερμαντικὴν· ἀρμόζει δὲ πρὸς στραγγουρίας καὶ λιθιάσεις τὸ σπέρμα σὺν οἴνῳ πινόμενον, id.* 2. 155 (156) p. 272 Sprengel of another variety *ἔστι δὲ θερμαντικόν, οὖρητικόν, Galen. de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 8. 18. 20 (xii. 124 Kühn) *θερμαινούσης καὶ ξηραίνούσης κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τάξιν ἐστὶ δυνάμειός τε καὶ κράσεως. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δ’ αὐτοῦ λεπτομερές τε καὶ θερμὸν ἐστίν, ὅθεν σὺν οἴνῳ τινὲς αὐτὴν διδῶσιν κ.τ.λ., id.* *ib.* 8. 18. 21 (xii. 124 Kühn) of the other variety *ὅταν μὲν ξηρὸν ᾖ, τῆς τρίτης ἐστὶ τάξεως τῶν ξηραίνοντων τε ἅμα καὶ θερμαίνοντων, κ.τ.λ.* On mint in general see A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 226—228, H. Friend *op. cit.* ii. 687 Index *s.v.* ‘Mint,’ R. Folkard *op. cit.* p. 439 f. *Supra* i. 257 n. 5.

<sup>1</sup> *ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον* (*carm. pop.* 20 a Hiller—Crusius)—an early dactylic line (cp. *supra* i. 444) first found in Dem. *de cor.* 259 (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4) as a *formula* used by initiates in the rites of *Sabázios*, and from him apparently quoted by Hesych. *s.v.* It is given as a marriage-rubric by Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1726, 19 ff. *καὶ παροιμία δηλοῖ παρὰ Πανσανία λέγουσα ‘ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,’ ἣν ἔλεγέ, φησιν, ἀμφιθαλῆς παῖς Ἀθήνησιν, ἐστεμμένος ἀκάνθαις μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν, λίκνον βαστάζων πλήρες ἄρτων, αἰνισσόμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολὴν = Zenob.* 3. 98, Diogeneian. 4. 74, Plout. 1. 16, Apostol. 8. 16, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *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.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the Celtic tales of the Otherworld-visit, which I have summarised in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 143 ff. (*supra* i. 239).

<sup>3</sup> Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck<sup>2</sup> (*supra* p. 868), cp. Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 833 Nauck<sup>2</sup>. In Aristoph. *ran.* 1477 f. *τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ κατθανεῖν, | τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κώδιον*; the attempts of the editors to extract sense from the latter line are far from convincing. I fancy Aristophanes is poking fun at the prospect held out to every pious believer, the hero-feast (*δειπνεῖν*) and the poppy-head (for *κώδιον* read *κώδουον*, 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.).

<sup>4</sup> Menand. *disexapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke). Cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 340. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 585. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *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 *Philios* 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<sup>1</sup>.’

But popular usage was against him<sup>2</sup>. Whether parched with drought<sup>3</sup>, or drenched with rain<sup>4</sup>, 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 Thessalonike<sup>5</sup>. On a red-figured *kýlix* by the potter Sosias Herakles, when admitted to Olympos, makes the same naïve ejaculation<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, the name *Díphilos*, ‘loved by Zeus,’ was of common occurrence<sup>7</sup>. 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 literature<sup>8</sup> the Platonic Sokrates tells how Diotima of Mantinea (supposed to be a priestess of Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>9</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *mag. mor.* 2. 11. 1208 b 28 ff. τὴν γὰρ φιλίαν ἐνταυῦθ’ ἀφαιρούμεν εἶναι οὐδ’ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φιλία οὔτε ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι δέχεται οὔθ’ ὅλως τὸ φιλεῖν· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἂν εἴη εἶ τις φαίη φιλεῖν τὸν Δία.

<sup>2</sup> 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 τὰλλα κινεῖ. He is groping his way towards the stupendous discovery that ‘God is love.’

<sup>3</sup> Marc. Ant. *comment.* 5. 7 ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ (*infra* § 9 (b)).

<sup>4</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 5. 166. 6 (Asklepiades) Ζεῦ φίλε (*infra* § 9 (b)).

<sup>5</sup> Theogn. 373 Hiller—Crusius Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε· κ.τ.λ., Eurpol. χρυσοῦν γένος *frag.* 13 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 541 f. Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 10. 63 ἀλλ’, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατάχυτλον τὴν ῥῖν’ ἔχεις, Aristoph. *eccl.* 378 f. καὶ δῆτα πολὺν ἢ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | γέλων παρέσχευ, κ.τ.λ., Philem. *Pyrrhos frag.* 1. 7 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 22 Meineke) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 55. 5 εἰρήνη’ στίν· ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | τῆς ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ, Kallim. *ep.* 7. 4 Schneider, 6. 4 Wilamowitz Κρεωφύλω, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 108. 4 (Antipatros) ἦ ῥα μάτην, Ζεῦ φίλε, βούς 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 ἐπιῆρα φέρειν Δί, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 104 ff. ἀμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλω | Δι νέμονται, τὰν δ’ ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γάλας κ.τ.λ.

<sup>6</sup> 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 *Rép. 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 Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 421 ff. no. 1. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8291, a ΕΝΙΦΙΛΙΩΝΕΙ.

<sup>7</sup> Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1152—1156 record twenty-two bearers of the name. See also K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup> Berlin 1900 p. 74 n. 644 a.

<sup>8</sup> I am weighing my words: that is my deliberate opinion.

<sup>9</sup> 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 also<sup>1</sup>. To summarise or paraphrase such a passage is, of course, to ruin its effect, and is little short of blasphemy to boot. I can but call attention to the one word *theophilés*, 'loved of God.'<sup>2</sup> 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 divine<sup>3</sup>.

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 catacombs<sup>4</sup>. And if the Greeks looked forward to 'the good fare of the blest<sup>5</sup>' in the bridal chamber of Hades or Persephone, John can say 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb<sup>6</sup>.' The conception, cherished by the Church<sup>7</sup>, has inspired not a few modern mystics :

<sup>1</sup> Plat. *symp.* 209 E—212 B. Faith, Hope, and Charity unite in this triumphant climax.

<sup>2</sup> The relevant words are: *τεκόντι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρεψαμένῳ ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ.* On the later Platonic conception of *ἀθανασία* I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 96 ff. See also R. K. Gaye *The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas* (Hare Prize Essay 1903) London 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Theon Smyrn. *mathem.* p. 14, 18 ff. *Ἡλλερ καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν φιλοσοφίαν μύησιν φαίη τις ἂν ἀληθοῦς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν ὄντων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων παράδοσιν. μνήσεως δὲ μέρη πέντε. τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον καθαρμός· οὔτε γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία μυστηρίων ἔστί, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οὓς αὐτῶν εἶργεσθαι προαγορευεται, οἷον τοὺς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὴ εἶργομένους ἀνάγκη καθαρμοῦ τινος πρότερον τυχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δευτέρα ἔστιν ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις· τρίτη δὲ < ἡ ins. C. A. Lobeck > ἐπονομαζομένη ἐποπτεία· τετάρτη δὲ, ὃ δὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις, ὥστε καὶ ἐτέροις, ἄς τις παρέλαβε τελετάς, παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, δαδουχίας τυχόντα ἢ ἱεροφαντίας ἢ τινος ἄλλης ἱερωσύνης· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδιαίτον εὐδαιμονία (so I. Bouillaud for *εὐδαιμονίαν* cod. A.). See Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 38 ff.*

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *ran.* 85 *ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν*, cp. Plat. *Phaid.* 115 D. Notice the schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* ἢ ὡς περὶ τετελευτηκότος λέγει, ὥσανεὶ εἶπε τὰς μακάρων νήσους· ἢ ὅτι Ἄρχελάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ μακάρων εὐωχίαν ἔφη τὴν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατριβὴν. If Hades was known as Ἄρησίλαος, Πολύαρχος, and the like (*supra* p. 1113 n. o no. (2)), it is at least possible that he bore the title Ἄρχελαος. Aristophanes' *sous-entendu* would thus gain in point.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. 19. 9 with the context.

<sup>7</sup> A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*<sup>2</sup> 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 !<sup>1</sup>

How much, or how little, of all this is to be found in our relief, it is not easy to say. The title *Epitéleios* suggests the mystic marriage, and the stress laid on *Phílios* and *Phília* 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 *Phílios* 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.<sup>2</sup>, 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 Friendly<sup>3</sup>.

The inference to be drawn from the fourth-century reliefs and the third-century comedy is that at Athens Zeus *Phílios*, like Zeus *Sotér*<sup>4</sup>, Zeus *Xénios*<sup>5</sup>, and other

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson *St. Agnes' Eve* 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. Kirchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 660, Lübker *Reallex.*<sup>8</sup> p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sinop. *ἐπικληρος frag.* 1. 5 ff. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 543 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 239 A ff.

<sup>4</sup> *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[υόν τε τὰς θ[υ]σίας τῶ[ι Διὶ τῶι Σωτήρι καὶ τ]εῖ 'Αθη[ναῖ τεῖ | Σω]τεῖραι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεμε[λήθησα]ν μετὰ | το]ῦ ἱερ[έως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμω]ς, ἐπεμελήθη[σα]ν δὲ [καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλί]νης καὶ τῆς κ[οσ]μῆ[σεως τῆς τραπέζης· κ.τ.λ.] in a decree of 277/6 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Pyrgion *Κρητικὰ 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 or ἐν δεξιᾶ) εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεία· ἦν Ξενίου τε Διὸς ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον.

chthonian powers<sup>1</sup>, had a couch set for him and a table spread. The rite was private rather than public, belonging essentially to family worship<sup>2</sup> and being in effect a communion between the dead and the living<sup>3</sup>. A. Furtwängler<sup>4</sup> justly compares the *lectisternia*, which are commonly held to have been a Roman adaptation of the Greek *Theoxénia*<sup>5</sup>. 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 couches<sup>6</sup>. Pompeius Festus (s. ii A.D.)—an excellent authority, since he abridged the important dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (c. 10 B.C.)<sup>7</sup>—states that these 'heads of gods' were properly termed *struppi* and consisted in bundles of *verbenae* or 'sacred plants'<sup>8</sup>. Elsewhere Festus, à propos of *strophus* in the sense of a priestly head-dress or wreath, informs us that at Tusculum an

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Sculptures* p. 28 f., A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 31 (with list of deities).

<sup>2</sup> The *épavistal* (*supra* p. 1161 f.) formed a *quasi-family*, worshipping—we have conjectured—its deceased founder as its ancestor.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1162 n. 2. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 419.

<sup>4</sup> A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 i. 405.

<sup>5</sup> 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. Kult. Röm.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 61, 269 f., 311, 315, 421 ff.

<sup>6</sup> 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, averterunt se, lanaque (J. Scheffer cj. *laenaeque*, G. Cuypers and J. Marquardt cjj. *lanxque*) cum integumentis (F. van Oudendorp cj. *intrinsicis*), 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.

<sup>7</sup> M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*<sup>2</sup> München 1899 ii. 1. 319 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*<sup>2</sup> Cambridge 1906 i. 200.

<sup>8</sup> 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 *verbena* proprie est herba sacra sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, qua coronabantur fetiales et paterpatratus foedera facturi vel bella indicturi. abusive tamen *verbenas* iam vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus. etc. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 5, 25. 105 ff., interp. Serv. in Verg. *ecl.* 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 Castor<sup>1</sup>. 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 present<sup>2</sup>. Later, if we may trust the evidence of a Roman lamp (fig. 972)<sup>3</sup> and certain Roman coins (figs. 973, 974, 975)<sup>4</sup>, the puppets of the



Fig. 972.



Fig. 973.



Fig. 974.



Fig. 975.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Graece *στρούφιον* 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 Graece στρούφιον* dicitur, pro insigni habebatur in capitibus sacerdotum; alii id coronam esse dixerunt. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 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 f. 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*<sup>3</sup>: 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.).

<sup>3</sup> 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  $3\frac{3}{4}$  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.

<sup>4</sup> *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 couches<sup>1</sup>. So much for progressive anthropomorphism. The vegetable bundles, which formed the primitive effigies<sup>2</sup>, may be taken to imply that the souls of the dead were conceived as animating the yearly vegetation<sup>3</sup>. And the same belief may underlie the rites of Iupiter *Dapalis*<sup>4</sup> and Iupiter *Farreus*<sup>5</sup>, in which Mr Warde surmounted by a half-figure and flanked by two trophies. The front is inscribed L·CALDVS | VII·R·EPV (= *Lucius Calvus septemvir epulo*). To left and right is the legend, read downwards, C·CALDVS | IMP·A (or A)·X (= *Gaius Calvus imperator augur decemvir sacris faciundis*). Below is C·CALDVS·III·VIR (= *Calvus triumvir monetalis*). See Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 100 ff., ii pl. Coelia 1, 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.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 127, 423, 453 ff.). Iupiter had a *lectulus*, Iuno and Minerva each a *sella* (Val. Max. 2. 1. 2), while the magistrates and senate took the meal before them *in Capitolio* (Liv. 38. 57, 45. 39, Gell. 12. 8. 2 f., Dion Cass. 39. 30, 48. 52). See further E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 732, 734 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 215 ff., *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 172 f., 336, 338, 353. Hence the title of Iupiter *Epulo* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3696 found in the Forum at Rome=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4964, with the criticisms of G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 265, who prefers T. Mommsen's reading (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1873 p. 51 f.) [*magistri*] *quinq(uennales)* | [*collegi*] *teib(icinum) Rom(anorum), qui* | [*s(acris) p(ublicis) p(raesto) s(unt)*], *Iov(i) Epul(oni) sac(rum)* | etc. to that of E. Bormann and H. Dessau *qui* | . . . *Iov(is) epul(o), sac(ris)* | [*p(ublicis) p(raesto) s(unt)*]: | etc.).

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. 2. 10. 1 *ext.*

<sup>2</sup> Masurius Sabinus *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 225 Masurius Sabinus delubrum, effigies, a delibatione corticis; nam antiqui felicitum arborum ramos cortice detracto in effigies deorum formabant, unde Graeci ξόανον 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. Baier (in J. C. Orelli's ed. of Cicero Turici 1833 v. 2. 101). But a closer parallel may be found in the Corn-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 687.

<sup>4</sup> Cato *de agr.* 132 dapem hoc modo fieri oportet: Iovi Dapali culignam vini quantam vis polluceto. eo die feriae bubus et bululcis et qui dapem facient. cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ei <us> rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto.' manus interluito, postea vinum sumito: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto.' Vestae, si voles, dato. daps Iovi assaria pecuina (pecuina v.) urna vini. Iovi caste profanato sua contagione. postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim.

The adjective *dapalis*, 'sumptuous,' is most frequently found as an epithet of *cena* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* v. 35, 29 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 farreo in manus (Göschel, followed by P. Krüger—W. Studemund,



Fowler conjectures that Jupiter himself was originally identified with the flesh, the wine, and the bread consumed by his worshippers<sup>1</sup>.

It is possible, then, that the communion-feast of Zeus *Phílios* approximated to, and paved the way for, the *agápe* or 'love-supper' of the early Christian Church<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless the evidence is indirect and by no means conclusive. We shall be on surer, if lower, ground in returning to the cult-monuments of Attike.

(2) Zeus *Phílios* on the Attic coast, etc.

To the west of the *Asklepieíon* near the strand of Zea there appears to have been a common sanctuary of Zeus *Meilíchos* and Zeus *Phílios*<sup>3</sup>. 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)<sup>4</sup> as a kingly personage enthroned towards the right with a sceptre (painted) in his hand. He is approached by a woman and a girl—Mynnion and her daughter, as we infer from the inscription added above in lettering of s. iv B.C. :

'[M]ynnion dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phílios*<sup>5</sup>.'

A fragmentary relief of white marble, found later in the same locality, was clearly of similar type<sup>6</sup>. 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.* i. 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 13 s.v. 'adōria').

<sup>2</sup> On the Christian *ἀγάπαι* consult A. Kestner *Die Agape oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen* Jena 1819, E. H. Plumptre in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 39 ff., R. St. J. Tyrwhitt *ib.* i. 625 ff., H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 775—848, A. J. Maclean in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 166—175.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1104.

<sup>4</sup> R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs* Leipzig 1872 p. 53 f. no. 105 pl. 25, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 370 no. 1128, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1247, 2 with Text v. 22 by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 354 f. no. 1405 pl. 59 (= my fig. 976), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 362, 7 (wrongly described *ib.* p. 363 as 'Hommage à Zeus Meilichios'). Height 0.22<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.21<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1572 [M]YNNIONΔΙΙΦΙΛΙΩΙΑΝΕΘ[HKEN]= [M]ύννιον Δι Φιλίωι ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

<sup>6</sup> I. C. Dragatsis in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885 p. 89 f. no. B', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355. Height 0.16<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0.30<sup>m</sup>.

are traces of a third head. The whole is enclosed by an architectural framework, which bears the inscription :

‘Hermaios (dedicated this) to Zeus *Philios*<sup>1</sup>.’

On the other hand, the same site yielded two reliefs representing a snake accompanied by the words:

‘——— dedicated (this) to Zeus *Philios*<sup>2</sup>.’



Fig. 976.

As before<sup>3</sup>, we must suppose that the snake figures the soul of the divinised dead, here conciliated by the euphemistic title Zeus ‘the Friendly One.’ *Philios* is virtually a synonym of *Meilichios*<sup>4</sup>.

Other reliefs, which probably derive from the same cult-centre in the Peiraieus,

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 Add. no. 1572b ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΔΙ ΦΙΛΙΩΝΙ = *Ermaios Di Philion*.

<sup>2</sup> (1) I. C. Dragatsis in the *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.* 1888 p. 135, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1572c a fragmentary marble slab inscribed ΔΙ ΦΙΛΙΩΝΙ | [ἀνέθηκ]εν above the relief of a snake. (2) I. C. Dragatsis in the *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.* 1888 p. 135 no. 3, *Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355 the relief of a snake with the inscription ΔΙ ΦΙΛΙΩΝΙ [ἀνέθηκ]εν.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1111.

<sup>4</sup> This explains the otherwise inexplicable gloss of Hesych. *φιλιός* (Soping *corr.* *φίλιος*, M. Schmidt cj. *ἀφάδιος*?)· ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος, κατ’ εὐφημισμ[έν]όν.



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)<sup>1</sup> 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 knees<sup>2</sup>. 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 a flat basket 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 *Meitichios* or *Phílios*, was in any case worshipped as *Téleios*.

More difficult to interpret is another fourth-century relief (fig. 978)<sup>3</sup> 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 *Phílios* 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'<sup>4</sup>, 'by the Friendly Zeus'<sup>5</sup>, 'by the Friendly

<sup>1</sup> Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 375 no. 1139, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1245, 3 with Text v. 20 by E. Löwy, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 242 no. 1408, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 357 f. no. 1408 pl. 65 (=my fig. 977), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 2. Height 0·25<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0·40<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f., Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 441 no. 1441 pl. 71 (=my fig. 978). Height 0·15<sup>m</sup>, breadth 0·24<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου* Plat. *Phaedr.* 234 E, *Minos* 321 C, *Ioul. epist.* 3. 2. Cp. *πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου τε καὶ Ἐταιρῆλου* Sokrat. *epist.* 27. 1 p. 627 Hercher.

<sup>5</sup> *πρὸς Φιλίου Διὸς* *Ioul. or.* 2 p. 123, 9 Hertlein, *or.* 3 p. 165, 23 Hertlein, Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 1.

One<sup>1</sup>, 'yes, by the Friendly One<sup>2</sup>,' 'no, by your Friendly One and mine<sup>3</sup>.'

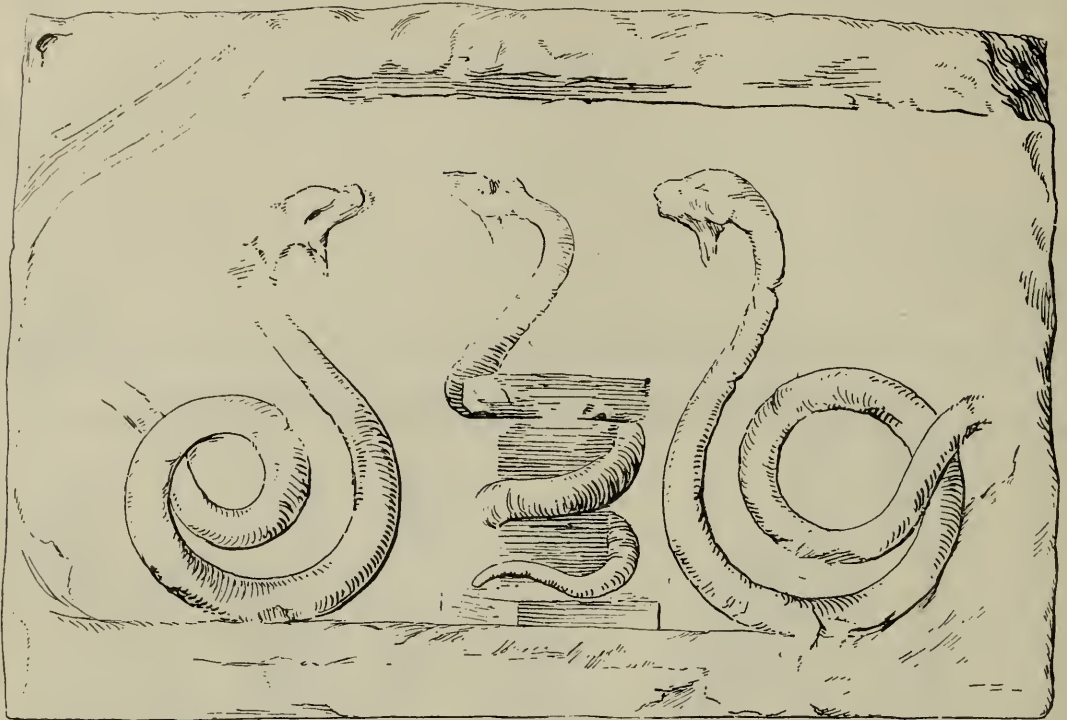


Fig. 978.

Friends in general swore by Zeus *Phílios*<sup>4</sup>, who came to be looked upon as the overseer and guardian of friendship<sup>5</sup>, or ultimately as a god of love who would

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς Φίλιου Plat. *Euthyphr.* 6 B, *Gorg.* 500 B, 519 E, Loukian. *Herod.* 7, *rhet. praesept.* 4, *de dipsad.* 9, Themist. *or.* 1. 17 A p. 19, 6 Dindorf, Prokop. *epist.* 75, 103, 116, 132.

<sup>2</sup> ναὶ τὸν Φίλιον Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 with schol. *ad loc.* νῆ τὸν Φίλιον Pherektrat. *κραπάταλοι frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 293 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεὺς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος.

<sup>3</sup> 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 ναὶ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 103 p. 700 οὐ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 129 p. 716 νῆ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 95 p. 694 οὐ μὰ τὸν Ὀμόγιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν. We have a similar usage of the possessive pronoun (one of those little touches, which show that on occasion Greek religion could be personal as well as civic) in Eur. *Andr.* 602 f. ἤτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σὸν λιπούσα Φίλιον (*sc.* Δία) ἐξεκώμασε | κ.τ.λ., *Hec.* 345 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Menand. *ἀνδρόγυνος frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεὺς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος... μαρτύρομαι τὸν Φίλιον, ᾧ Κράτων, Δία, Loukian. *Toxar.* 11 f. ΜΝΗΣ. ὁμούμεθα, εἴ τι καὶ ὄρκον δεῖν νομίζεις. τίς δέ σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν—ἄρ' ἱκανὸς ὁ Φίλιος; ΤΟΞ. καὶ μάλα... ΜΝΗΣ. ἴστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, ἧ μὴν κ.τ.λ., schol. rec. Soph. *Ai.* 492 p. 211, 6 ff. ἐφέστιον Διὸς· τοῦ τιμωμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὴν συνοίκησιν ἡμῶν. Ἐφέστιον Δία προτείνουσιν οἱ συνοικοῦντες· οἱ δὲ φίλοι Φίλιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τάξει καταλεγόμενοι καὶ μιᾷ συμμορίᾳ, Ἐταιρεῖον· οἱ δὲ ξένοι, Ξένιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄρκοις συμφωνίας ποιοῦντες, Ὀρκιον· οἱ δὲ δεόμενοι, Ἰκέσιον· οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοί, Ὀμόγιον = schol. Eur. *Hec.* 345.

<sup>5</sup> 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 φιλίας ἔφορος θεός, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεὺς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος· ὁ τὰ περὶ τὰς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν, *et. mag.* p. 793, 43 Φίλιος Ζεὺς· ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας (F. Sylburg *cj.* τὴν φιλίαν) ἐπισκοπῶν, Olympiod. *in Plat. Gorg.* 500 B (published by



have all men dwell together in amity<sup>1</sup>. A title with such claims to popularity was naturally included among the stock epithets of Zeus<sup>2</sup>.

An oblong slab of limestone found in the precinct of Asklepios at Epidaurus bears a dedication to Zeus *Phílios* 'in accordance with a dream' and adds, as symbol of the god, a branch of olive or oak enclosed in a circle<sup>3</sup>. It must not be

A. Jahn in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* Suppl. 1848 xiv. 364 f.) ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφορον τῆς φιλίας φέρει αὐτὸν, ἵνα εἰδῶς ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς φιλίας προστάτης μὴ πάλιν παίξῃ· ὁ γὰρ παίξων εἰς φίλον τὸν προστάτην ταύτης θεὸν παίξει, schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 500 B Διὸς ἦν ἐπώνυμον παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὁ Φίλιος, ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων αὐτὸν ἔφορον, Thom. Mag. *ecl. voc. Att.* p. 382 Ritschl Φίλιος ὁ τῆς φιλίας ἔφορος θεός, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1188, 57 Φίλιος, ὁ φιλίας ἔφορος, p. 1832, 62 f. Φίλιος Ζεὺς, ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν. With these scholastic definitions cp. such passages as Liban. *epist.* 19 καὶ ταύτην τίνομεν τῷ Φιλίῳ τὴν δίκην ὅτι δὴ φίλων ἡμῶν ἐφάνη τι τιμιώτερον, 1204 ὑπέμνησα Φιλίου Διὸς and context.

<sup>1</sup> Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ἐπονομάζεται...καὶ Φιλίος τε καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται εἶναι ἀλλήλοις φίλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον μηδένα = *or.* 12 p. 412 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ὀνομάζεται...καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Eustath. *in magnam quadragesimam oratio praeparatoria* 44 (= Eustath. *opuscul.* p. 86 Tafel) πονηροὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγαπῶντες· πονηροὺς δὲ ὁ Φίλιος οὐ προσίεται.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 22 ἑταιρεῖός τε καὶ φίλιος καὶ ξένιος = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 19 f. Wachsmuth (translated by Apul. *de mund.* 37 alii Hospitalem Amicalemque), Loukian. *Tim.* 1 TIM. ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 288 Φύξιος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος καὶ Ἐφέστιος καὶ Ὀμόγνιος καὶ ἄλλα μυρία καλεῖται πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ γινόμενα καὶ μετονομαζόμενος· κ.τ.λ., Achilleus (Tatios) *comment. frag. in Arat. phaen.* 2 f. p. 84, 16 ff. Maass λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ἑταιρεῖος (*leg.* ἑταιρεῖος) φίλιος φνυτάλμιος ἐπικάρπιος, schol. Arat. p. 332, 10 f. Maass ὡς εἰσι (φασί) γενέτωρ φράτριος Ὀμόγνιος ἑταιρεῖος φίλιος ἰκέσιος ξένιος ἀγοραῖος βουλαῖος βρονταῖος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (*sc.* ἐπίθετα Διὸς), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 no. 100 φίλιος (*sc.* Διὸς), 274 φίλιος (*sc.* Ζεὺς), 282 φίλιος (*sc.* Ζεὺς).

In particular the epithets Ξένιος and Φίλιος are often combined: Plout. *v. Arat.* 54 δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς Διὶ Ξενίῳ καὶ Φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τίνων διετέλεσε, Himer. *or.* 6. 3 φέρε οὖν κἀνταῦθα Φιλίῳ Διὶ κρατῆρα στήσωμεν καὶ τὸν Ξενίου βωμῶν λόγων ξενίαις ἀμείψωμεν, Ioul. *or.* 8 p. 327, 8 ff. Hertlein ἄγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέη πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος εὖνους, Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 2 πρὸς Ξενίων καὶ Φιλίων θεῶν, schol. Eur. *Hec.* 791 χθονίους μὲν (*sc.* οὐ δείσας) διὰ τὸ ἀταφον εἶσαι φονεύσαντα, οὐρανίους δὲ διὰ τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Φίλιον Δία (here actually contrasted with the chthonian powers!), schol. Eur. *Andr.* 603 Φίλιον...ἢ λείπει τὸ Δία, ἔν' ἢ Φίλιον Δία, ὡς Ξένιον Δία, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 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 πεπειραμένος.

<sup>3</sup> P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. 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]ὶ Φιλίῳ | Πύροιοι | κατ' ὄραρ with the numeral νθ' and the symbol ☉ in circle, on which see *supra* p. 1076 f. The garland of Zeus *Phílios* is mentioned in an inscription from Kyrene (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5173, 3 ff. = Kaibel *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 ἱερῶ δερκομένη (θ)[αλάμω·] | ο[δ] Διὸς ἀρητήρ [ἡρᾶ]το, πατήρ ἱερῶν, | [ἄρ]τ[ι πυ]κ[νὸν] Φιλί(ο) [σ]τέμμ' ἀν[α]δησάμενος· | 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 Asklepios<sup>1</sup>, 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 *thyrsos* in the other. On the *thyrsos* 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 Aphrodite<sup>2</sup>.’

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. Overbeck<sup>3</sup> 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. Brunn<sup>4</sup> 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 predecessor<sup>5</sup>, 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 sceptre<sup>6</sup>: he may well have done the same for this cult-statue of Zeus. It is not, however, necessary to suppose with Brunn that the statue was brought from another town: cult-statues are not easily transplanted. I should rather conceive of the situation as follows. Megalopolis had a quarter or, as Stephanos the geographer says, a ‘half’ called *Orestia* after Orestes<sup>7</sup>, who had spent a year of exile in the *Orésteion*<sup>8</sup>. Now in the only other *Orésteion* known

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 1076 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8. 31. 4 f. (*supra* i. 112 n. 2) τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσω δὲ ἐμφορές· κόθορνοί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ αἰτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ· καίτοι γε τοῖς (R. Porson cj. τοῖς γε) ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστι. τοῦτου δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, θριγκῶ περιεχόμενον. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις· πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσιν (Siebelis cj. ἐστὶν) ἀγάλματα. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 51 f., 228 ff., 563, *Gr. Plastik*<sup>4</sup> i. 533, 537.

<sup>4</sup> H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 468 f.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 6. 6. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* i. 134 f., ii. 893 n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεγάλη πόλις.

<sup>8</sup> 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 *Phílioi Daímones*<sup>1</sup>. Not impossibly, therefore, the Arcadian Orestes likewise was a *Phílios Daímon* worshipped after his death as Zeus *Phílios*. Orestes was the son of Agamemnon; and it is probable enough that he, like his father<sup>2</sup>, was remembered as a human Zeus. His name *Oréstes*, whatever its origin<sup>3</sup>, would pass muster as a title of Zeus the mountain-god<sup>4</sup>. In any case there was good reason for the retention of this pre-Megalopolitan cult: the appellative *Phílios* was a most desirable omen for a town which combined the inhabitants of some forty Arcadian villages<sup>5</sup>.

#### (4) Zeus *Phílios* 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 Telephos<sup>6</sup>.' It is not, therefore, surprising to find that Pergamon too had its cult of Zeus *Phílios*. An inscribed block from the wall of the *Traianeum* speaks of that splendid structure (fig. 979)<sup>7</sup> as the temple of Iúpter *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 Augustus<sup>8</sup>. The competitions thus established

<sup>1</sup> 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 τούτοις αὐτῶν ἐθέμεθα Κοράκουσ καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ 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*.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* Append. I.

<sup>3</sup> Recent discussion of Orestes and his myth is conveniently summarised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 576 ff., 620 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 100 ff., 117 ff., ii. Append. B.

<sup>5</sup> 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 *Phílios*?

<sup>6</sup> Paus. i. 4. 6. See further W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 180 f. and A. C. Pearson on Soph. *Μυσοί 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*<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>7</sup> *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.

<sup>8</sup> 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]itutum *εἰσελαστικὸν* in civitate | [Pergamenorum, eiusdem con]dicionis 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 δεύτ*]ερος παρ' ὑμῶν ἱερὸς

are called in another inscription the Traianeia Deiphileia<sup>1</sup>. 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 *Phílios* (Latinised as *Iupiter Amicalis*), who formerly had

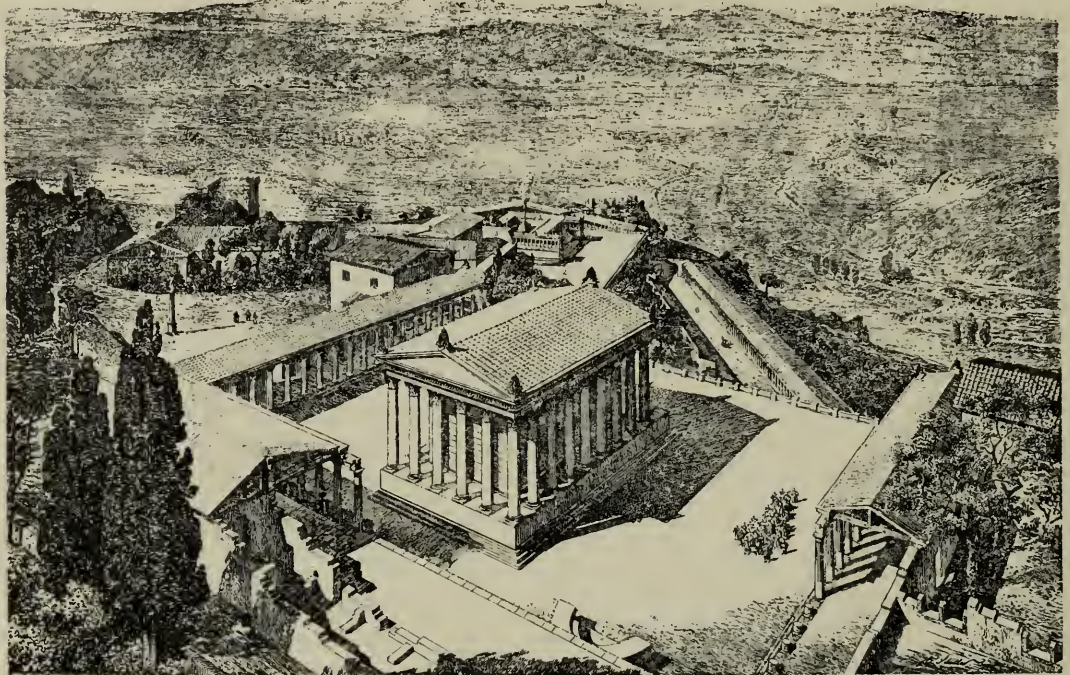


Fig. 979.

no temple but only an open-air altar<sup>2</sup>—presumably that detected by J. Schrammen on the highest point of the hill<sup>3</sup>. When it was decided to institute the cult of Trajan, who himself had some pretensions to the name of Zeus<sup>4</sup>, the best

is borne out by Dion Cass. 51. 20 καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Αὐγούστου) τιμῇ ποιεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 9 Τραϊάνεια Δειφίλεια ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμα(ήν·), where Hicks wrongly supposes that the games ‘may have been endowed by one Διφίλος (sic).’ Δειφίλεια, as M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* saw, are the games of Ζεὺς Φίλιος.

<sup>2</sup> M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89.

<sup>4</sup> A fragmentary inscription from Hermione speaks of Trajan as Ζεὺς *Embátērios* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 ———— | [Κ]αίσαρα θεὸν θεο[ῦ] | Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν | Δακικόν, Δία Ἐμβατήριον, | ἡ πόλις). L. Dindorf in *Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 810 A cp. Apollon Ἐμβάσιος (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2485) and Ἐπιβατήριος (*id. ib.* vi. 28). We can contrast Apollon Ἐκβάσιος (*id. ib.* v. 2155), Artemis Ἐκβατηρία (*id. ib.* v. 2158). Such epithets denote a deity invoked by the voyager before he embarks or after he disembarks, as the case may be. The deity in question might chance to be of mortal stock: on the quay at Alexandria was τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον, Ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς (Philon *leg. ad Gai.* 22: see further O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1385, O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28). Hesych. Ἐπιβήμιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Σίφνῳ has been wrongly added to this group of travel-titles (O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28), or altered to Ἐπιδήμιος (R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 372 f., citing a marble block at *Karadjadagh-Köi* on the *Ulutshar* in Bithynia, which is inscribed Διὶ Ἐπιδημίῳ | Κλαύδιου(ς) Σεήρου(ς) Ὀφελίων οἰκονόμος καὶ Ἡλιάς | ὑπὲρ τέκνων | καὶ τῶν βοῶν | εὐχῆς χάριν | ἀνεστήσα|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 *Philios* 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 *Philios*. Thus the emperor's head occupies the obverse, the god's head the reverse, of a coin (fig. 980)<sup>1</sup>. Or, the emperor's head on the obverse is balanced by a seated figure of the god on the reverse (fig. 982)<sup>2</sup>. 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.).

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 228 Münztaf. 3, 23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 pl. 28, 12, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 2, H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 pl. 4, 5. I figure a specimen from my collection: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟΚΚΒΛ, rev. ΣΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΣ (=obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Ζεὺς Φίλιος).

<sup>2</sup> 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. ΑΥΤΤΡΑΙΑ ΑΝΟΚΚΒΑΚΤ, rev. ΦΙΛΙΟΣΣΕΥΣ ΠΕΡΓΑ (=obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ

seated god within the same temple (fig. 981)<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the coins equate the cult of Zeus *Phílios* and Trajan with the cult of Roma and Augustus. The obverse shows Zeus *Phílios* and Trajan in their temple, the reverse Roma



Fig. 983.

and Augustus in theirs<sup>2</sup>. Or, the obverse has Trajan, the reverse Augustus, as sole occupants of their respective fanes<sup>3</sup>.

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... ΚΡΑΤΙΠΠΟΝΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΒ ΝΕΟΚΟΡ (=ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἀτυλλίου Κρατίππου, Περγαμηνῶν β' νεωκόρων).

<sup>1</sup> 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 ΝΟΣΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Cp. a copper of Traianus Decius (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 8, 18).

<sup>2</sup> 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. ΘΕΛΡΩΜΗ [Κ]Λ[ΙΘ]Ε[Ω] ΣΕΒΑΣ ΤΩ.

<sup>3</sup> 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 conjecture<sup>1</sup>, derived from the cult of Zeus *Phílios* the 'Mountaineer'<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>. 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. CT PΠΩΛ ΛΙΩΝΟC ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟ C or CΤΡΠΩΛΛΙ ΩΝΟCΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟCΕΠΙ, rev. ΑΥΓ Ο V CΤΟC ΠΕΡΓΑ (=obv. ἐπὶ στρατηγού Πωλλίωνος· Τραϊανός, rev. Αὔγουστος· Περγαμηνῶν).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1179.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1178 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1179 n. 6. Note that Τήλεφος, a clipped form of Τηλεφάνης (F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*<sup>2</sup> 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. *Λευκάδια frag.* 1, 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) *ap.* Strab. 452, and the like).

the Pergamenes invented an eponymous hero Pergamos<sup>1</sup>, they portrayed him (fig. 985)<sup>2</sup> 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 vine<sup>3</sup>. The most we



Fig. 985.



Fig. 986.

can say is that a buskined Zeus of the Arcadian type<sup>4</sup> would not be out of place in a town which recognised Zeus *Sabázios*<sup>5</sup> and Zeus *Bákchos*<sup>6</sup>.

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)<sup>7</sup> surrounds the laureate bust of Trajan with

<sup>1</sup> H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 69 n. 1 points out that Pergamos is first mentioned as founder of the state in two mutually complementary inscriptions of c. 50 B.C. published together by H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 329 ff.: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Μιθραδάτην Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γένους ἀρχιερέ[α] | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου διὰ γένο[us,] | ἀπο[κα]ταστήσαντα τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς τ[ὴν τε πόλιν] | καὶ [τὴν] χώραν καὶ γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος μ[ετὰ Πέργαμον] | καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην and ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτην] Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γέν[ους ἀρχιερέα | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Κα]θηγεμόνος Διονύσου, ἀποκα[ταστήσαντα | τοῖς πατ]ρώοις θεοῖς τ[ὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ γενόμενον | τῆς πατ]ρίδος μ[ετὰ Π]έργαμον[ν καὶ Φ]ιλέταιρον νέον κτ[ίστην]. On the hero Pergamos and his cult see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1958 f.

<sup>2</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 536: quasi-autonomous coppers inscribed ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ and ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ ΚΤΙΣ ΤΗΣ.

<sup>3</sup> When the Greeks sailed against Troy, they lost their way and attacked Mysia by mistake. Telephos, king of the Mysians, went out against the invaders and slew many of them, but fled before Achilles and, tripping over a vine, was wounded in the thigh by that hero's spear (Apollod. *epit.* 3. 17). This occurred because Dionysos was angry with Telephos for depriving him of his due honours (schol. *Il.* 1. 59 f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 46, 35 ff. (Telephos' horse stumbles over a vine by the design of Dionysos), Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 211 (Dionysos repays Achilles' sacrifices by causing to spring up a vine-shoot, which entangles Telephos), Dictys Cretensis 2. 3 (Telephus, pursued by Ulysses among the vineyards, trips over a vine-stem and is speared by Achilles in the left thigh)). The story is given without detail by Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 109 f. ὁ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόθεν | αἶμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ραίνων φόνῳ πεδίον. On the golden vine presented to Telephos' wife Astyoche by Priamos see *supra* p. 281 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1178.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 287 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* pp. 287 n. 2, 954 n. 0.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 320 pl. 41, 5 (my fig. 986 is from a cast of the coin), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 100: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΝΕΡΟΥΑΝ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΔΑΚΙΚΟΝ ΦΙΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ (=αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν Φίλιον Δία).



the cunningly-worded legend: 'The emperor Nerva Traianus [Augustus] Germanicus Dacicus Zeus *Philios*.' The mind of the reader passes upward from names of human import through titles recording hard blows struck and magnificent triumphs won to the final claim of supreme beneficent godhead. Moreover, the whole is thrown into the accusative case with a subtle suggestion of some verb denoting honour, if not worship<sup>1</sup>. Adulation of the man has reached its limit. And, after all, a god who starts as a buried king ends not unfittingly as a divinised emperor.

Pergamon, in common with other cities of Asia Minor, frankly regarded the reigning sovereign as lord of heaven and earth, and did not hesitate to portray him in this capacity as a cosmic Zeus. A wonderful copper piece from the Pergamene mint (fig. 987)<sup>2</sup> exhibits Commodus in the form of a youthful Zeus with short hair and slight beard, naked and erect, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. He has an eagle with spread wings at his feet, and is flanked by two recumbent figures—Gaia on the right with a turreted crown and a *cornu copiae*, Thalassa on the left with a head-dress of crab's-claws and a steering paddle. In the field are busts of Helios and Selene. A unique coin, struck at Pergamon and now in the cabinet of T. Prowe at Moscow (fig. 988)<sup>3</sup>, repeats the theme with variations.

Thalassa and Gaia stand side by side, the former with bare breast, crab's-claws on her head, and a steering paddle in her uplifted hand, the latter with covered



Fig. 987.



Fig. 988.



Fig. 989.

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 161, 170, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 78 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 151 pl. 30, 4 = my fig. 987: rev. [ΕΠΙ]ΣΤΡΜΑΙΓ Λ ΥΚΩΝΙΑΝ[ΟΥ] ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩ ΝΝΕΟΚΟΡΩ Ν·Β (=ἐπὶ στρατηγῶ Μ. Αἰλίου Γλυκωνιανοῦ, Περγαμηῶν νεωκόρων β'). H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 7 publishes another specimen from the Gotha collection.

<sup>3</sup> H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 11: rev. ΕΠΙΣΤΡ ΜΗΝΟ Γ ΕΝΟΥΣ·Β· ΝΕΩ[ΚΟ] ΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝ ΩΝ (=ἐπὶ στρατηγῶ Μηνογένους, β' νεωκόρων Περγαμηῶν).

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)<sup>1</sup>. 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 *phidie* and sceptre, while beneath him hovers his eagle bearing a wreath.

(5) Zeus *Philius* at Antiocheia.

Lastly, we turn to Antiocheia on the Orontes, where the worship of Zeus *Philius* was established by Theoteknos, governor of the city under Maximinus ii and an apostate from the Christian faith<sup>2</sup>. Eusebios in his *Ecclesiastical History*<sup>3</sup> pens an ugly portrait of this persecutor<sup>4</sup>:

'The root of all the mischief grew in Antiocheia itself<sup>5</sup>—Theoteknos, a horror, a humbug, and a villain, whose character belied his name; he was supposed to keep the town in order. He set all his forces against us. He threw himself with zest into the task of hunting our people out of their holes and corners in every possible way, as though they had been a gang of thieves and malefactors. He went all lengths in slandering and accusing us. And, after causing tens of thousands to be put to death, he finally set up an idol of Zeus *Philius* with a deal of quackery and imposture. He invented foul rites for it, initiations of an irreligious sort, and abominable modes of purification. He even exhibited before the emperor the portentous signs by means of which it was supposed to produce oracles<sup>6</sup>.'

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*<sup>7</sup>. Subsequently Perseus

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 316 pl. 37, 12 (= my fig. 989), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 57: rev. ·ΕΠΙ·Π·ΑΙΛ ΠΙΓΡΗ ΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡΓ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝΝ ΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ· (= ἐπὶ Π. Αἰλίου Πίγρητος Ἀσιάρχου γ', Λαοδικέων νεωκόρων).

<sup>2</sup> G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1011.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 2 f.

<sup>4</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> Amstelaedami 1713 pp. 336—352, A. Gallandius *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* Venetiis 1768 iv. 114—130).

<sup>5</sup> We have here a buried hexameter: ὦν πάντων ἀρχηγός ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας.

<sup>6</sup> Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 τελευτῶν εἰδωλόν τι Διὸς Φιλίου μαγγανείαις τισὶ καὶ γοητείαις ἰδρύεται, τελετάς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῷ καὶ μύσεις ἀκαλλιερέτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμούς 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 τελετάς τε ἀνάγνους κ.τ.λ. 'after reciting forms of initiation' etc., clearly taking ἀνάγνους to be ἀναγνοῦς—an ingenious error.

<sup>7</sup> Liban. *or.* 11. 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 Fire<sup>1</sup>. In the Hellenistic age this sanctuary on Mount Silpion was known as that of Zeus *Keraúnios*<sup>2</sup>. Again, the foundation of Antiocheia itself was directly associated with the cult of Zeus. Libanios in his panegyric of the town says<sup>3</sup>:

'The settlement began with Zeus *Bottiaíos*<sup>4</sup>, erected by Alexander, and the hill called Emathia after Alexander's home.'

i. 76 Dindorf *ἐκτίσαν οὖν ἐκεῖ οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἰωνῖται ἱερὸν Κρονίωνος* (but see *supra* i. 237 n. 1) *εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον 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 *selimon* (?)-wreath, *aigis*, and star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 no. 130 pl. 1 (=my fig. 990), *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> iv. 53).



Fig. 990.

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, ὃς* (codd. D. Vb. omit *ὃς*) *ἐν Γάζῃ τῆς Συρίας τιμᾶται· παρὰ τὸ ἀλδαίνω, τὸ αὐξάνω· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν καρπῶν. Μεθόδιος* (οὕτως Μεθόδιος cod. Vb.). Cp. S. Bochart *Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*<sup>4</sup> Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 14 p. 748 'Ego Jovem illum Phoenices linguâ suâ vocasse puto *באל חלדא baal-halda* dominum sæculi, vel *באל חלד'ים baal-aldim* dominum sæculorum'—a most ingenious explanation of the alternatives *Ἄλδος* and *Ἀλδήμιος*.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias the chronographer (cp. Io. Tzetz. *schol. in exeges. Iliad.* in L. Bachmann *Scholias in Homeri Iliadem* Lipsiae 1835 p. 833, 28 f. Πausanίας δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀντιοχείας κτίσεως γράφει πλατύτερον. κ.τ.λ.) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 37 f. Dindorf = *Chron. Paschale* i. 72 f. Dindorf ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Περσεὺς ἐκτίσε τοῖς Ἰωνῖταις ἱερὸν, ὃ ἐπωνόμασε πρὸς ἀθανάτου.

<sup>2</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf says of Seleukos i Nikator after the foundation of Seleukeia *καὶ εὐχαριστῶν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ἰώπολιν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπετέλεσεν ἑορτὴν ἐκεῖ τῷ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κτισθέντι ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Πίκου καὶ Δανάης, τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος, ἐνθα κείται ἡ Ἰώπολις, ποιήσας τὴν θυσίαν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός.*

<sup>3</sup> Liban. *or.* 11. 76 (i. 2. 461, 18 ff. Foerster).

<sup>4</sup> With Zeus *Bottiaíos* cp. Zeus *Bώπτιος* of *Βωπτία*, a village on the Orontes (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf cited *infra* p. 1188), which doubtless claimed connexion with *Βοπτία*, *Βοπτιαία*, *Βοπτιαίς*, the district round Pella in Makedonia (E. Oberhammer 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. 279, 282, 329 *frag.* 11, Konon *narr.* 25, *et. mag.* p. 206, 1 ff.), it is possible that Zeus *Bottiaíos* 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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 243), with the monogram Β (for *Βορρεαίων*) 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.

Further on he adds<sup>1</sup>:

'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 victory<sup>2</sup>. 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 sceptre<sup>3</sup> 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 off<sup>4</sup>. As the event attracted the looks and thoughts of all and was manifestly due to divine interposition, Seleukos bade his son<sup>5</sup> 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 spring<sup>6</sup>. 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 gods<sup>7</sup> by means of his own omen became our founder.'

Similar tales were current with regard to Alexander's foundation of Alexandria<sup>8</sup> and Seleukos' foundation of Seleukeia Pieria<sup>9</sup>. Ioannes Malalas, of whose sixth-century chronicle a Greek abridgment (not to mention the fuller Slavonic version<sup>10</sup>) is extant, gives the Antiochene story<sup>11</sup>, 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*<sup>12</sup>. Again, Antiochos iv Epiphanes built for the Antiochenes, presumably on Mount Silpion, a magnificent temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus*, of which we are told, not only that its roof had gilded coffers, but that its walls were overlaid with beaten gold<sup>13</sup>. Tiberius either completed or restored the structure<sup>14</sup>. 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 original<sup>15</sup>. This statue was perhaps in-

<sup>1</sup> Liban. *or.* 11. 85—88 (i. 2. 464, 10 ff. Foerster).

<sup>2</sup> Seleukos i Nikator, after vanquishing Antigonos in Phrygia (301 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1132 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* fig. 1001.

<sup>5</sup> Antiochos i Soter.

<sup>6</sup> See Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> (ὁ Zeus) ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος.

<sup>8</sup> Iul. Valer. 1. 30 p. 39, 9 ff. Kuebler, pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 (context *supra* p. 1127 n. o).

<sup>9</sup> *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> München 1897 p. 325 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*<sup>2</sup> Cambridge 1906 i. 390 f.

<sup>11</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 ff. Dindorf.

<sup>12</sup> *Id. ib.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf.

<sup>13</sup> Liv. 41. 20. Cp. Gran. Licin. 28 p. 6, 5 f. Flemisch duos colossos duodenum cubitorum ex aere unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi dedicaverat.

<sup>14</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πύλαι ἱερὸν μέγα Διὸς Καπετωλίου. The word ἔκτισεν must not be pressed.

<sup>15</sup> Amm. Marc. 22. 13. 1 eodem tempore die xi Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum



tended to represent Antiochos himself<sup>1</sup>; 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 Zeus<sup>2</sup>. Thus he struck handsome silver pieces showing on the obverse side an

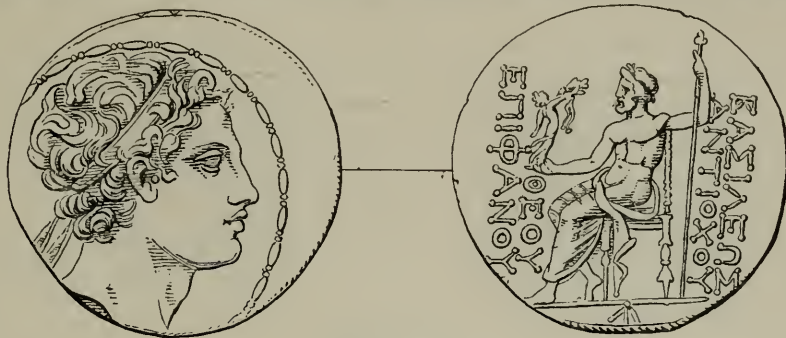


Fig. 991.

idealised portrait-head of himself, sometimes with twin stars at the ends of his diadem<sup>3</sup>, 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)<sup>4</sup>, or 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest, Bearer of Victory' (fig. 992)<sup>5</sup>. 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)<sup>6</sup> or his pompous inscription (fig. 994)<sup>7</sup>. 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!

<sup>1</sup> 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)).

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 44 pl. 66, 13, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 762. I figure a specimen from my collection.

<sup>5</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 762, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 65 no. 494.

<sup>6</sup> E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 pp. xciv f., 71 pl. 12, 11 (= my fig. 993).

<sup>7</sup> *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

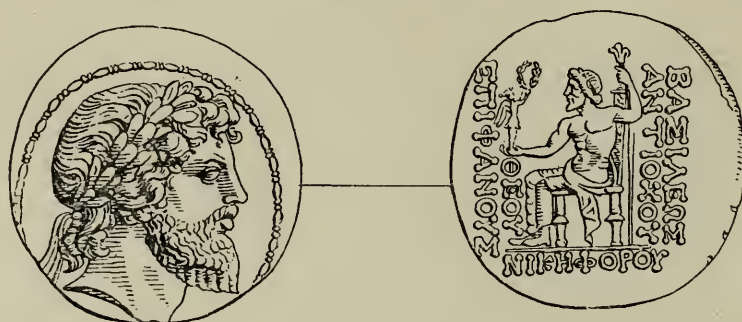


Fig. 993.



Fig. 994.

Zeus had lent him victory!<sup>1</sup> A unique *statér* of gold, formerly in the Montagu collection (fig. 995)<sup>2</sup>, was doubtless struck by Zabinas from this stolen Nike<sup>3</sup>. 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 city<sup>4</sup>.



Fig. 995.

The statue, however, did not escape for long the cupidity of the Syrian kings. Antiochos ix Kyzikenos, son of Antiochos vii Sidetes, being in need of money, gave orders that the golden Zeus, fifteen cubits high, should be melted down and replaced by a copy in inferior material with gilded sheathing<sup>5</sup>. It was presumably in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Olympios* that Antiochos Epiphanes held games

*Cat. Coins* iii. 48 no. 50, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. xciv f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 762 f. The head is usually described as laureate.

<sup>1</sup> *Iust.* 39. 2. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 92 no. 716 pl. 9 = my fig. 995.

<sup>3</sup> E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. cxlix f.

<sup>4</sup> *Iust.* 39. 2. 6, *Diod. excerpta de virt. et vit.* 35 p. 145, 42 ff. Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> *Clem. Al. protr.* 4. 52. 3 p. 40, 22 ff. Stählin *Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὄν, προσέταξε χωνεῦσαι καὶ (J. Markland cj. κάκ) τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀτιμωτέρας ὕλης ἄγαλμα 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 Daphne<sup>1</sup>, not to mention the high jinks<sup>2</sup> which earned him the *sobriquet* of *Epimanés*. Antiochos Grypos followed suit<sup>3</sup>. And in later times the Olympic contests of Daphne obtained a wide celebrity<sup>4</sup>. Diocletian is said to have built a sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios* in the *Stádion* at Daphne—a statement of uncertain value<sup>5</sup>. Meantime in Antiocheia itself Commodus had built a temple of Zeus *Olympios* with an adjoining portico known as the *Xystón*<sup>6</sup>. Didius Iulianus had added a *Pléthron*<sup>7</sup>, which was later doubled in size by Argyrios and Phasganios<sup>8</sup>, and still further enlarged by Proklos<sup>9</sup>. 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 Saviour<sup>10</sup>.’

The earthquake was preceded by many thunderbolts and unusual winds<sup>11</sup>; and so severe was it that the tops of Mount Kasion were broken off and threatened destruction to the town below<sup>12</sup>. Finally, there was the ancient cult of Zeus

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 194 C—195 F and 439 B—D.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 195 F (= 439 D) ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὄλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο, ὡς εἰς ὧν δῆτα τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλομένης ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν. Was this sheer foolery, or the take-off of some resurrection-rite?

<sup>3</sup> Poseidonios of Apameia 28 *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 263 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 210 D—E and 540 A—B.

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 307 Dindorf ἔκτισε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σταδίῳ Δάφνης ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός, καὶ ἐν τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σταδίου ἔκτισεν 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.

<sup>6</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 283 Dindorf καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τὴν κάτω τοῦ Ξυστοῦ ἔκτισεν ἱερὸν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διί.

<sup>7</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 290 Dindorf Πλεθρίν.

<sup>8</sup> Liban. *or.* 10. 9 ff. (i. 2. 403, 22 ff. Foerster).

<sup>9</sup> Liban. *or.* 10. 1 ff. (i. 2. 401, 2 ff. Foerster).

<sup>10</sup> Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 275 Dindorf οἱ σωθέντες ἀνέστησαν Διὶ Σωτῆρι. 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) Σωτῆρι, which amounts to much the same thing.

<sup>11</sup> Dion. Cass. 68. 24.

<sup>12</sup> 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 hecatomb<sup>1</sup>. 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)<sup>2</sup>—sign and symbol of the Olympic sports that he held at Daphne<sup>3</sup>. 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 Zeus<sup>4</sup>. 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.)<sup>5</sup> and Antiochos viii Grypos (121—96 B.C.)<sup>6</sup>. Passing from the regal to the autonomous coinage of the town, we have coins struck for the *tetrápolis*<sup>7</sup> 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 type<sup>8</sup>, 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)<sup>9</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 763.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1188 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 56 pl. 17, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66 no. 65 f., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 765 f.

<sup>5</sup> *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 ♀ in exergue, Apollon seated on the *omphalós*, holding arrow and bow.

<sup>6</sup> *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 100 pl. 69, 20 obv. Head of Antiochos viii to right, diademed; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, with ♀ and ♂, Zeus enthroned to left, holding Nike with a wreath on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left.

<sup>7</sup> Strab. 749.

<sup>8</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 778.

<sup>9</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> 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)<sup>1</sup>. In imperial times the head of Zeus sometimes occupies the obverse (fig. 999)<sup>2</sup>, while his eagle in one guise or another very commonly fills the reverse<sup>3</sup>. We see the great bird grasping a thunderbolt<sup>4</sup>, or holding a wreath in his beak and a bay-branch in his talons<sup>5</sup>, 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)<sup>6</sup>, or again perched with wreath in beak on the thigh of an animal-victim (fig. 1001)<sup>7</sup>—altar and thigh alike recall the city's foundation-myth—<sup>8</sup>, or bestriding a bay-wreath with the three Charites in it (fig. 1002)<sup>9</sup>, or soaring beneath the imperial head (fig. 1003)<sup>10</sup>. Here and there

<sup>1</sup> *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.*<sup>2</sup> p. 778.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *chitón* and *himátion*, dropping a pebble into the voting-urn.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 158 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 148 ff., *Head Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 779 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 175 pl. 21, 9 Nero: ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΙΡ·Ι (year 112 of the Caesarean era, reckoned from 49 B.C.: see B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 312 n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 177 pl. 22, 2 Otho: ΕΤΟΥΣΑ (year 1 of the emperor's reign!).

<sup>6</sup> *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.).

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 192 pl. 23, 5 Marcus Aurelius: ΓΕΡΣΑΡΔΗ ΜΞΑΙ ΥΠΑ ΤΓ (=Γερμανικός Σαρματικός, δημαρχικής εξουσίας α', ύπατος γ').

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 1188.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 11 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡ Χ·ΕΞ·ΥΠΑ·Τ·Δ (=δημαρχικής εξουσίας, ύπατος τὸ δ').

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 12 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΞΥΠΑΤΟΚΤΟ Δ (=δημαρχικής εξουσίας, ύπατος 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 Nero<sup>1</sup>, Domitian<sup>2</sup>, and Nerva<sup>3</sup> are all invested with the *aigís*. 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 Diocletian<sup>4</sup> and Galerius<sup>5</sup> before him,

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 175 pl. 21, 9: ΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 182 pl. 22, 8: ΑΥΤΚΛΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 183 pl. 22, 9: ΑΥΤΝΕΡΟΝΑΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. On these coins of Domitian and Nerva the *aigís* 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.

<sup>4</sup> Eumenius *panegyri. Constantio Caesari* 4, *pro restaur. schol.* 10, 16, Lact. *de mortibus persecut.* 52, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 39. 18, 39. 33, 40. 1, 40. 8, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 621 Rome (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 254 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1047) Genio Iovii Aug., | Iovia porticu eius a fundamentis absoluta | exultaque, | etc., no. 623 Sirmium (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3231 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5560a = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1059) I. O. M. et | G. h. l. (= Genio huius loci) pro | salute dd. | nn. Iovio | et Herculio Augg. nn. (= dominorum nostrorum, Iovio et Herculio Augustis nostris), no. 634 Thessalonike Herculi Augusto | Iovius . . . . . (the words *et Herculus* have been erased) Augg. (e) t | 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 Herculii | religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares | sacrarium restituerunt.

A gold medallion of Diocletian and Maximianus, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. IOVIO ET HERCVLIO The two emperors pouring a libation over a tripod: in the field above, nude statues of Iupiter, with thunderbolt, and Hercules, with club, set on a garlanded altar. In exergue S M V R or S M T (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917 f., 932, Suppl. iii. 162, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> vi. 480 no. 7, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 487, Gneccchi *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 *himátion* 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.*<sup>2</sup> vi. 429 f. no. 142 fig., Gneccchi *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.*<sup>2</sup> vi. 443 no. 275 fig., Gneccchi *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., Gneccchi *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.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Licinius<sup>1</sup> and Licinius Iunior<sup>2</sup> after him, had assumed the title *Iovius*<sup>3</sup>—

‘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.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Paschale* (i. 512 Dindorf) 275 B Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰόβιος ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ, 275 C Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰοβίου Καίσαρος, 275 D Μαξιμιανὸς 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]u[s] 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 Cae[s]ar, vincas.

<sup>1</sup> 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 LICINIUS AVG. On this Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Chlorigi 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> 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 VIRTVTI) 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.*<sup>2</sup> vii. 210 f. nos. 1—3 with fig. of no. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 9. 1 bis Ἰόβιος Μαξιμίνος Σεβαστὸς Σαβίνω, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 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 *Panámoros* (*supra* i. 18 ff.) honouring a certain priest and priestess ἐφ’ ὧν ἱερωμένων καὶ | ἡ θεϊότης τοῦ δεσπότητος | ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἀηττήτου 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 Iupiter *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 Eusebios<sup>1</sup> 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 *χόanon*<sup>2</sup> 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 *χόanon* 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 *Philius* 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 *Philius*<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 1004.

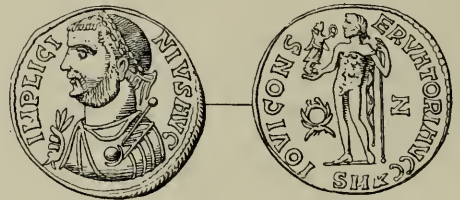


Fig. 1005.



Fig. 1006.



Fig. 1007.

*Monn. emp. rom.*<sup>2</sup> vii. 155 no. 134 fig., *Gnecchi 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.*<sup>2</sup> vii. 155 no. 135, *Gnecchi 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.*<sup>2</sup> vii. 153 no. 130 fig.).

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 11. 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> For the implications of this term see now an excellent paper by Miss F. M. Bennett ‘A study of the word  $\Xi\text{OANON}$ ’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 8—21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ioul. misopog.* p. 446, 10 ff. Hertlein ἡ Σύρων ἤκει ρουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθὶς εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοιμος ἐορτῇ, 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 καῖσαρος, ἐξὸν ἅπαξ ἢ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *Liban. or.* 1. 122 (i. 1. 141, 19 ff. Foerster) ἤκε δὲ ποτε εἰς Διὸς Φιλίου θύσων κ.τ.λ.



Again, Libanios the Antiochene, when petitioning Theodosios to protect the pagan temples against the depredations of the Christian monks (384<sup>1</sup> A.D.), expressly notes that certain temples—those of Tyche, Zeus, Athena, and Dionysos—are still untouched<sup>2</sup>.

Antiocheia was a city where Christians and pagans jostled each other in the street<sup>3</sup>; 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 *Phílios*. Indeed, between the two rival cults there was a certain superficial resemblance. On the one hand, Zeus *Phílios* was a god of love, who brought even enemies together<sup>4</sup>, encouraged love-feasts among the faithful here, and held out hopes of a celestial banquet hereafter<sup>5</sup>. If his initiations and purifications<sup>6</sup> 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 Dionysos<sup>7</sup>. 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 cathedral<sup>8</sup>, it is clear that we have to do with a church-treasure

<sup>1</sup> Libanios ed. R. Foerster iii. 80 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Liban. *or.* 30. 51 (iii. 116, 1 ff. Foerster) *εἰπέ μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο σῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου; ἀρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν αὐτὰ μένειν; οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν.*

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1176 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1161 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1186.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* i. 234 n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> 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 times<sup>1</sup>. 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 Eisen<sup>2</sup>, formerly Curator of the California University Academy of Sciences.

The chalice stands 0·19<sup>m</sup> in height and measured originally about 0·15<sup>m</sup> 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.'

<sup>1</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Chalice of Antioch.



*b*

*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 dove<sup>1</sup>. His right arm is extended<sup>2</sup>; his left, which is missing, may have held a roll<sup>3</sup>. Beneath his footstool an eagle with spread wings rests upon a basket of fruit<sup>4</sup>. 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 all<sup>5</sup>, 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.

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'over his head soars the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.'

<sup>2</sup> *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 ( $\frac{6}{1}$ ) 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.

<sup>3</sup> As on the reverse side of the chalice.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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 (?)<sup>1</sup>. Finally, the upper part of the shell is encircled by a narrow strip of thin silver, to which are attached fifty-eight rosettes<sup>2</sup>.

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 emblems<sup>3</sup>, which—if they can be deciphered—may help to show how the seated figures were interpreted<sup>4</sup> at some doubtful date before the final gilding.

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> In his initial publication of the chalice Dr Eisen held that its twelve figures portray Christ in older and younger form together with ten of his Apostles. He noted also the suggestion that they are the Baptist with the Lamb at his side, and Christ with ten Apostles. But the number ten was hard to justify; and careful study of the features of each portrait led to the conviction that figures 1 and 8 are related, that figures 2 and 5 possess much in common, and that the heads of figures 10 and 11 are quite different in formation from the rest. Satisfied that the two central figures 1 and 8 are indeed Christ as a man and Christ as a youth, Dr Eisen next observed that 2 closely resembles St Peter as portrayed in the Catacombs (J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 94) and in the Viale Manzoni Hypogeum at Rome (*Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 123 ff.)—an identification seemingly confirmed by the discovery on seat 2 of the *graffito* representing two crossed bars or keys. The identity of the other figures remained doubtful till it was remarked that no. 6, unlike the rest, has a band round his head but no side-lock of hair. This suggested a Greek as distinct from a Jew, and in that case he must necessarily be St Luke. But, if so, the figures are not all Apostles. Those grouped with St Luke may then be St Matthew (9), St Mark (7), and St John (10). At this point again *graffiti* were helpful. Tradition said that St Mark had been a water-carrier (Alexandros Monachos (s. vi A.D.) *laudatio S. Barnabae Apost.* 1. 13 in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1698 Junius ii. 440D λόγος γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γερόντων ὅτι ὁ τὸ κεράμιον βαστάζων τοῦ ὕδατος, ᾧ κατακολουθήσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, Μάρκος ἦν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μακαρίας Μαρίας, Severus Bishop of El-Eschmounein in Upper Egypt *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* trans. B. T. A. Evetts Paris 1907 1. 1 p. 17 in the *Patrologia Orientalis* i. 139 'And he (*sc.* Mark) was among the servants who poured out the water which our Lord turned into wine, at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. And it was he who carried the jar of water into the house of Simon the Cyrenian, at the time of the sacramental Supper'); and on his chair is scratched a water-jar. St Matthew sat at the receipt of custom; his *graffito* is an archway with a circle above it, presumably the city-gate with a coin in evidence. St Luke, as a physician, has for his emblem an obvious



Fig. 1008.



To determine the date of the chalice is a task of primary importance. Sound criticism will rely, not on any *à priori* notions as to what the early Church could or could not have done, but on definite considerations of shape, *technique*, style, and subject.

Now the outer shell or container is essentially an ovoid bowl, without handles, supported on a round knob with a low and narrow foot-stand. A cup so constructed suffers from one obvious defect. It is top-heavy and would be easily upset. Such a shape could hardly have been popular for long together. Nor was it. Bronze coins of uncertain denomination struck by Simon Maccabaeus in 136/5 B.C. have for reverse type a closely similar chalice with knob, short stem, and small foot<sup>1</sup>. 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 foot<sup>2</sup>. Coins of the Second Revolt in 132—135 A.D. substitute either a one-handled jug<sup>3</sup> or a two-handled *amphora*<sup>4</sup>, 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 work<sup>5</sup>. And silver cups of a like pattern depicted in frescoes from Herculaneum<sup>6</sup>

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 σινδόνας). These are the main arguments advanced by Dr Eisen, whose proposed identifications may be conveniently shown in tabular form :

Front	{	(12) James the Brother of the Lord	(1) CHRIST as Man	(4) Jude		(6) Luke	(8) CHRIST as Boy	(10) John	}	Back
		(2) Peter	(3) Paul	(5) Andrew		(7) Mark	(9) Matthew	(11) James the Son of Zebedee		

Dr G. H. Rendall in a letter to me (Feb. 16, 1924) very pertinently suggests that 5 may be, not St Andrew, but St Barnabas, whose association with Antioch was most intimate. Accepting the attribution of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to St Barnabas, Dr Rendall points out that we should thus have represented on the chalice the whole canon of the New Testament [*plus* James, son of Zebedee]. His shrewd conjecture of course postulates a date at which the canon was complete. But I see no difficulty in supposing that, at the time when the *graffiti* were added, those who added them believed the ten seated figures to include portraits of all the New-Testament writers.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* p. 185 ff. pl. 20, 11—14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 269 ff. pl. 30, 1—9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 288 ff. pl. 33, 5 f., 9 f., 14 f., pl. 34, 4—10, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 303 f. pl. 35, 14, pl. 36, 1—3, p. 306 pl. 36, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Miss G. M. A. Richter in *Art in America* 1918 vi. 171 ff. with pl., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 349 f. fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Antichità di Ercolano Napoli* 1760 ii (Pitture ii) p. 287 (= Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iv Peintures 3<sup>e</sup> 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 knop, is a glass vessel in another painting from Herculaneum<sup>1</sup>. 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.'<sup>3</sup>

The *technique* of the chalice is compatible with the same early date. Knop, stem, and foot are chased in solid silver—a procedure somewhat uncommon, but known to occur in Graeco-Roman times<sup>4</sup>. 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 seventies<sup>5</sup>. 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 holder<sup>6</sup>. 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 amend<sup>7</sup>. But many months ago Dr Minns suggested to me that very likely the inner bowl

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* ii p. 111 a glass goblet full of eggs.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 1, 172, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> 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?

<sup>4</sup> 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*<sup>4</sup> Leipzig 1884 p. 624 f. figs. *b, c*, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 411 no. 25301 fig. 93).

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 94 *interrasili auro*, 33. 140 *interradimus alia*.

<sup>6</sup> 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).

<sup>7</sup> 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 make<sup>1</sup>. 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 Petrograd<sup>2</sup>. 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 Museum<sup>3</sup>. 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 inscriptions<sup>4</sup>. 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 Copenhagen<sup>5</sup>. 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 work<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.'

<sup>2</sup> L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1872 p. 143 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 and 2 (in colours), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 808 fig. 981, H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 405 n. 1, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 ii. 602 ff. with figs. 208, 208a.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 327 pl. 87, 1—4, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 602 with figs. 335, 335 a, 335 b.

<sup>4</sup> (a) DOMITILLAE | STATILIO CONIVGI, (b) SALVS | GEN · HVM. Below the foot is an inscription in relief: (c) · FM · AVG . Clearly (a) and (b) are later than (c).

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> Witness the wave-pattern round its rim, broken by the single word ΕΥΤΥΧΩC.

first century, or earlier<sup>1</sup>. Kisa goes further and claims that already in Ptolemaic times craftsmen had begun to cover glass cups with gold and silver<sup>2</sup>. How else are we to understand Athenaios' statement that 'two glass vessels of open-work gold' were carried in the pageant of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos<sup>3</sup>? 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.'<sup>4</sup> The vines, though not so purely naturalistic as those of the Augustan age<sup>5</sup>, are as yet untouched by the incipient stylisation of the third century<sup>6</sup> and show little, if any, trace of that formality which as time went on became more and more marked<sup>7</sup> till it culminated in the Coptic art of the sixth century<sup>8</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.* ii. 600.

<sup>3</sup> Kallixenos of Rhodes *περι 'Αλεξανδρείας* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 62 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 199 F *ἴαλινα διάχρυσα δύο*.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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).

<sup>6</sup> 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).

<sup>7</sup> *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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.



branches<sup>1</sup>, on the other hand, the vine-scroll in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, where again birds are seen among the vine-leaves<sup>2</sup>. The cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina is believed to go back to Apostolic times<sup>3</sup>, while that of Praetextatus on the Via Appia is referred to the second century<sup>4</sup>. 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 notes<sup>5</sup>, reminiscent of a well-known Scopaic type. The other seated persons are at least to some extent individualised<sup>6</sup> 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 scale<sup>6</sup>. 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. Burkitt<sup>7</sup> and Sir Martin Conway<sup>8</sup>, who both aptly cite a gilded glass or *fondo d'oro* published by Garrucci (fig. 10c9)<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.<sup>1</sup> J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 73 with fig. 10 (ed.<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. de Rossi *op. cit.* ed.<sup>1</sup> p. 78 with fig. 12 (ed.<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 65 f., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 127 f.

<sup>5</sup> G. A. Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 416, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 63 ff., 74.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 253 f.

<sup>8</sup> In *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109).

<sup>9</sup> R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma* Roma 1858 p. 40f. 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 more<sup>1</sup> 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 century<sup>2</sup>. The glass itself is assigned to the age of Pope Damasus (366—384 A.D.)<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 1009.

But the makers of these gilded glasses often gave new names to old designs, and Prof. Burkitt<sup>4</sup> 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 assessors<sup>5</sup>.

It is clear that we have here one element in the design of the Antioch chalice. But that is not all. Prof. Burkitt<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Originally, perhaps, ten: the glass is broken away to right and left.

<sup>2</sup> Timotheus was martyred in 301 (?), Sustus *i.e.* Xystus (Sixtus ii) in 258 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> H. Vopel *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser* Freiburg i. B. 1899 p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Vopel *op. cit.* p. 58 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 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

<sup>6</sup> 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 Ravenna<sup>1</sup>. 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 Orpheus<sup>2</sup>. 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 hand<sup>3</sup>. 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 Shepherd<sup>4</sup>. 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 familiar<sup>5</sup>. 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 Shepherd<sup>6</sup>. Dr Eisen<sup>7</sup> remarks that the central figure

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.<sup>1</sup> J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 373 col. pl. 11, 2 (ed.<sup>2</sup> 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).

<sup>3</sup> 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.' [!]

<sup>4</sup> 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, patrocina bitur pastor quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et moechiae asyllum post calicem subsecuturæ, de quo nihil libentius libas quam ovem paenitentiae secundae (cp. *ib.* 13).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1186 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The seated Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia 'is clothed in imperial purple' (W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 331).

<sup>7</sup> 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 Reale<sup>1</sup>. He notes also that on this toreutic triumph, as on the chalice of Antioch, the central figure appears twice—once seated to receive the submission of the barbaric Germans, once enthroned amid the gods as master of the universe. I submit that the artist of the chalice has given to Christ the aspect and position of a divinised emperor<sup>2</sup>. Now Roman emperors were often acclaimed by Greek adulation as Zeus incarnate<sup>3</sup>; and a bust of Zeus, referred to the first or second century A.D., is supported on an eagle with spread wings<sup>4</sup>. 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 it<sup>5</sup>. 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 Zeus<sup>6</sup>.

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 Gospel<sup>7</sup>: '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

<sup>1</sup> A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Mon. Piot* 1899 v. 133 ff. pls. 31—33 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 92 no. 2 f., 93 no. 1 f., 94 no. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> For a later variation on the same theme see the well-known ivory *pyxis* at Berlin (R. Garrucci *op. cit.* vi. 60 pl. 440, 1, L. von Sybel *op. cit.* ii. 253 fig. 77, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* pp. 366, 552 fig. 142), which likewise has Christ seated *en face* on a round-backed throne, with a roll in his hand and a footstool at his feet. He is flanked by two seated Apostles (St Peter and St Paul), who raise their hands in salutation. The other ten stand to right and left of him.

The position assigned to the two foremost Apostles suits their 'Dioscuric' character (*supra* p. 606). Zeus is supported by the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 fig. 8, ii. 1230 tail-piece); Christ, by St Peter and St Paul (*supra* i. 51 fig. 24, ii. 1207 fig. 1009).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. the examples that I collected in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 951 n. 0 with fig. 844.

<sup>5</sup> *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).

<sup>6</sup> 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.'

<sup>7</sup> Matthew 25. 31 f. Aischylos long since had made Agamemnon, his divine ruler, an ἀγαθὸς προβατογνάμων (*Ag.* 795).



in the midst of his trusty followers is, to those at least who have in mind the coinage of Lydia and Kilikia<sup>1</sup>, 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.<sup>2</sup>; that it was then adorned with figures of Christ sitting in Judgment with the Saints<sup>3</sup>, ten in number merely because ten was a typical plurality<sup>4</sup>; 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 Testament<sup>5</sup>. 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 Dionysos<sup>6</sup>. 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'<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* i. 152 f. figs. 125—128, i. 646 f.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Strzygowski, after personal inspection of the chalice and prolonged study of its detail, refers it to the first century A.D. (J. Strzygowski 'Der "Silberkelch von Antiochia"' in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* 1924 pp. 53—61 pl. 28 f., especially p. 61). But when he attributes the Berlin *pyxís* also to the first century (*ib.* p. 59), we part company.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1207.

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1200 n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1209 f.

<sup>7</sup> 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 Arqueologico 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 ὀμιλητῶν ἄριστον πρὸς μυστηριώδη τινα σιωπὴν καὶ ἱεροφαντικὴν ἐχεμυθίαν ἐπιρρηπὲς 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 ἐρρέθη, δίχα νέφους βροντή. ἄλλως δὲ διὰ τὸ πᾶν τέρας ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς ἐκεῖνον, καθὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὀμφήν· διὸ καὶ πανομφαῖος ἐλέγετο Ζεὺς. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 369.

ii. 32. The relief of Zeus Κραταιβάτης 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 *σειρὴν 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 ῥιον 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<sup>recto</sup>): '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 νέκυας μοῖραν καταλύσας | καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβαῶθ Ἀδωναῖος ὑψικέρανος | ἐς θρόνον οὐράμιον [τε] μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πῆξῃ, | ἤξει 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  $\perp\text{EY}\Sigma$ .

ii. 50 ff. F. Haug 'Die Irminsul' in *Germania* 1918 ii. 68—72 contends that there was but one *Irminsul*, that of Eresburg, probably a huge oak-tree lopped of its boughs but still rooted in the ground, till it was destroyed by Charles the Great in 772 A.D. Haug makes light of Widukind's evidence for a second *Irminsul* at Scheidungen, and gives short shrift to the view of Müllenhoff and Mogk that there were several or even many such pillars. He regards the first element in the name as either adjectival ('mächtige, starke, erhabene Säule') or substantival ('für *Irmin(e)ssul*, d. h. Säule des Gottes oder Halbgottes Irmin').

ii. 50 n. 2. C. Petersen 'Zioter (Zeter) oder Tiodute (Jodute), der Gott des Kriegs und des Rechts bei den Deutschen' in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 1866 vi. 223—342 must be read with caution.

ii. 51 n. 5. Mr B. Dickins has sent me the following notes in criticism (Oct. 8, 1920) of the view advocated by J. Grimm, K. Simrock, and others:—

'The evidence on which this view is based appears to be as follows:

(a) *Stephens, No. 5*, taken from Hickes' edition of the A.S. Runic Poem, which glosses  $\Upsilon$  as both *ear* and *tir*: this poem was however derived from the burnt Cott. Otho B. 10, which seems to have had the characters but no names, the latter being added by Hickes from

(b) *Stephens, No. 9*, taken from Cott. Dom. A. 9, the writer or copyist of which was an ignorant person who confused  $\Upsilon$  and  $\uparrow$  as he had previously failed to distinguish between the names of  $\mathfrak{N}$  and  $\mathfrak{M}$ .

(c) *Stephens, No. 10*, taken from St Gall, 4to, No. 270, p. 52, which gives the value and name of  $\Upsilon$  as *z* and *aer* respectively. This is a pretty faithful copy of the A.S. 28 letter futhorc only partially assimilated to the phonology of O.H.G.; e.g. *þ* is still preserved, though its name has become *dorn*, and  $\uparrow$  retains the name *ti* and the value *t*, though the name and value of  $\mathfrak{N}$  have become *tag* and *t*.

Later a more drastic attempt is made to harmonize the Latin alphabet, the English futhorc and the sounds of O.H.G. *þ* disappears, though its name *þorn* in the form *dorn* is attached to  $\mathfrak{N}$ ; the A.S. name of  $\mathfrak{N}$  (*dæg*) is changed to *tac* and attached to  $\uparrow$ , while  $\Upsilon$ , 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  $\Upsilon$  with the god *Ziu* is quite fortuitous, for the following reasons:—

(1) The use of  $\Upsilon$  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)  $\Upsilon$  is a specifically English letter invented to represent the *ǣ* 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  $\Psi$  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  $\Upsilon$  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  $\Upsilon$  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  $\beta$  and the appearance of a new sound *z* [ts]. The disappearance of  $\beta$  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*.  $\Upsilon$  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 snaky legs.

ii. 90. Mr C. D. Bicknell notes a second example—*British Museum: A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* London 1922 p. 20 f. fig. 10 'Half of a stone octagon, with reliefs in niches of the deities presiding over the days of the week, was found by Horsley in the mill at Chesterford, Essex, where it had been used by the local blacksmith as a water-trough for cooling his iron.'

ii. 90. The 'Jupiter-column' had a long history in front of it as well as behind it—witness the sacred pillars revered by thousands today in France and Spain. Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Pillar and the Maiden' in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 1907 v. 65—77 has drawn attention to the cult of La Vierge du Pilier at Chartres and to the multiplied pillar-shrines of her Cathedral (bibliography by U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Montbéliard 1895 p. 661 ff.). Similarly at Zaragoza the Apostle James (Santiago) built a chapel on the spot where he had seen a vision of the Virgin poised on a pillar of jasper and attended by angels (A. F. Calvert *Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila, & Zaragoza* London 1908 p. 158 ff. with pls. 348 and 349 Our Lady del Pilar).

ii. 93 ff. The Column of Mayence continues to provoke discussion. To the bibliography (ii. 93 n. 3) add F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule von Mainz' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1913 vi. 49—53, K. Körber *Die grosse Jupitersäule im Altertumsmuseum der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1915 pp. 1—28 with 10 pls. and 9 figs. (reviewed by K. Wigand in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 47 f.), F. Drexel 'Zur Mainzer Jupitersäule' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 67—69, F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule in Mainz' in *Germania* 1917 i. 43—45, *id.* *Die Jupiter-Säule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1918 pp. 1—236 with many figs. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 28—32, J. P. Waltzing in *Le Musée Belge* 1921 xxv. 221—226, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 141), F. Quilling *Die Nerosäule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—32 with 2 figs. ('Nachtrag' to the 1918 volume by the same author), *id.* *Die Jupiter-Votivsäule der Mainzer Canabarii. Eine neue Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes* Frankfurt 1919 pp. 1—16 with figs. and 2 pls. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 127 f.).

Of points made since my section on the subject (*supra* p. 93 ff.) was written the most important is the discovery by P. T. Kessler, assistant of the Mayence Museum, that two



drums of the column have hitherto been incorrectly placed. Kessler observed that in its first, fourth, and fifth drums the run-holes for lead ('Gussrinnen') were contrived at the back of the shaft. If the same rule was followed for the second and third drums, we must suppose that their front figures were Volcanus and the goddess with the scales. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that a lance-tip carved beneath Ceres' altar on the lower edge of the second drum is now seen to be the point of Neptunus' staff on the first drum—an adjustment further certified by an incised mark ('Versatzmarke') on the two adjacent edges. Another mark above the helmet of Virtus on the second drum is likewise found to fit on to its prolongation below the figure of Pax on the third drum. The whole rearrangement may be set out as follows:

SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO <i>Regina</i>	Luna		Sol
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar
	VENVS	Pax	Iuno <i>Sancta</i>	VESTA
	VOLCANVS	Virtus	CERES	Honos
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS
	UPPER PLINTH	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO
LOWER PLINTH	IVPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia (?)	Hercules	MINERVA and Fortuna
	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE

Quilling now maintains that the entire monument refers to its dedicators, the Canabarii. Virtus and Honos are (as Maass suggested) personifications of Mayence and Castel. Victoria between Mars and Neptunus denotes the success of the fourteenth legion, formerly stationed at Mayence, over the British Boudicca in 61 A.D. Volcanus is there to avert the risk of fire from the corn-ears of Ceres, who represents the harbour-quarter. The goddess with the scales is the patron of Mayence market. She that sets foot on the cow's head and she that has the horse (?) stand for cattle-breeding. Pax is for petty trade. The Genius Neronis becomes the Genius Canabensium. Apollo hails from the Vicus Apollinensis. Etc., etc. But Quilling's views succeed one another at such a pace that the foregoing identifications are, for aught I know, already superannuated.

ii. 97 n. o. H. Mattingly in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1920 x. 38 described an *aureus* of Nero, which has *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter enthroned to left with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left—a thin disguise for the emperor himself. Mr Mattingly supposed that this coin was struck at Corinth (?) in 67 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. i pp. clxxxiii f., 214 no. 110 pl. 40, 15), but he is careful to state that its authenticity has been very seriously questioned (*ib.* p. clxxxiv n. 1). Coppers of Patrai, issued under Nero, show *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter, nude, standing to left with an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> 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 Ἐλαφόςτικτος (*Lys. or.* 13. 19 Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφόςτικτου 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 ascenderent, 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 s. 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 Autissiodorense 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, amoenitate 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 idololatricae 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 a consuetudine male arrepta discederet, verum & ipsam arborem, ne Christianis offendiculum esset, radicitus extirparet. Sed ille nullatenus aurem 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 trophei cujusdam certaminis umbram dependentia ostentabant, longius a civitatis terminis projici praecipit. Protinus autem [aliquis], gressus suos ad aures saepedicti 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*<sup>2</sup> 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 *omphalós* 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  $\square$  upon it is clear as are  $\wedge\Delta$ ; but the *sigma* of  $\wedge\Delta Z$  is so mutilated by a large fracture in the stone that it might be almost any letter.'

ii. 176 n. i. 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.  $\epsilon\phi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ [\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma]\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{'}\text{Απόλλων Πύθιος και Λατώ και } \text{'}\text{Αρτεμ[ις και] } \text{'}\text{Εστία και πύρ άθάνατον και θεοί πά[ν]τες και πάσαι κακίστωι δλέθρωι τήν} | \text{ } \text{'}\text{σωτηρίαν μοι [άφέλωσι]ν, κ.τ.λ.$

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 άνθοτρόφον | Θέμυν τ' εύπλόκαμον θεάν* (G. Colin in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2. 213 ff. no. 191, 18 f.).

ii. 176 n. 2. W. H. Roscher 'Die Bedeutung des E zu Delphi und die übrigen γράμματα Δελφικά' in *Philologus* 1900 lix. 21—41 labours to prove that the mystic  $\epsilon\lambda$  is for *πρόσει, εἶσει*, "komm her" oder "Willkommen." This, to my mind, is quite impossible Greek.

ii. 190 n. o. Further references for the history of *rhytá* are given by F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 106—109.

ii. 193. On the evolution of the tripod see now K. Schwendemann 'Der Dreifuss' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1921 xxxvi. 98—185 with figs. 1—30. *Id. ib.* p. 183 f. discusses the relation of the tripod to Zeus on vases and coins.

ii. 193 n. 2. Cp. the twelfth-century fonts at Winchester etc. (C. H. Eden *Black Tournai Fonts in England* London 1909 pp. 1—32 with good plates), which in appearance at least perpetuate this ancient form of libation-table.

ii. 195 n. 1. A. Furtwängler 'Zum platäischen Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 413—417 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 477) figures the upper surface of the highest extant step of the Plataean tripod, and explains three symmetrically arranged slots in it as due to tenons which passed through the top step of the base and thus tethered the tripod-feet to the second step. If so, we must suppose that the legs of the tripod were drawn somewhat closer together than I have placed them (*supra* p. 194 fig. 134). Furtwängler's inference, however, is not quite secure, since the serpent-coil, which he too takes to have been the central support of the caldron, has left no trace whatever on the second step. It may be that the three slots in question served merely for dowels fastening this step to the one above it, in which serpent-coil and legs were alike embedded.

*Re* the Plataean tripod see now R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 234 f., 380.

ii. 208 f. In this connexion Miss H. Richardson of Newnham College drew my attention (Oct. 24, 1924) to Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 22 566 D  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \delta\prime\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \tau\omicron\ \phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\rho\iota\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma,\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon,\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\pi\omega\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron-$

μενον εις τον Παρνασον· και προθυμούμενος ιδειν ουκ ειδεν υπο λαμπρότητος, αλλ' ηκουε παριων φωνην οξειαν γυναικός εν μετρω φράζουσαν αλλα τε τινα και χρονον, ως εουκε, της εκεινου τελευτης. 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 *kýlix* from *Cervetri*, p. 61 fig. 3 bronze *kýathos* 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 *z*," or whether, as is perhaps more probable, a change of *d* to the voiced dental spirant *z* took place over the whole Illyrian—Thracian—Phrygian language area. The disappearance of intervocalic digamma may be due to conscrisious assimilation by Greek transcribers to Gk. *Δία*, *Δίος*, 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. *Zḗn*, Lat. *diem*).

The first part of the compound adapts itself with surprising regularity to the root given by Brugmann as *\*kēzā*, which appears with varying ablaut in Skt. *čāviṣṭhas*, *čvātrās*, *čvāyati*, *čvras*, Gk. *κύος*, *κύρος* and Bœotian *τὰ ππάματα*. 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. *kāvis*, Gk. *κοέω*, 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 *tʃ* (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 *\*zuis*, a proper name *Plazet* with genitive *Plaxtas*; Lyc. *sättäre*, "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 *Sauadaī* or *Saboi*, whose connection with the god seems obvious, as his "wise ones" or "seers."

The former of these two etymologies is perhaps the more straightforward; but there is no real barrier to the second (though it would scarcely have been possible apart from the evidence of the Messapian and Lycian inscriptions). In either case the *beta* represents a *v*-sound, as the alternative forms (*Sauazios*, *Sauazios*, *Saoazios*, *Savazios*, *Sabadios*) make clear, and this derives almost certainly from an earlier *u*. The *a* of the first syllable, whether it represent older *e* or *o*, is assimilated to the following *a*, a practice which seems regular in Illyrian and Thracian (cf., for example, *Delminium* but *Dalmatae*, *-poris* but *-para*). Thus the former etymology would give us *Savađios*, the latter *Tʃavađios*.

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 *Δειει Σαβαζιω(ι) --- | κατ' ευχην Μο --- | του γεγονότος --- | εν Δηλω ΑΙΛ[ίου?] ---*. See also P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 276 n. 7.

ii. 285 n. 0 no. (3). The relief from Philadelphia (*Ala-Shehir*) in Lydia, hitherto incorrectly described, is figured from a photograph (= my fig. 1011) by J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 84 no. 2. A bearded man standing erect, in *chiton* and *himation*, holds



his garment with his left hand. With his right hand he pours a libation from a *phiale* into a *kratér*, set on the ground, about which two snakes are twined, apparently drinking out



Fig. 1011.

of it. Behind the *kratér* is seen a tree (oak ??), from which a snake lowers itself towards the *phiale*.

ii. 290 n. o. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Funereal Figures in Egypt' in *Ancient Egypt* 1916 pp. 151—162 draws attention to the existing African custom of treasuring in the family the head of the deceased father and uses it to elucidate certain sepulchral practices of the ancient Egyptians. He shows that in many burials of prehistoric times the head was removed and later replaced in the grave, if not lost or buried elsewhere; that in tomb-shafts of the fourth dynasty a stone image of the head was provided in case the actual head should be lost or injured; that at the break-up of the Old Kingdom a stone image of the mummy came into vogue; and that the addition of hands, arms, etc. led on to the fully developed *ushabti* figures of the seventeenth and following dynasties.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 303 notes relevant facts in the Scandinavian area.

ii. 295 n. 1. On "Αδαμνα = "Αττις see now W. Vollgraff 'De voce thracia ἀδαπταις' in *Annosyne* 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 *κυνάκτας* J. Alberti rightly conjectured *διδόμενοι* for *διδόμενου*. 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 (*βοὺς μέγας*) may help to clear up an obscure epigram of Kallimachos—'οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμνων ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἠδὼν | βούλει, Πελλαίου βοὺς μέγας εἰν' Αἰδῆ' (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 *pétasos* 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 pendeant 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*<sup>3</sup> London 1883 ii. 345—358, J. Martha *L'Art Étrusque* Paris 1889 p. 206 ff., Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*<sup>2</sup> 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 ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν πλήθους ἐστὶ δαιμόνων ἀμόθητον καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ἀποσεμννόμενον τῶν ἡγουμένων θεῶν. 'Ἀπόλλωνες γὰρ καὶ Δίες καὶ Διέρμαι καλοῦμενοι χαίρουσιν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν ἀποτυπώμενοι).

ii. 397 n. ο. R. B. Onians in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 5 takes Zeus 'Ἡλακατεύς to mean Zeus 'of the Spindle,' who spins the thread of fate (cp. *Od.* 4. 207 f. βρεία δ' ἀρίγνωτος γόνος ἀνέρος ᾧ τε Κρονίων | ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντί τε γεινομένῳ 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 Bakaïri 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 *kiškanû* is not a common plant, and is rarely, if ever, used in the medical texts. Yet there are three kinds of it—*šalmu*, *pišû*, and *samu*—black, white, and red? (or yellow). I doubt it being the *astragalus* now. I looked about always in Mesopotamia 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 "Ἀπελλον, 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. Rendel Harris, who comments: 'He should have added that, with the second syllable unstressed, it was easy to explain the Thessalian "Ἀπλων' (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 *statêr* 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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* (γ) and *k* (κ), *d* (δ) and *t* (τ), *b* (β) and *p* (π) are interchangeable: for references and examples see my article on "Apollo and the Apple" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1922 vii. 138—140. I have in this article tried to show that in respect of the sets of stops which are *fortes* or *lenes* there is a probability of the Illyrian dialects agreeing with Latin rather than Greek. If then, as I have ventured to surmise, the god's name were borrowed by the Greeks from an Illyrian dialect, in which the form had a voiced stop and was connected with the stem meaning "apple," which runs through the northern languages and appears probably in the name of *Abella* in Campania, the unvoicing of the stop in transmission, that is to say, the change from *b* to *p*, need cause us no surprise. The suggestion is somewhat strengthened by the occurrence of the proper names *Abellio* (dat. *Abellioni*) in an inscription from Salona on the Dalmatian coast (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2169, 3) and *Abello* (gen. *Abellonis*) in another from Mursa in Pannonia Inferior (*ib.* iii no. 10271, 3).'

ii. 496 n. o. On Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας as worshipped by the Phrouroi (originally conservators of a particular stretch of the Sacred Way?) see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 90 n. 7.

ii. 498 n. 2: 'Has it been noticed etc.?' The answer is, Yes. See Campbell Bonner in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1900 xxi. 433—437.

ii. 500 f. I have doubted, and still doubt, Artemis' northern *provenance*. But see, on the other side, an interesting paper by Mr J. Whatmough 'Inscribed fragments of stags-horn from North Italy' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1921 xi. 245—253. He would equate 'Artemis, not only with Βριτόμαρτις (= Φριτόμαρτις), but also with *Rehtia* at Este and *Rit-* in Magrè.

ii. 542. W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 91 n. 2 interprets the problematic object between the horns of my fig. 415 f. as the sun between the peaks of an 'Erdsymbol' (mountains).

ii. 575 n. 4. The coin of Euromos that shows the local Zeus with a stag (cp. ii. 575 n. 1) suggests that Zeus has here replaced Artemis Ἐφεσία. Note that the similar Zeus on coins of Mylasa was, like Artemis at Ephesos (ii. 408 n. o), linked to the ground with fillets (ii. 574), and that the Zeus of Euromos is covered with dots, which may represent breasts (ii. 592 ff.).

ii. 578 n. 4. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 330 ff. no. 146, A 17 ff. ἵνα δὲ καὶ διαμνημονεύηται τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον καὶ τηρήται τὰ δεδογμένα, συντάξαν τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐψηφισμένα ἀναγράψαι ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας | τοῖς τε προειρημένοις θεοῖς καὶ τῆι Ἐστίαι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμεί, B 71 ff. ὅπως δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου | τίμια μνημονεύηται εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] | τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου. ἵνα δ[ε] | ἕκαστα γίνηται μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας, τὸμ μὲν στεφανηφόρον | μετὰ τοῦ ἱέρου τῆι Ἐστίαι θύσαι καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὸν τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου προσαγαγεῖν θυσίαν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι συνενεργεῖν | ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ἐψηφισμένα (in a treaty between Miletos and Mylasa, 209/8 B.C.).

ii. 583. E. W. Fay in the *Class. Quart.* 1917 xi. 215 derives Ποτ-ειδᾶφω 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.* ΚΡΙCΠEΙΝA AYΓOYCTA Bust of Crispina to right. *Rev.* ΣEYCCΠ A Λ[A]ΞOC AΦPOΔEICIC [E]ΩN 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 Ζῶβη (or Ζιῶβη) | 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, MIIERVÆ, etc.

ii. 625 n. 3. Mr A. J. B. Wace, lecturing to the Classical Society at Cambridge on Nov. 27, 1922, described how in the last season's 'dig' at Mykenai the British School had excavated various tombs outside the town. In the entrance to tomb no. 515 were found two seal-stones, dating from *s.* xv B.C., with an almost identical device. Above a stepped base stands a 'Minoan' goddess, flanked by a pair of lions erect upon their hind legs. On her head she supports a double axe, which rises from the centre of a couple of two-headed snakes connected by cross-bars—apparently a serpentine substitute for the more usual 'horns of consecration' (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 54 f. no. 762 pls. 6 and 7). Fig. 1014 is enlarged  $\frac{2}{3}$  from a cast supplied to me by the British Museum. The main difference between the two stones is that on this one the lions' tails curl upwards, on the other downwards. Mr Wace aptly drew attention to Hesych. *s. vv.* κύβηλις· μάχαιρα. ἀμεινον δὲ πέλεκυν, ὃ τὰς βοῦς καταβάλλουσι, κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι· κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς, and accordingly proposed to call the goddess Kybele (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 264 'Kybele or Rhea').



Fig. 1014.

ii. 632 n. 6. Add an axe of dark brown schist, decorated with zigzags and spirals and ending in the forepart of a lioness, found in a 'Middle Minoan iii' vase at Mallia (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1925 p. 23 f. fig.).

ii. 633 ff. The axes borne by Roman lictors may be illustrated from a fragmentary marble relief now affixed to a wall of the Cryptoporticus on the Palatine. Fig. 1015 is from a photograph taken by my friend and colleague Mr A. Munro, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. It will be observed that the haft of every axe is surmounted by a head (lion, man, ram).

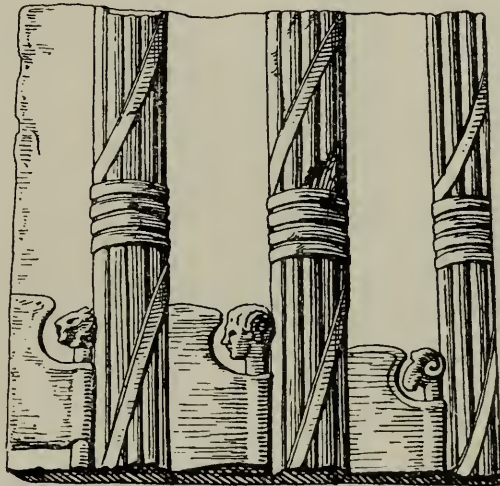


Fig. 1015.

The 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia takes its name from an iron double axe (0.27<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> high) is the archaic *koitros* 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.

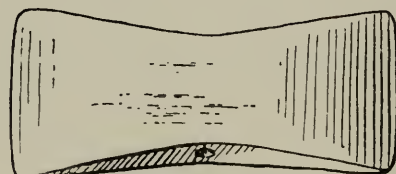


Fig. 1016.

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 *ἄωρ* 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.

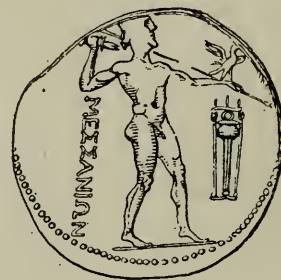
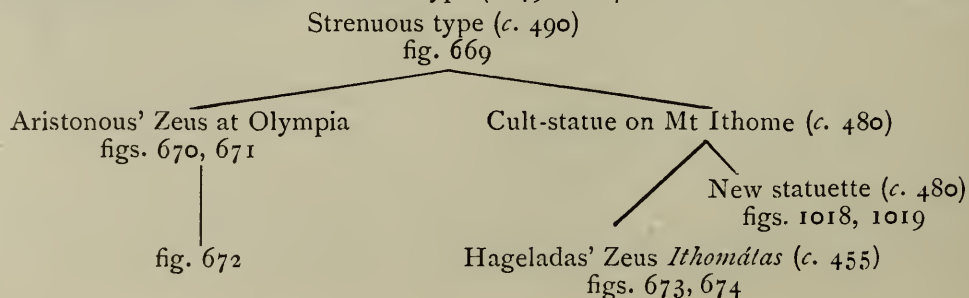


Fig. 1020.

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<sup>m</sup>; with base, 0.188<sup>m</sup>. 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-statuette 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<sup>me</sup> 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.

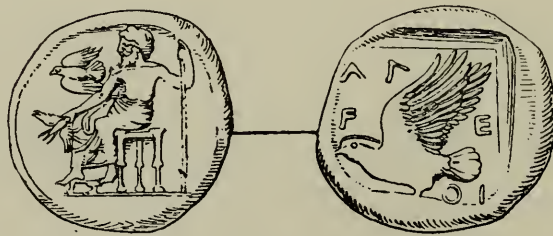


Fig. 1022.

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 fiorentina*) are hung up outside the windows as a charm against lightning. The plant in leaf, before being hung up, is taken to the church to be blessed by the priest.

ii. 798. Mrs A. Strong 'Treasure from Vatican Rubbish' in *The Illustrated London News* 1922 clxi. 380 fig. 1 (=my fig. 1023) publishes, among other fragments of sculpture



Fig. 1023.

found by W. Amelung in *magazzini* of the Vatican, a neo-Attic relief of s. i A.D., which shows 'a composite divinity, carrying the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon, and the sword of Ares, while behind him an eagle perches upon a large cornucopia.' See also S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 i. 176.

ii. 799 n. 2. A fine bronze trident, which can be converted at will into a bident, was found in the Tomba del Tridente at Vetulonia and is figured by Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1905 iii. 85 fig. 415 a, b.

ii. 800 n. 1. A photograph of this vase with the restorations removed is now published by H. Schaal *Griechische Vasen aus frankfurter Sammlungen* Frankfurt am Main 1923 pl. 30, a.

ii. 802. Mr E. J. Seltman kindly informs me (Aug. 24, 1923) that he has recently seen a terra cotta of the same questionable sort on sale at Naples. He describes it as being 'About 6 inches high, and 4 broad. Hollow. On the back, in the centre, a round boss with T.ΑΓ. On the front appear at the top, from left to right, the heads of Poseidon, Zeus, and Hades. Below [Zeus] is the thunderbolt, the trident below Poseidon, and below Hades his bidens. Underneath, an inscription of three short lines beginning DIS—.'

ii. 805 n. 6. For recent discussion of the three-bodied monster see A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 113—115.

ii. 807 n. 5 no. (3). V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 168 no. 8 publishes the following inscription from a marble block, hollowed out to serve as a trough, in the village of *el-qābūsīje* (Seleukeia Pieria): ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ προβουλή (perhaps a misreading of [ιε]ρ[ά] βουλή) Ω | [Γ]νάϊον Πομπήϊον Ζήνωνα, τὸν διὰ βί|ου νεωκῆρον τοῦ Νεικηφόρου Κεραυ[ν]ί|ου καὶ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ. with date ἔτους δς' = 95 or 155 A.D.

ii. 818. G. Kazarow 'Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au Dieu Thrace Zbelsourdos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 340 ff. adds two from the village *Golēmo-Sélo* in the district *Dupnitza*: (1) Κυρίω | θεῷ προ|γονικῷ Ζβελ|σούρδω Φλ. Ἀ|μάτοκος Φλ. Ἀ|[μ]ατόκου υἱὸς | εὐξά|[μ]ενος ἀ|νέθηκεν. (2) Τῷ κυρίω | Διὶ Ζβελ|σούρδω | ἀνέθηκεν | Τ. Φλα. Ἀμά|το[κ]ος Τ. | Φ[λ]. Ἀματόκου υἱός].

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt 'Der thrakische Gott Zbelsurdos' in *Klio* 1921 xvii. 283—285 notes also V. Dobrusky *Archäol. Bericht des bulgar. Nationalmuseums* 1907 i. 152 no. 203 an inscription from the village *Chatrovo* in the district *Dupnitza* Διὶ Ζβε[λ]|σούρδω | τῷ κυρίω Βε[λ]βαβρε|ηνοὶ κωμῆται | ἀνέθη|καν.



ii. 822 n. 13. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt *loc. cit.* proposes Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis *Zbelsurdi* fanum etc.

ii. 823. J. Whatmough 'The *Iovilae*-dedications from S. Maria di Capua' in the *Class. Quart.* 1922 xvi. 181—189 would connect them with the cult of Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of motherhood and procreation.

ii. 826 n. 3. With the gong at Dodona cp. those discussed by J. Jüthner 'Die Schelle im Thiasos' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1904 vii. 146—150.

ii. 837 n. 1. The Phrygian Zeus ἐξ αὐλῆς is hardly to be connected with Plat. *Axiōch.* 371 A—B εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον βούλει λόγον, ὃν ἐμοὶ ἠγγεῖλε Γωβρύης, ἀνὴρ μάγος· ἔφη κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον, πεμφθέντα εἰς Δῆλον, ... ἐκ τινῶν χαλκῶν δέλτων, ὧς ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων ἐκόμισαν Ὀπίς τε καὶ Ἑκαέργη, ἐκμεμαθηκέναι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀδηλον χωρεῖν τόπον, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον ὄκησιν, ἐν ἧ βασιλείᾳ Πλούτωνος οὐχ ἦττω τῆς τοῦ Διὸς αὐλῆς, ἅτε τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐχούσης τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ δὲ πόλου ὄντος σφαιροειδοῦς, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένερθεν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες.

ii. 869 n. 2. For Mt Pelion and its cults see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 41—43.

ii. 873 n. 2. Cp. Zeus Καραός of Akarnania (K. A. Rhomaios in the 'Αρχ. 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.*<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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. 40 f.

ii. 904 n. 4. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 46 f. describes Homolion and states that on its *akropolis* (233<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>m</sup> 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 [*Ἰουλιώσιος*?].

ii. 904 n. 6. H. Scheffel 'Eine antike Opferstätte auf dem Olymp' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 129 f. 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<sup>m</sup> high, i.e. c. 100<sup>m</sup> 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 (*κρηπταὶ περίπατοι*, cp. Athen. 206 A). 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. 50 f.

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 4 f. *fakmūt Hūdāns | Artēmuk vqbahēnt*, 'then him may Hūdāns and Artemis destroy.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 1 *Hūdān. Artimuñ daquve.st*, 'is sacred to Hūdāns and Artemis'(?).



no. 23 (inv. 7), 3 f. *Hūdāns Tavśas* | *Artimuk Ibśimsis 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 (LYKORH. *Al.* 459: *καταίθων θύσθλα Κωμύρω*, and TZETZES *ad loc.*), so one could probably have mentioned Hūdāns without the additional name *Tavśas*. The Old-Indian god Dyaus (*Dyāuś*) is the same as Zeus, and since *t* in Lydian often takes the place of *d*, *Tavśas* might represent *D(y)avś-as*, and this would be very similar to Dyaus. In the big stele (No. [23]) sacred to *Hūdāns* and *Artemis*, the god mentioned before Artemis must be an important one. We know that Zeus' temple shared the precinct of Artemis at Sardis, that Tmolos disputed with Crete the honor of Zeus' birthplace, that Zeus was very important in Lydia, being mentioned and depicted on coins of Sardis and many other towns, in short that next to Artemis he was by far the most important local deity.... The termination of *Hūdāns* does not seem to be found in any other Lydian adjective denoting origin, but we cannot be sure that it is not a possible form, and it certainly suggests the Greek termination *Σαρδι-ανός*, or *-ηνός*. Or perhaps *Hūdāns* is no adjective, but the original name of the Lydian Zeus.'

*Id. ib.* vi. 2. 11 and 44 retains *Tavśas*=Ζεῦσις (Hesych. *s.v.* *Μηδινεύς* cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5), but now transliterates *Plādāns* (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 \**Tavśās*, gen. *Tavśādos* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> no. 46 a 64 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 743 ff. no. 5727 a 64 from Halikarnassos), and equates *Plādāns* with Ἀπόλλων (-*lad* = -*ll-*, cp. Carian Ὑσσώλδος = Ὑσσώλλος 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[ι]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 Δι||ὸς Λα||βρα|υ||δέ|ω||ς, 276 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar decorated with a double axe, beneath which in late Hellenistic letters is Διὸς Λαβρα|ύνδου, 277 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of grey-blue marble decorated with a double axe, to left of which is Λέων | Ἱεροκλείους | Διὶ | Λαβρα|ύνδωι, 278 ('in der Füllung der Justiniansmauer') small altar of white-grey marble decorated with a double axe, round which is inscribed Δι||ὸς | Κε||ρα|υ|νίου.

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 *Orient. 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 βασιλείως 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.*<sup>3</sup> 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: 1 ff. ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχηι]. | ἀνεγράφησαν ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι κα[ὶ κοινῆι σωτηρίαι] | καὶ δόξῃ τῇ ἀρίστηι τὰ δοθέντα παραγγέλια]τα Διουσιῶι καθ' ὕπνον π[ρόσοδον διδόν]τ' εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἀνδρά[σι καὶ γυναιξίν] | ἐλευθέροις καὶ οἰκέταις· Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς (συρρα p. 960 n. ο) καὶ Ἐστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ]τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων καὶ Εὐδαι]-μονίας καὶ Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς [καὶ Ὑγείας] | καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δαίμονος καὶ Μνή]μης καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νίκης εἰσιν ἰδ[ρυμένοι βωμοί]. | τούτ[ωι] δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς παραγγέλ[ματα τοὺς τε ἀ]γνισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς κα[ὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπι]τελεῖν κατὰ τε τὰ πάτρια καὶ ὡς νῦν [εἴθισται]. κ.τ.λ. 50 ff. [τὰ παραγγέλια]τα ταῦτα ἐτέθησαν παρὰ Ἀγγιδιστίν [τὴν ἀγιωτάτην] | φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδέσποιναν τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου, ἧτις ἀγαθὰς | διανοίας ποιεῖτω ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν [ἐλευθέροις καὶ] | δούλοις, ἵνα κατακολουθῶσι τοῖς ὧδε γεγραμμένοις, καὶ ἐν | ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς τε ἐμμήνοις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀ]πτέσθωσαν, ὅσοι πιστεύουσιν ἐα[υτοῖς ἄνδρες τε καὶ] | [γυ]ναῖκες, τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἐν [ἧ] τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλ[μα]τὰ εἰσιν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα φαν[εροὶ γίνωνται οἱ κατα][κολου]θοῦ[ν]τες τοῖς παραγγέλ[μα]σιν καὶ οἱ μὴ κατακολου[θ]οῦ[ν]τες. [Ζεῦ] Σωτή[ρ], τὴν ἀφή[γησιν ταύτην ἰλέως καὶ] | [εὐμεν]ῶς προσδέχου καὶ προ[space for c. 18 letters] | [πάρεχ]ε ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς, [ὑγίαιαν, σωτηρίαν, εἰρήνην, ἀσφάλεια]ν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ θα[λάσσης ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς] | [εἰσπορευ]ομένοις ὁμοίω[ς].

(3) J. Keil 'Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. 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 *týmpanon* 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 Ἀναξίπολη [- -] [Ἄ]γδίστε[ι 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 ἐγχυτρίστριαι' in *Classical Philology* 1922 xvii. 222—239 (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1923 xvii. 206), arguing 'that the current idea as to the normality of *expositio* is totally unfounded,' interprets ἐγχυτρίζειν 'to throw into a pit (*χύτρος* = *βόθρος*), to sacrifice in a pit to the dead' and so 'to burn up, to destroy,' ἐγχυτρίστριαι '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 Telesphoros, 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 *Lésche*: *ἱερὸν | Διὸς Ξενί|ο Θυμαίτι|δος φρα|τρίας*. He infers that the phratry Thymaitis had a sanctuary of Zeus Ξένιος near the *Lésche*.

ii. 1102 n. ο. On the relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) see further P. Perdrizet 'D'une certaine espèce de reliefs archaïsants' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 211—218 with pl. 13.

ii. 1118. G. Welter 'Das Olympieion in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 61—71 with pls. 7—10 marks an important advance in our knowledge of the Olympieion.

(1) Within the eastern portion of its foundations there has come to light the lowest course of a pre-Peisistratic *perístasis*, of which the N. wall was uncovered by F. C. Penrose, the W. by Welter. The wall was 2.50<sup>m</sup> thick, and the *perístasis* measured 30.50<sup>m</sup> broad by c. 60<sup>m</sup> long. This was τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν built by Deukalion (Paus. 1. 18. 8).

(2) The temple of the Peisistratidai, begun c. 515 B.C., was a more ambitious structure, having the same proportions, size, and 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<sup>m</sup> × 42.90<sup>m</sup>) 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 *euthynería* of hard *póros*. The stylobate had three steps of *póros*. No column-bases have been found. But unfluted drums of *póros* show a lower diameter of  $2.42^m$  and enable us to conclude that the height of the shafts was *c.*  $16^m$ .

Welter suggests that the Peisistratidai, as a counterbast to the Delphic activities of the Alkmaionidai, not only rebuilt the Telesterion at Eleusis (520—515 B.C.), but also tried to establish a panHellenic Zeus-cult at Athens. He thinks that these two enterprises were not unconnected. Hippias dealt in oracles (Hdt. 5. 93, cp. 90), Hipparchos in dreams (Hdt. 5. 36); and Hipparchos was at one time under the influence of Onomakritos (Hdt. 7. 6). Such men might well honour Zeus as the supreme god of the Orphic cosmogony. But, with the fall of the mystically-minded Peisistratidai, the vast temple was left unfinished, and the democracy reverted to the worship of Athena.



Fig. 1024.

ii. 1133 n. 1. With fig. 957 cp. the Roman mural relief of Mars and Apollo with an oracular bird on a pillar in a cage (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 19, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 381 no. D 507, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 20 f. figs. 29—32).

ii. 1143 fig. 964. A specimen in the British Museum (fig. 1024 from a cast) shows the type somewhat more clearly.

## CORRIGENDA

- ii. 19 line 2. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- ii. 67 n. 3. For 'p. 377<sup>t</sup>' 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 '*Nalionalmus*.' read '*Nationalmus*.'
- ii. 209 n. 2 line 10. For 'Ολμον' read "Ολμον.'
- 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 'Riϕbenhavn' read 'Kiϕbenhavn.'
- 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 'η̂.'
- ii. 664 n. 1 line 10. For '*syrinx*' read '*sýrinx*.'
- ii. 714 n. 2 line 2. For 'Εκάτης' read 'Εκάτης.'
- 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 'άστεροπήτης' 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 'ϕιδ' read 'αϕιδ.'
- ii. 874 n. 2 last line. For '874' read '873.'
- ii. 916 n. ο line 15. For 'Ολύμπιος' read 'Όλύμπιος.'
- 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 'Περείτου β' read 'Περείτου 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. (Gnecchi *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.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

- Aalen  
*Cult: Iuno Sancta* 99<sub>0</sub>  
 Aaron 386<sub>5</sub>  
 Abbaïtis, coins of 565  
 Abban, St 214<sub>0</sub>  
 Abdera, coins of 271<sub>3</sub> 411  
 Abédât in Phoinike  
*Cult: Zeus Οὐράνιος* "Τψιστος Σααρναῖος  
 'Επήκοος 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>4</sub>  
 Abella 1220  
 Abellio 1220  
 Abello 1220  
 Abirenes 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Abirkios, tombstone of 288 ff.  
 Ablabiai  
*Cult: Erythrai in Ionia* 1113<sub>0(1)</sub>  
 Abonou Teichos  
*Cult: Glykon* 1083 ff. 1114<sub>0(7)</sub>  
 — coins of 1084  
 Aborigines 404<sub>0</sub>  
 Abraham 887<sub>0(31)</sub>  
 Abruzzo, Kyklops in folk-tale from the  
 1001  
 Acca Larentia (Laurentia) 402<sub>0</sub> 1016  
 Achaean League, revival of 1119<sub>4</sub> 1120<sub>0</sub>  
 Achaeans  
*Cults: Apollon (?)* 458 *Athena (?)* 458  
*Zeus* 458  
*In relation to Aeolians* 1123<sub>5</sub>  
 — oath of 730<sub>0</sub> (i. 16)  
 Acharnai  
*Cults: Apollon* 'Αγυιεύς 163 *Herakles*  
 163<sub>3</sub>  
 Acheloios  
*Cults: Athens* 183 f. 1092<sub>2</sub> 1117 1118  
*Megara* 1117<sub>7</sub> 1138<sub>5</sub> *Mykonos* 1092<sub>2</sub>  
*Sicily* 667<sub>3</sub>  
*Festival: 667<sub>3</sub>*  
*Rites: sacrifice of a full-grown victim*  
*and ten lambs* 1092<sub>2</sub>
- Acheloios (*cont.*)  
*Type: horned and bearded head* 1117  
 1117<sub>7</sub>  
*Associated with Kallirrhoe (?) and Zeus*  
*Μελίχιος (?)* 1117 *Nymphs* 1118  
*Zeus* 1138<sub>5</sub> *Zeus Μελίχιος* 1092<sub>2</sub>  
 Acheron 14 348 467 ff.  
 Acherusian Lake 347 f.  
 Achilles  
*Cult: Skythia* 925<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet: 'Lord of the Island' (sc.*  
*Leuke)* 925<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths: Apollon* 459 *Polyxene* 117  
*psychostasia* 733 *shield* 972<sub>1</sub> *Tele-*  
*phos* 1184<sub>3</sub> *Tennes* 669 f.  
*Genealogy: f. of Pyrrhos* 915<sub>2</sub> 916<sub>0</sub>  
 — double-pointed spear of 799  
 Achna  
*Cult: Artemis* 157<sub>1</sub>  
 Actaeon 144  
 Adad  
*Cult: Babylon* 769<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes: axe* 546<sub>0</sub> *double lightning-*  
*fork* 769<sub>0</sub> *lightning-fork* 767<sub>1</sub> 769<sub>0</sub>  
 769<sub>1</sub> *ox* 769<sub>1</sub> 770<sub>0</sub>  
*Types: seated with lightning-fork in*  
*his hand* 767<sub>1</sub> *standing with light-*  
*ning-fork in either hand* 769<sub>1</sub> *stand-*  
*ing on ox with double lightning-fork*  
*in his hand* 769<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Marduk* 769<sub>1</sub> *Theos*  
*Hypsistos* 886<sub>0(30)</sub> *Zeus* 983<sub>7</sub>  
 — seal of 769<sub>1</sub>  
 Adalbert, St 214<sub>0</sub>  
 Adam 138<sub>0</sub>  
 Adamna  
*Cult: Samothrace* 295  
*Etymology: 295<sub>1</sub>*  
*Identified with Attis* 295 1218  
 Adiounios Tauros 349



- Aditi 1035  
 Aditya 1035  
 Admetos 240 241<sub>4</sub> 493  
 Adonaios (Adonai) 889<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Epithet*: ὑψικέρανος 1212  
*Identified with* Iao 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Theos Hypsistos 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Sabaoth 1212 Zeus 293<sub>0</sub>
- Adonis  
*Cults*: Assyrioi (=Syrioi) 296<sub>4</sub> Bethlehem 984<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: killed by boar 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Myrrha 680  
*Genealogy*: h. of Aphrodite 694<sub>0</sub> s. of Kinyras 694<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: crops 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Attis 294 f. 298 Kronos (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Associated with* Aphrodite (Venus) 984<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Attis 293 Tammuz and Zeus 345  
*In relation to* Aphrodite 293 552<sub>1</sub>
- Adorea  
*Etymology*: 1173<sub>1</sub>
- Adranos See Hadran
- Adrasteia  
*Genealogy*: m. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebus by Chronos or Herakles 1022  
*Type*: androgynous 1022  
*Identified with* Ananke 1022
- Adrasteia, a Cretan nymph  
*Myths*: makes golden ball for infant Zeus 933<sub>0</sub> puts infant Zeus to sleep in golden *liknon* 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. of Melissos by Amaltheia 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: protectress of laws 933<sub>0</sub>
- Adrasteiai (Adresteiai)  
*Epithet*: ἀμύμονες 954<sub>0</sub>
- Adrastos  
*Genealogy*: b. of Amphios 1072 s. of Merops 1072
- Adrastos (Adrestos), s. of Gordios (Gordies) 311<sub>8</sub>
- Adriana or Adriania See Hadrianeia
- 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 Ὀμολώιος 901<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to* Achaeans 1123<sub>5</sub> Minyai 1149<sub>3</sub>  
 — in Thessaly and Central Greece regard king as Zeus 1088
- Aequi 404<sub>4</sub>
- Aequitas 99<sub>1</sub>
- Aer  
*Genealogy*: f. of Mot by Chaos 1038
- Aer (*cont.*)  
 f. of Motos (?) by Aura 1036 1038  
 m. of Oulomos by Aither 1037 f. s. of Pothos and Omichle 1036 1038
- Aescelapius (*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* 724<sub>0</sub> *secundus* 1088 *tertius* 1089  
*Genealogy*: b. of Mercurius *secundus* 1088
- Aesernia, coins of 831<sub>1(2)</sub>
- Aeternus  
*Cult*: Taurini 306<sub>4</sub>
- Aëtios, king of Troizen 414<sub>2</sub>
- Aetna, Mt See Aitne, Mt
- Aetna  
*Genealogy*: m. of Palicus by Volcanus 909<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Aitne, nymph
- Aetos  
*Myths*: serves Zeus in Idaean Cave 933<sub>0</sub> transformed by Hera into eagle 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ge 933<sub>0</sub>
- Africa, Roman  
*Cult*: Ba'al-ḥammân 554<sub>3</sub>
- Agamedes  
*Function*: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075  
 — *bóthros* of, at Lebadeia 1075 sleep of, at Delphoi 232<sub>4</sub>
- Agamemnon  
*Epithets*: ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων 1209<sub>7</sub> ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν 1070 εὐρυκρείων 1069  
*Myths*: Briseis 726 dedicates ship of stone to Artemis Βολοσία 906<sub>3</sub> sceptre of Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> f. Tegea in Crete 1147<sub>6</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Elektra 1132<sub>6</sub> f. of Orestes 1179 s. of Atreus 957<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: *aithér* 1069 buried king 1130<sub>1</sub> human Zeus 1179  
*Etymology*: 1069 f.  
*Compared with* Zeus 1069 f.  
*In relation to* Menelaos 447<sub>5</sub>  
 — sceptre of 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> soul of, becomes eagle 1132
- Agamemnon, the god (?) 1069
- Agasthenes 712
- Agatha, St, of Catania 347<sub>0</sub>
- Agathe  
*Cult*: Epidauros 1126<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Agathos Theos 1126<sub>0</sub>
- Agathe Tyche  
*Cults*: Athens 1125<sub>1</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub> Delos 1128<sub>0</sub> Peiraieus 1104 f.  
*Genealogy*: w. of Zeus Φίλιος 1104 f.  
*Attributes*: *cornu copiae* 1128<sub>0</sub> *oinochóe* 1128<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: Euphranor 1127<sub>0</sub> Praxiteles 1127<sub>0</sub>

Agathe Tyche (*cont.*)

*Associated with* Agathos Daimon 1125<sub>1</sub>  
1128<sub>0</sub> cp. 1228

See also Tyche Ἀγαθή

Agathodaemones 1127<sub>0</sub>

Agathodaimoniastai 925<sub>0</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub>

Agathodaimonistai 1129<sub>0</sub>

Agathoi Daimones

*Cult:* Alexandria 1127<sub>0</sub>

*Type:* snakes 1127<sub>0</sub>

Agathos Angelos

*Cult:* Stratonikeia 880<sub>(0)</sub>

See also Theios Angelos

Agathos Daimon

*Cults:* Alexandria 1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> Athens  
1125<sub>1</sub> Delos 1128<sub>0</sub> Eumeneia in  
Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub> Kentoripa (?) 1129<sub>0</sub>  
Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229 Phoi-  
nike 1127<sub>0</sub> Rhodes the town 925<sub>0</sub>  
Teos 1066 Thespiiai 1125<sub>1</sub> 1161

*Epithet:* Νέος 98<sub>0</sub>

*Rite:* cup of unmixed wine drunk  
after dinner 1125 1129<sub>0</sub>

*Personated by* Antinoos 1128<sub>0</sub> Nero 98<sub>0</sub>  
1128<sub>0</sub> Philippus I of Rome 970<sub>0</sub>

*Functions:* chthonian 1129<sub>0</sub> fertility  
1125<sub>1</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub> male ancestor 1125<sub>1</sub>  
wealth 1125<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes:* corn-ears 98<sub>0</sub> *cornu copiae*  
1117<sub>7</sub> (?) 1125<sub>1</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> eagle 1125<sub>1</sub>  
*phiale* 1125<sub>1</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> poppy-heads 98<sub>0</sub>  
sceptre 1125<sub>1</sub> *skhent* 98<sub>0</sub>

*Types:* animal and human 1128<sub>0</sub>  
bearded 1125<sub>1</sub> beardless 1126<sub>0</sub> Eu-  
phranor 1126<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub> Praxiteles 1127<sub>0</sub>  
snake 98<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with* Dionysos 1129<sub>0</sub> Kneph  
1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub>

*Assimilated to* Zeus 1125<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Agathe Tyche 1125<sub>1</sub>  
1128<sub>0</sub> cp. 1228 Zeus Ἀγαβύριος 925<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with* Zeus Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος  
1163 Zeus Φίλιος 1161

*In relation to* Dionysos 1129<sub>0</sub>

— toast of 1129<sub>0</sub>

Agathos Deos (*sic*)

*Cult:* Athens 985<sub>0</sub>

Agathos Theos

*Cults:* Athens 1129<sub>0</sub> Epidauros 1126<sub>0</sub>  
Megalopolis 1125<sub>1</sub>

*Function:* a sort of Zeus 1126<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes:* *cornu copiae* 1126<sub>0</sub> sceptre  
1126<sub>0</sub> snake 1126<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with* Agathe 1126<sub>0</sub>

Agathyrsi tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>

Agae 347<sub>0</sub> (?)

Agdestis (?) 970<sub>0</sub>

Agdistios (?) 970<sub>0</sub>

Agdistis

*Cults:* Egypt 1228 Ikonion 970<sub>0</sub> Panti-  
kapaion 970<sub>0</sub> Pessinous 970<sub>0</sub> Phila-  
delpheia in Lydia 1229 Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets:* Ἐπήκοος 1228 [τῆν ἀγιοπάτην]  
φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδέσποιναν τοῦδε τοῦ  
ο[ἴκου] 1228

Agdistis (*cont.*)

*Myths:* 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> castrated by himself  
969<sub>4</sub> castrated by the gods 969<sub>4</sub>

Liber 969<sub>4</sub>

*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 970<sub>0</sub> Mother of  
the gods 970<sub>0</sub> Rhea 970<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with* Attis and Zeus 1229

Agdos, Mt

*Myths:* Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> Deukalion  
970<sub>0</sub> 971<sub>0</sub> Zeus and the Magna  
Mater 969<sub>4</sub>

Agedincum

*Cults:* Mars 99<sub>3</sub> Vesta 99<sub>3</sub> Volcanus  
99<sub>3</sub>

Agésandros (= Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>

Agésilaos (= Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 1168<sub>5</sub>

Agesipolis 7

Agis 7

Agis, f. of Amphikles 421

Aglaopes (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Aglaophamos 1024

Aglapios (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Aglibolos

*Cult:* Emesa 814<sub>3</sub>

Agnes, St 1050

Agnostoi Theoi

*Cult:* Olympia 1100<sub>1</sub>

Agnostos Theos

*Cult:* Athens 942<sub>0</sub>

Agon

*Cult:* Kaulonia (?) 1042

Agonium 19<sub>0</sub>

Agra

*Cults:* Meter 554<sub>2</sub> Meter ἐν Ἀγρας  
1142<sub>3</sub> (?) Zeus Μιλίχιος 1142<sub>3</sub> (?)

*Rites:* Lesser Mysteries (*c.* Anthe-  
sterion 20) 1139

Agreus 715<sub>4</sub> 1037

Agrigentum

*Cults:* Athena 910<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἀγαβύριος  
910<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 911<sub>0</sub> ff. 1227  
Zeus Πολιεύς 910<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 667 667<sub>3</sub> Olympion at  
911<sub>0</sub> ff. *Porta Aurea* at 910<sub>1</sub> tombs  
for horses at 1146<sub>0</sub>

Agrionia 164<sub>6</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>

Agyieus See Apollon *Epithets* Ἀγυιεύς  
and Zeus *Epithets* Ἀγυιεύς

Agyieus, the Hyperborean 169

Agyrion 1146<sub>0</sub>

Ahriman

*Attributes:* key 1054 sceptre 1053  
thunderbolt 1053

*Types:* lion-headed 664<sub>1</sub> 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 Mazdâh  
*Myth*: cosmic egg 1036  
*Function*: creator 1036  
*Identified with Zeus Στράτιος* 976<sub>0</sub>
- Aia 904<sub>1</sub>
- Aiakidai 894<sub>3</sub>
- Aiakos  
*Myth*: drought 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Aigina d. of Asopos 894<sub>3</sub>
- Aias 1137<sub>2</sub>
- Aietes 108
- Aigai in Aiolis  
*Cults*: Apollon Χρηστήριος 954<sub>0</sub> Istia Βολλαία (? Βόλλαία) 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βόλλαιος 259<sub>0</sub>
- Aigai in Makedonia  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἰψιστος 878<sub>0(9)</sub> 906<sub>2</sub>
- Aigaion, Mt  
*Cults*: Aphrodite (?) 927<sub>0</sub> Ariadne (?) 927<sub>0</sub> Zeus 925<sub>1</sub> 926<sub>0</sub> 927<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: birth of Zeus 925<sub>1</sub>  
 — cave on, identified with Psychro Cave 925<sub>1</sub> cave on, wrongly identified with Dictaeon Cave 926<sub>0</sub>
- Aigeirotomoi 497<sub>5</sub>
- Aigesthios (?) 970<sub>0</sub>
- Aigeus consults Themis 206 sword of 627<sub>6</sub>
- Aigialos, *katabásion* at 14
- Aigina  
*Cults*: Apollon 184 Poseidon 184<sub>6</sub> Zeus Ἑλλάνιος 894<sub>3</sub> Zeus Πανελλήνιος 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>0</sub> 895<sub>1</sub>
- Aigina, d. of Asopos 187<sub>8</sub> 189<sub>0</sub> 894<sub>3</sub>
- Aigion  
*Cults*: Hera 210<sub>0</sub> Herakles 742<sub>5</sub> Zeus Παῖς 742 f. 749 826<sub>6</sub>
- Aigipan  
*Myth*: sinews of Zeus 449<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Aigokeros* 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub>
- Aigle (Aigla), m. of Asklepios 488<sub>0(10)</sub> 1086
- Aigokeros  
*Myths*: foster-brother of Zeus on Mt Ide in Crete 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub> helps Zeus against Titans 933<sub>0</sub> invents shell-trumpet 933<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub> transformed into constellation by Zeus 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Aix 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with Zeus* 938<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Aigipan* 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub>  
 — derived from Mesopotamia 938<sub>0</sub> reaches Crete by same route as Zagreus 938<sub>0</sub>
- Aigolios, a Cretan 929<sub>0</sub>
- Aigyptos See Egypt
- Aigyptos, the river Nile  
*Epithet*: Διπετής 481
- Aineias  
*Myth*: *sacra* of Troy 1068  
*Etymology*: 384<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Aeneas
- Ainianes  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὁρομπάτας 869<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 869<sub>0</sub>
- Ainos in Thrace  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1079 Hermes Περφεραῖος 496<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 1079
- Ainos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Αἰνήσιος 907<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Boreadaï pursue Harpyiai 907<sub>2</sub>  
 — ascent of 907<sub>2</sub> 908<sub>0</sub>
- Aiolos  
*Genealogy*: 1088 b. of Boiotos 317 f. of Athamas 904<sub>1</sub> f. of Sisyphos 1150<sub>4</sub>  
 — kings descended from, pose as human Zeus 1088 1122 1159
- Aion  
*Epithets*: ἀμβροτος 830<sub>7</sub> καμπύλος 831<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Jan. 5 337<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: 981<sub>1</sub> 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 206<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Aither  
*Epithets*: νοερός (Lobeck *ej.* νοτερός) 1022  
*Genealogy*: f. of Eros by Nyx 315<sub>4</sub> 1051 f. of Oulomos by Aer 1037 f. f. of Zeus 941<sub>0</sub> s. of Chronos 1024 s. of Chronos or Herakles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022 s. of Erebos and Nyx 315<sub>4</sub>
- Aithiopes tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- Aithra, d. of Pittheus 800 (?)
- Aitnaia 908<sub>1</sub>
- Aitne (formerly Inessa)  
*Cult*: Zeus Αἰτναῖος (?) 908<sub>1</sub>
- Aitne (formerly Katane)  
*Cults*: Silenos 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> Zeus Αἰτναῖος 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Aitnaia 908<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub>
- Aitne, Mt  
*Cults*: Hadran 630 Hephaistos 630 Zeus Αἰτναῖος 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> 910<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Polyphemos 909<sub>0</sub> Silenos 909<sub>0</sub> Typhon 449<sub>0</sub>
- Aitne, nymph  
*Genealogy*: m. of Palikoi by Zeus 909<sub>0</sub>
- Aix  
*Myth*: transformed into constellation by Zeus 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Aigokeros 933<sub>0</sub>
- Aix, s. of Python 217<sub>2</sub>
- Aixone  
*Cults*: Demeter 730<sub>0</sub> Poseidon 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus 730<sub>0</sub>
- Aizanis (?) 964<sub>3</sub>
- Aizanitis 964<sub>3</sub>
- Aizanoi 964<sub>3</sub>  
*Cults*: Dioskouroi 313 Hadrian 1120<sub>0</sub>

Aizanoi (*cont.*)

1121<sub>0</sub> Jupiter *Aezanensis* 968<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Aezaniticus* 968<sub>0</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 882<sub>0(23)</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> Zeus 965<sub>0</sub> ff. Zeus (?) "Υψιστος 882<sub>0(23)</sub>

*Festival*: Megala Panhellenia 1121<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: νεωκόρος 967<sub>0</sub>

*Rite*: sacrifice of fox and hedgehog 964<sub>3</sub>

*Myths*: Aizen, s. of Tantalos 964<sub>3</sub> Azan, s. of Arkas 964<sub>3</sub> Euphorbos 964<sub>3</sub>

— coins of 313 964<sub>3</sub> f. 968<sub>0</sub> named Exouanoun 964<sub>3</sub> priestly kings at 964<sub>3</sub> f.

Aizen, s. of Tantalos 964<sub>3</sub>

Akakallis 218<sub>0</sub>

Akakesion

*Cult*: Despoina 231<sub>8</sub>

— reliefs in precinct near 231<sub>8</sub>

Akamas (?) 280<sub>1</sub>

Akarnania

*Cults*: Artemis 412 Zeus 743<sub>7</sub> Zeus *Kapaós* 1226

— coins of 412 743<sub>7</sub> 'one-eyed' monsters of 993<sub>2</sub>

Ake See Ptolemaïs in Phoinike

Akmon, founder of Akmoneia 312<sub>5</sub>

Akmoneia

*Cults*: Dioskouroi 313 Μάνης Δάος (or Δάης) 'Ηλιοδρόμος Zeus 312<sub>5</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 882<sub>0(23)</sub> 968<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: founded by Akmon 312<sub>5</sub> Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 313

Akragas See Agrigentum

Akraï in Sicily

*Cults*: Zeus [Αγο]ραϊός (?) 873<sub>0(11)</sub> Zeus [Ακ]ραϊός 873<sub>0(11)</sub> Zeus Ακραϊός 915<sub>1</sub>

Akraiphia

*Cults*: Apollon Πρωϊός 238<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ελευθέριος (= Nero) 97<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Οπωρεύς 1074

Akrisias

*Cult*: Phrygia 1155 f.

*Functions*: doublet of Akrisios 1155 mountain (?) 1156 Phrygian Kronos 1155 f.

*Etymology*: 1156<sub>6</sub>

*Identified with* Arkesios (?) or Arkeios (?) 1156

Akrisios

*Cult*: Larissa in Thessaly 1155

*Myths*: Proitos 1146<sub>0</sub> slain by Perseus 1155

*Functions*: doublet of Akrisias 1155 king personating sky-god 1156 mountain (?) 1156

*Etymology*: 1156<sub>5</sub> 1156<sub>6</sub>

*Type*: bearded king 1155

*Identified with* Arkesios (?) or Arkeios (?) 1156

Ak Tash in Lydia

*Cult*: Hypsistos 881<sub>0(20)</sub>

See also Temenothyrai

Aktor, reputed f. of Kteatos and Eurytos 1015<sub>8</sub>

Alabanda

*Cults*: Apollon 'Ελευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97<sub>0</sub> Apollon Κισσιός (less probably Κισσέας) 247<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 247<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub>

See also Antiocheia in Chrysaoris

Alaisa (Halaesa)

*Cult*: Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 1158<sub>6</sub>

— coins of 1158<sub>6</sub> Meilichieion at 1158

Alaisiagae

*Cult*: Borcovicium 51<sub>1</sub>

Alalkomeneus 898<sub>6</sub>

Alani

*Cult*: sword of Mars 548<sub>0</sub>

Alba Longa, kings of, crowned with oak 417<sub>5</sub>

Alban Mt

*Cults*: Iupiter *Latiaris* 46<sub>3</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(16)</sub>

Albania, Kyklopes in folk-tale from 999 f.

Albano 1146<sub>0</sub>

Albanon 694<sub>0</sub>

Alektrona See Elektryone

Aleos

*Genealogy*: f. of Kepheus 1083 1148 f. of Minyas 1150<sub>5</sub> gf. of Antinoe 1083

*In relation to* Athena 'Αλέα 1147

Alexander (*sc.* Alexandros of Abonou Teichos)

*Cult*: Blatsche 1084

Alexander the Great adopted by Zeus "Αμμων 986<sub>0</sub> coins of 760 f. lily grows on statue of 773<sub>0</sub> receives Celts of the Adriatic 55 reverts to pre-Pheidiac type of Zeus 760 f.

Alexandra, the goddess 1069

Alexandreia

*Cults*: Agathoi Daimones 1127<sub>0</sub> Agathos Daimon 1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> Arsinoe ii 1216 Caesar 'Επιβατήριος 1180<sub>4</sub> Helios 889<sub>0(33)</sub> Heros 1127<sub>0</sub> Nemeseis 889<sub>0(33)</sub> Nemesis 864<sub>0</sub> Nero 1128<sub>0</sub> Sarapis 1158 Theos "Υψιστος και πάντων 'Επόπτης 889<sub>0(33)</sub> 984<sub>2</sub> Zeus Μελιχίος 1158 Zeus Νέμειος 1187<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ουράνιος 1158

*Rites*: torch-lighting 1158 wheaten meal offered to snakes 1127<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: foundation 1127<sub>0</sub> 1188

— coins of 102<sub>0</sub> 773<sub>0</sub> 986<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub> 1187<sub>0</sub> Sebastion at 1180<sub>4</sub> personified 1128<sub>0</sub> (?)

Alexandreia in Troas, coins of 485

Alexandros

*Myth*: judgment of Paris 949<sub>5</sub>

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 414<sub>2</sub> m. of Hyperes and Anthas by Poseidon 414<sub>2</sub>  
 Alkyoneus 463<sub>1</sub>  
 Allmendingen  
*Cults*: Iupiter 619 1221 Matres 619 Matronae 619 Mercurius 619 Minerva 619 1221 Neptunus 619 — Mithraeum at 1220  
 Allobroges  
*Cults*: Baginatiae 570<sub>0</sub> Baginus 570<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Baginas* 570<sub>0</sub>  
 Almedha, St 325<sub>8</sub>  
 Alopeke  
*Cults*: Athena (Athenaia) 1115 Ge 1115 Zeus Μιλχιος 1115  
 Alopekos 421  
 Althaimenes  
*Cult*: Rhodes 923<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923<sub>0</sub> Rhodes 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub>  
 Altheos 414<sub>2</sub>  
 Altyntash in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βέννιος 883<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 — tombstones from 836  
 Alysis, Mt (?)  
*Cult*: Zeus "Αλσειος (?) 945<sub>1</sub> Zeus 'Αλύσιος (?) 945<sub>1</sub>  
 Amadokos 452  
 Amaltheia  
*Myth*: nurses Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of the nymphs Adras-teia and Eide (Ide) by Melissos 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: goat 932<sub>1</sub> Naiad 932<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: carrying infant Zeus 363<sub>1</sub> (?) goat 746<sub>2</sub> (?)  
 Amaseia  
*Cult*: Zeus Στράτιος 975<sub>0</sub> f.  
 — coins of 975<sub>0</sub> f.  
 Amasis, the vase-painter 794<sub>0</sub>  
 Amastris  
*Cults*: Hera 707 Zeus Πανκτήσιος 1067 Zeus Στρατηγός 707 848 918<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 707 918<sub>0</sub>  
 Amathous  
*Cults*: Theos "Υπιστος 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 980<sub>3</sub> Zeus Λαβράνιος 598 f. Zeus 'Ορομ-πάτας 869<sub>0</sub>  
 Amazons  
*Myth*: Ephesos 405  
*Attributes*: battle-axe (σάγαρις, securis) 560 double axe (λάβρυσ, πέλεκυς, ἀμφιπέλεκκον (?), bipennis) 560  
*In relation to Hittites* 560  
 Ambrakia  
*Cult*: Zeus 1222  
 — bronze statuette of Zeus from 1222 coins of 162 f. 499  
 Ameirake, former name of Penelope 691  
 Amen  
*Cult*: Thebes in Egypt 774<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amon, Amoun  
 Amen-Râ  
*Attributes*: plumes 926<sub>0</sub> solar disk 492<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Type*: ithyphallic 772<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with Zeus* 926<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Amen, Ammon, Amon, Amoun  
 Amenti 1212  
 Ammon  
*Cult*: Egypt 767<sub>2</sub>  
 — horn of 773<sub>0</sub> masks of 808<sub>0(17)</sub>  
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Amon, Amoun  
 Amnisos 942<sub>0</sub>  
 Amon 767<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amon  
 Amor 862<sub>10</sub>  
 Amorgos  
*Cult*: Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 258<sub>3</sub>  
 — head from 122<sub>0</sub>  
 Amoun  
*Cult*: Egypt 293<sub>0</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amon  
 Amphiaraios  
*Cults*: Hellenes 1070 Oropos 1070 ff.  
*Epithet*: ἀναξ 1070  
*Myth*: 1070 f.  
*Genealogy*: descended from Aiolos 1088 f. of Amphilochos 489<sub>0(4)</sub> 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 Erechtheus 1071 Latinus 1071 Theodoric the Great 1071 Trophonios (Trophonios) 1075  
 — chariot of 815<sub>7</sub>  
 Amphiareion near Oropos 1071 f.  
 Amphictionic πυλαία 903<sub>2</sub>  
 Amphikles 421 673<sub>3</sub>  
 Amphilochos  
*Myths*: fights Mopsos 489<sub>0(4)</sub> 490<sub>0(0)</sub> 1130<sub>1</sub> founds Mallos in Kilikia 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Alkmaion 489<sub>0(4)</sub> s. of Amphiaraios 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Amphion  
*Cult*: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428  
*Myths*: Dirke 1013 1015 1019 Lykos 1019<sub>2</sub>  
*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*: 445 673<sub>3</sub> 1072  
*Attribute*: lyre 1013
- Amphios, s. of Merops 1072  
 Amphios, s. of Selagos 1072  
 Amphis, clipped form of Amphiaraios 1072  
 Amphissos 486  
 Amphisthenes 421 673<sub>3</sub>  
 Amphithea 673  
 Amphithea (?) 353<sub>3</sub>  
 Amphitrite  
*Type*: with head-dress of crab's-claws 665<sub>3</sub>
- Amphitryon  
*Function*: human Zeus 1072  
*Etymology*: 1072
- Ampsactus (Amsactus) 328<sub>4</sub>  
 Amulius 1016  
 Amyklai  
*Cult*: Apollon 458 894<sub>0</sub>
- Amymone 800 (?)  
 Anagnia  
*Rites*: priests wear fleece as head-dress 377 procession of Sali 375  
 — marble relief from 375
- Anakeion 1063 f.  
 Anaktes  
*Cult*: Athens 1135<sub>4</sub>
- Ananke  
*Genealogy*: m. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebus by Chronos or Herakles 1022 st. of Dike 316<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: cosmic 316<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: androgynous 1022  
*Identified* with Adrasteia 1022  
 — spindle of 45 66<sub>0</sub> throne of 129<sub>1</sub> way (Milky Way) of 42 (?)
- Anaphe  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 1066 Apollon Αἰγλήτης 816<sub>4</sub> Apollon Ἀσγελάτας 1066 (Zeus) Κτήσιος 1066  
*Myth*: Apollon 816<sub>4</sub>
- Anat 807<sub>3(1)</sub> (?)  
 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*: Persephone 14<sub>3</sub> θεός Καταιβάτης 14<sub>3</sub> Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις 980<sub>1</sub>
- Anchesmos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἀγχέσμιος 897<sub>4</sub>
- Anchiale, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 929<sub>0</sub>  
 Anchialos in Thrace  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1079 Zeus Ἐψιστος Ἐπόπτης (?) 878<sub>0(10)</sub> 949<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 1079
- Anchises  
*Myth*: *sacra* of Troy 1068
- Andraimon 486
- Andrew, St  
*Type*: on chalice of Antioch 1202<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Andromeda, picture of 986<sub>0</sub>  
 Andros  
*Cult*: Zeus Μελιχίος 1156
- Anemoi  
*Cult*: Orphists 141, 827
- Anemos in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.  
 Angdistis See Agdistis  
 Angela, St 135 f.  
 Angelion 232<sub>0</sub>  
 Angeloi Theou 880<sub>0(19)</sub>  
 Angelos See Agathos Angelos, Theios Angelos  
 Angistis See Agdistis
- Ani (= Iannus)  
*Cult*: Etruria 338<sub>3</sub>
- Anien, the river-god 1016  
 Anigemius  
*Cult*: Noricum 338<sub>3</sub>
- Anios 670 f.  
 Ankyra in Galatia  
*Cults*: Zeus 971<sub>1</sub> Zeus Βροντᾶν 835<sub>5</sub> Zeus Ταουιανός 754<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 491<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Ankyra in Phrygia  
*Cult*: youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe 566  
 — coins of 566
- Anna, St 1157  
 Anogeia 935<sub>0</sub>  
 Antaios 134<sub>1</sub>  
 Antandros  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος 815
- Antauges  
*Identified* with Phanes 1026 1051
- Anteros  
*Type*: with Eros 1221
- Anthas, king of Troizen 414<sub>2</sub>  
 Anthesteria 1139  
 Antho 1016  
 Anthos of Arkadia 414<sub>2</sub> 1092  
 Anthos, s. of Autonooos and Hippodameia 414<sub>2</sub>
- Antigoneia on the Orontes  
*Cult*: Zeus 1188
- Antilibanos, Mt 981<sub>1</sub>  
 Antinoe, d. of Kepheus 1083
- Antinoos  
*Personates* Agathos Daimon 1128<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: with lotos-flower on head 773<sub>0</sub> with lotos-wreath 773<sub>0</sub>
- Antiocheia in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda)  
*Cults*: Apollon Ἰσότιμος 714<sub>2</sub> Zeus Χρυσαιορεύς 714<sub>2</sub>
- Antiocheia on the Maiandros  
*Cult*: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 259<sub>0</sub> f.
- Antiocheia on the Orontes  
*Cults*: Amphion and Zethos 428 Apollon (?) 1192<sub>5</sub> Athena 1197 Boule (?) 1193<sub>2</sub> Demos (?) 1192 Dionysos 428 1197 Iupiter *Capitolinus* 1188 Triptolemos 981<sub>1</sub> Tyche 1196<sub>3</sub> 1197 Zeus 1197 Zeus Bot-



- Antiocheia on the Orontes (*cont.*)  
*ταίος* 1187 f. Zeus Βώπιος 1188  
 Zeus Καπερώλιος (=Iupiter *Capitolinus*) 1188<sub>14</sub> Zeus Κεράνιος 428  
 Zeus Φίλιος 1178 1186 1196 f.  
*Myths*: founded by Alexander the Great 1187 founded by Kasos and Belos 981<sub>1</sub> founded by Seleukos i Nikator 1188  
 — chalice from 1197 ff. coins of 1192 ff. 1196<sub>0</sub> 1209 1209<sub>5</sub> (?)  
 'Golden' Basilica of 1198<sub>1</sub>
- Antiochos i of Kommagene  
*Personates* Tyche 1136<sub>4</sub>
- Antiochos iv Epiphanes  
*Epithets*: Θεός 'Επιφανής 1189 Θεός 'Επιφανής Νικηφόρος 1189  
*Personates* Zeus 1188 f.
- Antion 1123
- Antiope  
*Myth*: 1013 1015  
*Genealogy*: d. of Nykteus 1013 m. of Zethos and Amphion by Zeus 1013 cp. 428<sub>4</sub> w. of Epopeus 1013  
 — Dionysiac character of 1019<sub>2</sub>
- Antoninus Pius  
*Personates* Zeus 101<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>0</sub>  
 — house of, struck by lightning 10
- Anxia, helmet from 1159<sub>1</sub>
- Apameia in Phrygia  
*Cults*: Artemis 'Εφεσία 403<sub>0</sub> Dioskouroi 313  
*Myth*: Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 313 408<sub>0</sub> 610
- Apameia on the Orontes  
*Cult*: Zeus 1192  
 — coins of 1192
- Apate  
*Epithets*: ἄλλοπρόσαλλος ὀρεστιάς... δαίμων 942<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: birth of the first Aphrodite 1029  
*Type*: Fury 854
- Apelles 828
- Apellon See Apollon
- Apemosyne  
*Myth*: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>
- Apesas, Mt  
*Cults*: Zeus 'Απεσάντιος 892<sub>4</sub> Zeus 'Απέσας 892<sub>4</sub> Zeus 'Αφέσιος 892<sub>4</sub>  
*Myths*: Deukalion 892<sub>4</sub> Nemean Lion 892<sub>4</sub> Perseus 892<sub>4</sub>  
*Etymology*: 892<sub>4</sub>
- Aphareus 437
- Apharidai 438<sub>2</sub>
- Aphesas 892<sub>4</sub>
- Aphrodisias in Karia  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 573<sub>7</sub> Eros 572<sub>10</sub> Zeus Λαβράνδος 585<sub>3</sub> Zeus Μέγιστος 585<sub>3</sub> Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) 1220  
*Rite*: tree threatened 681 f.  
*Myth*: Myrrha (?) 681 f.  
 — coins of 572 f. 681 1220
- Aphrodisiastai Syroi 1157<sub>3</sub>
- Aphrodite  
*Cults*: Mt Aigaion (?) 927<sub>0</sub> Anaphe 1066  
 Aphrodisias in Karia 573<sub>7</sub> Argos 1156<sub>5</sub> Athens 985<sub>0</sub> 1043 Delos 922<sub>0</sub>  
 Dorylaeion 281 Elis 68<sub>1</sub> Epidauros 1144<sub>3</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Halikarnassos 872<sub>0(5)</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> Jerusalem 984<sub>1</sub> Kition in Kypros 807<sub>5(4)</sub> Kypros 424 Libye 987<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> Megalopolis 1178 Megara 257<sub>4</sub> Nisyros 1157<sub>3</sub> Paphos 783<sub>3</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> Paros 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Pergamon 424 Philadelpheia in Lydia 363 Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Sardeis 424 Sikyon 1165<sub>1</sub> Skythia 292<sub>4</sub> Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub> Troizen 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 944<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: 'Αγνή 922<sub>0</sub> 'Ακραία 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 'Ακρία 1156<sub>5</sub> 'Αρτιμήσασα 293<sub>0</sub> ἀφρογενής 1029 ἐγεροσίγελως 1029 'Επιπροφία 257<sub>4</sub> 'Επιτυμβία 1165<sub>1</sub> Κατασκοπία 944<sub>0</sub> Μελιχία 1144<sub>3</sub> Ούρανια 68<sub>1</sub> 292<sub>4</sub> 854 985<sub>0</sub> Παφία 424 Στρατονικίς 729<sub>0</sub> Σώζουσα 987<sub>0</sub> Ψίθυρος 1043  
*Rites*: emergence from sea 132<sub>2</sub> taboo on garlic among priests of Aphrodite in Libye 987<sub>0</sub>  
*Worshippers*: 'Αφροδιασται Σύροι 1157<sub>3</sub>  
*Myths*: reared amid *aphrós* arising from genitals of Ouranos 448<sub>0</sub> cp. 448<sub>1</sub> sprung from seed of Ouranos falling into sea 1029 sprung from seed of Zeus falling into sea 1029  
*Genealogy*: d. of Aphros by Astynome 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> d. of Ouranos 1029 d. of Zeus 1029 w. of Adonis 694<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: cosmic 316<sub>0</sub> summer 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: apple 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub> doves 710 myrtle 1165<sub>1</sub> poppy 1165<sub>1</sub> rose 1043 water-mint 1166<sub>0</sub> wreath 573<sub>7</sub>  
*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 68<sub>1</sub> holding apple 491<sub>0(6)</sub> holding poppy and apple 1165<sub>1</sub> Kanachos 1165<sub>1</sub> on ladder 124<sub>2</sub> (?) Pheidias 68<sub>1</sub> terminal goddess 854 under arch 363  
*Identified with* Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arippasa) 293<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Hermes 146<sub>2</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 1043 Peitho 261 1044 (fig. 893) Tammuz (Adonis) 984<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Adonis 293 552<sub>1</sub>
- Aphrodite, as ship's name 987<sub>0</sub>
- Aphroi (Africans) 693<sub>4</sub>
- Aphros, forefather of Aphroi  
*Genealogy*: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> s. of Kronos by Philyra 695<sub>0</sub>
- Apia (Api), the Scythian Ge 293<sub>0</sub>
- Apidanos, river in Thessaly 1025
- Apis  
*Cult*: Egypt 942<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: double bust (with Isis) 392

## Apollo

*Epithet*: *Delphicus* 927<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Hercules and Diana 59<sub>0</sub>

*In relation to* Castor and Pollux 95 f. Diana 99 f.

## Apollon

*Cults*: Achaeans (?) 458 Acharnai 163 Aigai in Aiolis 954<sub>0</sub> Aigina 184 Akraiphia 238<sub>0</sub> Alabanda 97<sub>0</sub> 247<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub> 714<sub>2</sub> Amyklai 458 894<sub>0</sub> Anaphe 816<sub>4</sub> 1066 Antiocheia in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda) 714<sub>2</sub> Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192<sub>5</sub> Ardetos 1135 Argos 163 173<sub>4</sub> Athens 163 163<sub>4</sub> 184 255 730<sub>0</sub> 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 985<sub>0</sub> 1121 Aulai 249<sub>2</sub> Axos 816<sub>4</sub> Babylonia (?) 456 Badinlar, in Phrygia 567 f. Basasai 405<sub>3</sub> Bilkon 948<sub>0</sub> Branchidai 920<sub>0</sub> Byzantion 167 f. Corinth 210<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>2</sub> (?) 916<sub>0</sub> Crete 457 948<sub>0</sub> Daldeia 250 f. Daphne near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Delos 223<sub>3</sub> 249<sub>2</sub> 452 ff. 854 Delphoi 457 839 1216 Didyma near Miletos 317 f. 317<sub>2</sub> Dorylaeion 281 Eleuthernai (Eleutherna) 456<sub>7</sub> 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Epidaurus 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Erythrai in Ionia 730<sub>0</sub> Eumeneia in Phrygia 571 970<sub>0</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> Gryneia 489<sub>0(4)</sub> Halikarnassos 163 Hieria in Lesbos 488<sub>0(2)</sub> Hierapolis in Phrygia 567 Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> Mt Hymettos 897<sub>5</sub> Hyperboreoi 501 844 Illyria 458 Itanos 929<sub>0</sub> Kalymna 808<sub>0(11)</sub> Karia 573<sub>10</sub> 574<sub>1</sub> 574<sub>2</sub> 574<sub>3</sub> Katane 486<sub>5</sub> Kaulonia 1042 f. Keratia in Attike 237<sub>0</sub> Klaros 489<sub>0(4)</sub> Knidos 729<sub>0</sub> Koloe 568 f. Korkyra 730<sub>0</sub> Kroton 237<sub>0</sub> Kypros 246<sub>1</sub> Lakonike 322 322<sub>6</sub> Larisa on the Caystrian Plain 958<sub>0</sub> Lebadeia 899<sub>2</sub> Mt Lepetymnos 832 Leukas 782 Lopta 971<sub>2</sub> Lykia 453 458 f. Lykoreia 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Magnesia ad Maeandrum 249<sub>2</sub> 948<sub>0</sub> Magnesia ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Magnesia in Thessaly 730<sub>0</sub> Macedonia 458 Cape Malea (Maleai) 488<sub>0(0)</sub> Megalopolis 160<sub>5</sub> 163 Megara 165<sub>3</sub> 185 Messene 458 Miletos 237<sub>0</sub> 250 255 457 486<sub>5</sub> 1220 Mykonos 1092<sub>2</sub> Myrrhinous 730<sub>0</sub> Mytilene 488<sub>0(2)</sub> Neapolis in Campania 486<sub>5</sub> Olbia 493<sub>0(7)</sub> Olymos 586<sub>2</sub> Orchia (?) in Lakonike 439 Oropos (?) 1071 Panormos near Kyzikos 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Patara 210 921<sub>0</sub> Peiraieus 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Pergamon 729<sub>0</sub> Phlyeis 251 Praisos 731<sub>0</sub> Prasiai in Lakonike 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Mt Ptoion 455 Rhegion 680 Rhithymna 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Samos 223<sub>3</sub> Selinus 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Skias in Arkadia (?) 439 Skythia 292<sub>4</sub> Sparta 255 246<sub>1</sub> 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Stelai in Crete 731<sub>0</sub> Sybrita 731<sub>0</sub> Tarentum

## Apollon (cont.)

1064 Tarsos 570 Tegea 163 Thera 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> Mt Thornax in Lakonike 893<sub>2</sub> Thrace 458 Thyateira 562 Tilphossa 439 Tralleis 958<sub>0</sub> Trikke 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 1088 Troy 453 Tyana (?) 570

*Epithets*: ἄγριος 971<sub>2</sub> Ἀγυιεύς 163 f. 456<sub>7</sub> Ἀγυιεύς Ἀλεξίκακος 163<sub>4</sub> Ἀγυιεύς Προστατήριος Πατρῶος Πύθιος Κλάριος Πανιώνιος 163<sub>4</sub> Αἰγλήτης 816<sub>4</sub> Ἀκτιος 255 782 Ἀμάδοκος (?) 452 Ἀμυκλαῖος 255 ἄναξ 252<sub>1</sub> Ἀρχηγέτης 237<sub>0</sub> 567 Ἀσγελάτας 1066 Ἀσκραῖος 255 486<sub>5</sub> ἄστρον ἡγεμῶν 255<sub>3</sub> Ἀύλαεῖτης (Ἀύλαίτης, Ἀύλίτης, Ἀύλητής) 249<sub>2</sub> ἀφήτωρ 180 841 βακχεύς (?) 253<sub>2</sub> Βάκχος 253<sub>3</sub> Βιλκῶνιος 948<sub>0</sub> βιοδώτης 252<sub>0</sub> Βοζηνός 568 ff. Βραγχιάτης 255 Γενέτωρ 223<sub>3</sub> Γοιτόσυρος 293<sub>0</sub> Γρύνειος 954<sub>0</sub> Δαφναῖος 265<sub>0</sub> 1189<sub>0</sub> Δαφνηφόρος 265<sub>0</sub> Δαφνίτας 265<sub>0</sub> Δειραδιώτης 173<sub>4</sub> 210<sub>0</sub> Δελφίνιος 189<sub>8</sub> 205<sub>1</sub> 230 237<sub>0</sub> 456<sub>7</sub> Δήλιος 255 Διδυμῆιος 317 f. Διδυμῆος 317<sub>2</sub> 1220 Διδύμων γενάρχηος 317<sub>2</sub> Διονυσοδότης (less probably Διονυσοδότος) 251<sub>2</sub> Δονάκτας (?) 249<sub>3</sub> Δοναστάς (?) 249<sub>3</sub> Δονητής (?) 249<sub>3</sub> Δρομαῖος 456<sub>7</sub> Δρύμειος 486<sub>5</sub> Δρύμας 486<sub>5</sub> Ἐβδομαγενής 237<sub>0</sub> ἔβδομαγέτης 237<sub>0</sub> Ἐβδομῆιος 237<sub>0</sub> 238<sub>0</sub> Εἰκάδιος 456 Ἐκάεργος 1042 ἑκατηβελέτης 1042 ἑκατηβόλος 1042 Ἐκατόμβιος 1092<sub>2</sub> Ἐκατος 1042 Ἐκβάσιος 1180<sub>4</sub> ἐκηβόλος 1042 Ἐλευθέριος 97<sub>0</sub> ἐλπιδοδώτης 252<sub>0</sub> Ἐμβάσιος 1180<sub>4</sub> ἐνόλμιος, ἐνολμῖς, ἐνολμος 209<sub>2</sub> ἐν Πάνδοις 729<sub>0</sub> Ἐπιβατήριος 1180<sub>4</sub> Ἐπικούριος 405<sub>3</sub> Ἐπόψιος 1130<sub>7</sub> Ἐρεθίμιος 630 εἴλυρος 253<sub>3</sub> ζάθεος 204<sub>1</sub> ζηλοδοτήρ (?) 204<sub>1</sub> 252<sub>0</sub> ζηνοδοτήρ 204<sub>1</sub> 252<sub>0</sub> ζηνόφρων 204<sub>1</sub> ζωογόμος 204<sub>1</sub> Θεοράκιος 893<sub>2</sub> Θύϊος 250 ἰήιος 246<sub>1</sub> Ἰσότιμος 714<sub>2</sub> Καρινός 167 f. Κάρνειος 456<sub>7</sub> 458 κισσεοχαίτης 246<sub>1</sub> κισσεύς 253<sub>2</sub> Κισσίος (less probably Κισσεός) 247<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub> Κλάριος 489<sub>0(3)</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> Κοροπαῖος 730<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(1)</sub> Κόρυδος 458 Κουρίδιος 322<sub>6</sub> Κτίστης 98<sub>0</sub> κυνηγέτης 237<sub>0</sub> Λαιρμηνός (Λαρμηνός, Λαρβηνός, Λειρμηνός, Λυρμηνός) 567 f. Λαδόδοκος (?) 452 Λαρισηνός 958<sub>0</sub> Λάφριος 599 Λητοῖδης (Λητοῖδας) 455 490<sub>0(5)</sub> Λοξίας 204<sub>1</sub> Λύκειος 255 453 458 λυκηγενής 455<sub>0</sub> Λυκηγενής (?) 453 Λύκιος 453 729<sub>0</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Λυκωρεύς 901<sub>2</sub> Μαλεάτας (Μαλεάτης) 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 1088 Μαλεάτας Σωτήρ 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Μαλδῆεις 488<sub>0(2)</sub> μάντις (?) 253<sub>2</sub> Μοιραγέτης 237<sub>0</sub> 231 1137<sub>0</sub> (?) Μουσηγέτης 237<sub>0</sub> Μύλας or Μυλάντιος 260<sub>0</sub> Μύστης 250 f. Νόμιος 252 Νουμήνιος 456 Νυμφηγέτης 237<sub>0</sub> ξυνοδοτήρ 252<sub>0</sub> ὁ ἐκ Λοπτῶν 971<sub>2</sub> ὁ προπάτωρ θεὸς Ἥλιος Πύθιος... Τυρμναῖος 562 Ὀρχιεύς 439



Apollon (*cont.*)

- Παιών 253<sub>3</sub> Παιών 223 Πατρῶος 255  
 730<sub>0</sub> 1135 πλουτοδοτήρ 252<sub>0</sub> Προηγέ-  
 τής 237<sub>0</sub> Προόψιος 897<sub>5</sub> Προστατήριος  
 163<sub>4</sub> Πτώσιος 238<sub>0</sub> Πυθαεύς 458 893<sub>2</sub>  
 Πύθιος 183 184<sub>6</sub> 185 f. 223 223<sub>3</sub> 233  
 240 255 457 731<sub>0</sub> 816<sub>4</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> 1216  
 Πύπιος (= Πύθιος) 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Σκιαστής  
 439 Σμινθεύς 250<sub>2</sub> Σμίνθιος 255  
 Στυρακίτης 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Σωτήρ 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 Ταρσεύς 569 f. 571 Τετράχειρ or  
 Τετράχειρος 322<sub>6</sub> Τετράωτος 322 Τιλ-  
 φούσιος 439 Τύριμνος 562 Ὑπερβόρειος  
 223 Ὑπέροχος (?) 452 φιλόδαφνος  
 253<sub>3</sub> Φοίβος 234 Φύξιος 902<sub>0</sub> Χρηστη-  
 ριος 954<sub>0</sub> χρυσάωρος 716 χρυσάωρ 716  
 ψυχοδοτήρ 252<sub>0</sub> ὠρεσιδώτης 252<sub>0</sub>  
*Festivals*: birthday (Bysios 7) 236  
 Boedromia 237<sub>0</sub> Daphnephoria 455<sub>8</sub>  
 Ebdomaia 237<sub>0</sub> first day of month  
 456 frequent in Asia Minor and  
 islands, rare on Greek mainland  
 455 Hyakinthia 246<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>8</sub> Karneia  
 237<sub>0</sub> 455<sub>8</sub> Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia  
 237<sub>0</sub> seventh day of month 456  
 commemoration of Skephros 164<sub>6</sub>  
 455<sub>8</sub> Thargelia 237<sub>0</sub> 455<sub>8</sub> twentieth  
 day of month 456  
*Rites*: bay brought from Tempe to  
 Delphoi 249<sub>2</sub> ἐβδομαίον at Athens  
 on seventh day of some month 237<sub>0</sub>  
 first-fruits sent to Apollon Πύθιος  
 every eight years 240 Hyperborean  
 offerings brought to Delos 249<sub>2</sub>  
 249<sub>3</sub> 497 ff. paeon 234 f. passes  
 night in temple with prophetess  
 210 περφερέες 495<sub>6</sub> πυροφορήσας  
 487<sub>3(1)</sub> sacrifice of asses 463 f. 843  
 sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to  
 Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092<sub>2</sub> sacri-  
 fices at Kroton on seventh day of  
 month 237<sub>0</sub> sacrifices by *thiasoi* in  
 Kypros 246<sub>1</sub> Spartan kings sacrifice  
 on first and seventh days of every  
 month 237<sub>0</sub> straps from hide of ox  
 sacrificed to Apollon Τετράχειρ  
 given as prizes 322<sub>6</sub> sword washed  
 in water from the Kydnos 570 f.  
 worshippers turn towards ground  
 256  
*Priests*: ἱερεύς 562<sub>2</sub> ἱερεύς 322<sub>6</sub> νεωκόρος  
 199<sub>2</sub>  
*Priestess*: the *Pythía* 203 ff. 238 322<sub>7</sub>  
 441 841 the *Pythía* as bride of  
 Apollon 207 ff. *thyíās* 199<sub>2</sub> virgin  
 210<sub>0</sub>  
*Worshippers*: ἀρχίχορος καὶ ἱεροκάρυξ  
 τῶν ἱερέων 488<sub>0(2)</sub>  
*Personated by boy* 241<sub>3</sub> Nero 98<sub>0</sub> 254  
 1128<sub>0</sub> Pythagoras 221 ff.  
*Myths*: Anaphe 816<sub>4</sub> Anios 670 Ari-  
 staios 1042(?) arranges the limbs  
 of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 ar-  
 rival at Delphoi 262 ff. boiled in a  
 caldron and pieced together again

Apollon (*cont.*)

- 225 born at Araxa 455 born in  
 Arkadia 252 buries Dionysos at  
 Delphoi 218 ff. carries off Kyrene  
 460<sub>2</sub> chases Hermes 1042 (?)  
*consorts with Aigle* (Koronis)  
 488<sub>0(0)</sub> Akakallis 218<sub>0</sub> Pythaïs 222  
 Themis 1217  
 contest with Marsyas 248<sub>0</sub> 249<sub>0</sub>  
 Cygnus 477<sub>7</sub> Daphne 265<sub>0</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 486  
 Daphnis 1042 (?) destroys mice in  
 Rhodes 250<sub>2</sub> Dryope 485 f. 486<sub>5</sub>  
 exiled by Zeus to land of Hyper-  
 boreoi 484 493 Hyakinthos 491<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 1042 (?) Hyperboreoi 459 ff. invents  
 the art of playing flute and *kithára*  
 249<sub>2</sub> Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub> Koronis 210<sub>0</sub>  
 Kyknos 477 Kyparissos 981<sub>1</sub> Makro-  
 bioi 500<sub>4</sub> Marpessa 439<sub>14</sub> Molpadia  
 671 nursed by Leto 252 Orestes  
 453 1042 (?) Parthenos 671 Periphas  
 1121 f. purified by Chrysothemis  
 190<sub>0</sub> purified by Karmanor 190<sub>0</sub>  
 Pylades 453 restores Dionysos 251<sub>2</sub>  
 Rhoio 670 sends raven to get water  
 832<sub>7</sub> serves Admetos 240 a seven-  
 months' child 237<sub>0</sub> 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 241<sub>4</sub> slays  
 Python 217<sub>2</sub> 239<sub>0</sub> taught by Athena  
 to flute 249<sub>2</sub> 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) 488<sub>0(0)</sub> f. of  
 Dryops 486<sub>5</sub> f. of Idmon 471 f. of  
 Kentauros by Stilbe 1134 f. f. of  
 Lapithes by Stilbe 684<sub>2</sub> 1134 f. f. of  
 Lykoros by Korykia 901<sub>2</sub> f. of  
 Phylakides and Philandros by Aka-  
 kallis 218<sub>0</sub> f. of Platon 237<sub>0</sub> f. of  
 Pythagoras by Pythaïs 222 not *ab*  
*initio* the twin b. of Artemis 501  
 s. of Dionysos by Demeter 252 s. of  
 Leto (Lato) 237<sub>0</sub> 456 484 s. of Leto  
 (Lato) by Zeus 453 s. of Silenos  
 221 252  
*Functions*: ancestral god of Attic no-  
 bility 730<sub>0</sub> destiny 231 fire 234 flocks  
 and herds 457 heaven, earth, under-  
 world 256 f. lighting 816<sub>4</sub> lustration  
 1042 (?) mills 260<sub>0</sub> oracles 457  
*prophétes* of Zeus 203<sub>0</sub> 204<sub>1</sub> 841  
 song 244<sub>4</sub> sun 338<sub>4</sub> 457 495 1156  
 sun and moon (?) 318 *tela* (bow and  
 arrows) 244<sub>4</sub> transition from sky-  
 god (?) to sun-god 500  
*Etymology*: 234<sub>2</sub> (α + πολύς) 484 500  
 (ἀπελλόν) 487 ff. 1219 f. ('apple'-  
 god)

Apollon (*cont.*)

*Attributes*: agonistic urn 562 apple (?) 487 ff. 844 three apples 490<sub>(5)</sub> five apples 490<sub>(5)</sub> 491<sub>(0)</sub> arrow 1192<sub>5</sub> arrows 257 ball of resin (?) 492<sub>(0)</sub> bay 244<sub>4</sub> 264<sub>2</sub> 841 1219 bay-branch 186 203<sub>0</sub> 207<sub>0</sub> 562 bay-tree 486 844 bay-wreath 388 black-poplar 486 black-poplars 500 844 bow 202<sub>1</sub> 1192<sub>5</sub> bow-case and quiver 160<sub>0</sub> car drawn by four winged horses 453<sub>3</sub> car drawn by swans 459 f. Charites 249<sub>2</sub> crow 490<sub>(5)</sub> *diskos* 1156 double axe 562 571 eagle 246<sub>1</sub> 247<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub> flutes 246 golden *mitra* 459 griffin 160<sub>0</sub> 257 ivy-leaves 246 *kálathos* 493<sub>(7)</sub> *kithára* 882<sub>(0)</sub> lion 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> lyre 160<sub>0</sub> 256 459 1219 Nike 246<sub>1</sub> oak-wreath 486<sub>5</sub> 486 oil-flask 493<sub>(7)</sub> *omphalós* 1189<sub>3</sub> *omphalós* twined with snake 882<sub>(0)</sub> palm-branch 246<sub>1</sub> palms 262<sub>5</sub> pan-pipes 246 pomegranate (?) 493<sub>(7)</sub> poplar-trees (?) 485 ram 247<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub> raven 160<sub>0</sub> 571 scroll (?) 246<sub>1</sub> stone (?) 491<sub>(6)</sub> sword 570 f. 716 trident 570 f. tripod 160<sub>0</sub> 193 ff. wreath 1219

*Types*: aniconic 169<sub>2</sub> archaic 'Apollon'-torso from Dyrhachion 499<sub>9</sub> archaic statuette from Naxos 493<sub>(7)</sub> archer 459 with attributes of Zeus 246<sub>1</sub> Bryaxis (?) 921<sub>0</sub> in car drawn by swans 460<sub>2</sub> with Charites in left hand 249<sub>2</sub> with Charites in right hand 232<sub>0</sub> 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 322 322<sub>6</sub> four-handed 322<sub>6</sub> Gigantomachia 973<sub>1</sub> grasping deer 264<sub>3</sub> head in radiate circle 491<sub>(6)</sub> with *himátion* wrapped about his legs 203<sub>0</sub> Pheidias (?) 921<sub>0</sub> pillar 163 ff. 167 ff. pillar of light 1217 playing lyre 163<sub>4</sub> 165<sub>0</sub> 181 184 f. pyramid 168<sub>1</sub> radiate 562 riding on swan 460<sub>2</sub> seated on bay-trunk holding wreath or lyre 1219 seated on *omphalós* 207<sub>0</sub> 1189<sub>3</sub> 1192<sub>5</sub> seated on tripod 201 ff. 921<sub>0</sub> slaying Niobids 475<sub>7</sub> in solar chariot 562 square 160<sub>5</sub> 164<sub>7</sub> standing by *omphalós* 882<sub>(0)</sub> standing by tripod 196 205<sub>0</sub> standing on throne 894<sub>0</sub> standing with *phiale* in right hand and *kithára* in left 882<sub>(0)</sub> standing with three Charites on his right hand 232<sub>0</sub> youthful 234

*Identified with Asklepios* 241<sub>4</sub> Chrysaor (?) 457 Dionysos 252 ff. Helios 164<sub>1</sub> 562 568 Helios and Dionysos 253 f. Horos 252 255 Ianus 339<sub>6</sub> Lairbenos 566 ff. Lairmenos 566 ff.

Apollon (*cont.*)

Liber 244<sub>1</sub> Mithras 250 Oitosyros (Goitosyros, Gongosyros) 293<sub>0</sub> Sol and Liber Pater 256 f. Tyrimnos 561 f. Velchanos 948<sub>0</sub>

*Assimilated to Dionysos* 244 246 ff. Zeus 246<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with Artemis* 164<sub>6</sub> 181 f. 488<sub>(2)</sub> 586<sub>2</sub> Artemis and Leto (see Leto and Artemis) Asklepios 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Asklepios *Σωτήρ* 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Azosioi Theoi 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Dionysos 164 233 ff. Herakles 241<sub>1</sub> Leto 567 Leto and Artemis 202<sub>1</sub> 203<sub>0</sub> 317<sub>2</sub> Maenads 461<sub>0</sub> Maleates 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Satyroi 461<sub>0</sub> Zeus 317 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus and Athena 458 1094<sub>0</sub> Zeus, Athena, Herakles 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Zeus and Themis 730<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with Dionysos* 252 Zeus 201 ff.

*In relation to Artemis* 452 ff. Dionysos 267 Erinys 1102<sub>7</sub> Pythagoras 223<sub>1</sub> Zeus 267 730<sub>0</sub>

*Supersedes Dionysos* 243 ff. 839 841 Rhea 921<sub>0</sub> Zeus 816 902<sub>0</sub>

*Superseded by Helios* 730<sub>0</sub>

— *ἀποδημῖαι* and *ἐπιδημῖαι* of 233 ff. 238<sub>2</sub> as migratory god 459 cave of, at Aulai near Magnesia ad Maeandrum 249<sub>2</sub> epiphanies of 455 f. epithets of, often derived from place-names 455 five Apollons 252 gold statue of 220 in the plural 252<sub>3</sub> 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 (?) 499<sub>9</sub> 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 Eleuthernai 492<sub>(0)</sub>

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 1149<sub>0</sub>

Apollonios of Tyana 569<sub>1</sub>

Aprospatheia 867

Apsinthos

*Cult*: Dionysos *Πλείστωπος* (?) 270

Apsyrto 1097<sub>2</sub>

Aptereoi 190<sub>0</sub>

Apulia, persistence of 'Minoan' motifs in 541 ff.

Apulum

*Cults*: Glykon 1084 Iupiter *O(ptimus)* *M(aximus)* *Tavianus* 754<sub>1</sub>

Aquarius 43<sub>4</sub> 430<sub>0</sub> (?) 430<sub>1</sub> (?) 664<sub>1</sub> (?)



- Aquila 477<sub>8</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub>  
 Aquileia in Venetia  
*Cults*: Iupiter *Ambisagrus* 842 Iupiter  
*Dianus* 328 842 Iupiter *Optimus*  
*Maximus Co(nservator) et Am-*  
*bisagrus* 328
- Aquincum  
*Cult*: Iuno *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub>
- Aquitania  
*Cult*: Fagus 402<sub>1</sub>
- Aquites 471
- Ara 664<sub>1</sub>
- Arabia  
*Cults*: Azizos and Monimos 428 f.  
 Zeus (?) 1224  
 — coins of 1224
- Arachnaion, Mt  
*Cults*: Hera 894<sub>1</sub> Zeus 894<sub>1</sub>
- Arachova 505<sub>6</sub> 993<sub>2</sub>
- Arai 1101
- Arantides 1101 1102<sub>4</sub>
- Aratos, s. of Asklepios (not Kleinias) by  
 Aristodama 1082
- Araxa 455
- Arbios, Mt 945<sub>2</sub>
- Arbios, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus *Ἀρβίος* 945<sub>2</sub> 946<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 946<sub>0</sub>
- Arbor intrat 303<sub>2</sub>
- Arcadians, common hearth of, at Tegea  
 1148 See also Arkadia
- Archelaos (= Hades) 1168<sub>5</sub> (?)
- Archemoros 245<sub>5</sub> 490<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Archonides, head of, consulted by Kleo-  
 menes 290<sub>0</sub>
- Ardettos  
*Cults*: Apollon *Πατρῶος* 1135 Demeter  
 1135 Zeus *Βασιλεύς* 1135  
*Rite*: oath of *dikastai* 730<sub>0</sub>
- Areimanios or Areimanes See Ahriman
- Areion 892<sub>4</sub>
- Areios the Argonaut 1072
- Ares  
*Cults*: Athens 729<sub>0</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Hiera-  
 pytna 723<sub>0</sub> Karmania 464 Kyaneai  
 101<sub>1</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> Magnesia ad Sipy-  
 lum 729<sub>0</sub> Olympia (?) 706<sub>5</sub> Pergamon  
 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Skythia  
 292<sub>4</sub> 547<sub>3</sub> Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub> Sparta  
 729<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *θούρος* 876<sub>0(8)</sub> *κελαινεγχής*  
 438 *Μέγας* 101<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites*: human sacrifice 548<sub>0</sub> sacrifice  
 of asses 464 yearly sacrifice of  
 sheep and horses 548<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Kaldene 973<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Minyas 1150<sub>5</sub> f. of  
 Solymos by Kaldene d. of Pisias  
 (Pisides?) 973<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: chariot 436<sub>1</sub> sword 1225  
*Type*: iron scimitar 548<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Azizos 428 430 Zeus  
 and Poseidon 1225 Ziu 50  
*In relation to* Dionysos 565<sub>2</sub>  
 — horses of 436<sub>1</sub>
- Ares, the planet  
*Myth*: slays the giant Kaukasos 694<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Thouros and Baal or  
 Bel 694<sub>0</sub>
- Arete  
*Cult*: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229  
*Identified with* Athena 1029
- Argaios, Mt 977<sub>1</sub> ff.  
*Cults*: Dioskouroi 980<sub>0</sub> emperor (?)  
 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> Sarapis (?) 978<sub>0</sub> Zeus 980<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 977<sub>1</sub>  
 — eagle on 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> flanked by  
 radiate pillars 980<sub>0</sub> held by Sarapis  
 978<sub>0</sub> hound chasing goat or stag on  
 978<sub>0</sub> image of, on altar 978<sub>0</sub> image  
 of, as head-dress 978<sub>0</sub> image of,  
 within temple 978<sub>0</sub> oath by 978<sub>0</sub>  
 radiate figure on 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> rock-cut  
 habitations on 978<sub>0</sub> snake guards  
 plant on 977<sub>1</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> surmounted by  
 Egyptian symbol (lotos?) 978<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Kaisareia in Kappadokia
- Argarizon, Mt See Gerizim, Mt
- Arge See Hekaerge
- Argenidas, relief of 1062 ff.
- Arges 828 1023
- Argimpasa See Artimpasa
- Argo, the constellation 477<sub>8</sub>
- Argonauts  
*Epithet*: *Μινῶαι* 1150<sub>5</sub>  
*Myths*: Eridanos 484 Heliades 484  
 Idmon 471
- Argos  
*Cults*: Aphrodite *Ἀκρία* 1156<sub>5</sub> Apollon  
*Ἀργυιεύς* 163 Apollon *Δειραδιώτης*  
 173<sub>4</sub> Artemis 1144<sub>2</sub> Artemis *Ἀκρία*  
 1156<sub>5</sub> Athena 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Athena *Ἀκρία* 1156<sub>5</sub> Athena *Ὀξυδερ-*  
*κῆς* or *Ὀξυδερκῶς* 502<sub>2</sub> Epidotas 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Hera 290<sub>0</sub> 515 1144<sub>2</sub> Hera *Ἀκρία*  
 1156<sub>5</sub> Leto (Lato) *Ἀσιᾶτις* 455  
 pillars set up by Danaos (?) 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Zeus 1230 Zeus *Ἀφέσιος* 179 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 808<sub>0(14)</sub> Zeus  
*Λαρισαῖος* 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
*Λαρισσεύς* 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Μελίχιος*  
 1143 f. Zeus *Μηχανεύς* 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
*Νέμειος* 1143<sub>5</sub> Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Zeus *Υέτιος* 164<sub>5</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
*Ἵψιστος* 878<sub>0(4)</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Φαλακ-*  
*ρός* 874<sub>2</sub> 893<sub>1</sub> 1099<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
*Φύξιος* 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus with three eyes  
 892<sub>5</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Amphilochos 489<sub>0(4)</sub> Areios  
 1072 Danaos 1144<sub>2</sub> Pelasgos 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Pelopidai 956<sub>2</sub> 957<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 1079 1143 *omphalós* at  
 173
- Argos, watcher of Io  
*Myths*: Nemea 892<sub>4</sub> slain by Hermes  
 379 f.  
*Function*: sky 379  
*Attributes*: club 380 lion-skin (?) 380  
 panther-skin 380 *pétasos* 380 386  
*Types*: bifrontal 341<sub>0</sub> 379 f. Janiform

- Argos, watcher of Io (*cont.*)  
(bearded + beardless) 387 with numerous eyes 380  
*Compared with Zeus* 379
- Ariadne  
*Cult*: Mt Aigaion (?) 927<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Daidalos 600 f.  
*Attributes*: ivy-wreath 390 (?) sceptre 788<sub>0</sub> (?)  
*Type*: double bust (with Dionysos) 390 (?) 391 392<sub>1</sub> (?)  
*Associated with Dionysos* 245<sub>0</sub> 245<sub>5</sub> 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?)
- Aricia  
*Cults*: Diana 420<sub>1</sub> Diana *Nemorensis* 147
- Aries 16<sub>1</sub> 103<sub>0</sub> 664<sub>1</sub>
- Ariadne 1024
- Arima  
*Myth*: Typhon (Typhoeus) 826 909<sub>0</sub>
- Arimian Cave 449<sub>0</sub>
- Arippasa See Artimpasa
- Aristaios  
*Cult*: Arkadia 1112<sub>6</sub>  
*Myth*: Apollon 1042 (?)  
*In relation to Zeus* 1112<sub>6</sub>
- Ariste Chthonia (= Hekate) 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Aristodama, m. of Aratos by Asklepios (not Kleinias) 1082
- Aristodemos 436
- Aristogeiton 1172
- Aristomenes sacrifices 300 persons to Zeus  
'Ιθωμάτας 891<sub>0</sub>
- Aristonous of Aigina 740 1222
- Aristophanes on Zeus 2
- Aristophanes, the painter 902<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Aristotle 805<sub>6</sub>
- Arkadia  
*Cults*: Aristaios 1112<sub>6</sub> Artemis 412  
Kallisto 1114<sub>0(6)</sub> Zeus 'Ερεχθεύς 793  
Zeus Δύκαιος 760 f. 849  
*Myths*: Arkas 228<sub>5</sub> birth of Apollon Νόμιος 252  
— coins of 757 760 849
- Arkas 212 228<sub>5</sub> 964<sub>3</sub> 1148
- Arkeisios  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152<sub>4</sub>
- Arkesilaos (?) 1156
- Arkesine  
*Cults*: Dionysos κισσοκόμας 246<sub>1</sub> Muses 1157<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Αναδώτης 1157<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Αποτρόπαιος 1157<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μειλίχιος 1156 Zeus Σωτήρ 1156<sub>13</sub> Zeus Τέλειος 1156<sub>13</sub>
- Arkesion, a cave on Mt Ide in Crete  
*Myth*: Kouretes hide from Kronos 549<sub>1</sub> 939<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 939<sub>0</sub>  
— to be identified with the Idaean Cave, not with the Kamares grotto 939<sub>0</sub>
- 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 900<sub>0</sub>
- Arne, a spring near Mantinea 692
- Arnea (?) See Arnaia
- Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia)  
*Cult*: Herakles 469<sub>1</sub>
- Arpi, coins of 1159<sub>1</sub>
- Arsalos 972<sub>0</sub>
- Arsinoe, d. of Leukippos 1089
- Arsinoe ii  
*Cult*: Alexandria 1216  
— personates Tyche 1216 wears horn of Zeus 'Αμμων 773<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub>
- Arsippos 1089
- Arslan Apa, in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Theos 'Υψιστος (= Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς) 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 969<sub>3</sub>
- Artemiche, d. of Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>
- Artemis  
*Cults*: Achna 157<sub>1</sub> Akarnania 412  
Apameia in Phrygia 408<sub>0</sub> Argos 1144<sub>2</sub> 1156<sub>5</sub> Arkadia 412 Athens 115<sub>2</sub> 163<sub>4</sub> 410<sub>1</sub> Delos 452 ff. 501 1227 Delphoi 1216 Divlit near Koloë 975<sub>0</sub> Eleuthernai 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Ephesos 405 ff. 962<sub>2</sub> 1082 Epidauros 413<sub>7</sub> Geraistos 906<sub>3</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Halikarnassos 164<sub>3</sub> Heleia 931<sub>0</sub> Hiera in Lesbos 488<sub>0(2)</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> Hittites (?) 410<sub>1</sub> Hyperboreoi (?) 501 Kadoi 408<sub>0</sub> Korkyra 457 Mt Koryphon (Koryphaion) 869<sub>1</sub> Kyrene 1177<sub>3</sub> Lousoi 646 Lykia 681<sub>1</sub> Lyttos 934<sub>0</sub> Magnesia ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Magnesia in Thessaly 730<sub>0</sub> Miletos 410<sub>1</sub> Mounychia 115 Myra (?) 681<sub>1</sub> Olymos 586<sub>2</sub> Pagai, port of Megara (?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub> Paionia 500 Panormos near Kyzikos 881<sub>0(21)</sub> Pergamon 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Pogla (?) 363 Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Rhegion 680 Sardeis 1227 f. Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub> Sparta 421 f. 457 640<sub>0</sub> 647 Stymphalos 692 Syracuse 1140 Thebes in Boiotia 412 Thrace 411 500 f. Troizen 413 ff. Troy 453  
*Epithets*: 'Αγροτέρα 1177<sub>3</sub> 'Ακρία 1156<sub>5</sub> 'Αναείτις ('Αναείτις?) 975<sub>0</sub> 'Αργη (?) 452 Βασίλεια 495 500 f. Βολοσία 906<sub>3</sub> Βούσβατος (See Bousbatos) Βραυρωνία 228<sub>4</sub> Δίκτυννα 414<sub>0</sub> δρυμονίη 412<sub>4</sub> 'Εκαέργη 452 'Εκβατηρία 1180<sub>4</sub> 'Ελευθέρα 681<sub>1</sub> ἐν ὄρει δρυνογόνοισι κόραν... ἀγροτέραν 412<sub>5</sub> Εὔκλεια 118<sub>3</sub> 'Εφεσία 405 ff. 962<sub>5</sub> 1220 ἢ κατέχεις ὄρων δρυμούς 412<sub>4</sub> Ιοχέαιρα 405<sub>3</sub> ἵπποσόα 465 501 'Ιωλκία 730<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(1)</sub> Καλλίστη 228<sub>4</sub> Λαφρία 599 Λοχία 183 Λυαία 1140<sub>3</sub> Λυγοδέσμα 421<sub>5</sub> μεγάλη 963<sub>0</sub> 'Ορθία 421 f. 501 (?) 640<sub>0</sub> 647 'Ορθωσία 422<sub>1</sub> Περγαία 363 (?) Πηνελόπη (?) 691 f. Σαρωνία 413<sub>7</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> Σαρωνίς 413 417 Στυμφαλία 692 Σώτειρα 488<sub>0(3)</sub> Ταυροπόλος 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1214 (?) Φακελίτις οἱ Φακελίνη 680 Φωσφόρος 115



Artemis (*cont.*)

- Χιτώνη 409 410<sub>1</sub> Χιτωνία 410<sub>1</sub>  
 χρυσόδοπος 716 Ἔπις 452  
*Festivals*: Marathon (Boedromion) 6  
 854 Saronia 413<sub>7</sub>  
*Rites*: βωμονίκαι 421<sub>3</sub> contest of rustic  
 singers wearing stag-horns 1140  
 διαμαστίγωσις 421<sub>3</sub> wheaten straw  
 used in sacrifice by women of  
 Thrace and Paionia 500 f.  
*Priestess*: Kallisto 228<sub>4</sub> pursues a man  
 as Artemis pursued Leimon 164<sub>6</sub>  
 virgin 210<sub>0</sub>  
*Worshippers*: ἀρχίχορος καὶ ἱεροκάρυξ  
 τῶν ἱερέων 488<sub>0(2)</sub>  
*Myths*: Astrabakos and Alopekos 421  
 Atalante 412 born at Araxa 455  
 born at Ortygia near Ephesos 962<sub>2</sub>  
 Boupagos 894<sub>0</sub> HIPPOLYTOS 393  
 Hyperboreoi (?) 501<sub>5</sub> Kallisto 228<sub>5</sub>  
 Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub> Orestes 421<sub>3</sub> 680 Saron  
 413 f. wooed by Otos 130  
*Metamorphosed into doe* (?) 413<sub>3</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. of Demeter 1032 d. of  
 Dionysos by Demeter 252 d. of Leto  
 (Lato) 456 465 501 d. of Zeus 164<sub>8</sub>  
 342<sub>0</sub> 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 410<sub>0</sub> nature  
 457 vegetation 411 younger form of  
 Anatolian mother-goddess 501 844  
*Etymology*: 1220  
*Attributes*: bee 407<sub>0</sub> birds (?) 457 bow  
 202<sub>1</sub> 453<sub>3</sub> bull 1214 (?) crab 407<sub>0</sub>  
 crown 147<sub>1</sub> doves (?) 457 fawn 152<sub>0</sub>  
 griffin 406<sub>0</sub> f. horned doe 854 lion  
 406<sub>0</sub> f. lions (?) 457 two lionesses  
 1227 mountains (?) 457 necklace of  
 acorns 405 407<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>0</sub> ox 407<sub>0</sub> *phiale*  
 882<sub>0(0)</sub> quiver 453<sub>3</sub> ram (?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub>  
 rosette 407<sub>0</sub> Skylla 407<sub>0</sub> snakes (?)  
 457 Sphinx 407<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> (?) stag 406<sub>0</sub> ff.  
 453<sub>3</sub> sword 716 torch 412 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 1214 (?) torches 488<sub>0(3)</sub> (?) Victories  
 407<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> wreath of flowers 405 407<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: archaistic 152<sub>0</sub> Διοπετές 963<sub>0</sub>  
 Ἐφεσία not descended from πότνια  
 θηρῶν 410<sub>0</sub> with fillets hanging from  
 hands 409<sub>0</sub> f. with fillets tethering  
 hands 408<sub>0</sub> f. filling *phiale* of Apol-  
 lon 181 fire 115<sub>2</sub> holding torches  
 187<sub>4</sub> (?) many-breasted 406<sub>0</sub> ff.  
*multimammia* 410<sub>0</sub> πολύμαστος 410<sub>0</sub>  
 riding horned doe 854 shooting  
 arrow 473 492<sub>0(0)</sub> slaying Niobids  
 475<sub>7</sub> standing with *phiale* in right  
 hand and torch in left 882<sub>0(0)</sub> with  
 temple on head 406<sub>0</sub> f.  
*Identified with Bendis* 501 Boubastis  
 252 Bousbatos 501<sub>3</sub> Hekate 1029  
 1032  
*Associated with Apollon* 164<sub>6</sub> 181 f.  
 488<sub>0(2)</sub> 586<sub>2</sub> Apollon and Leto 317<sub>2</sub>

Artemis (*cont.*)

- Asklepios 1082 Hippolytos 149 Zeus  
 and Athena 1144<sub>2</sub>  
*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 405<sub>3</sub> 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  
 975<sub>0</sub>  
 Artemision in Euboeia 854  
 Artimeasa See Artimpasa  
 Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arip-  
 pasa), the Scythian Aphrodite Οὐ-  
 ρανία 293<sub>0</sub>  
 Artimuk (= Artemis)  
*Cult*: Sardeis 1227 f.  
*Epithet*: *Ibsimsis* (= Ἐφεσία?) 1227  
 Arvi, 'Minoan' settlement at 945<sub>2</sub> 946<sub>0</sub>  
 Arvi, the cleft at 945<sub>2</sub>  
 Aschlapios (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085  
 Ashur, the god  
*Attributes*: flowers (?) 771<sub>0</sub> lightnings (?)  
 770<sub>2</sub>  
 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 Epidauros  
 413<sub>7</sub> 1076 ff. 1085 1177 f. Epidauros  
 Limera 1082 Gortyna 1085 Gortys  
 1090 Herakleia Salbake 1080 Kos  
 1088 Kyllene 1078 Lakonike 1085  
 Lebena 1082 Mantinea 1078 Mega-  
 lopolis 1090 Miletos 1228 Mytilene  
 259<sub>0</sub> 1079 Neapolis in Samaria 1080  
 Orchomenos in Boiotia 1085 Pana-  
 mara 1066 Peiraeus 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 1105  
 1107<sub>5</sub> (?) 1107<sub>6</sub> (?) 1173 Pergamon  
 954<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 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 ἠπιოდότης 1086 ἠπιος  
 1086 ἠπιόφρων 1086 ἠτήρ θεῶν...  
 κλειτός 954<sub>0</sub> ἠτήρ νόσων... λυγρῶν  
 954<sub>0</sub> Καῖσαρ (= Claudius) 1088 Παι-  
 ῶν 954<sub>0</sub> Σωτήρ 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 1076 f.  
 Τελεσφόρος (?) 1089 τρίτος 1089  
*Oracles*: 1083 f.  
*Rites*: incubation 1082 preliminary  
 sacrifice to Apollon Μαλέατας 1088

Asklepios (*cont.*)

πυροφορεῖν 413<sub>7</sub> 1076 sacrifice of three-year-old ox 287<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: Alexandros of Abonou Teichos 1083 ff.

*Personated by* Claudius 1088

*Myths*: buried in Arkadia 1089 buried in Epidaurus 1089 buried at Kynosoura in Lakonike 1088 f. Ophiuchus 1087 raises dead at Delphoi 241<sub>4</sub> raises Glaukos from dead 1087 raises Hippolytos from dead 394<sub>2</sub> 1087 rears his snake on Mt Pelion 1087 slain by Zeus at Delphoi 241<sub>4</sub> 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) 488<sub>0(0)</sub> s. of Arsippos by Arsinoe d. of Leukippos 1089 s. of Ischys by Koronis 1089 s. of Koronis 833<sub>0</sub>

*Function*: healing 127 954<sub>0</sub>

*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. Phyromachos 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 241<sub>4</sub> Ophiuchos 241<sub>4</sub> Zeus 1076 ff.

*Assimilated to* Zeus 1078 ff.

*Associated with* Apollon Μαλέατας 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Artemis 1082 Herakles 241<sub>4</sub> Hygieia and Telesphoros 1078 Telesphoros 1082

*Compared with* Herakles 241<sub>4</sub> Trophonios 1075

*Contrasted with* Zeus 1081 f.

*In relation to* Zeus Φίλιος 1178

— grave of 1088 f. underground *adyton* of 1088 variant forms of the name 1085 f.

Askles 1086

Asopos, the river 898<sub>6</sub>

Asopos, the river-god 898<sub>6</sub> 1151<sub>3</sub>

Assklepios (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Assos

*Cults*: (Athena) Παρθένος 728<sub>0</sub> Octavianus 728<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ομονῶος 857<sub>6</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ 728<sub>0</sub>

Assyria

*Cult*: Baal or Bel 694<sub>0</sub>

Assyrioi (= Syrioi)

*Cult*: Adonis 296<sub>4</sub>

— tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>

Astakos, s. of Poseidon 665<sub>3</sub>

Astakos in Akarnania 666<sub>0</sub>

Astakos in Bithynia, coins of 665<sub>3</sub>

Astarte

*Cult*: Chytroi 157<sub>1</sub>

*Type*: riding lion (?) 869<sub>0</sub>

Asterioi 663

Asterion 663

Astrabakos 421

Astraios 230

Astrapai

*Cult*: Bathos 827

Astrape, personification of lightning 828 851

Astros 1145<sub>1(b)</sub>

Astygyia 1122

Astynome, m. of Aphrodite 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>

Astyoche, w. of Telephos 281<sub>4</sub> 1184<sub>3</sub>

Ataburus 588<sub>1</sub>

Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

*Cults*: Athena (?) 923<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Αταβύριος 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub>

*Myths*: Althaimenes 923<sub>0</sub> Apemosyne 923<sub>0</sub> Katreus 923<sub>0</sub>

Atabyrion, Mt, in Sicily See Agrigentum

Atabyris (Tabyris) See Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

Atalante

*Myth*: dedicates oak to Artemis in Arkadia 412

Ate 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub>

Atella, coins of 831<sub>1(2)</sub>

Athamas

*Myths*: founds Halos 904<sub>1</sub> golden ram 899<sub>1</sub> plots death of Phrixos 904<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: h. of Ino 904<sub>1</sub> s. of Aiolos and f. of Phrixos 904<sub>1</sub>

— eldest descendant of, must never enter Prytaneion 904<sub>1</sub>

Athanaïstai 925<sub>0</sub>

Athaneatis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 cp. 1149<sub>0</sub>

Athens

*Cults*: Achaeans (?) 458 Agrigentum

910<sub>1</sub> Aliphera (?) 782 Alopeke 1115

Antiocheia on the Orontes 1197

Argos 502<sub>2</sub> 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> 1156<sub>5</sub>

Assos 728<sub>0</sub> Mt Atabyrion in

Rhodes (?) 923<sub>0</sub> Athens 259<sub>0</sub> 729<sub>0</sub>

730<sub>0</sub> 757 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> 1147

1169<sub>4</sub> 1230 Boiotia 731<sub>0</sub> Chersonesos

Taurike 729<sub>0</sub> Delos 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub>

922<sub>0</sub> Delphoi 231 Eilena 625



Athena (*cont.*)

- Elateia in Phokis 1158<sub>10</sub> Elis 291<sub>0</sub>  
 Emesa 814<sub>3</sub> Epidauros 502<sub>2</sub> Erythrai in Ionia 1157<sub>0</sub> Gonnoi 870<sub>0</sub>  
 Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> Heleia 931<sub>0</sub>  
 Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> Ilion 950<sub>0</sub> Itanos 929<sub>0</sub>  
 Kolonos 1152<sub>5</sub> Mt Kynthos 919<sub>0</sub>  
 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> Larisa at Argos 892<sub>5</sub>  
 893<sub>0</sub> Larissa in Thessaly 1155  
 Lindos 346<sub>0</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Magnesia ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Megalopolis  
 164<sub>7</sub> Olympos in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub> Ouxenton  
 (?) 386<sub>1</sub> Oxyrhynchite nome 625  
 Paros 922<sub>0</sub> Pergamon 287<sub>2</sub> 729<sub>0</sub>  
 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Phlyeis 1066  
 Phokis 731<sub>0</sub> Praisos 731<sub>0</sub> Priansos  
 723<sub>0</sub> Rhodes(?) 923<sub>0</sub> Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Skythia 925<sub>0</sub> Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub> Sparta  
 261<sub>0</sub> 502<sub>2</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> 739<sub>1</sub> 1101<sub>3</sub>  
 Stelai in Crete 731<sub>0</sub> Sybrita 731<sub>0</sub>  
 Tegea 593 f. 1147 Tralleis 958<sub>0</sub>  
 Troizen 416<sub>3</sub>
- Epithets:* ἀγνή 728<sub>0</sub> Ἀκρία 1156<sub>5</sub> Ἀλέα  
 593 f. 1147 Ἀμβουλία 261<sub>0</sub> Ἀποτροπαία  
 1157<sub>0</sub> Ἀρεία 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> ἀτροπῶν  
 954<sub>0</sub> Βαλενίκη 833<sub>7</sub> Βελενίκη 833<sub>7</sub>  
 Βελούκη 833<sub>7</sub> Βουλαία 259<sub>0</sub> caesia  
 503<sub>0</sub> γλαυκῶπις 502<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> γοργῶπις  
 502<sub>2</sub> Ἐργάνη 164<sub>7</sub> ἡγεμῶν τῶν Κουρήτων  
 1029 Ἰλιάς 950<sub>0</sub> Κραναία 1158<sub>10</sub>  
 Κτησία 1065 Κυνθία 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub>  
 922<sub>0</sub> Λινδία 925<sub>0</sub> Νικηφόρος 287<sub>2</sub> 955<sub>0</sub>  
 Ξενία 1101<sub>3</sub> ὄβριμοδερκής 502<sub>2</sub> Ὀμολωίς  
 901<sub>0</sub> Ὀξυδέρκα 502<sub>2</sub> Ὀξυδερκής or  
 Ὀξυδερκῶ 502<sub>2</sub> Ὀπλοσμία 290<sub>0</sub>  
 291<sub>0</sub> Ὀπτιλέτις or Ὀπτιλία 502<sub>2</sub>  
 Ὀφθαλμίτις 502<sub>2</sub> Παλλάς 1031 1130<sub>1</sub>  
 Παρθένος 728<sub>0</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> 757 πάτριος 728<sub>0</sub>  
 πολεμηδόκος 954<sub>0</sub> Πολιάς 723<sub>0</sub> 870<sub>0</sub>  
 923<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> 1147 Πολιοῦχος 731<sub>0</sub> 1152<sub>5</sub>  
 Προναία 231 Πιλλία (See Ὀπτιλία)  
 quarta 869<sub>1</sub> Σαλμωνία 723<sub>0</sub> Σθενιάς  
 416<sub>3</sub> Σώπειρα 1169<sub>4</sub> τετάρτη (See  
 quarta) Τιθρωνή 1066 Τριτογένεια  
 954<sub>0</sub> Τριτώνη (?) 1066 Ὑπάτη 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 Φρατρία 730<sub>0</sub> Χαλκίκοικος 739<sub>1</sub> Ὠλερία  
 723<sub>0</sub>
- Festival:* Panathenaia 1121<sub>0</sub>
- Rites:* πέπλος at Athens 1136 πέπλος  
 at Tegea 1148 sacrifice of cow 902<sub>2</sub>  
 sacrifice of two-year-old heifer 287<sub>2</sub>  
 954<sub>0</sub>
- Priests:* boy at Tegea 1147 ζακόρος 921<sub>0</sub>  
 ιερεὺς 921<sub>0</sub> κλειδοῦχος 921<sub>0</sub>
- Priestess:* virgin 210<sub>0</sub>
- Personated by* Demetrios Poliorketes (?)  
 1136<sub>4</sub> Helene, consort of Simon  
 Magus 726<sub>0</sub>
- Myths:* Aleos 1147 birth from head of  
 Zeus 709 721<sub>2</sub> 753<sub>3</sub> 785 1029 Epeios  
 625 Kepheus s. of Aleos 1148 Medousa  
 1148 Orestes 1098<sub>4</sub> puts on *chiton*  
 of Zeus 744<sub>4</sub> rescues the heart of  
 Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 Sterope, d.  
 of Kepheus 1147<sub>11</sub>

Athena (*cont.*)

- teaches Apollon to flute 249<sub>2</sub> teaches  
 Kouretes to dance 1029
- Genealogy:* d. of Brontaios 833<sub>7</sub> d. of  
 Brontees 833<sub>7</sub> d. of Zeus by Koryphe  
 869<sub>1</sub> (cp. i. 155)
- Functions:* dancing 1029 second self  
 of Zeus 502<sub>2</sub> spinning 66<sub>0</sub> 1029  
 virtue of the leading gods 1029  
 weaving 66<sub>0</sub> 1029 wisdom of the  
 creator 1029
- Attributes:* aigis 903<sub>0</sub> chariot 721<sub>2</sub>  
 couch 1147 double axe 625 f. 847  
 helmet 90<sub>3</sub> lance 794<sub>0</sub> owl 955<sub>0</sub>  
 snakes 1111 spear 903<sub>0</sub> sword 713  
 716
- Types:* bearing Nike and double axe  
 625 birth from head of Zeus 709  
 753<sub>3</sub> 785 in crested Corinthian hel-  
 met 162<sub>1</sub> Διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον 963<sub>0</sub>  
 with double axe 625 f. Gigantomachy  
 713 introduction of Herakles  
 to Olympos 735 ff. Janiform (?)  
 386<sub>1</sub> Myron 1078 spears Eukelados  
 777<sub>2</sub> square 164<sub>7</sub>
- Identified with* Arete 1029 Tefénet 626<sub>0</sub>
- Associated with* Hephaistos 1137 Zeus  
 259<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1101<sub>3</sub> Zeus and  
 Apollon 458 1094<sub>0</sub> Zeus and Artemis  
 1144<sub>2</sub> Zeus and Hera (= Capitoline  
 triad) 319<sub>7</sub> Zeus and Herakles 1078  
 Zeus, Herakles, Apollon 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 Zeus Ἀταβύριος and Dionysos 925<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Μιλίχιος and Ge 1115 Zeus  
 Σαβάξιος 287<sub>2</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ 1169<sub>4</sub>
- In relation to* Cretan mother-goddess  
 625 Erikepaios (Erikapaios) 1032  
 Gorgon 502<sub>2</sub>
- Supersedes* 'Minoan' goddess (?) 922<sub>0</sub>
- Superseded by* St Maria de' Greci 910<sub>1</sub>
- Athens
- Cults:* Acheloios 1092<sub>2</sub> 1117 1118  
 Agathe Tyche 1125<sub>1</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub> Agathos  
 Daimon 1125<sub>1</sub> Agathos Deos (*sic*)  
 985<sub>0</sub> Agathos Theos 1129<sub>0</sub> Agnostos  
 Theos 942<sub>0</sub> Anaktes 1135<sub>4</sub> Aphrodite  
 Ούρανία 985<sub>0</sub> Aphrodite Ψίθυρος 1043  
 Apollon 730<sub>0</sub> 985<sub>0</sub> 1121 Apollon  
 Ἀγνιεύς 163 Apollon Ἀγνιεύς Ἀλεξί-  
 κακος 163<sub>4</sub> Apollon Ἀγνιεύς Προ-  
 στατήριος Πατρώος Πύθιος Κλάριος  
 Πανιώνιος 163<sub>4</sub> Apollon Πατρώος  
 255 730<sub>0</sub> Apollon Προστατήριος 163<sub>4</sub>  
 Apollon Σωτήρ 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Ares 729<sub>0</sub>  
 Artemis 163<sub>4</sub> Artemis Φωσφόρος  
 115<sub>2</sub> Artemis Χιτώνη (?) 410<sub>1</sub> As-  
 klepios 1065 1078 Athena 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub>  
 922<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> 1230 Athena Ἀρεία 729<sub>0</sub>  
 Athena Βουλαία 259<sub>0</sub> Athena Παρ-  
 θένος 757 Athena Πολιάς 1147  
 Athena Σώπειρα 1169<sub>4</sub> Athena Φρα-  
 τρία 730<sub>0</sub> Athena Ὑπάτη 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 Bendis 1032 f. Demeter 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub>  
 Dionysos 985<sub>0</sub> Dionysos Μελοπόνος  
 245<sub>5</sub> Dioskouroi 1135<sub>4</sub> Erechtheus

Athens (*cont.*)

793 f. Eros *Ψίθυρος* 1043 Ge 729<sub>0</sub>  
 Hadrian 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Harpokrates  
 985<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> 1114 Hera 1119<sub>4</sub>  
 Herakles 163<sub>4</sub> 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 1116 f. Hermes  
 1117 Hermes *Καταιβάτης* 14 Hermes  
*Χθόνιος* 14 Hermes *Ψιθυριστής* 1043  
 Heroës 1123 Hestia *Βουλαία* 259<sub>0</sub>  
 Horos 985<sub>0</sub> Isis *Ταποσειριάς* 985<sub>0</sub>  
 Kallirrhoe, d. of Acheloios 1117 (?)  
 Kronos 554<sub>2</sub> Leto 163<sub>4</sub> St Marina  
 1114 Meter *ἐν Ἀγρας* 1119<sub>0</sub> 1142<sub>3</sub> (?)  
 Moirai 231<sub>8</sub> Mother of the gods  
 985<sub>0</sub> Nymphs 1118 *Παναγία εἰς τὴν*  
*Πέτραν* 1119<sub>0</sub> Philia 1163 St Pho-  
 teine 1116 Poseidon 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> Psi-  
 thyros the hero 1044 (Sarapis) *ἐν*  
*Κανώπω* 985<sub>0</sub> ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος  
 1119<sub>4</sub> Tyche Ἀγαθή 1163 Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>  
 730<sub>0</sub> 817 1229 Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων (?)  
 1061 Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος 815 Zeus  
 Βασιλεύς 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1135<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ἐλευ-  
 θέριος (= Domitian) 97<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἐλευ-  
 θέριος (= Hadrian) 98<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἐλευ-  
 θέριος Ἀντονίνος Σωτήρ Ὀλύμπιος (?)  
 (= Antoninus Pius) 101<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
 Ἐξακεστήρ 1093<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐπιτέλειος  
 Φίλιος 1163 Zeus Ἐπόσιος 1121  
 1123 Zeus Ἐρεχθεύς 793 Zeus  
 Ἐρκείος 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἰκέσιος 1093<sub>1</sub>  
 Zeus Καθάριος 1093<sub>1</sub> 1100<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
 Κάσιος 985<sub>0</sub> Zeus Καταιβάτης 20 f.  
 Zeus Κήναιος (*Κηναῖος*) 903<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Κτήσιος 1065 Zeus Μειλίχιος 1091 f.  
 1103 1114 ff. 1121 1123 1149 1151  
 1161 Zeus Μοιραγέτης 231<sub>8</sub> Zeus  
 Μόριος 20 Zeus Νάιος 1117 (?) Zeus  
 Ξέμιος 1229 Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 20 1078  
 1118 1123 Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (=   
 Hadrian) (?) 959<sub>0</sub> Zeus Πανελλήνιος  
 1119<sub>4</sub> 1120<sub>0</sub> Zeus Πατρῶος 111<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Πολιεύς 897<sub>2</sub> Zeus Στράτιος  
 976<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ 1121 1123 1147  
 1169 Zeus Τέλειος 1123 1147 1163<sub>2</sub>  
 Zeus Τροπαῖος 111<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὑπατος  
 163<sub>4</sub> 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 897<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ὑψιστος  
 876<sub>1(1)</sub> 897<sub>3</sub> Zeus Φίλιος 1161 ff.  
 Zeus Φράτριος 730<sub>0</sub>

*Festivals*: Anthesteria (Anthesterion  
 11—13) 1139 City Dionysia 244<sub>2</sub>  
 Diasia (Anthesterion 22 or 23)  
 1137 ff. Lenaia 244<sub>2</sub> Megala Pan-  
 hellenia 1121<sub>0</sub> Panathenaia 1121<sub>0</sub>  
 Panhellenia 1119<sub>4</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Pyanopsia  
 or Pyanepsia 237<sub>0</sub> Thargelia 237<sub>0</sub>

*Rites*: Bacchantes cover their breasts  
 with iron bowls 346<sub>0</sub> burial within  
 the house 1060 1065 *ἐγχυρστριαί*  
 1065 *ἔφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἄμεινον*  
 1166<sub>1</sub> first-fruits taken to Delphoi  
 816 f. need-fire brought from Del-  
 phoi 816 f. *πιθογία* (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*: *πυρφόρος* 817<sub>0</sub>

*Myths*: Akropolis struck with trident  
 by Poseidon 793 Deukalion 1118  
 1139 1229 Erichthonios 944<sub>0</sub>  
 Kekrops 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Periphas 1121 ff.  
 sea-water on Akropolis 581

— Asklepion at 1078 coins of 232<sub>0</sub>  
 674<sub>1</sub> 675<sub>1</sub> 1078 Erechtheion at 24  
 789<sub>7</sub> 792 965<sub>0</sub> 1148 Kulkops in folk-  
 tale from 990 ff. old Hekatompedon  
 at 757<sub>1</sub> Olympieion at 1118 ff. 1135  
 1229 f. Parthenon at (See Parthenon)  
 Prytaneion at 1094<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> Pythion  
 at 201<sub>1</sub> 202<sub>1</sub> 1135 Stoa Basileios at  
 1094<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> 1135<sub>4</sub> Stoa Poikile at  
 1135<sub>4</sub> Stoa of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος at  
 1135<sub>4</sub> talisman of 1148

## Athos, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus Ἀθῶος 906<sub>1</sub>

— altars on 906<sub>1</sub> Macrobian on 500  
 monasteries on 906<sub>1</sub>

## Atrribis

*Cult*: Theos Ὑψιστος 889<sub>0(33)</sub> 984<sub>3</sub>

Athtar 430<sub>4</sub>

## Atlas

*Cult*: Heleia 931<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Alkyone 414<sub>2</sub>

See also Index II Atlantes

## Atlas, Mt

*Myths*: garden of Hera 1021 Hes-  
 perides 1021

## Atreus

*Myth*: sceptre of Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>4</sub>  
 1132<sub>6</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Pelops and f. of  
 Agamemnon 957<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology*: 569<sub>2</sub>

## Atropos 1023

Attabokaoi 310<sub>2</sub>

## Attaleia in Pamphylia

*Cult*: Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος 111<sub>0</sub>

## Attalos

*Etymology*: 569<sub>2</sub>

Attes 292<sub>3</sub> 296<sub>4</sub> 297<sub>0</sub>

See also Attis

## Attes, s. of Kalaos 444

## Attike

*Cults*: Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων (?) 1069 Zeus  
 Μειλίχιος 291<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: Theseus purified by Phytalidai  
 at altar of Zeus Μειλίχιος 291<sub>2</sub>

## Attis

*Cults*: Hierapolis in Phrygia 306<sub>1</sub>

Ostia 297 ff. 303<sub>2</sub> Pessinous 970<sub>0</sub>

Phrygia 313 Rome 303<sub>2</sub> 306<sub>5</sub>

*Epithets*: *Aeternus* (?) 306<sub>4</sub> *αιπόλος*



Attis (*cont.*)

- 296<sub>4</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> ἄκαρπος 296<sub>4</sub> βασιλεύς 303<sub>2</sub>  
 βουκόλος 307<sub>1</sub> bubulcus 307<sub>1</sub> Chris-  
 tianus (!) 307 formosus adulescens  
 307<sub>3</sub> Invictus 303<sub>2</sub> Μηνοτύραννος  
 303<sub>2</sub> Menotyrannus (Menotyrannus,  
 Minotyrannus) 303<sub>2</sub> νέκυσ 296<sub>4</sub> Πάπας  
 or Παπᾶς 292 ff. pastor 307<sub>1</sub> Pileatus  
 307 ποιμὴν 307<sub>1</sub> ποιμὴν λευκῶν  
 ἄστρων 296<sub>4</sub> 297<sub>0</sub> Sanctus 303<sub>2</sub>  
 συρκτάς 296<sub>4</sub> Ἰῆς 292<sub>3</sub> χλοερός  
 στάχυσ ἀμηθείς 296<sub>4</sub>  
*Festivals*: arbor intrat 303<sub>2</sub> Hilaria  
 306<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites*: those polluted with wine may  
 not enter his sanctuary 969<sub>4</sub>  
 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 306<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: betrothed to Ia 970<sub>0</sub> conceived  
 by Nana after putting fruit in her  
 bosom 969<sub>4</sub> loved by Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub>  
 loved by Mother of the gods 969<sub>4</sub>  
 Lydian version (Attis killed by boar)  
 969<sub>4</sub> mutilates himself under pine-  
 tree 970<sub>0</sub> nurtured on goat's milk  
 969<sub>4</sub> Phrygian version (Attis muti-  
 lated under pine-tree) 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>  
 tended by he-goat 969<sub>4</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of almond-tree 295 s. of  
 Kronos 294 s. of Nana, d. of  
 Sangarios 969<sub>4</sub> s. of Rhea 294 296  
 s. of Zeus 294  
*Functions*: divine king 303<sub>2</sub> emblem  
 of resurrection 309 rain 292 rebirth  
 of Πάπας (Παπᾶς) 294 ripe corn 295<sub>2</sub>  
 shepherd of his devotees 306 f.  
 spring flowers 295<sub>2</sub> tree-spirit (?)  
 303<sub>2</sub> young corn 295<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 293 969<sub>4</sub>  
*Attributes*: almonds 298 corn-ears  
 297 ff. flowers 297 f. fruit 297  
 lagobólon 300 moon 298 Phrygian  
 cap 298 pileum 307<sub>3</sub> pine-cones 298  
 pine-tree 951<sub>0</sub> pomegranates 298  
 poppy-heads 298 starry pilos 386  
*Types*: duplicated 300 f. 308 ff. effemi-  
 nate youth reclining on rock 297 f.  
 goatherd 295 green ear of corn 295  
 half-length figure 301 piper 295  
 radiate 298 recumbent 300 shepherd  
 296  
*Identified with* Adamna 295 1218  
 Adonis 294 f. 298 Dionysos 294  
 296 298 Korybas 295 Men 295 298  
 Osiris 294 f. Pan 296 Zeus 292  
*Assimilated to* Cautes and Cautopates  
 309  
*Associated with* Agdistis and Zeus 1229  
 Kybele 301<sub>1</sub> Mater deum 306<sub>5</sub>  
*Compared with* Adonis 293  
*In relation to* Christianity 303 ff.

Attis (*cont.*)

- Dioskouroi 307 ff. Kybele 293 842  
 Papas 317  
 — formula of devotion to 278<sub>2</sub>  
 Attis, priest of the Mother of the gods  
 310 f.  
 Attouda  
*Cult*: Zeus 743<sub>7</sub>  
 — coins of 743<sub>7</sub>  
 Atys, s. of Kroisos 311  
 Atys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Kotys as  
 Dioskouroi (?) 312  
 Augeias  
*Etymology*: 384<sub>0</sub>  
 Augustine, St 140  
 Augustus  
*Cults*: Assos 728<sub>0</sub> Dorylaeion 281 Pa-  
 phlagonia 729<sub>0</sub> Pergamon 1179 1182  
 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 973<sub>1</sub>  
*Priest*: ἀρχιερεύς 973<sub>1</sub>  
*Personates* Iupiter 1091 Zeus 97<sub>0</sub> 260<sub>0</sub>  
 — birthday of 419<sub>1</sub> house of 147  
 statue of, struck by lightning 10  
 tree at Nemi planted by 418 419<sub>2</sub>  
 419<sub>3</sub>  
 Aulai  
*Cult*: Apollon 249<sub>2</sub>  
 Aule  
*Cult*: Pan 249<sub>2</sub>  
 Aulikomis 1141  
 Aura  
*Genealogy*: d. of Pothos and Omichle  
 1036 1038 m. of Motos (?) by Aer  
 1036 1038  
 Aurelii 321  
 Auriga 477 477<sub>8</sub>  
 Autessiodurum, sacred pear-tree at 1215 f.  
 Autochthon Οὐρανός See Epigeios Οὐρανός  
 Autonoe 347<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 Autoonos, a Delphic hero 452  
 Autoonos, f. of Anthos 414<sub>2</sub>  
 Auxesia  
*Cults*: Bryseai 890<sub>2</sub> Epidauros 487<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 Sparta 890<sub>2</sub>  
 Axenos See Euxeinos  
 Axieros  
*Cult*: Thrace 314 f.  
*Function*: rebirth of Axiokersos 314 f.  
*Etymology*: 315 664  
*Identified with* Demeter (?) 314<sub>2</sub>  
 Axiokersa  
*Cult*: Thrace 314 f.  
*Function*: earth 315  
*Etymology*: 314 664  
*Identified with* Persephone (?) 314<sub>2</sub>  
 Axiokersos  
*Cult*: Thrace 314 f.  
*Function*: sky 315  
*Etymology*: 314 f. 664  
*Identified with* Hades (?) 314<sub>2</sub>  
 Axios, f. of Pelegon 588<sub>0</sub>  
 Axos  
*Cults*: Apollon 816<sub>4</sub> Zeus 816<sub>4</sub>  
 — coins of 816<sub>4</sub>  
 Azan, s. of Arkas 964<sub>3</sub>

- Azizos**  
*Cults*: Arabia 428 f. Baitokaike 431  
 Edessa 428  
*Etymology*: 428  
*Type*: male figure on column 429 f.  
*Identified with Ares* 428 430
- Azosioi Theoi**  
*Cult*: Epidauros 487<sub>3(1)</sub>
- Ba'al (Baal, Bel)**  
*Cults*: Assyria 694<sub>0</sub> Berytos 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Function*: solar 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Identified with Kronos* 558<sub>0</sub> Thourous  
 and the planet Ares 694<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 "Opeios 869<sub>0</sub>  
*Superseded by Zeus* 1192 (?)  
 — axe dedicated to 510<sub>5</sub> distinguished  
 from Belos 694<sub>0</sub>
- Ba'al-hammân**  
*Cults*: Kypros 1208<sub>2</sub> Roman Africa  
 554<sub>3</sub>  
*Type*: enthroned between two rams  
 1208<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Kronos* 554<sub>3</sub> Saturnus  
 554<sub>3</sub>
- Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok)**  
*Cults*: Peiraieus (?) 1108 Phoinike 1108  
*Identified with Milichus* (?) 1110<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Μελίχιος (Μιλίχιος) (?) 1108
- Ba'al Qarnaim** 554<sub>3</sub>
- Ba'al-šamin**  
*Identified with Zeus* "Υψιστος 886<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 889
- Ba'al-tars**  
*Cult*: Tarsos 761 f.  
*Type*: seated with eagle in right hand  
 and sceptre in left 762
- Babylon**  
*Cults*: Adad 769<sub>1</sub> god with dagger and  
 double axe 714<sub>1</sub> Marduk 128<sub>2</sub> 769<sub>1</sub>  
 Zeus Βήλος 128<sub>4</sub> 675  
*Rites*: sacrifice of asses 463<sub>1</sub> sacrifice  
 of goats, sheep, and oxen 463<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>  
 — Hittite relief from 766<sub>1</sub> pillars of  
 Herakles beyond 422
- Babylonia**  
*Cults*: Apollon (?) 456 fire 34<sub>1</sub>
- Bacchus**  
*Identified with Jehovah* 1197  
 — on the column of Mayence 96
- Badinlar, in Phrygia**  
*Cults*: Apollon Λαιρμηνός (Λαρμηνός,  
 Λαρβηνός, Λειμηνός, Λυρμηνός) 567 f.  
 Helios Apollon Λερμηνός (Λνερμηνός)  
 568 Lairmenos 567 Μήτηρ Leto 567  
 568<sub>6</sub>
- Baganda** 450<sub>1</sub>
- Baginatiae**  
*Cult*: Allobroges 570<sub>0</sub>
- Baginus**  
*Cult*: Allobroges 570<sub>0</sub>
- Bagis** 570
- Baitokaike**  
*Cult*: Azizos and Monimos 431
- Bakchappollon** (?) 253<sub>3</sub>
- Bakchoi** See Zeus *Worshippers*
- Bakchos**  
*Etymology*: 268<sub>4</sub>  
*Identified with Zeus* 287 1184'
- Balder** See Baldr
- Baldr**  
*Myth*: stabbed by Hqdhr with lance of  
 mistletoe 305<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: h. of Nanna 305<sub>0</sub> s. of  
 Odhin 305<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Apollo* (?) 110<sub>5</sub> 844  
 Phol (?) 110<sub>5</sub> 844
- Ballenaion, Mt** 270<sub>5</sub> 271<sub>0</sub>
- Ballenaion, a Phrygian festival** 270<sub>5</sub>
- Ballenaïos, s. of Ganymedes** 270<sub>5</sub>
- Barbillea** 962<sub>2</sub>
- Bargasa** 958<sub>0</sub>
- Bargylia** 721<sub>2</sub>
- Baris**  
*Cult*: double Herakles 446 f.  
 — coins of 446 f.
- Barnabas, St** 1096<sub>4</sub>  
*Type*: on chalice of Antioch 1202<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Baronga** 434
- Basil the Great, St** 116 891<sub>0</sub>
- Basileia** See Queen of the Under-  
 world
- Basileia, festival of Zeus** Βασιλεύς 900<sub>0</sub>
- Bassai**  
*Cult*: Apollon 'Επικούριος 405<sub>3</sub>
- Bastarnae** 55
- Batavi**  
*Cults*: Haeva 64<sub>0</sub> Hercules *Magusanus*  
 64<sub>0</sub>
- Bathild, St** 135
- Bathos**  
*Cults*: Astrapai 827 Brontai 827 Thy-  
 ellai 827  
*Myth*: Gigantomachia 827
- Bathykolpos**  
*Cult*: Saron 414<sub>1</sub>
- 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 Dysaules 131  
*Function*: Underworld 132  
*Attribute*: ladder 131  
*Type*: seated on pig 131  
*Associated with Zeus, Hera, Demeter*  
 Θεσμοφόρος, Kore 259<sub>0</sub>
- Baucis** 1096<sub>4</sub>
- Bavian, rock-carving at** 769<sub>0</sub>
- Bazis** 569
- Beda, a goddess of the Frisii**  
*Cult*: Borcovicium 51<sub>1</sub>
- Bejad in Phrygia**  
*Cult*: (Zeus) Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292<sub>4</sub>
- Bel** See Ba'al
- Belchania** 948<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Belchanos** (?) = Velchanos  
*Cult*: Lyttos (?) 948<sub>0(4)</sub>



- Bellerophon (Bellerophon) 720 f. 1129<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Pegasos 721<sub>2</sub> 1018  
*Type*: on horseback 717<sub>2</sub>
- Belos  
*Cult*: Emesa (?) 814<sub>3</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Inachos and b. of Kasos 981<sub>1</sub> s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> s. of Pikos who is also Zeus by Hera 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub>  
 — distinguished from Ba'al (Baal, Bel) 694<sub>0</sub>
- Bendis  
*Cults*: Athens 1032 f. Imbros 314<sub>0</sub> Lemnos 314<sub>0</sub> Mounychia 115 Paionia 500 f. Samothrace 314<sub>0</sub> Thasos 314<sub>0</sub> Thrace 303<sub>2</sub> 314<sub>0</sub> 411 501  
*Rite*: oak-wreath 411 f.  
*Etymology*: 303<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Artemis Βασίλεια* 501 Hekate 314<sub>0</sub> Kabeiro 314<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with Maenads* 314<sub>0</sub>
- Beneventum by euphemism for Maleventum 1112<sub>7</sub> Trajan's Arch at 1181<sub>0</sub>
- Benneitai 883<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Bennis See Zeus *Epithets Βεννεός*
- Berekyndai 587<sub>7</sub>
- Berekyntes 587<sub>7</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>
- Berekynthos  
*Etymology*: 587<sub>5</sub>
- Bernard Ptolemy, St 135
- Beroe, nurse of Semele 1031
- Berouth, w. of Elioun "Υψιστος 886<sub>0(30)</sub>
- Berytos  
*Cults*: Ba'al 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 983<sub>5</sub>
- Bes  
*Cults*: Egypt 457 Gaza 674  
*Types*: facing 674 mask 674  
*Supersedes Zeus* 675
- Bessoí, oracle of Dionysos among 269
- Bethel 127 f.
- Bethlehem  
*Cult*: Tammuz (Adonis) 984<sub>1</sub>
- Beuyuk Evlia near Amaseia  
*Cults*: St Elias 975<sub>0</sub> Zeus Στράτιος 974<sub>1</sub> ff.  
*Rite*: dramatic shows 976<sub>0</sub>
- Biaros, Mt See Viarus, Mt
- Bibracte 1059
- Bilkon  
*Cult*: Apollon Βιλκώνιος 948<sub>0</sub>
- 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 904<sub>1</sub> Theos "Υψιστος (?) 883<sub>0(24)</sub> Zeus 'Αστραπαίος 815 Zeus Βάλῆος 271<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>5</sub> Zeus 'Επιδήμιος 1180<sub>4</sub> Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292<sub>4</sub>  
*Myth*: Bormos 295<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 296<sub>0</sub>
- Bituriges  
*Cult*: sword (?) 548<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 548<sub>0</sub>
- Bizye 282<sub>1</sub>  
*Cult*: Asklepios 1079  
 — coins of 1079
- Blasios, St 1104<sub>2</sub>
- Blatsche, between Skoupoi and Stoboi  
*Cults*: Alexander (*sc.* Alexandros of Abonou Teichos) 1084 Draccena (= Δράκαινα) 1084 Dracco (= Δράκων, *i.e.* Glykon) 1084 Iuno 1084 Iupiter 1084
- Blaudos in Mysia  
*Cult*: Zeus Σαάζιος (for Σαάζιος = Σαβάζιος) 284<sub>0</sub>
- Blaundos  
*Cult*: youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe 563  
 — coins of 563
- Boaz 426 f.
- Boedromia 237<sub>0</sub>
- Boegia 318<sub>0</sub>
- Boghaz-Keui  
*Cult*: youthful god standing on lioness (?) 560  
 — Hittite rock-carvings at 550 ff. 599<sub>2</sub>
- Boibe 500<sub>8</sub>
- Boibeis, Lake 500<sub>8</sub>
- Boiotia  
*Cults*: Athena 731<sub>0</sub> Dan 342<sub>0</sub> Demeter 716<sub>5</sub> Dionysos "Ενδεδροσ 946<sub>0</sub> Hera Βασίλεια 731<sub>0</sub> Poseidon 583<sub>3</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βασιλεύς 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 238<sub>0</sub> Zeus Καραίος 873<sub>2</sub> Zeus Κάριος 873<sub>2</sub> Zeus 'Ομολώιος 900<sub>1</sub> Zeus "Υπατος 875<sub>1(1)</sub>  
 — terra cotta from 123<sub>0</sub>
- Boiotos 317 1150
- Bologna, gongs from 649 ff.  
 See also Bononia
- Bombos (Bombros) 214<sub>3</sub>
- Bona Dea  
*Rite*: wine not brought into her temple except under name of milk in a vessel called the honey-pot 1142<sub>6</sub>  
*Superseded by St Agatha of Catania* 347<sub>0</sub>
- Bona Fortuna  
*Type*: Praxiteles 1127<sub>0</sub>
- Bononia  
*Cult*: Asklepios 1085  
 See also Bologna
- Bonus Eventus  
*Attributes*: corn-ear 1126<sub>0</sub> *patera* 1126<sub>0</sub> poppies 1126<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: Euphranor 1126<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub> Praxiteles 1127<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with week-days* 71
- Bora, Mt 494 ff.
- Borcovicium  
*Cults*: Alaisiagae 51<sub>1</sub> Beda 51<sub>1</sub> Fimmilena 51<sub>1</sub> Mars *Thingsus* 51<sub>1</sub> Mithras 1053 numina Augustorum 51<sub>1</sub>

- Boreadai  
*Myth*: pursue Harpyiai 907<sub>2</sub>
- Boreas  
*Cult*: Thrace 380  
*Myth*: pursues Oreithyia 380  
*Genealogy*: f. of Zetes and Kalais by Oreithyia, d. of Erechtheus 444  
*Etymology*: 494 ff.  
*Types*: bifrontal 341<sub>0</sub> 380 444 horse 830<sub>7</sub> Janiform (dark + light) 387 winged man 380  
*Compared with* Zeus 444  
 — land beyond blast of 465  
 See also Hyperborean Maidens, Hyperboreoi
- Bormos 295<sub>2</sub>
- Bosco Reale, *skýphos* from 1209
- Bosporos  
*Cult*: Zeus *Oὔριος* 707
- Bosporos Kimmerios  
*Cults*: Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 885<sub>0(0)</sub>. Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>
- Böttia (Böttiaia, Böttiais), district in Makedonia  
*Rite*: clay loaves etc. (?) 1187<sub>4</sub>  
*Myth*: Botton 1187<sub>4</sub>
- Böttia, village on the Orontes  
*Cult*: Zeus *Bώριος* 1187<sub>4</sub>  
 — maiden sacrificed at 1188
- Botton 1187<sub>4</sub>
- Boubastis  
*Identified with* Artemis 252
- Boubastos 671
- Boucheta (Bouchetos, Boucheton, Bouchetion)  
*Myth*: Themis riding on ox comes thither during Deukalion's flood 267<sub>5</sub> 348<sub>5</sub>
- Boukatia 233
- Boule  
*Cult*: Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1193<sub>2</sub>
- Bousbatos  
*Cult*: Thrace 501<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with* Artemis 501<sub>3</sub>
- Boutes  
*Genealogy*: s. of Poseidon 793<sub>12</sub>
- Bouthroton (Bouthrotos) 348  
*Cult*: Zeus 348  
*Myth*: founded by Helenos on spot where escaped sacrificial ox fell 348<sub>6</sub>
- Bouzygai 1163<sub>2</sub>
- Bouzyge 217<sub>2</sub>
- Bovianum Undecimanorum  
*Cult*: Venus *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub>
- Brachmanes 7<sub>2</sub>
- Brahma 1035  
*Myth*: birth 1036
- Brahmā  
*Cult*: India 367 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Vishnu 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: h. of Sarasvatī 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Function*: solar (?) 774<sub>1</sub>
- Brahmā (*cont.*)  
*Attribute*: lotos 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: four-faced 367 seated on lotos 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Hiranyagarbha 1035
- Brahman 1035
- Branchidai  
*Cult*: Apollon 920<sub>0</sub>  
 — as centre of earth 167 *omphalós* (?) at 180 oracular centre at 170<sub>1</sub> votive lions at 920<sub>0</sub>
- Brasiai  
*Myth*: Semele and Dionysos 671
- Brathy, Mt 981<sub>1</sub>
- Brauronia 228<sub>4</sub>
- Bria  
*Cult*: Dioskouroi 313  
 — coins of 313
- Briareos 1023  
 — pillars of 422
- Bricia See Brixia
- Bridget, St 116
- Brilettos, Mt 898<sub>0</sub>
- Brioc, St 116
- Briseis 726
- Britanni tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- Britomartis  
*Cult*: Lyttos 934<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: pursued by Minos 939<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1220
- Brittany, two sons with gold star and daughter with silver star in folk-tale from 1010 f. 1013<sub>1</sub>
- Brixia, a goddess at Luxovium 86 86<sub>3</sub>
- Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Iurarius* 726<sub>0</sub>
- Brontai  
*Cults*: Bathos 827 Orphists 141<sub>1</sub> 827
- Brontaios 833<sub>7</sub>
- Bronte, horse of Helios 828 851
- Bronte, personification of thunder 28 828 851
- Brontas 833<sub>7</sub>
- Brontes 784 828 851 1023
- Brundisium  
*Etymology*: 30<sub>3</sub>
- Bruttii  
*Cult*: Zeus 709  
 — coins of 709 831<sub>1(2)</sub>
- Bryaxis 921<sub>0</sub>
- Brygos 245<sub>5</sub> 777<sub>2</sub> 800
- Bryseai  
*Cult*: Auxesia and Damoia 890<sub>2</sub>
- Buddha, ladder of 129<sub>3</sub>
- Bunarbashi in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835<sub>4</sub>
- Burdigala  
*Rite*: *natalici viribus* 306<sub>4</sub>
- Byblis 413<sub>1</sub>
- Byblos in Phoinike  
*Cults*: Adonis (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Kronos (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 887<sub>0(0)</sub> Moloch 887<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus "Υψιστος 887<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>6</sub>  
*Myths*: Berouth 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Elioun "Υψιστος 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Epigeios (Autochthon)



- Byblos in Phoinike (*cont.*)  
*Oûpanós* 886<sub>0(30)</sub> head of Osiris 290<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 552 845
- Byzantion  
*Cults*: Apollon *Kapivós* (?) 167 f.  
 Poseidon 798  
*Rite*: axe-bearers 635  
 — coins of 162 f. 167 f. 798 *omphalós* at 167 f.
- Cadenet  
*Cults*: Dexasiva 619 Mars 619
- Caeculus  
*Myth*: birth 1059
- Caelus  
*Genealogy*: f. of Ianus by Hecate 368<sub>3</sub> f. of Iupiter 941<sub>0</sub>
- Caesar  
*Cult*: Alexandria 1180<sub>4</sub>  
*Epithet*: 'Επιβατήριος 1180<sub>4</sub>
- Caesus See Koios
- Caligula slays *rex Nemorensis* 147
- Callistus, Cemetery of 1208
- Cameses, an Italian king 330<sub>0</sub>
- Campus Martius, personified 103<sub>0</sub>
- Camulodunum  
*Cult*: Janiform god 324  
 — coins of 324
- Canabarii 93 1214
- Canabenses 93<sub>4</sub>
- Cancer 41 42 43<sub>4</sub>
- Candlemas 325<sub>8</sub> 326<sub>4</sub>
- Canens  
*Genealogy*: d. of Ianus 394<sub>3</sub>
- Canna intrat 299<sub>3</sub>
- Cannophori  
*Festival*: *canna intrat* 299<sub>3</sub>
- Capricornus 16<sub>1</sub> 41 42 558<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub>
- Capua, coins of 370 831<sub>1(2)</sub> cp. 331 tomb near 1146<sub>0</sub>
- Caracalla  
*Cult*: Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186  
*Personates* Zeus 1186
- Carian place-names in *-yma*, *-ymos* 318
- Carnuntum  
*Cult*: Mithras *Deus Sol Invictus* 1194<sub>4</sub>
- Carthage  
*Cults*: Saturnus *Balcaranensis* (*Balcaranensis*, *Balcharanensis*, *Balkharanensis*) 554<sub>3</sub> 555<sub>0</sub> Tanit 69<sub>0</sub>  
 — bronze bull (of Phalaris?) at 910<sub>1</sub> razor from 630<sub>3</sub>
- Carthago Nova, in Spain 557<sub>0</sub>
- Castor  
*Cult*: Tusculum 1170 f.  
 — couch of 1171 on column of Mayence 96
- Cautes 309
- Cautopatēs 309
- Celsus on syncretism 889<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Celts  
*Cults*: Dextia 619<sub>3</sub> Dexasiva 619 Dis 326 Iupiter 86 f. Iupiter *Tanarus* 32
- Celts (*cont.*)  
 Iupiter *Taranucus* 32 Janiform god 323 ff. 842 Llyr 326 Sucaelus 620 Taranis 32 Taranucus 32 Zeus 111<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Otherworld-visit 1166<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 323 ff. fear lest sky should fall 55 folk-tales of 224<sub>1</sub> 682 f. 848
- Centaurus  
*Attributes*: branch 615 tree 615  
*Types*: attacked by Theseus 628 fighting Herakles 615<sub>2</sub>(?) fighting Lapiths 615<sub>2</sub>(?) fighting Zeus(?) 614 f.
- Centaurus, the constellation 477<sub>8</sub>
- Ceraunobolia 828
- Ceres  
*Epithet*: *Eleusinia* 928<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Ludi Cereri 19<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: one of the Penates 1059 plenty 99  
*Etymology*: 549<sub>6</sub>  
*Attribute*: corn-topped sceptre 99  
*Identified with* Luna, Diana, Iuno, Proserpina 256 Virgo 734<sub>3</sub>  
*Associated with* Iuno and Mercurius 1181<sub>0</sub>  
 — on column of Mayence 96 98
- Chaironeia  
*Cult*: sceptre of Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 1132  
*Rite*: daily oblation to sceptre of Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>
- Chalcea, m. of Olympus (?) 973<sub>1</sub>
- Chaldaioi 255
- Chaldene, m. of Solymos 973<sub>1</sub>
- Chalkis near Beroia 981<sub>0</sub>(?)
- Chalkis in Euboea  
*Cults*: Hera 981<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Μελιχίος* 1157 Zeus *Παλαμναῖος* 1098<sub>7</sub>  
 — coins of 870<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>0</sub>
- Chalkis sub Libano  
*Cult*: Zeus 981<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 980<sub>7</sub> 981<sub>0</sub>
- Chalon-sur-Saône, bronze statuette from 747<sub>1</sub>
- Chalybes 472 617 715
- Cham See Ham
- Chaos  
*Epithet*: *ἀπειρον* 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 335<sub>9</sub>
- Charalambos, St 1150<sub>9</sub>
- Chares 254<sub>5</sub>
- Charila 240 242
- Charites  
*Cults*: Orchomenos in Boiotia 238<sub>0</sub> 1150<sub>10</sub> Philadelphēia in Lydia 1229  
*Rite*: libation from second *kratēr* (?) 1124<sub>0</sub>  
*Attributes*: lyre, flutes, pan-pipes 249<sub>2</sub> 249<sub>3</sub>

Charites (*cont.*)

*Types*: in bay-wreath 1193 three small females on hand of Apollon 232<sub>0</sub> three small females on hand of Zeus 232<sub>0</sub>

*Superseded by* ἡ Θεοτόκος 1150<sub>10</sub>

## Charon

*Cult*: Etruria 627<sub>3</sub> 803

*Functions*: ferryman of the dead 641<sub>2</sub> Underworld 641

*Etymology*: 641

*Attributes*: fork (?) 803 hammer 627<sub>3</sub> 641

*Contrasted with* Zeus 641<sub>2</sub>

— eyes of 642<sub>0</sub>

Charos 641<sub>2</sub> See also Charon

## Chartres

*Cult*: La Vierge du Pilier 1213

Charun 641<sub>2</sub> See also Charon

Chedworth, Roman villa at 604 f.

## Cheiron

*Cult*: Mt Pelion 869<sub>2</sub> 871<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: teaches Peleus to use double spear 799

*Genealogy*: s. of Kronos by Philyra 695<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>0</sub>

Cheleidon, eponym of the Chelidoniai Islands 971<sub>2</sub>

## Chelidonis

*Myth*: Polytechnos 693

## Chersonesos Taurike

*Cults*: (Athena) Παρθένος 729<sub>0</sub> Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> heroes 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>

Cherubim 1203<sub>7</sub>

Chiliokomon 596

Chimaira, Mt, fire springing from ground on 972<sub>1</sub>

China 66<sub>0</sub> 479 495

## Chios

*Cults*: St Anna 1157 Dionysos Ὠμάδιος 667 f. Herakles 1157<sub>1</sub> Zeus Μελίχιος 1157<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 1157<sub>1</sub> Zeus Πελοποννησίου 922<sub>4</sub>

*Rite*: human sacrifice 667 f.

*Type*: under winged arch 362

Choes 1139

Chonai, cleft of 115

Chous (Cush) 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>

Chousor (?) 1037

## Chousoros

*Genealogy*: s. of Oulomos 1037 f.

*Function*: opener of cosmic egg 1037

## Christ

*Epithet*: Ἀθέρνης 945<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: bearded man 1050 beardless man 1050 1199 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub> 1206 1207 boy 1199 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub> 1206 on the cross 305<sub>0</sub> descent into Hell 305<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 1197 Good Shepherd seated 1208 Good Shepherd standing 1050 1208 half-length figure flanked by sun and moon 138<sub>0</sub> harrowing of Hell 138<sub>0</sub> Orphic 1208 Scopaic 1206 seated between two lambs (sheep) 1208 seated with a

Christ (*cont.*)

lamb (sheep) beside him 1199 shepherd 305<sub>0</sub> youth raising right hand to bless 288 ff. Zeus 1197

*Attributes*: eagle 1199 1209 lamb 1199 lyre 1208 roll 1199 vines 1199 1210

*Associated with* St Peter and St Paul 1209<sub>2</sub>

*Compared with* Phanes 1026

*Supersedes*: Dionysos 1209 f. Theos Hypsistos 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus 1209

— resurrection of 941<sub>0</sub>

Christopher, St 1076

## Chronos

*Epithets*: ἀγήραος 1022 1024 τετραπόρος 831<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: makes cosmic egg 1026 1051

*Genealogy*: f. of Aither and Chaos 1024 f. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebus by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022

*Attribute*: knife 864

*Types*: globe beneath foot 864 Lysippos (?) 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) 351<sub>1</sub>

— chariot of 831<sub>0</sub> 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 Pegasus 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 1150<sub>2</sub>

Chrysippos 855<sub>2</sub>

Chrysogone, d. of Halmos 1150<sub>4</sub>

Chrysor, the Phoenician Hephaistos

*Identified with* Zeus Μελίχιος 715 1037

Chrysaoreis 714

Chrysaoris 714

Chrysothemis, s. of Karmanor 190<sub>0</sub>

Chrysothemis, w. of Staphylos 670

Chthonia (Chthonie)

*Function*: primeval power 316

*Identified with* Ge 351<sub>1</sub>

## Chytroi

*Cult*: Astarte 157<sub>1</sub>

Chytroi, the festival 1139

Cimbri 799<sub>5</sub>

City Dionysia 244<sub>2</sub>

## Çiva

*Cult*: India 790 f.

*Attributes*: bull 791<sub>2</sub> trident 790 f. wreath 791<sub>2</sub>

*Type*: three-faced 791<sub>2</sub>



- Clunia in Spain  
*Cult*: Iupiter Augustus Ultor 1102<sub>8</sub>  
 Clusium, tomb of Porsenna at 1219  
 Collorgues, carved slabs from 690  
 Commodus  
*Cult*: Pergamon 1185  
*Personates* Zeus 1185  
 Compitalia 1171<sub>2</sub>  
 Coralli 108 111<sub>0</sub>  
 Cordeilla See Cordelia (Cordalia)  
 Cordelia (Cordalia) 325 f.  
 Corinium in Dalmatia  
*Cult*: Ianus Pater 325  
 Corinth  
*Cults*: Apollon 915<sub>2</sub> (?) 916<sub>0</sub> Apollon Δειραδιώτης 210<sub>0</sub> Iupiter Liberator (Nero) (?) 1214 Zenoposeidon (?) 878<sub>0(3)</sub> Zeus 878<sub>0(3)</sub> Zeus Καπετώλιος (= Κορυφαίος) 869<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 916<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὑψιστος 878<sub>0(3)</sub> 892<sub>3</sub> Zeus Χθόνιος 878<sub>0(3)</sub>  
 Corne, Mt  
*Cult*: Diana 403  
 Corneto, Tomba del Letto funebre at 1170<sub>8</sub>  
 Corvus 664<sub>1</sub>  
 Corycian Cave 449<sub>0</sub>  
 Crater 664<sub>1</sub>  
 Crete  
*Cults*: Apollon Βιλκώνιος 948<sub>0</sub> Apollon Πύθιος 457 Diktyнна 986<sub>0</sub> Kronos 548 f. Pikos who is also Zeus (?) 697<sub>0</sub> Talos 890<sub>2</sub> 948<sub>1</sub> Tan 342<sub>0</sub> Zagreus 352 667 Zan 344 f. Zeus 344 f. 352 354 727 743<sub>7</sub> Zeus Ἀστέριος 230<sub>9</sub> Zeus Βορτιαίος (?) 1187<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ἐλαφρός 599 Zeus Ἐπιρνώτιος 946<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἰδαίος 932<sub>1</sub> ff. Zeus Ξένιος 1169<sub>5</sub>  
*Rites*: bovine omophagy 539 Kouretes sacrifice children to Kronos 548  
*Myths*: Adionios Tauros 349 birth of Zeus 1228 cp. 925<sub>1</sub> 927<sub>1</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> Botton 1187<sub>4</sub> nurses of Zeus 228 reign of Kronos and Rhea 548 Talos 645<sub>0</sub> Zeus a prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 522 727  
*In relation to Delphoi* 189<sub>8</sub> Rhodes 923<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 743<sub>7</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> tomb of Zeus in 219 940<sub>0</sub> ff.  
 Culsaná 378 See also Ianus  
 Cuprius, Vicus 401  
 Curiatii 363 f.  
 Cuthbert, St 116  
 Cygnus 477<sub>7</sub> See also Olor  
 Cynthianum 419<sub>3</sub> See also Genzano  
 Daai (Daai, Dahae), a Scythian tribe 312<sub>5</sub>  
 Daci 114<sub>0</sub>  
 — tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Daeira 312<sub>5</sub>  
 Daes (?), consort of Daeira 312<sub>5</sub>  
 Dahae See Daai  
 Daidala Megala 898<sub>6</sub> 977<sub>0</sub>  
 Daidala Mikra 898<sub>6</sub>  
 Daidale 898<sub>6</sub>  
 Daidalos  
*Myth*: makes dancing-ground for Ariadne 600 f.  
*Genealogy*: f. of Iapyx 30  
*Function*: sculptor 322<sub>7</sub> 739<sub>1</sub>  
 Daimon  
*Epithets*: ἡγήτορα φρικτόν, | μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, | Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην, κ.τ.λ. 1160<sub>4</sub>  
*Identified with* Zeus 1160<sub>4</sub> Zeus Μειλίχιος 1160<sub>4</sub>  
 — Orphic hymn to 1160  
 Daimones  
*Cult*: Thespiiai 1150<sub>9</sub>  
*Epithets*: ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, |...| πλουτοδοῦται 1130<sub>1</sub> 1160  
*Function*: buried kings (?) 1150<sub>9</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1159<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Hermes 1150<sub>9</sub>  
 Daiso See Daita or Daito  
 Daita or Daito (Daiso), m. of Enorches 1021  
 Daktyloi  
*Cult*: Mt Ide in Crete 232<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: πολέων μοιρηγέται ἡδὲ πάρεδροι | μητέρος Ἰδαίης 232<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: head wrapped in fleece of black ram 934<sub>0</sub> lying prone beside sea and river 934<sub>0</sub> purification with thunderstone (belemnite?) 934<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: born in Dictaeon Cave 929<sub>0</sub> born on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> discover iron 949<sub>5</sub> learn iron-working from Mother of the gods 949<sub>5</sub>  
*Genealogy*: sons of Aigesthios (Agdestis?) by Ide 970<sub>0</sub> sons of Anchiale 929<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Index II Stones, thumb-shaped  
 Daldeia  
*Cult*: Apollon Μύσσης 250 f.  
 — coin of 251<sub>1</sub>  
 Dalmatia 440<sub>2</sub>  
 Damaskos  
*Cults*: Zeus Κεραύνιος 807<sub>5(2)</sub> Zeus Μέγιστος Ὑψιστος 886<sub>0(10)</sub>  
 Damastes 626 f.  
 Damaia  
*Cults*: Bryseai 890<sub>2</sub> Sparta 890<sub>2</sub>  
 Damokles 703  
 Dan  
*Cult*: Boiotia 342<sub>0</sub> 344<sub>0</sub> cp. 583<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Zeus  
 Danaë  
*Myths*: consorts with Zeus 1131<sub>1</sub> sent to sea in coffer 671 1018  
*Genealogy*: m. of Perseus 464 m. of Perseus by Pikos 1187<sub>2</sub>  
 Danaïdes: Hesione 1150 Hippodameia 1150<sub>2</sub> Isonoe (?) 1150<sub>2</sub> Polydora 486  
 Danaoi 961<sub>0</sub>

## Danaos

*Myth*: Argos 1144<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Hesione 1150<sub>2</sub> f. of Hippodameia 1150<sub>2</sub> f. of Isonoe (?) 1150<sub>2</sub>

Daoi, the nomad Persians 312<sub>5</sub>

Daoi, a Scythian tribe See Daai

Daos, 'the Wolf' (?) 312<sub>5</sub>

## Daphne

*Myth*: Apollon 265<sub>0</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 486

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

*Cults*: Apollon Δαφναῖος 1188 Nemesis 1191<sub>5</sub> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 1188 f. (?) 1191 Zeus Σωτήρ 1191

*Festival*: Olympia 1191 f.

*Rite*: resurrection (?) 1191<sub>2</sub>

Daphnephoria 158<sub>1</sub> 242<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>8</sub>

## Daphnis

*Myth*: Apollon 1042 (?)

Daphnis the mountain-nymph 176<sub>1</sub>

## Dardanos

*Genealogy*: b. of Iasos 317 s. of Zeus 8

Dasimos (Dazimos) 1159<sub>1</sub>

Dasios (Dazios) 1159<sub>1</sub>

Datcha, relief-ware from 615

Dazimas 1159<sub>1</sub>

Dazimos See Dasimos

Dazios See Dasios

Dea Augusta Vocontiorum

*Rite*: *loco vires conditae* 306<sub>4</sub>

Dea Roma See Roma, the personification of Rome

## Dea Syria

*Identified with Virgo* 734<sub>3</sub>

Deana 339<sub>5</sub> See Diana

## Death

*Functions*: mower 868 reaper 868

*Attributes*: hour-glass 868 scythe 868

*Type*: straw puppet 868

— dance of 868<sub>4</sub>

See also Thanatos

Deia, a tribe at Dorylaeion 281

Deia, the festival 320<sub>0</sub>

Deia Sebasta Oikoumenika 320<sub>0</sub>

Deipatyros 277<sub>3</sub>

## Delos

*Cults*: Agathe Tyche 1128<sub>0</sub> Agathos Daimon 1128<sub>0</sub> Aphrodite Ἀγνή 922<sub>0</sub> Apollon 249<sub>2</sub> 452 ff. 854 Apollon Γενέτωρ 223<sub>3</sub> Artemis 452 ff. 501 1227 Asklepios 1088 Athena Κυνθία 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> Isis 922<sub>0</sub> Kronos (?) 920<sub>0</sub> Rhea (?) 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> Sarapis 922<sub>0</sub> Tachnepsis 985<sub>0</sub> Theos Μέγας 985<sub>0</sub> Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 259<sub>0</sub> 1105 Zeus Ἰκέσιος 1095<sub>0</sub> 1096<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κάσιος 907<sub>0</sub> (?) 985<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κύνθιος 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σαβάζιος 1217

*Rite*: Hyperborean offerings sent to Apollon 497 ff. περφερέες 495<sub>6</sub>

*Priests*: ζακόρος 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> ἱερεὺς 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> ἱεροποιοί 921<sub>0</sub> κλειδοῦχος 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>

## Delos (cont.)

*Myths*: Hyperborean maidens 452 466 Hyperoche and Laodike 452 f. 501 Opis and Hekaerge (Arge) 452 501 1226 Opis and Hekaergos 452 f.

— Artemision at 1227 as centre of earth 167 confederacy of 854 Keraton at 1227 temple-inventory of 346<sub>0</sub> votive lions in 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub>

## Delphoi

*Cults*: Apollon 457 839 Apollon Μοιραγέτης 231 Apollon Πύθιος 1216 Artemis 1216 Athena Προναία 231 Autoñoös 452 Dionysos 218 ff. 233 ff. 839 841 (Dionysos) Βρόμιος 219 Dionysos Ἴατρος 250 Dionysos Νυκτέλιος 257<sub>4</sub> (Dionysos) Παιάν 250 Gaia 500 1216 Ge Θέμις (?) 841 Hestia 1216 Leto (Lato) 1216 Moirai 231 Orphic Dionysos 218 ff. Phoibe 500 Phoibos 839 Phylakos 452 Poseidon 176<sub>1</sub> 177<sub>0</sub> Themis 176<sub>1</sub> 500 1216 Zeus 231 ff. 816 817 902<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἀφείσιος (?) 179 f. 841 Zeus Εὐπνιος 231 f. Zeus Λυκώρειος 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μοιραγέτης 231 Zeus Πατρῶος 233 244 Zeus Πολιεύς 231 Zeus Σωτήρ 232 f.

*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. Stepterion 240 242 vernal rites of Dionysos (Theoxenia?) 235 244<sub>2</sub>

*Rites*: caldron of *apothéosis* 210 ff. 241<sub>4</sub> 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 Pythaištai 815 ff. tent with cosmic roof 178<sub>7</sub>

*Priestesses*: Thyiads 242

*Myths*: Asklepios raises dead 241<sub>4</sub> Asklepios slain by Zeus 241<sub>4</sub> death and burial of the Orphic Dionysos 218 ff. 841 Dionysos gives oracles from tripod 239<sub>0</sub> Dionysos torn in pieces and boiled in caldron 239 foundation of oracle 169 Hyperboreans 452 Hyperochos and Amadokos 452 Hyperochos and Laodokos 452 Neoptolemos 170<sub>2</sub> Nyx 238<sub>4</sub> Pagasos and Agyieus 169 177 499 Phylakos and Autoñoös 452 Python 1087 Python slain by Apollon 239<sub>0</sub> Themis gives oracles 239<sub>0</sub> Themis on tripod impregnated by pillar of light (= Apollon) 1217 Theseus 628 Trophonios and Agamedes 232<sub>4</sub>

*In relation to Crete* 189<sub>8</sub>

— as centre of earth 167 as vital centre of Greek religion 841 calendar at 235 f. Cnidian *Lésche* at 122<sub>0</sub>



Delphoi (*cont.*)

coins of 176<sub>2</sub> 218<sub>0</sub> 267<sub>1</sub> 490<sub>0(5)</sub> **E** at 176<sub>2</sub> 178 1216 eagles at 179 ff. frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 831<sub>1(4)</sub> inhabitants of, called Lykoreis 901<sub>2</sub> inner chapel in temple of Apollon at 239 inscribed axe from 628 *omphalós* at 169 ff. 841 1216 pediments of temple at 267<sub>1</sub> Plataean tripod at 170<sub>2</sub> 193 ff. 1216 precinct of, represented in archaic reliefs 199 ff. stepped pyramid on plinth near 1146<sub>0(0)</sub> succession of cults at 231 239 266 f. trophy from spoils of 'Marathon' at 1137<sub>2</sub> votive double axes from 629 669<sub>3</sub>

Delphos 176<sub>1</sub>Delphyne 449<sub>0</sub>Demaratos, oath of 728<sub>0</sub>

## Demeter

*Cults*: Aixone 730<sub>0</sub> Ardettos 1135 Athens 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> Boiotia 716<sub>5</sub> Dotion 497<sub>5</sub> 683 f. Eleusis 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> Erythrai in Ionia 730<sub>0</sub> Eteonos 1152 Hermione 1077 Kios 815<sub>5</sub> Kolonos 1152<sub>5</sub> Korkyra 730<sub>0</sub> Megalopolis 1178 Mostene (?) 564 Myrrhinous 730<sub>0</sub> Nisaia, port of Megara 488<sub>0(3)</sub> Pagai, port of Megara (?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub> Paros 131 Pergamon 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Pheneos 1136<sub>4</sub> Phlyeis 1066 Prostanna (?) 973<sub>0</sub> Samothrace 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Sparta 729<sub>0</sub> Tegea 1140<sub>5</sub> Thebes in Boiotia 900<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: 'Αησιδώρα 1066 'Ευναία 1075 'Ερινύς ('Ερινύς) 1075 'Ερκυννα 1075 (See also Herkyna) Εύρυόδεια 1152 Θεσμοθέτις 268<sub>2</sub> Θεσμοφόρος 131 259<sub>0</sub> Καρποφόρος 815<sub>5</sub> Κιδαρία 1136<sub>4</sub> Μαλοφόρος 488<sub>0(3)</sub> 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Μηλοφόρος 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Ξιφηφόρος 716<sub>5</sub> Όμολώα 900<sub>1</sub> cp. 901<sub>0</sub> Χθονία 1077 Χλόη 413<sub>2</sub> χρυσάορος 716

*Festivals*: Herkynia 1075 τελετή μείζων at Pheneos 1136<sub>4</sub>

*Myths*: boiling of Pelops 212<sub>5</sub> consorts with Zeus 1029 Erysichthon 497<sub>5</sub> 683 f. Iambe 821 851 reveals fig to Phytalos 291<sub>2</sub> 1092<sub>6</sub> 1103

*Metamorphosed into snake* 1029

*Genealogy*: m. of Artemis 252 m. of Artemis or Hekate 1032 m. by Zeus of Phersephone or Kore 1029 w. of Poseidon 584<sub>0</sub>

*Functions*: Corn-mother 295<sub>2</sub> earth 584<sub>1</sub> 585<sub>1</sub> 1152

*Etymology*: 584<sub>0</sub> 584<sub>1</sub> 585<sub>1</sub> 1159<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: corn-ears 564 (?) double axe 564 (?) *drépanon* 448<sub>0</sub> *hárpe* 448<sub>0</sub> *kálathos* 564 (?) oak-tree 683 f. pig 1140<sub>5</sub> poplar-tree 683 poppies 1165<sub>1</sub> ram (?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub> snake 1111 sword 716 716<sub>5</sub> torches 488<sub>0(3)</sub> (?)

*Type*: with *kálathos*, corn-ears, and double axe (?) 564

Demeter (*cont.*)

*Identified with Axieros* (?) 314<sub>2</sub> Isis 252 Rhea 1029 1032

*Associated with Kore* 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> 1178 Kore and Zeus 258<sub>3</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus, Hera, Kore, Baubo 259<sub>0</sub>

*In relation to bees and honey* 1142<sub>7</sub> Persephone 501

## Demetrios Poliorketes

*Personates Athena* (?) 1136<sub>4</sub>

Demoi of Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) and Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

Demokritos of Abdera 701<sub>0</sub>

## Demos

*Cults*: Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192 Kaulonia (?) 1042 Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

— in Aristophanes 212

## Demos of Rome

*Cult*: Miletos 1228

Demotionidai, oath of 728<sub>0</sub>

Den 344<sub>0</sub> 583<sub>0</sub> 583<sub>3</sub>

See also Zeus

## Denderah

*Cults*: Horos 773<sub>0</sub> Osiris 773<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ελευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97<sub>0</sub>

## Deo

*Myth*: Zeus 132<sub>2</sub>

*Rite*: union with Zeus 132<sub>2</sub> 345<sub>6(2)</sub>

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 231<sub>8</sub>

Deukalidai 892<sub>4</sub>

## Deukalion

*Myths*: takes stones from Mt Agdos to people the world 971<sub>0</sub> Athens 1118 1139 1229 builds altar of Zeus 'Αφείσιος 892<sub>4</sub> Lykoreia 901<sub>2</sub> Mt Par-nassos 902<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: h. of Pyrrha 971<sub>0</sub> s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793<sub>7</sub>

*Etymology*: 892<sub>4</sub>

— grave of 1118

Deunysos 272<sub>0</sub>

See also Dionysos

Deus 344<sub>0</sub>

See also Zeus

Deus Altissimus

*Cult*: Hadrumetum 889<sub>0(34)</sub>

*Epithets*: *Pelagicus Aerijs* 889<sub>0(34)</sub>

*Identified with Iao* 889<sub>0(34)</sub>

Deus Casius

*Cult*: Heddernheim 983<sub>0</sub>

See also Zeus *Epithets* Κάσιος (Κάσιος)

Deus Magnus Pantheus

*Associated with Vires* 306<sub>4</sub>

Deverra 643<sub>8</sub>

- Deviana 339<sub>0</sub>  
See Diana
- Dexia 619<sub>3</sub>
- Dexsiva  
*Cult*: Cadenet 619
- Dia, d. of Lykaon 486<sub>1</sub>
- Dia, old name of Tralleis 587<sub>2</sub> 958<sub>0</sub>
- Dia, w. of Ixion  
*Myth*: wooed by Zeus 1088
- Dian (?), consort of Diane (?) 351<sub>0</sub>
- Diana  
*Cults*: Mt Algidus 404 Aricia 420<sub>1</sub>  
Mt Corne 403 Kolchoi 411 Nemi  
149 393 399 f. 403<sub>1</sub> 842 f. Nemus  
417 ff. Rome 400 f. 421 Mt Tifata  
404 Tusculum 403  
*Epithets*: *Facelitis* 421<sub>3</sub> *Latonia* 412<sub>7</sub>  
*Lyaea* 1140<sub>3</sub> *nemoralis Delia* 412<sub>6</sub>  
*Nemorensis* 146 411<sub>3</sub> (?) 414 417 841  
1216 *Trivia* 412<sub>6</sub> *virgo potens ne-*  
*morum* 412<sub>6</sub>  
*Rites*: *liknon* 149 puppies wreathed  
149 oak decked with weapons and  
spoils of chase 412<sub>6</sub> weapons laid  
aside 149  
*Priests*: Caligula 403<sub>1</sub> *rex Nemorensis*  
146 f. 394 f. 399 f. 403<sub>1</sub> 417<sub>5</sub> 418  
*Myths*: Actaeon 144 Virbius 393  
*Genealogy*: consort of Dianus (Ianus)  
363 394 399 405  
*Functions*: birth 339<sub>0</sub> chase 69 moon  
338<sub>4</sub> 339<sub>6</sub>  
*Etymology*: 338 ff.  
*Attributes*: crown 147<sub>1</sub> 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 412<sub>7</sub> (?) with  
*modius* 149  
*Identified with* Egeria (?) 418<sub>0</sub> Luna,  
Ceres, Iuno, Proserpina 256 Vesta  
417<sub>5</sub>  
*Associated with* Apollo and Hercules  
59<sub>0</sub> Dianus (Ianus) 363 394 399 405  
Mercurius 67 (?)  
*In relation to* Virbius 414 417 842  
*Survives as* country demon 339<sub>1</sub>  
— oak-tree of 400 ff. on column of  
Mayence 96 99 f. pillars of 143 ff.  
tree of, at Nemi 417 ff.
- Dianus  
*Etymology*: 339<sub>1</sub> 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 352<sub>2</sub>
- Dias, one of the Titans 352
- Diasia 1138 ff.
- Di certi 13<sub>1</sub>
- Dictaeon Cave, votive double axes from  
639<sub>2</sub>  
See also Dikte, Mt
- Dido 1059
- Didyma near Miletos  
*Cults*: Apollon *Διδυμαῖος* 317 f. Apollon  
*Διδυμεύς* 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Διδυμαῖος* 317  
Zeus *Σωτήρ* 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Υέτιος* 318<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: *βοηγία* 318<sub>0</sub>
- Diermai 1219
- Dies 3<sub>0</sub>
- Diespiter  
*Function*: thunder 830<sub>6</sub>  
*Etymology*: 277<sub>2</sub> 341<sub>0</sub>  
See also Iupiter
- Dias See Dias, one of the Titans
- Dike  
*Epithets*: *πάσιν ἀρωγός* 1033<sub>1</sub> *πολύποιος*  
1033<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: st. of Ananke 316<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: cosmic 316<sub>0</sub> gate-opener  
316<sub>0</sub> justice 931<sub>0</sub> laws 1095<sub>0</sub>  
*Attribute*: *Διὸς μάκελλα* 806<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus 1029 1033<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
and Themis 897<sub>3</sub>
- Dikte, headland on south coast of Crete  
928<sub>0</sub>
- Dikte, Mt  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Dictaeus* 927<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Δικ-*  
*ταῖος* 927<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet*: *Κορυβαντίδος...πέτρης* 942<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Anchiale bears Idaean Dak-  
tyloi 929<sub>0</sub> birth of Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 986<sub>0</sub>  
Britomartis 939<sub>1</sub> city founded by  
Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> Epimenides sleeps  
in Dictaeon Cave 929<sub>0</sub> infancy of  
Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> Kouretes rear Zeus  
928<sub>0</sub> Meliai 933<sub>0</sub> Minos descends  
into Dictaeon Cave and returns  
with laws of Zeus 929<sub>0</sub> Zeus con-  
sorts with Europe 929<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 928<sub>0</sub>  
— identified with mountain-range  
south-west of Praisos 929<sub>0</sub> identified  
wrongly with Mt Lasithi 929<sub>0</sub> Dic-  
taean Cave on, identified wrongly  
with Psychro Cave 929<sub>0</sub> Dictaeon  
Cave on, not yet discovered 929<sub>0</sub>  
Dictaeon Cave on 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>
- Dikton, cape near Mt Ide in Crete 945<sub>1</sub>
- Diktynna  
*Cult*: Crete 986<sub>0</sub>
- Diktys  
*Myths*: drowned in river while reaching  
for onions 986<sub>0</sub> nursed by Isis 986<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 986<sub>0</sub>
- Dindymene 970<sub>0</sub>
- Dings  
*Identified with* Ziu (?) 50 f.
- Dinos 2<sub>4</sub>
- Diobessi, a Thracian tribe 276<sub>7</sub>
- Diocletian  
*Personates* Iupiter 1194
- Diogenes of Apollonia 1024
- Dioi, a Thracian tribe 276<sub>7</sub>
- 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 350<sub>6</sub>  
*Function*: sky 350<sub>6</sub>  
*Superseded by Zeus* 353
- Dion in Makedonia  
*Cult*: Zeus 1111  
 — coins of 1111
- Dione  
*Cults*: Dodona 350 350<sub>6</sub> 353 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 974<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 1029  
*Function*: sky 350<sub>6</sub>  
*Etymology*: 341<sub>4</sub> 350  
*Type*: laureate and veiled 162<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with Zeus* 974<sub>0</sub> 1029
- Dionnyssos 272  
 See also Dionysos
- Dionysalexandros 253<sub>3</sub> 277<sub>3</sub>
- Dionysiastai 925<sub>0</sub>
- Dionysiastai Eurythemidioi 1157<sub>3</sub>
- Dionysopolis in Phrygia  
*Cults*: youthful hero (? Lairmenos) on horseback bearing double axe 566  
 Zeus Ποτηος (accent unknown) 285  
 — coins of 285<sub>1</sub> 566
- Dionysos  
*Cults*: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428 1197 Apsinthos 270 Arkesine 246<sub>1</sub> Athens 245<sub>5</sub> 985<sub>0</sub> Bessoi 269 Boiotia 946<sub>0</sub> Chios 667 f. Delphoi 218 ff. 233 ff. 250 257<sub>4</sub> 839 841 Dorylaeion 280<sub>1</sub> Elis 823<sub>1</sub> 932<sub>0</sub> Euromos 575<sub>1</sub> Hagia Triada (?) 522 524 Hierokaisareia in Lydia 1025 Imbros 314<sub>0</sub> Karia 565<sub>2</sub> Kaulonia (?) 1041 Kras-tonia 114 f. Kypros 599<sub>2</sub> (?) Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> Lemnos 314<sub>0</sub> Lerne 599<sub>2</sub> Lesbos 1021 Lindos 925<sub>0</sub> Maidike 270 Megara 257<sub>4</sub> Mytilene 238<sub>0</sub> 1022 Naxos 250 1092<sub>9</sub> 1093<sub>0</sub> Nisyros 1157<sub>3</sub> Nuserat in Mysia 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Odrysai 269<sub>1</sub> Odrysai (?) 661 f. Orchomenos in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> Pagasai 660 Paionia 250<sub>4</sub> 270 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Pergamon 287<sub>2</sub> 288<sub>0</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1184<sub>1</sub> Phigaleia 244<sub>1</sub> Rhodes 250 Saboi 270 Samos 1021 Samothrace 314<sub>0</sub> Satrai 269<sub>1</sub> Synnada (?) 362 f. Tenedos 522 658 ff. (?) 662 667 f. Thasos 314<sub>0</sub> Thespiiai (?) 599<sub>2</sub> Thrace 269 ff. 314<sub>0</sub> 821 851 Thraco-Phrygians 268 ff. Tralleis 960<sub>0</sub> Troizen 599<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithets*: ἄγριος 661<sub>1</sub> Ἀγυιεύς 164 Ἀκρατοφόρος 244<sub>4</sub> ἀναξ 243<sub>3</sub> (?) 246<sub>1</sub> 659 Ἀνθρωπορραίστης 243<sub>3</sub> 522 662 ἄρρητος 661<sub>1</sub> Ἀσδούλης 270 Ἀδαλός 251<sub>0</sub> 270 Βακχεύς 1093<sub>0</sub> Βάκχος 243<sub>3</sub> 250<sub>4</sub> 957<sub>2</sub> 1030 Βάλιν or Βαλήν 270<sub>5</sub> 271<sub>0</sub> Βαλιός (?) 271<sub>0</sub> βοτρυνόκοσμος 250<sub>4</sub> Βότρυσ 413<sub>2</sub> βραϊτάς (?) 243<sub>3</sub> Βρόμιος 219 243<sub>3</sub> 838 852 882<sub>0(0)</sub> δεύτερος
- Dionysos (*cont.*)  
 ἄλλος... ἕτιος Ζεὺς 276<sub>1</sub> *Delius* 250<sub>4</sub> Διθύραμβος 243<sub>3</sub> δίκερως 661<sub>1</sub> διμορφος 661 Διὸς φῶς 273 *Drigalos* (?) 250<sub>4</sub> Δύαλος 250<sub>4</sub> 270 Ἐβδομοεύς 238<sub>0</sub> Egyptian 29 εἰραφιῶτης 957<sub>2</sub> Ἐλευθεριεύς 97<sub>0</sub> Ἐνδενδρος 946<sub>0</sub> Ἐνόρχης 1021 1022 ἐρίβρομος 957<sub>2</sub> Εὔαιος (*leg.* Εὔιος) 275<sub>8</sub> Εὐβουλεύς (?) 119<sub>0</sub> *Euhius* 250<sub>4</sub> εὔιος 234<sub>5</sub> 243<sub>3</sub> (?) 246<sub>1</sub> Εὐρυβάλωνδος 270<sub>5</sub> 271<sub>0</sub> ζείδωρος 275 Ἴρικεπαῖος 1025 Ἴηρος 823<sub>1</sub> θυρσεγχῆς (?) 250<sub>4</sub> θυρσήρης (?) 243<sub>3</sub> Ἰαμβαδούλης 820<sub>3</sub> 821 851 Ἰατρὸς 250 Ἰσοδαίτης 234 Καθηγεμών 287<sub>2</sub> 288<sub>0</sub> (?) 1184<sub>1</sub> κισσοκόμης (κισσοκόμας) 246<sub>1</sub> Κισσός 413<sub>2</sub> κισσοχαίτης 243<sub>3</sub> (?) 246<sub>1</sub> κρύφιος 661<sub>1</sub> λαθικηδής 954<sub>0</sub> Λαφύστιος 899<sub>1</sub> μαινομέναις ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖσι 234<sub>5</sub> Μάσαρις 565<sub>2</sub> Μελίχιος 1092<sub>9</sub> 1093<sub>0</sub> 1112<sub>6</sub> Μελπόμενος 245<sub>5</sub> μαιφόνος 275 Μουσαγέτης 250 Νέος 96 Νυκτέλιος 234 257<sub>4</sub> νυκτέριος 257<sub>4</sub> νυκτίπολος 257<sub>4</sub> νυκτιφάης 257<sub>4</sub> ὀρσιγύναικα (*acc.*) 234<sub>5</sub> Παιάν 250 Παιώνιος 250<sub>4</sub> Πέλεκυς (not Πελεκᾶς or Πελεκίνος, nor Πελάγιος) 660 Πλείτωρος (?) 270 πολύνυμος 1022 Πολύνυμος (?) 1022 Σαβάζιος 270 Σάβος 270 Σαώτης 599<sub>2</sub> Σμίνθιος (?) 250 Συκεάτης 488<sub>0(0)</sub> Τυιάτης 250<sub>3</sub> Της 275 ὑποκόλπιος 250<sub>4</sub> Φαλλήν 522<sub>0</sub> φυσίζωος 954<sub>0</sub> χρυσεγχῆς 250<sub>4</sub> Ὠμάδιος 667 f.  
*Festivals*: brumal rites 235 discussed by Pherekydes of Leros 275 Lenaia 236 Phallagogia 1022 Rural Dionysia 236 vernal rites (Theoxenia?) 235  
*Rites*: advent in spring 243 f. awakened from annual sleep by axe striking caldron (?) 660<sub>0</sub> Bacchantes put bowls of bronze or iron over their breasts 346<sub>0</sub> βουφόνον...θεράποντα 659<sub>1</sub> death and resurrection 234 dithyramb 234 f. human sacrifice at Apsinthos 270<sub>4</sub> human sacrifice in Chios 667 f. human sacrifice in Lesbos 1022 human sacrifice at Orchomenos in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> human sacrifice in Tenedos 667 f. human sacrifice in Thrace 1022 mysteries 1030 nocturnal 257<sub>4</sub> sacrifice by Labyadai 235 243 f. wearing of white-poplar 471  
*Priests*: Euneidai 245<sub>5</sub> ἱερεὺς διὰ γένους 1184<sub>1</sub> ἱεροφάντης 1025 Vologaisos 269<sub>1</sub>  
*Priestess*: πρόμαντις 269<sub>1</sub>  
*Worshippers*: Διονυσιασταί 925<sub>0</sub> Διονυσιασταί Εὐρυθεμίδιοι 1157<sub>3</sub> θιαδαί 1022 θυστάδες 1022  
*Personated by* Antinoos 97<sub>0</sub> Antiochos vi 97<sub>0</sub> M. Antonius 97<sub>0</sub> Caligula 97<sub>0</sub>

Dionysos (*cont.*)

Cretan prince (?) 522 Demetrios Poliorketes 97<sub>0</sub> Hadrian (?) 97<sub>0</sub> kings of Thrace 271<sub>0</sub> Mithradates vi Eupator 96<sub>3</sub> 245<sub>0</sub> Nero 96<sub>3</sub> (?) 97<sub>0</sub> 254 (?) 1128<sub>0</sub> Ptolemy xiii Auletes 96<sub>3</sub> various scions of the imperial house 97<sub>0</sub>

*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 239<sub>0</sub> descent to Hades 1022 destroys mice in Rhodes 250<sub>2</sub> 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 346<sub>0</sub> invades India 7<sub>2</sub> invents wine 250<sub>3</sub> nursed by Dryades 276 nursed by Hyades 274 f. nursed by Ma 565<sub>2</sub> nursed by Maenads 347<sub>0</sub> nursed by Nymphs 1030 nursed by Polyhymno 1022 Polyhymnos 1022 put together again by Rhea 1032 reborn as Thyonianus (?) 393<sub>0</sub> restored by Apollon 251<sub>2</sub> resurrection 1032 a seven-months' child 237<sub>0</sub> sits on throne of Zeus 1030 slain in bovine form 1030 Telephos 1184<sub>3</sub> Titans 199<sub>2</sub> 218 ff. 251<sub>2</sub> 841 1030 f.

*Metamorphosed into* bull 932<sub>0</sub> ep. 1030 jay (?) 524 Zeus, Kronos, babe, youth, lion, horse, horned snake, tiger, bull 1030

*Genealogy*: s. of Semele 220 s. of Zeus 317 1098<sub>0</sub> s. of Zeus by Persephone 1135<sub>1</sub> s. of Zeus by Phersephone or Kore 1029

*Functions*: chthonian 471 1029 figs 1092<sub>0</sub> 1093<sub>0</sub> health 250<sub>3</sub> rain 274 ff. rebirth of Zeus 381 823<sub>1</sub> snow 275 - thunder 852 wine 557<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 271 ff.

*Attributes*: ass 464 bay-wreath 244 390 (?) double axe 661 drinking-horn 661 grape-bunch 960<sub>0</sub> ivy-wreath 388 jay 275<sub>8</sub> 524 *kántharos* 661 960<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> lyre 244 838 *nebris* 270<sub>3</sub> nightingale (?) 275<sub>8</sub> panther 261 270<sub>3</sub> *φρυγίλος* (?) 275<sub>8</sub> swallow (?) 275<sub>8</sub> *thýrsos* 261 ff. tripod 841 vine-branch 1133<sub>1</sub>

*Types*: Apolline 244 ff. 838 bearded 388 661 in car drawn by panthers 245<sub>0</sub> double bust (with Ariadne) 390 (?) 391 392<sub>1</sub> (?) ep. 661 double bust (with Hermes) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 double bust (with Zeus) 388 fire 114 f. horned 244<sub>1</sub> horned babe 1029 on horseback 270<sub>3</sub> 821 infant nursed by Nymph

Dionysos (*cont.*)

245<sub>0</sub> Janiform (bearded + beardless) 387 light 114 f. with lyre in art, but not in literature 246<sub>0</sub> pillar 164 riding on bull 661 seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated as lyre-player 245<sub>5</sub> standing with grape-bunch in raised right hand and *kántharos* in lowered left 960<sub>0</sub> two bearded masks hung back to back on pillar 381 with wings on head 388 youthful head 575<sub>1</sub> Zeus-like 662 f. 847

*Identified with* Agathos Daimon 1129<sub>0</sub> Apollon 252 ff. Apollon and Helios 253 f. Attis 294 296 298 Ešmun 314<sub>0</sub> Hittite god bearing grape-bunches and corn-ears 565 Jehovah 1197 younger Kabeiros 664<sub>1</sub> Liber 1031 Liber *Pater* 220<sub>0</sub> Osiris 252 Phanes 1026 1051 Sabazio 275 Zagreus 234 1029 Zeus 282 287 f. 288<sub>0</sub>

*Assimilated to* Apollon 244 ff. Thracian rider-god 821 823

*Associated with* Apollon 164 233 ff. Ariadne 245<sub>0</sub> 245<sub>5</sub> 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?) Athena and Zeus 'Αταβύριος 925<sub>0</sub> the Egyptian Herakles 7<sub>2</sub> Kore 120<sub>1</sub> Maenads 115 246<sub>0</sub> 262 f. 265 Nero 97<sub>0</sub> Oistros (?) 1041 Satyrs 245<sub>5</sub> 246<sub>0</sub> 262 f. 265 314<sub>0</sub> Silenoi 661 Zeus and Themis 261 f.

*Compared with* Apollon 252

*In relation to* Agathos Daimon 1129<sub>0</sub> Apollon 267 Ares 565<sub>2</sub> 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 1135<sub>1</sub> attendants of, boiled by Medeia 212 effigy of, dedicated to Zeus 958<sub>0</sub> epitaph of 220 mystics of 124<sub>1</sub> mysteries of 882<sub>0(0)</sub> nurses of 347<sub>0</sub> pillars of 423 in the plural 252<sub>3</sub> sceptre of 1026 tomb of 219 231 239 toys of 1030 tripod of 231

## Diōnysos 272

See also Dionysos

Diopetes See Artemis *Τύπος Διοπετής*  
Dios, island off coast of Kephallenia 908<sub>0</sub>  
Dios, the Thracian Zeus

*Cults*: Thrace 277 ff. 288 313 824 Thracio-Phrygians 277 ff. 313 842

*Epithets*: *Nûsos* (hence the Hellenic *Διόνυσος*) 277 288 313 842 *Πάπας* 277

*Functions*: sky 277 842 twofold, as Father and Son 288 842

*Etymology*: 824

*Superseded by* Zeus *Δίος* 280 f.

Diosatabyriastai 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub> 1157<sub>3</sub>

Dios Bous 318<sub>0</sub>

Dios Elpides

*Cult*: Miletos 962<sub>0</sub>



- Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961<sub>0</sub>  
 Dios Gonai in Lydia 961<sub>0</sub>  
 Dioskouroi  
*Cults*: Aizanoi 313 Akmoneia 313  
 Apameia 313 Mt Argaios 980<sub>0</sub>  
 Athens 1135<sub>4</sub> Bria 313 Etruria 431 f.  
 1064 Euromos 574 f. Sparta 261<sub>0</sub>  
 436 ff. 1062 Synnada 313 Tarentum  
 1064 Tauion 1064 Temenothyrai  
 313 Themisonion (?) 313 Therapne  
 1064 Tusculum (?) 368<sub>2</sub> Tyndaris  
 918<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: 'Αμβούλιοι 261<sub>0</sub> "Ανακτες 311  
 1135<sub>4</sub> Λαπέρσα 1069  
*Festival*: Theoxenia 443 1064  
*Rites*: *lectisternium* 443 sacrifice of  
 oxen 606<sub>3</sub>  
*Personated by* Aristomenes and friend  
 436<sub>9</sub> 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 984<sub>4</sub>  
 feud with sons of Aphareus 437  
 Gigantomachy 435 in *Iliad* 436 in  
*Kyppria* 438 f. in Lykophron 439  
 in *Odyssey* 437 in Pindar 437 f. life  
 underground 1064  
*Genealogy*: sons of Tyndareos 918<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: anthropomorphic sky-  
 pillars 980<sub>0</sub> both mortal men 436  
 one mortal, the other immortal  
 437 f. 440 halves of the sky 432 ff.  
 843 ἡ συμφωνία τῶν ἀπάντων 434<sub>3</sub>  
 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  
 313<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>4</sub> 313<sub>6</sub> 433 574 f. 1062  
 dagger 432<sub>3</sub> *dókana* 160 f. 436<sub>8</sub> 841  
 1063 f. horses 313<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>5</sub> 313<sub>8</sub> knife  
 432<sub>3</sub> Phrygian caps 432<sub>2</sub> (See also  
 caps with stars) *piloi* 307 1063 (See  
 also caps with stars) semicircles  
 434 sepulchral jars 436<sub>8</sub> 1062 ff.  
 stars 980<sub>0</sub> (See also caps with stars)  
*Types*: aniconic pillars crowned with  
 rays 980<sub>0</sub> bearded and beardless  
 451 on short column or altar 606<sub>3</sub>  
 driving two-horse chariot 1064  
 Etruscan 160 with heads connected  
 by forked bar 432<sub>3</sub> with heads con-  
 nected by pediment 431 432<sub>2</sub> on  
 horseback 442 479 1064 male and  
 female 451 with one arm apiece  
 432 with one wing apiece 432  
 radiate 432<sub>3</sub> reclining in cave 1064  
 reclining at feast 1064 standing  
 with horses 1064 standing without  
 horses 1062 1063 1064
- Dioskouroi (*cont.*)  
*Associated with* Helene 1003 ff. Zeus  
 1209<sub>2</sub>  
*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.
- Diosmilichiastai 1157  
 Diosphoros (?) 970<sub>0</sub>  
 Diotima 130<sub>7</sub> 1167  
 Diphilos 1167  
 Dipoinos 739  
 Dipsakos 904<sub>1</sub>  
 Dirke, the spring 1013  
 Dirke  
*Myths*: Antiope 1013 1015 Zethos and  
 Amphion 1013 1015 1019  
*Type*: dragged by bull 1019
- Dis (Δις) 344<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Zeus
- Dis  
*Cult*: Celts 326  
*Rite*: drink-offering of honey and pure  
 wine 1142<sub>7</sub>
- Dius  
*Cults*: Rome 724<sub>0</sub> ff. Tiber-island 726<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Fidius* 724<sub>0</sub> ff. 849 *Sancus*  
 724<sub>0</sub> *Sancus Sanctus Semo* 724<sub>0</sub>  
*Semo Sancus* 724<sub>0</sub> *Semo Sancus*  
*Sanctus* 724<sub>0</sub> 725<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: *aenei orbes* 724<sub>0</sub> 725<sub>0</sub> (?) oath  
 under open sky 724<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: lightning 726<sub>0</sub> 849 sky 724<sub>0</sub>  
 725<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: archaic 'Apollon' 725<sub>0</sub> cp. 1222  
*Identified with* Herakles (?) 724<sub>0</sub> Simon  
 Magus 726<sub>0</sub>
- Diviana 338<sub>4</sub>  
 See also Diana
- Divitia  
*Cults*: Mercurius 64<sub>0</sub> Victoria 64<sub>0</sub>
- Divlit near Koloë  
*Cults*: Artemis 'Αναείτις ('Αναείτις?)  
 975<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σαβάγιος 975<sub>0</sub>  
 — sacred trees at 975<sub>0</sub>
- Dodona  
*Cults*: Dione 350 350<sub>6</sub> 353 Ge (Gaia)  
 350<sub>1</sub> Zeus 350 353 693<sub>3</sub> 855<sub>2</sub> 960<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Δωδωναίος (=Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Νάιος 350<sub>6</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 826  
*Epithet*: *δυσχείμερος* 960<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: caldron of hot water 214 ff.  
 Hyperborean offerings 497 oracular  
 caldron 214 priests go with un-  
 washen feet 960<sub>0</sub> priests sleep on  
 ground 960<sub>0</sub>  
*Priests*: 'Ελλοί 677 f. Σελλοί 960<sub>0</sub> τό-  
 μαροι (τόμουροι) 693<sub>3</sub>  
*Priestesses*: 'Fly' 215<sub>1</sub> πελειάδες 350  
 693<sub>3</sub>  
*Myth*: Hellos 677 f. 848  
 — bronze statuettes of Zeus from  
 739 1222 (?) Corcyraean whip at  
 826 851 double axe of iron from 678

- Dodona (*cont.*)  
 gong at 133<sub>0</sub> 214<sub>1</sub> 826 1226 oak at  
 413<sub>2</sub> 677 692 848 painting of 677  
 small votive axes from 648 677
- Dogs-heads 679
- Dokimeion, coin of 756<sub>2</sub>
- Doliche  
*Cult*: Zeus Δολιχαῖος 745<sub>1</sub>
- Domitian  
*Personates* Zeus 97<sub>0</sub> 1194 cp. 811<sub>5</sub>
- Domitilla, Catacomb of 1205 f.
- Donar  
*Functions*: autumn 62 f. fertility 63<sub>1</sub>  
 thunder 63<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 63<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: hammer 64<sub>0</sub> 609 birch (?)  
 642<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with* Hercules 62 f. 63<sub>1</sub> 64<sub>0</sub>  
 94<sub>1</sub> Jupiter 64<sub>0</sub> 95<sub>2</sub> Vulcanus 63<sub>1</sub>
- Donatus as author of the scholia P.  
 Danielis on the commentaries of  
 Servius 1059 cp. 468<sub>1</sub>
- Donuca, Mt 55
- Dorians, *Agyiús*-pillars of 165 f. originally  
 an Illyrian tribe 341
- Dorylaeion  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 281 Apollon 281  
 Augustus 281 Dionysos 280<sub>1</sub>  
 Homonoia Σεβαστή 280<sub>1</sub> Mother of  
 the gods 281 Poseidon 281 Sarapis  
 281 Zeus Βροντῶν 280<sub>1</sub> 835<sub>4</sub> 836  
 Zeus Δίος (rather than Δῖος) 280 f.  
 Zeus Μεληνός 280<sub>1</sub> Zeus Παπίας  
 Σωτήρ 292<sub>4</sub> Zeus Πατρῶος 280<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
 Σημαντικός 280<sub>1</sub>  
 — bust of Zeus Βροντῶν from 836  
 coins of 280<sub>1</sub> seven tribes at 281
- Dorylaos (?) 280<sub>1</sub>
- Dotion  
*Cult*: Demeter 497<sub>5</sub> 683 f.  
*Myth*: Erysielthon 497<sub>5</sub> 683 f. 848
- Douris 122<sub>0</sub>
- 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 448<sub>0</sub>
- Drepanon (Drepane) in Bithynia  
*Myth*: so called after the δρέπανον of  
 Zeus 448<sub>0</sub>
- Drepanon (Drepane) = Phaiakia or Kor-  
 kyra 448<sub>0</sub>
- Drepanon = Zankle in Sicily 448<sub>0</sub>
- Dreros  
*Cult*: Zeus Ταλλαῖος 948<sub>1</sub>  
 — oath of 730<sub>0</sub>
- Drios, Mt, in Naxos  
*Cult*: Zeus Μηλώσιος 918<sub>1</sub>
- Droiophoroi 411<sub>6</sub>
- Druids regarded oak-mistletoe as fallen  
 from heaven 643
- Dryades 276 683 f.
- Dryope  
*Myth*: loved by Apollon 485 f. 486<sub>5</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* black-poplar 486  
 lotus-tree 486<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Amphissos by Apollon  
 486 w. of Andraimon, s. of Oxylos  
 486  
*Superseded by* Daphne 486
- Dryopes  
*Cult*: πόποι 293<sub>0</sub>  
 — migration of 458 (?) 1123 (?)
- Dryops  
*Genealogy*: s. of Apollon by Dia, d. of  
 Lykaon 486<sub>1</sub> 486<sub>5</sub> s. of Spercheios  
 by the Danaïd Polydora 486
- Dryos 972<sub>0</sub>
- Duana 339<sub>0</sub> See Diana
- Durocortorum 359<sub>3</sub>
- Dyauš 1228
- Dyrrhachion by euphemism for Epidam-  
 nos (?) 1112<sub>7</sub> coins of 1159<sub>1</sub>
- Dysaules (= Hades?) 131 f.  
*Genealogy*: f. of Eubouleus and Tri-  
 ptolemos 132 f. of Protogone and  
 Misa by Baubo 131
- Ebal, Mt, and Mt Gerizim as two-peaked  
 cosmic mountain (?) 888<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Ebdomaia 237<sub>0</sub>
- Ebimi near Amaseia  
*Cult*: Zeus Στράτιος 976<sub>0</sub>
- Echekrates 209<sub>3</sub>
- Edessa  
*Cults*: Helios 428 Mōnimos and Azizos  
 428 Tyche 429 f.  
 — coins of 429 f. columns of 428 ff.
- Eëtion 317
- Egeria  
*Etymology*: 418<sub>0</sub> (?)  
*Identified with* Diana (?) 418<sub>0</sub>
- Egesta See Segesta
- Egypt  
*Cults*: Agdistis Ἐπήκοος 1228 Ammon  
 767<sub>2</sub> Amoun 293<sub>0</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub> ape 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Apis 942<sub>0</sub> baboon 987<sub>0</sub> benefactors  
 of society 1132<sub>6</sub> Bes 457 cat 987<sub>0</sub>  
 crocodile 987<sub>0</sub> double axe 545<sub>0</sub> fire  
 34<sub>1</sub> HA of the Double Axe 545<sub>0</sub>  
 Hermes 382<sub>2</sub> Horos 255 ibis 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Kneph 1127<sub>0</sub> Min 767<sub>2</sub> Mouth  
 (= Isis) 1038 Tefēnet 626<sub>0</sub> 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 449<sub>0</sub> zoögonny 1023  
 — Homer indebted to 481<sub>9</sub> pyramids  
 of 1145<sub>1(a)</sub> 1145<sub>1(b)</sub>
- Eide (Ide), a Cretan Nymph  
*Genealogy*: d. of Melissos by Amaltheia  
 and st. of Adrasteia 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: protectress of laws 933<sub>0</sub>



- Eikthyrnir 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Eileithya  
*Cults*: Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Megara 168<sub>1</sub> Phaleron 183 Priansos  
 723<sub>0</sub> Tegea (?) 1148<sub>4</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Bivaria* 723<sub>0</sub> *ήπία* 184<sub>2</sub> *λυσί-*  
*ζωνος* 184<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: child-birth 709  
*Attributes*: girdle 184 torch (?) 1148<sub>4</sub>
- Eilena  
*Cult*: Athena 625  
 — Epeios' axe in temple at 625
- Eirene  
*Cult*: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *εὐσεβεισάτη Σεβαστή* 970<sub>0</sub>  
*λαπαρή* 954<sub>0</sub> *φιλολβος* 931<sub>0</sub>  
*Personated by* Marcia Otacilia Severa,  
 w. of Philippus i 970<sub>0</sub>
- Eisenlaci 224<sub>1</sub>  
 Ekbatana, axe-head from 632<sub>6</sub> Ktesias on  
 832
- Ektenes 824<sub>6</sub>
- El  
*Identified with* Kronos 558<sub>0</sub>
- Elagabalos  
*Cult*: Emesa (?) 814<sub>3</sub>
- Elaia in Aiolis  
*Cults*: Theos Βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Σωτήρ  
 (= Eumenes ii) 960<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ  
 955<sub>0</sub>
- Elakataion, Mt, in Thessaly  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἡλακαταῖος or Ἡλακατεὺς  
 397<sub>0</sub>
- Elaphebolia 1140<sub>4</sub>
- Elasson in Thessaly  
*Cult*: Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(13)</sub>
- Elateia in Phokis  
*Cult*: Athena Κραναία 1158<sub>10</sub>
- Elaton, charioteer of Amphiaraos 1071
- Elatos, f. of Ischys 1089
- Elatos, Lapith chief 471
- Elchanos (?) = Velchanos  
*Cult*: Knossos 948<sub>0(3)</sub>
- Elektor  
*Etymology*: 397<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Helios *Epithets* *ήλέκτωρ*
- Elektra, d. of Agamemnon 1132<sub>6</sub>  
*Etymology*: 397<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>
- Elektryon  
*Etymology*: 397<sub>0</sub>
- Elektryone (Elektrona)  
*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 499<sub>5</sub>
- Eleos  
*In relation to* Zeus 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 — altar of 875<sub>1(2)</sub>
- Eleusis  
*Cults*: Demeter 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> Hades  
 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Kore 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Persephone  
 132<sub>2</sub>  
*Rites*: burial within the house 1060  
 exhibition of corn-ear 291<sub>2</sub> 292<sub>0</sub>
- Eleusis (*cont.*)  
 295<sub>2</sub> myrtle-wreaths 1165<sub>1</sub> mysteries  
 132<sub>2</sub> poppy-heads 1165<sub>1</sub>  
*Priest*: *ιεροφάντης* 291<sub>2</sub> 292<sub>0</sub>  
 — *katabasion* at 14 Telesterion at  
 1229
- Eleuther 190<sub>0</sub>
- Eleutherai  
*Myth*: Antiope 1013
- Eleutheria  
*Cult*: Kyaneai 101<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής* 101<sub>1</sub>
- Eleutheria, the festival 974<sub>0</sub> (?) 1121<sub>0</sub>
- Eleuthernai (Eleutherna)  
*Cults*: Apollon 456<sub>7</sub> Apollon Στυρακίτης  
 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 492<sub>0(6)</sub> Artemis 492<sub>0(6)</sub>  
*Myth*: Eleuther (?) 190<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 491<sub>0(6)</sub>
- Ἐλ Ὀλάμ  
*Identified with* Jehovah 1037
- Elias, St  
*Cults*: Beuyuk Evlia near Amaseia  
 975<sub>0</sub> Mt Helikon 898<sub>5</sub> Homolion  
 1227 Mt Hymettos 897<sub>5</sub> Lebadeia  
 899<sub>2</sub> Paros 875<sub>1(5)</sub>  
*Epithets*: Dry 251<sub>0</sub> Wet 251<sub>0</sub>  
*Attribute*: chariot 820  
*Supersedes* Zeus 875<sub>1(5)</sub> 894<sub>1</sub> 894<sub>3</sub> 897<sub>5</sub>  
 898<sub>5</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>1</sub> 906<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>4</sub> 1073  
 1227  
 — ascends to heaven by the Milky  
 Way 38<sub>5</sub>
- Elijah 138<sub>0</sub>
- Elioun  
*Cult*: Byblos 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Epithet*: *Ἐψιστος* 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Epigeios (Autochthon)  
 Οὐρανός and Ge by Berouth 886<sub>0(30)</sub>
- Elis  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 68<sub>1</sub> Athena  
 Ὀπλοσμία 291<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 932<sub>0</sub>  
 Dionysos Ἡρώς 823<sub>1</sub> Hera Ὀπλοσ-  
 μία 291<sub>0</sub> Myiacoires 783 Sosipolis  
 1151 Zeus Ἀπόμνιος 783 Zeus  
 Ὀλύμπιος 728<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Salmoneus 825
- Elisha 1134<sub>4</sub>
- Elmo, St, fires of 980<sub>0</sub>
- Elnes (?) 1149<sub>2(1)</sub>
- Elpides See Dios Elpides
- Elysian Plain (Fields) 22<sub>4</sub> 117 465 469
- Elysian Way 36 ff. 117 840
- Elysium 22 133 840
- Emathia, hill at Antiocheia on the Orontes  
*Cult*: Zeus Βοττιαῖος 1187 f.
- Emesa  
*Cults*: Aglibolos 814<sub>3</sub> Athena 814<sub>3</sub>  
 Belos (?) 814<sub>3</sub> Elagabalos (?) 814<sub>3</sub>  
 Iarebolos 814<sub>3</sub> Keraunos 814<sub>3</sub> Mala-  
 chbelos (?) 814<sub>3</sub> Seimia (?) 814<sub>3</sub>  
 Semiramis (?) 814<sub>3</sub>  
 — relief from 814<sub>3</sub>
- Emmeram, St 135
- Emona  
*Cult*: Laburus 609<sub>3</sub>

- Empedokles 358<sub>6</sub> 432 (?) 505<sub>1</sub> 852 1024  
1033
- Emporia 94<sub>3</sub> (?)
- Emporion  
*Cults*: Eros 1040 Persephone 1040  
— coins of 1039 f.
- Endoios 410<sub>0</sub>
- Enhodia  
*Cult*: Larissa in Thessaly 1155  
*Epithet*: *Φαστικά* (?) from Thracian  
tribe *Ἀσται* 1155<sub>4</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus *Μελίχιος* and  
Polis 1155
- Eniautos (?) 1029 (in Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.*  
p. 110, 20 Pasquali *ἐνιαυτὸς* Kern  
would read *Ἐνιαυτὸς*)
- Enipeus 460
- Enkelados  
*Myths*: Athena 713 777<sub>2</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
909<sub>0</sub>  
— in town-arms of Girgenti 915<sub>0</sub>
- Enneakrounos 1119 1119<sub>4</sub>
- Ennius, the twelve deities of 100
- Enoch 38<sub>5</sub> 138<sub>0</sub>
- Enorches  
*Myths*: born from egg laid by Daita or  
Daito (Daiso) w. of Thyestes 1021  
founds temple of Dionysos *Ἐνόρχης*  
1021  
*Etymology*: 1021
- Enyeus, f. of Homoloia 900<sub>1</sub>
- Eos See Heos
- Epaphos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Io 961<sub>0</sub>
- Epeios  
*Myth*: wooden horse 625  
*Attribute*: axe 613 625
- Epeiros  
*Cult*: Hadrian 1121<sub>0</sub>  
— coins of 763<sub>1</sub> folk-song from 828 f.  
folk-tales from 671 f. 1006 f.
- Ephesos  
*Cults*: Artemis 1082 Artemis *Ἐφεσία*  
405 ff. 962<sub>2</sub> Nyx 1021 Zeus 728<sub>0</sub>  
743<sub>7</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 962<sub>2</sub>  
*Festivals*: Barbillea 962<sub>2</sub> Hadrianeia  
1121<sub>0</sub> Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adria-  
nia) Olympia 962<sub>2</sub>  
*Rites*: oath by Zeus taken over boar  
728<sub>0</sub> thigh-pieces of oxen sacrificed  
to Zeus 962<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Amazons 405 Hippo 405<sub>3</sub>  
— Artemision at 580<sub>7</sub> 637 f. 1230  
coins of 408<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> 743<sub>7</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> 963<sub>0</sub>  
columns dedicated by Kroisos etc.  
at 580<sub>7</sub> oak-tree at 405 Olympieion  
at 962<sub>2</sub>
- Ephesos, personification of the town 319<sub>5</sub>
- Ephialtes, b. of Otos 129 f. 130<sub>4</sub> 317 712
- Ephka, sacred spring at Palmyra 885<sub>0(20)</sub>
- Ephraem the Syrian, St 116
- Epidamnos See Dyrhachion
- Epidauros  
*Cults*: Agathe 1126<sub>0</sub> Agathos Theos  
1126<sub>0</sub> Aphrodite *Μελίχια* 1144<sub>3</sub>
- Epidauros (*cont.*)  
Apollon *Μαλεάτας* (*Μαλεάτης*) 487<sub>3(1)</sub>  
Apollon *Μαλεάτας Σωτήρ* 487<sub>3(1)</sub>  
Artemis *Σαρωνία* 413<sub>7</sub> Asklepios  
413<sub>7</sub> 1085 1177 f. Asklepios Ζεὺς  
*Τέλειος* 1076 f. Athena *᾽Οξυδέρκα*  
502<sub>2</sub> Auxesia 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Azosioi Theoi  
487<sub>3(1)</sub> Ourania, the Carthaginian  
goddess 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Tychai 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Zeus  
*Ἀποτρόπαιος* 1157<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἀσκληπιὸς*  
1061 1076 f. Zeus *Ἀσκληπιὸς Σωτήρ*  
1076 f. Zeus *Κάσιος* 894<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
*Κτήσιος* 1066 Zeus *Μελίχιος* (?) 1144<sub>3</sub>  
Zeus *Φίλιος* 1177 f.  
*Rite*: *πυροφορήσας* 1126<sub>0</sub>  
*Priest*: *ιεραπολήσας* 1126<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Askles 1086  
— coins of 1078 f. metopes (?) from  
temple of Asklepios at 1081 f.
- Epidauros Limera  
*Cult*: Asklepios 1082  
*Myth*: Asklepios arrives as snake on  
shipboard 1082
- Epidotai  
*Cult*: Pagasai 321<sub>1</sub>
- Epidotas  
*Cult*: Argos 321<sub>1</sub>
- Epigeios (Autochthon) *Ὀυρανός*, s. of Eliouon  
*᾽Υψιστος* by Berouth 886<sub>0(30)</sub>
- Epigonos 955<sub>0</sub>
- Epikouros, portrait-herm of (with Metro-  
doros) 390
- Epimenides 191 222 451 929<sub>0</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub>  
940<sub>0</sub> (?) 941<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>
- Epio, short form of Epione 1086
- Epione, w. of Asklepios 1086
- Epona 99<sub>4</sub> (?)
- Epopeus  
*Personates* Zeus (?) 1146  
*Myth*: 1013  
*Genealogy*: f. of Marathon f. of Sikyon  
1146  
*Identified with* Zeus 445
- Epula Iovis (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172<sub>0</sub>
- Er, ancestor of Joseph 54<sub>1</sub>
- 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 488<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Erebos  
*Epithet*: *ὀμιχλώδες* 1022  
*Genealogy*: child of Chronos or Hera-  
kles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022  
f. by Nyx of Aither, Eros, Metis  
315<sub>4</sub> cp. 1050 f.
- Erechtheion at Athens 24 789<sub>7</sub> 792 965<sub>0</sub>  
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* Aleos 1147 Amphiaraios, Latinus, Aeneas 1071
- Eresos  
*Cults*: Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>
- Eretria  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὀμολώιος 901<sub>0</sub>  
 — coin of 903<sub>0</sub>
- Erichthonios  
*Myth*: buried in precinct of Athena at Athens 944<sub>0</sub>
- 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 476<sub>5</sub>
- Eridanus, the constellation 476 481 483<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with* Neilos 481 1025 Okeanos 481 1025
- Eridu 482 f.
- Erikepaios (Erikapaios)  
*Cult*: Thrace (?) 1025  
*Myth*: swallowed by Zeus 1027  
*Functions*: ἐτέρας ἔφορος δυνάμειος 1025 ζῶη 1024 ζωδοτήρ 1024  
*Etymology*: 1025  
*Identified with* Eros 1039 Metis (masc.) 1024 1039 Phanes 1024 1039 Protonogonos 1027 1039  
*In relation to* Athena 1032  
 — sceptre of 1026
- Erineos 1103
- Erinyes  
*Epithets*: Ἀβλαβίαί 1113<sub>0(1)</sub> Εὐμενίδες 1112<sub>7</sub> 1113<sub>0(1)</sub> Σεμναί 1112<sub>7</sub> 1113<sub>0(1)</sub>  
*Rites*: offerings without wine 1097<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: sprung from blood of Ouranos falling on Gaia 447<sub>8</sub>  
*Type*: deformed 1100<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus, Ge, and Helios 728<sub>0</sub> f.  
 — euphemistic titles of 1112<sub>7</sub> 1113<sub>0(1)</sub> increasingly subordinated to Zeus 1102<sub>7</sub>
- Erinys  
*Epithets*: ἡεροφοίτις 1102<sub>7</sub> νυμφόκλαυτος 1102<sub>7</sub> ὄρπα 315<sub>3</sub> ὑστερόποινος 1102<sub>7</sub>  
*Functions*: angry ghost 207<sub>0</sub> soul of murdered man 1100<sub>0</sub> 1101  
*Associated with* Zeus and Moira 1102<sub>7</sub>  
*In relation to* Apollon 1102<sub>7</sub> Eros 315<sub>3</sub> Jupiter 1102<sub>7</sub> Pan 1102<sub>7</sub> Zeus 1102<sub>7</sub>
- Eriza, coins of 565
- Ermine Street 91
- Eros  
*Cults*: Aphrodisias 572<sub>10</sub> Athens 1043 Emporion 1040 Plarasa 572<sub>10</sub>  
*Epithets*: Ἄρπυς 315<sub>3</sub> Βακχεύς 316<sub>6</sub> θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ υἱέ 316<sub>6</sub> πολυτερεπής 316<sub>5</sub> 1028 στίλβων νῶτον περὺγον χρυσαῖν 1020 1050 Φίλιος (?) 1176<sub>3</sub> Ψίθυρος 1043  
*Rite*: mysteries 1167 f.  
*Myths*: judgment of Eros 949<sub>5</sub> springs from egg laid by Nyx 1039 Typhoeus 449<sub>0</sub> Zeus transforms himself into Eros when about to create the world 316  
*Genealogy*: a bone of contention 316<sub>0</sub> s. of Aphrodite (?) and Ouranos 316<sub>0</sub> s. of Aphrodite and Zeus 316<sub>0</sub> s. of Ge and Ouranos 315<sub>4</sub> s. of Nyx 1020 s. of Nyx and Aither 315<sub>4</sub> 1051 s. of Nyx and Erebus 315<sub>4</sub> 1050 f. (?)  
*Functions*: cosmogonic 316 1019 ff. 1038 ff. funerary 309 male Erinys 315<sub>3</sub> male Harpy 315<sub>3</sub> primeval power 315 f. soul 1039 ff. 1050 soul of the sky-god 315<sub>3</sub> specialised form of Ker 315<sub>3</sub>  
*Etymology*: 315<sub>3</sub>  
*Attributes*: *chlamys* 1045 club 1046 globe 1047 lion-skin 1046 thunderbolt 1045 f. torch 309  
*Types*: with Anteros 1221 with attributes of Herakles 1046 with attributes of Herakles and Zeus 1046 f. with attributes of Zeus 1045 ff. babe 1045 with bird-wings 1050 boy 1044 breaking thunderbolt 1045 bust 572<sub>10</sub> 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 emerging from head of Pegasus 1040 *genre* 1045 ff. Graeco-Roman 1045 Hellenistic 860 1044 f. holding thunderbolt 1045 hovering youth 124<sub>2</sub> 261 737 on ladder 124<sub>3</sub> Lysippos (?) 1046 modern 1050 nursed by Hermaphroditos 152<sub>0</sub> pantheistic 1047 planting foot on globe 1047 *psychostasia* 734<sub>3</sub> 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 315<sub>3</sub> standing on Aphrodite's arm 1043 steering *murex*-shell 1047 stepping down from behind shoulder of Aphrodite 1044 stripping Herakles 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* Erikepaios 1039 Metis (masc.) 1039 Phanes 1026 1039 Protogonos 1039 Zeus 1028  
*Assimilated to* Herakles 1046 Zeus 1045 ff.  
*Associated with* Psyche 1045  
*In relation to* Ker 315<sub>3</sub> Psyche 315<sub>3</sub> Wind 1039 Zeus 316<sub>2</sub> 316<sub>5</sub>  
*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 587<sub>2</sub>
- Erysichthon  
*Myths*: Dotion 497<sub>5</sub> 683 f. 848 Prasiai 497  
 — hunger of 683 f.
- Erysichthon the Giant 684<sub>4</sub>
- Erythrai in Ionia  
*Cults*: Ablabiai 1113<sub>0(1)</sub> Apollon 730<sub>0</sub> Athena 'Αποτροπαία 1157<sub>0</sub> Demeter 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Αποτρόπαιος 1157<sub>0</sub>
- Esculapius (*sc.* Aesculapius) 1086
- Ešmun  
*Cults*: Kition 1095<sub>0</sub> Phoinike 314<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: obelisk 1095<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Dionysos Σαβάξιος 314<sub>0</sub> Kadmilos 314<sub>0</sub>
- Esquilinus, Mons 401
- Essir-keui in Bithynia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>5</sub>
- Este  
*Cult*: Rehtia 1220
- Esus  
*Cults*: Gallia Belgica 547<sub>0</sub> Gallia Lugudunensis 547<sub>0</sub> 619  
*Attribute*: axe 619  
*Associated with* Iovis and Volcanus 547<sub>0</sub> 619 Mercurius and Rosmerta (?) 547<sub>0</sub>
- Eteo-Cretans at Praisos 930<sub>0</sub>
- Eteokles  
*Genealogy*: f. of Orchomenos and Minyas 1150<sub>5</sub> s. and b. of Oidipous 825<sub>2</sub>
- Eteonos  
*Cults*: Demeter Εὐρυόδεια 1152 Oidipous 1151 ff.  
*Myth*: Oidipous 1152
- Etruria  
*Cults*: Aesculapius 1085 f. Ani (=Ianus) 338<sub>3</sub> Charon 627<sub>3</sub> 803 Culsánas 378 Dioskouroi 431 f. 1064 god of the Underworld 805 f. 850 Tina (=Iupiter) 338<sub>3</sub> Tiv 339<sub>0</sub> Uni (=Iuno) 338<sub>3</sub> Usil 339<sub>0</sub>  
 — gold necklace from 528
- Etrusci, lightning-lore of 5<sub>5</sub> 805 mirrors of 160
- Euboia, three golden children in folk-tale from 1007 f.
- Eubouleus (=Hades) 118<sub>4</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
*Functions*: one of the first three Dioskouroi 1135<sub>4</sub> s. of the nether Zeus (?) 119<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Phanes 1026
- Euboulos 190<sub>0</sub>
- Euchaites (=Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Eudaimonia  
*Cult*: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
- Eudoxos 222
- Eueides (=Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Euhemerios 342<sub>0</sub> 554<sub>3</sub> 588 927<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> 1087 1135<sub>4</sub> ep. 940<sub>0</sub>
- Eukleia, the goddess 118<sub>3</sub>
- Eukleia, the festival 118<sub>3</sub>
- Eukleides, s. of Kleagoras 1106 f.
- Eukles (=Hades) 118<sub>3</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 See also Euklos
- Euklos (=Hades) 118<sub>3</sub>  
 See also Eukles
- Eukoline (=Hekate) 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Eumeneia in Phrygia  
*Cults*: Agathos Daimon (=the emperor Philippus i) 970<sub>0</sub> Apollon 571 970<sub>0</sub> εὐσεβεστάτη Σεβαστή Εἰρήνη (=Marcia Otacilia Severa, w. of Philippus i) 970<sub>0</sub> Men 'Ασκαηνός 970<sub>0</sub> Meter Theon 'Ανγδιστις (= 'Αγγδιστις) 970<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ 970<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 565 f. 571
- Eumenes i divinised as Zeus Εὐμένης 960<sub>0</sub> 1228 f.
- Eumenes ii divinised as Theos Βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Σωτήρ 960<sub>0</sub>
- Eumenides  
*Rites*: libation of μελίκρατον (water and honey) 1142<sub>0</sub> νηφάλια 1142  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Nyx 825<sub>1</sub>  
*Function*: avenge bloodshed 1130<sub>1</sub>  
 — euphemistic names of 1113<sub>0(1)</sub>
- Eumolpos, a flute-player 670
- Euneidai 245<sub>5</sub>
- Euneos 245<sub>5</sub>
- Eunomia 954<sub>0</sub>
- Euphorbos, priestly ruler of Aizanoi 964<sub>3</sub>
- Euphranor 1126<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub>
- Euphronios 121<sub>3</sub>
- Euripides, portrait-herm of (with Sophokles) 389 tomb of, struck by lightning 9
- Euromos  
*Cults*: Dionysos 575<sub>1</sub> Dioskouroi 574 f. Zeus 572<sub>7</sub> 573<sub>4</sub> 574 f. 1220 Zeus Εὐρωμεύς (?) 589<sub>0</sub>  
*Priests*: dedicate temple-columns 580  
 — coins of 572 ff. 1220 site of 588<sub>7</sub>
- Europe  
*Myth*: Zeus 348 929<sub>0</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Themis 267<sub>5</sub>
- Euros  
*Type*: horse 830<sub>7</sub>



- Euryale 718  
 Eurydike  
*Myth*: Orpheus 211<sub>2</sub> 1022  
 Eurykomis 1141  
 Eurymede, m. of Bellerophon 721<sub>2</sub>  
 Euryodeia (Euryodia)  
*Genealogy*: m. of Arkeisios by Zeus 1152<sub>4</sub>  
*Function*: earth 1152<sub>4</sub>  
 Eurypylos 281<sub>4</sub>  
 Eurytes  
*Genealogy*: b. of Kteatos 317 s. of Molione, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015<sub>8</sub>  
 Eusebeia, former name of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978<sub>0</sub>  
 Eustasia 954<sub>0</sub>  
 Euthymos, statues of, struck by lightning 9  
 Euxeinios by euphemism for Axenos 1112<sub>7</sub>  
 Exouanoun, old name of Aizanoi 964<sub>3</sub>  
 Eyuk, Hittite sculptures at 620 f.
- Fagus  
*Cult*: Aquitania 402<sub>1</sub>  
 Fagutal 401 403<sub>0</sub>  
 Falacer  
*Cult*: Rome 1226  
*Epithet*: *Divus Pater* 1226  
 Falerii  
*Cult*: Ianus 373  
*Festival*: Struppearia 1171<sub>1</sub>  
 Fama 915<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 Faolan 683  
 Fata  
*Attributes*: baskets 862<sub>10</sub> scales 862<sub>10</sub>  
*Types*: spinning 862<sub>10</sub> weighing 862<sub>10</sub>  
 Fauna  
*Epithet*: *Bona Dea* 724<sub>0</sub>  
 Faunus  
*Associated with* Picus 400  
 Faunus, king of Aborigines 404<sub>0</sub>  
 Faustulus 1016  
 Felicitas 71 (?) 98<sub>1</sub>  
 Fenians 682  
 Fenrir (Fenris-wolf) 62<sub>1</sub> 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Feralia 19<sub>0</sub>  
 Fimmilena  
*Cult*: Borcovicium 51<sub>1</sub>  
 Fin 682 f.  
 Fintra 682  
 Fisos (Fisovios)  
*Cult*: Umbria 724<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet*: *Sancios* 724<sub>0</sub>  
 Fiumicino, *koûros* of 1221  
 Florianus, M. Annius, statue of, struck by lightning 10  
 Flumen, the constellation 476  
 Fons  
*Cults*: Ianiculum 368<sub>3</sub> Lambaesis 369<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* (Aqua) Ventina and Vires 306<sub>4</sub>  
 See also Fontus  
 Fontei 368<sub>2</sub>
- Fontes  
*Cult*: Rome 369<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 369<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* and Minerva 401<sub>0</sub>
- Fontus  
*Cult*: Tusculum (?) 368<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ianus 368 394<sub>3</sub>  
*Type*: bifrontal 368  
 See also Fons
- Forrinae See Nymphs
- Fortuna  
*Cult*: Rome 1195<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: one of the Penates 1059  
*Attributes*: *cornu copiae* 95<sub>1</sub> globe beneath foot 862<sub>10</sub> steering-paddle 95<sub>1</sub> wheel 57<sub>6</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter 1195<sub>2</sub> Minerva 95<sub>1</sub> 96  
*In relation to* Minerva 95  
 — on Iupiter-column (?) 71  
 Frampton, Roman villa at 604  
 Freyia 682  
 Frija  
*Attribute*: necklace 61<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Iuno 59 94<sub>1</sub>  
*Differentiated into* Iuno and Venus 67
- Furiae 808<sub>0(17)</sub> 1102<sub>7</sub>  
 Furi 368<sub>2</sub>  
 Furor 862<sub>10</sub>  
 Furrina  
*Cult*: Rome 808<sub>0(17)</sub>
- Gabriel 793<sub>4</sub>  
 Gadeira  
*Cult*: Herakles 423
- Gaia  
*Cults*: Delphoi 500 1216 Dodona 350<sub>1</sub> Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186 Pergamon 1185  
*Epithets*: *ἀνοστρόφος* 1216 *εὐρύστερνος* 176<sub>1</sub> *Μήτηρ* 350<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: drink-offering of honey and pure wine 1142<sub>5</sub>  
*Myth*: birth of Zeus 925<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. of Kronos 447<sub>8</sub> w. of Ouranos 447<sub>8</sub>  
*Function*: primeval power 315  
*Attributes*: corn-ears 1186 *cornu copiae* 1185 1186 turreted crown 1185  
*Types*: recumbent 1185 standing 1185 f.  
 See also Ge
- Gala 40<sub>3</sub> 43<sub>4</sub>  
 See also Galaxias, Milky Way
- Galaria or Galarina  
*Cults*: Dionysos 1133<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 1133<sub>1</sub>
- Galatia  
*Cult*: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835<sub>5</sub>
- Galaxias 42<sub>3</sub> 42<sub>4</sub> 43<sub>4</sub>  
 See also Gala, Milky Way
- Galba 7

## Galerius

*Personates* Iupiter 1194

Galla Placidia, Mausoleum of 1208 1208<sub>6</sub>

## Galli

*Rite*: use vervain for casting lots and chanting oracles 395<sub>2</sub>

Gallia Aquitana, coins of 1040

## Gallia Belgica

*Cults*: Esus 547<sub>0</sub> Mercurius 547<sub>0</sub>  
Rosmerta (?) 547<sub>0</sub>

## Gallia Lugudunensis

*Cults*: Esus 547<sub>0</sub> 619 Iovis 547<sub>0</sub> 619  
pear-tree 1215 f. Volcanus 547<sub>0</sub>  
619

— burial within the house in 1059  
tombstones dedicated *sub ascia* in  
547<sub>0</sub>

Gallos, king of Pessinous (?) 970<sub>0</sub>

## Ganymedes

*Myths*: buried on Mt Olympos in Mysia 953<sub>2</sub> Mt Gargaron (Gargara) 950<sub>0</sub> golden vine 281<sub>4</sub> Tantalos 212<sub>5</sub> 953<sub>2</sub> Zeus 188<sub>0</sub> 281<sub>4</sub> 933<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Ballenaios by Medesigiste 270<sub>5</sub>

*Types*: with eagle 188<sub>0</sub> 189<sub>0</sub> with eagle and golden vine (?) 281<sub>4</sub>

Gargaris, the district 949<sub>5</sub>

Gargaron (Gargara), Mt 949<sub>5</sub> ff.

*Cult*: Zeus 950<sub>0</sub> ff.

*Myths*: Ganymedes 950<sub>0</sub> Paris 950<sub>0</sub>  
Zeus consorts with Hera 950<sub>0</sub>

Gargaros, the town 950<sub>0</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> f.

Gargaros, s. of Zeus at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950<sub>0</sub>

## Gaza

*Cults*: Bes 674 Janiform god and goddess 673 f. Kronos (?) 675 Marnas 675 Rhea (?) 675 Satyric god 674 Zeus Ἀλδήμιος or Ἄλδος 675 1187<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κρηταγενής 675

— coins of 673 ff. cosmic picture at 828

## Gazaka

*Cult*: fire 34<sub>1</sub>

## Ge

*Cults*: Alopeke 1115 Athens 729<sub>0</sub>  
Bosporos Kimmerios 729<sub>0</sub> Chersonesos Taurike 729<sub>0</sub> Delphoi 176<sub>1</sub> 841 Dodona 350<sub>1</sub> Karia 729<sub>0</sub> Knidos 729<sub>0</sub> Magnesia ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Paphlagonia 729<sub>0</sub> Pergamon 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Phaselis 729<sub>0</sub> Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub> Sparta 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> Thermos in Aitolia 729<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: Εὐρουστέρνα 176<sub>1</sub> Εὐρύστερνος 176<sub>1</sub> Θεμέλη (= Σεμέλη) 279<sub>3</sub> Θέμις 176<sub>1</sub> 266 f. (?) 268<sub>0</sub> 841 (?) Θυώνη 279<sub>3</sub> Καρποφόρος 21<sub>4</sub> μά 294<sub>0</sub> μέλαινα 176<sub>1</sub> μήτηρ 1023

*Rite*: οὐλαί, οὐλόχυνται 18<sub>6</sub>

*Myths*: golden apples 1020 f. Palikoi 909<sub>0</sub> sends up fig-tree to shelter Sykeas or Sykeus 1103<sub>8</sub>

*Genealogy*: d. of Elioun Ἰψιστος by

## Ge (cont.)

Berouth 886<sub>0(30)</sub> d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. by Ouranos of Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes, Arges 1023 m. of Aetos 933<sub>0</sub> m. of Eros by Ouranos 315<sub>4</sub> 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 448<sub>2</sub> m. of Zeus 294<sub>0</sub> w. of Zeus 292<sub>4</sub>

*Functions*: fertility 267 crops 350<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: kteis 268<sub>0</sub> lamp 268<sub>0</sub> marjoram 268<sub>0</sub> omphalós 231 239 841 sword 268<sub>0</sub>

*Type*: praying Zeus to rain 21<sub>4</sub>

*Identified with* Apia (Api) 293<sub>0</sub> Chthonie 351<sub>1</sub> Semele 279<sub>3</sub> Themis 176<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Poseidon 176<sub>1</sub> Zeus 266 f. 292<sub>4</sub> Zeus and Helios 729<sub>0</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus, Helios, and Erinyes 728<sub>0</sub> f. Zeus Μελίχιος and Athenaia 1115

— omphalós of 231 239 1216

See also Gaia

## Gebeleizis

*Cult*: Getai 227 805 822

*Etymology*: 227<sub>4</sub> 805 822 f.

*Identified with* Salmoxis (Zalmoxis) 227 822

See also Zibeleizis

## Gela

*Myth*: Entimos and Antiphemos are bidden to beware of τὸν Τετράωτον 322<sub>6</sub> 322<sub>7</sub>

Gelas, the river in Sicily

*Type*: bull 910<sub>1</sub>

Geloni tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>

Gemini 430 477<sub>8</sub>

— Didyma named after (?) 318

Genes, river in Pontos 617

Genetaean headland

*Cults*: Zeus Γενηταίος 616 Zeus Εὐξείνος 617 1097<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ξένιος 617

## Genii

*In relation to* Manes, Lemures, Larvae, Lares familiares 1059

## Genius

*Cult*: Mogontiacum 96<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: generis nostri parens 1059

*Genealogy*: f. of Tages 1060 s. of Iupiter 1060

*Attributes*: acerra 1060 patera 1060

*Types*: anthropomorphic 1060 snake 1060

*Identified with* Iupiter 1060 Lar 1059

*Assimilated to* Nero 1060

— of a man corresponds with Iuno of a woman 1059 on Iupiter-columns (?) 71

Genius Caeli Montis

*Cult*: Rome 400<sub>11</sub>



- Genius Canabensium (?) 1214  
 Genius Fontis  
*Cult*: Lambaesis 369<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter Propagator Conservator 369<sub>0</sub>  
 Genius huius loci  
*Cult*: Sirmium 1194<sub>4</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter Optimus Maximus 1194<sub>4</sub>  
 See also Genius loci  
 Genius Iovialis  
*Function*: one of the Penates 1059  
 Genius Iovii Augusti  
*Cult*: Rome 1194<sub>4</sub>  
 Genius Iovis 1060  
 Genius loci  
*Cults*: Divitia 64<sub>0</sub> Mogontiacum 620<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Genius huius loci  
 Genius Neronis 96 98 cp. 1060  
 Genzano 419 f. 420<sub>1</sub>  
 George, St 925<sub>0</sub>  
 Geraistos  
*Cult*: Artemis Βολοσία 906<sub>3</sub>  
 Geraistos, Cape  
*Cult*: Zeus (?) 903  
 Geraistos, eponym of Cape Geraistos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus and b. of Tainaros 903<sub>1</sub>  
 Gerania, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus (?) 897<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Megaros (Megareus) 897<sub>1</sub>  
 Gerizim, Mt  
*Cults*: Iupiter Peregrinus 887<sub>0(31)</sub>  
 Iupiter Sarapis (?) 888<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>9</sub>  
 Jehovah 887<sub>0(31)</sub> mountain-top 888<sub>0(0)</sub> the Virgin 888<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus Ἑλληῆμιος 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 983<sub>9</sub> Zeus Ξένιος 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 983<sub>9</sub> Zeus Ἰψιστος 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 888<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>9</sub>  
 — Antiochos iv Epiphanes and 1189<sub>1</sub> and Mt Ebal as two-peaked cosmic mountain (?) 888<sub>0(0)</sub> ruins on 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Gerlando, St  
*Supersedes* Zeus Ἀταβύριος or Πολιεύς 910<sub>1</sub>  
 Germanicus Caesar  
*Personates* Zeus 260<sub>0</sub>  
 — house of 147  
 Germans, divination of 635  
 Germanus, St 214<sub>0</sub>  
 Geryones or Geryoneus  
*Myth*: Milky Way 37<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithet*: τρικέφαλος 716  
 Geta  
*Cult*: Pergamon 1186  
*Personates* Zeus 1186  
 Getai  
*Cults*: Gebeleizis 227 805 822 (See also Zibeleizis) Salmoxis (Zalmoxis) 227 822 851 Zibeleizis 822 851 (See also Gebeleizis)  
 — spoils of 982<sub>0</sub> tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Ghel-Ghiraz near Amaseia  
*Cult*: Zeus Στράτιος 976<sub>0</sub>  
 Giant  
*Attributes*: club 80 82 pair of clubs 80  
*Types*: bovine 953<sub>3</sub> with snaky legs 76<sub>0</sub> 82  
 Gigantes  
*Myths*: attempt to reach heaven in folk-tale from Zakynthos 505 f. Gigantomachia 82 712 f. 752<sub>4</sub> 830<sub>7</sub> 831<sub>1</sub> 911<sub>0</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> men made from their blood 1032 sprung from blood of Ouranos falling on Gaia 447<sub>8</sub>  
*Types*: hoplites 712 with horns 399<sub>1</sub> with leaf-shaped ear 399<sub>1</sub> with snaky legs 399<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> 1213  
 — as arms of Girgenti 911<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub>  
 Girgenti, arms of 911<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub> See also Agrigentum  
 Gjölde in Lydia  
*Cult*: Thea Ἰψιστη 881<sub>0(20)</sub>  
 Glanum 359<sub>2</sub>  
 Glaukos of Anhedon 414<sub>1</sub>  
 Glaukos, s. of Minos  
*Myths*: Iapyges 30 raised from dead by Asklepios 1087  
 Glaukos, s. of Sisypchos 720 721<sub>2</sub>  
 Glykon  
*Cults*: Abonou Teichos 1083 ff. 1114<sub>0(7)</sub> Apulum 1084 Nikomedeia 1084  
*Epithets*: βασιλεύς 225 Dracco (= Δράκων) 1084  
*Oracles*: 225 1083 f.  
*Rite*: mysteries 1084  
*Priests*: δαδούχοι 1084 ιεροφάνται 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 831<sub>1</sub>  
 Gnosus See Knossos  
 Gnostics, amulets of 625 f. 938<sub>0</sub> (?) 1084 double axe survives in teaching of 611 ff. formulae of 1084 tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Goitosyros See Oitosyros  
 Golgoi  
*Cults*: Theos Ἰψιστος 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 980<sub>3</sub> Valc(h)anos (?) = Velchanos 948<sub>0(5)</sub> Zeus Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 — sarcophagus from 717 f.  
 Gomphoi  
*Cults*: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 871<sub>3(2)</sub> Zeus Παλάμιος 1099<sub>0</sub>  
 Gonai Dios Hyetion (later Deusiou?), on Mt Tmolos 957<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Dios Gonai  
 Gongosyros See Oitosyros  
 Gongyle (?) 824<sub>7</sub>  
 Gonnoi  
*Cult*: Athena Πολιάς 870<sub>0</sub>  
 Gordios (Gordies), s. of Midas 311<sub>8</sub>  
 Gorgippia  
*Cult*: Theos Ἰψιστος 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 948<sub>2</sub>

## Gorgon

*Type*: with two snakes rising from shoulders and two others held in hands 930<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with* 'Minoan' snake-goddess 930<sub>0</sub>

*In relation to* Athena 502<sub>2</sub>

See also Gorgoneion, Gorgones, Medousa

Gorgoneion 123<sub>0</sub> 375 377 457 717 757<sub>6</sub>  
808<sub>0(17)</sub> 930<sub>0</sub> 1155<sub>7</sub>

See also Gorgon, Gorgones, Medousa

Gorgones 718

## Gortyna

*Cults*: Aphrodite 723<sub>0</sub> Apollon Πύθιος 731<sub>0</sub> Apollon Πύτιος (= Πύθιος) 723<sub>0</sub> Ares 723<sub>0</sub> Artemis 723<sub>0</sub> Asklepios 1085 Athena Πολιούχος 731<sub>0</sub> Athena 'Ωλερια 723<sub>0</sub> Eileithyia Βυρατία 723<sub>0</sub> Europe 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> Hera 723<sub>0</sub> Hermes 723<sub>0</sub> Hestia 723<sub>0</sub> Korybantēs (Kyrbantēs) 723<sub>0</sub> Kouretēs (Koretēs) 723<sub>0</sub> Leto (Lato) 723<sub>0</sub> Nymphs 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> Velchanos(?) 947<sub>0(2)</sub> Zeus 947<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βιδάτας 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Δικταίος(?) 723<sub>0</sub> (Zeus) Φελχάνιος(?) 947<sub>0(2)</sub> Zeus Κρηταγενής 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Οράτριος 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σκύλιος 723<sub>0</sub>

*Festival*: Velchania(?) 947<sub>0(2)</sub>

*Myths*: Zeus and Europe 947<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 946<sub>0</sub> Pythion at 948<sub>0</sub> treaties of 934<sub>0</sub>

Gortynia, district of the Morea, Kyklops in folk-tale from 993

## Gortys

*Cult*: Asklepios 1090

Gosforth, the sculptured cross at 305<sub>0</sub>

## Gothia

*Cult*: Iupiter (Thor) 620

Goths 107<sub>3</sub>

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 107<sub>0</sub>

## Gryneion (Gryneia)

*Cult*: Apollon 489<sub>0(4)</sub>

*Myth*: contest of Kalchas with Mopsos 489<sub>0(4)</sub>

— *omphalós* at 167

## Gümbet in Phrygia

*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>4</sub>

— altar from 836

## Günjarik in Phrygia

*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>4</sub>

Gunther 447<sub>5</sub>

Gwydion 52

Gyges 559 561 1023

## Gythion

*Cults*: Helios 259<sub>0</sub> Selene 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βουλαίος 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus Τεράστιος 31

## HA of the Double Axe

*Cult*: Egypt 545<sub>0</sub>

*Type*: a mountain with two or more crests 545<sub>0</sub>

## Hades

*Cults*: Eleusis 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Samothrace 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub>

*Epithets*: 'Αγεσίλαος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 'Αγήσανδρος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 'Αγησίλαος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 1168<sub>5</sub> 'Αρκεσίλαος(?) 1156 'Αρχέλαος(?) 1168<sub>5</sub> Δυσούλης(?) 131 δυσκίνητος 1164<sub>0</sub> Εύβουλεύς 118<sub>3</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Εύειδής 118<sub>3</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Εύκλειής(?) 118<sub>3</sub> Εύκλής(?) 118<sub>3</sub> Εύκλής 118<sub>3</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Εύκλος 118<sub>3</sub> Εύκολος(?) 118<sub>3</sub> Εύχάιτης 118<sub>3</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 'Ηγεσίλαος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 'Ηγησίλειως 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 'Ισοδαίτης 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Κλύμενος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> κρατερός 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> μέγας 666<sub>2</sub> Πασιάναξ 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Περικλύμενος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πλούτων 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πολύαρχος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 1168<sub>5</sub> Πολυδαίμων 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πολυδέγμων 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πολυδέκτης 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πολύξενος(?) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> πολυξενώτατον Ζήνα (v. l. Δία) τῶν κεκμηκότων 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πολυπήμων(?) 627<sub>3</sub> Πυλάσχος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> πυλάρτης 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> πυλάρτης κρατερός 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διὸς (αἶδον codd.) νεκρῶν Σωτήρος 1125<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes*: fork(?) 227<sub>4</sub> 798 ff. 850 1225 horn(?) 785 rod 166<sub>4</sub> trident 806<sub>6</sub> two-pronged spear(?) 798 ff. white-poplar 471

*Identified with* Axiokersos(?) 314<sub>2</sub> Milky Way 42 43 Zeus 1058 Zeus καταχθόνιος 582<sub>4</sub>

*Associated with* Zeus and Poseidon 785

— in Greek epitaphs 1164<sub>0</sub> marriage with 1164 ff. name of, taboo 1114<sub>0</sub>

## Hadran

*Cults*: Mt Aitne 630 Syria 910<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Palikoi 910<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with* Hephaistos 630

## Hadrian

*Cults*: Aizanoi 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Athens 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Epeiros 1121<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: νέος Πύθιος 1120<sub>0</sub> 'Ολύμπιος 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Πανελλήνιος 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Πύθιος 1120<sub>0</sub> Zeus Δωδωναίος 1121<sub>0</sub>

*Festivals*: Hadrianeia 1121<sub>0</sub> Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adriania) Olympia 962<sub>2</sub>

*Priest*: president of Panhellenic council 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub>

*Personates* Zeus 260<sub>0</sub> 280<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> f. 962<sub>2</sub> 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub>

— as favourite of Zeus Κάσιος 986<sub>0</sub>

Hadrianeia 1121<sub>0</sub>

Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adriania) Olympia 962<sub>2</sub>

## Hadrumetum

*Cult*: Deus Pelagicus Aeriis Altissimus 'Ιάω 889<sub>0(34)</sub>



- Haeva  
   *Cult*: Batavi 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890<sub>6</sub> 1222 1223  
 Hageladas, the younger (?) 742<sub>3</sub> 742<sub>4</sub>  
 Hagia Triada  
   *Cults*: Dionysos (?) 522 524 double axe  
   522 Velchanos 947<sub>0(1)</sub> Zagreus (?)  
   522 (Zeus) *Φευχάρος* 947<sub>0(1)</sub>  
   *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 449<sub>0</sub>  
 Halaesa See Alaisa  
 Halieus 715<sub>4</sub> 1037  
 Halikarnassos  
   *Cults*: Aphrodite (*Ἀκράτα*?) 872<sub>0(5)</sub>  
   Apollon *Ἀγνιεύς* 163 Artemis 164<sub>8</sub>  
   Hermes 872<sub>0(5)</sub> Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* 872<sub>0(5)</sub>  
   cp. 872<sub>0(6)</sub> 963<sub>3</sub> Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος*  
   872<sub>0(5)</sub> Zeus *Κάμυρος* 1228 Zeus  
   *Λαβράνδος* 585<sub>3</sub>  
   *Myth*: Pegasos 721<sub>2</sub>  
   — coins of 721<sub>2</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> the Mausoleion at 1146<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Hallowmas 326<sub>4</sub>  
 Hallstatt, axe-heads from 618 632<sub>6</sub> 635  
 Halmos, s. of Sisypnos and f. of Chrysgone 1150<sub>4</sub>  
 Halos  
   *Cult*: Zeus *Δαφύστιος* 904<sub>1</sub> 1226  
   — coins of 904<sub>1</sub>  
 Ham 35  
 Hamar (Hamer) 660<sub>1</sub>  
 Hapi Kema 772<sub>1</sub>  
 Hapi Mehit 772<sub>1</sub>  
 Hariasa 57<sub>3</sub>  
 Harii tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Harma near Mykalessos 815<sub>7</sub> 816<sub>0</sub>  
 Harma near Phyle 815 831<sub>0</sub> 898<sub>0</sub>  
 Harmodios 1172  
 Harpasa 958<sub>0</sub>  
 Harpasos, s. of Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>  
 Harpe = Phaiakia or Korkyra 448<sub>0</sub>  
 Harpe, w. of Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>  
 Harpokrates  
   *Cults*: Athens 985<sub>0</sub> Pelousion 986<sub>0</sub>  
   *Function*: youthful Horos 986<sub>0</sub>  
   *Attributes*: hem-hem crown 986<sub>0</sub> pomegranate 986<sub>0</sub> sceptre 986<sub>0</sub>  
   *Associated with* Pan 986<sub>0</sub>  
 Harpolykos 713 (?)  
 Harpy  
   *In relation to* Eros 315<sub>3</sub>  
 Harpyiai  
   *Myth*: pursued by Boreadai 907<sub>2</sub>  
 Hathor 409<sub>0</sub>  
 Hati 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Hebe  
   *Epithet*: *πόρνια* 584<sub>0</sub>  
   *Type*: introduction of Herakles to Olympos 737  
 Hebrews 115<sub>2</sub>  
 Hecate  
   *Cult*: Rome 835<sub>6</sub>  
   *Genealogy*: m. of Ianus by Caelus 368<sub>3</sub>  
   See also Hekate  
 Heddernheim  
   *Cult*: Deus *Casius* 983<sub>0</sub>  
 Hegesilaos (= Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Heimdallr 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Hekaerge (Arge) 452 452<sub>11</sub> 501 1226  
 Hekaergos 452 f.  
 Hekate  
   *Cults*: Lagina 714<sub>2</sub> Panamara 879<sub>0(17)</sub>  
   Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
   Rome 307<sub>0</sub> Stratonikeia 714<sub>2</sub> 714<sub>3</sub>  
   *Epithets*: *Ἀρίστη* *Χθονία* 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>  
   *Δαδοφόρος* 714<sub>3</sub> *Εὐκόλινη* 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>  
   *θεῶν μήτηρ* 328<sub>7</sub> *καλλιγένεθλος* 328<sub>7</sub>  
   *Καλλίστη* 1114<sub>0(4)</sub> *Κράταις* 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>  
   *μεγασθενής* 328<sub>7</sub> *πολυώνυμος* 328<sub>7</sub>  
   *προθυραία* (*προθύραιε*?) 328<sub>7</sub> *Σώτειρα*  
   879<sub>0(17)</sub> *Χθονία* 1114<sub>0(4)</sub> *Χθονική* (*sic*)  
   695<sub>0</sub>  
   *Festival*: *πανηγύρεις* 714<sub>2</sub>  
   *Rite*: libation of honey 1142<sub>8</sub>  
   *Priest*: *hierofanta* 307<sub>0</sub>  
   *Genealogy*: d. of Demeter 1032  
   *Attributes*: *kálathos* with crescent 714<sub>2</sub>  
   torch 714<sub>2</sub>  
   *Types*: *Hecatae* 307<sub>0</sub> holding torches  
   187<sub>4</sub> (?)  
   *Identified with* Artemis 1029 1032  
   Bendis 314<sub>0</sub> Kabeiro 314<sub>0</sub> Semiramis 695<sub>0</sub>  
   *Associated with* Zeus 714<sub>2</sub> 714<sub>3</sub> (Zeus)  
   *Βροντῶν* 835<sub>6</sub> 838  
   See also Hecate  
 Hekatoncheires  
   *Genealogy*: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023  
 Hektor  
   *Cult*: Thebes in Boiotia 961<sub>0</sub>  
   *Myths*: Apollon 459 buried at Ophry-nion 961<sub>0</sub> sacrifices to Zeus 950<sub>0</sub>  
   cp. 8  
   *In relation to* Paris 447<sub>5</sub> Zeus 8  
 Heleia 930<sub>0</sub>  
   *Cults*: Artemis 931<sub>0</sub> Athena 931<sub>0</sub> Atlas 931<sub>0</sub> Hera 931<sub>0</sub> Leto (?) 931<sub>0</sub> Nike 931<sub>0</sub> Poseidon (?) 931<sub>0</sub> Zeus 931<sub>0</sub>  
   Zeus *Δικταῖος* 930<sub>0</sub> 931<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>0</sub>  
   See also Palaikastro  
 Helene  
   *Cult*: Tyndaris 918<sub>0</sub>  
   *Myths*: brought up as d. of Leda 1015  
   dedicates electrum cup, modelled on her own breast, in temple of Athena at Lindos 346<sub>0</sub> Menelaos 1044  
   *Genealogy*: d. of Tyndareos 918<sub>0</sub> d. of Zeus by Leda and st. of Klytimestra 1015<sub>7</sub> d. of Zeus by Nemesis 1131<sub>1</sub>  
   *Type*: radiate 432<sub>2</sub> (?)

## Helene (cont.)

*Associated with* Dioskouroi 432<sub>2</sub> (?)  
1003 ff.

— in folk-tales 1003 ff.

## Helenos

*Myth*: founds Bouthroton (Bouthrotos)  
in Epeiros 348<sub>6</sub>

## Heliadai 479

## Heliades

*Myths*: escort Parmenides up Milky  
Way 42 f. 476 shed tears of amber  
484 499<sub>4</sub>

*Metamorphosed into* alders 472 black-  
poplars 472 484 f. larches (?) 402<sub>0</sub>  
472<sub>9</sub> oaks 472<sub>10</sub> poplars 472 483 495

*Types*: mourning 479 transformation  
into trees 473 ff.

## Helikon, Mt

*Cults*: St Elias 898<sub>5</sub> Zeus Ἑλικώνιος  
898<sub>5</sub>

*Myths*: Muses dance round Hippo-  
krene and altar of Zeus 898<sub>5</sub> singing-  
match with Mt Kithairon 899<sub>0</sub>

## Heliopolis in Syria

*Cults*: Iupiter 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Iupiter *Heliopo-*  
*litanus* 745<sub>1</sub> Zeus 886<sub>0(30)</sub>

## Helios

*Cults*: Alexandria 889<sub>0(33)</sub> Apollonia  
in Illyria 485 Athens 729<sub>0</sub> 1114  
Badinlar, in Phrygia 568 Bosphoros  
Kimmerios 729<sub>0</sub> Chersonesos Tau-  
rike 729<sub>0</sub> Edessa 428 Eresos 729<sub>0</sub>  
Gythion 259<sub>0</sub> Karia 729<sub>0</sub> Magnesia  
ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Paphlagonia 729<sub>0</sub>  
Pergamon 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1185 Phaselis  
729<sub>0</sub> Rhodes 469 Sahin in Phoi-  
nike (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub> Sparta  
729<sub>0</sub> Mt Taleton 890<sub>2</sub> Thermos in  
Aitolia 729<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: Ἀνίκητος (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub> ἠλέκτωρ  
499<sub>2</sub> 499<sub>3</sub> 499<sub>4</sub> Νέος 98<sub>0</sub> ὁ προπάτωρ  
θεός... Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Τυρμναῖος  
562 δς πάντ' ἐφορᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπα-  
κούεις 728<sub>0</sub> πατήρ 1130<sub>1</sub>

See also Elektor, Hyperion

*Festival*: Tlapolemeia 469

*Rite*: sacrifice of horses on Mt Taleton  
890<sub>2</sub>

*Priest*: ἱερεὺς 562<sub>2</sub>

*Personated by* Nero 98<sub>0</sub> 254 254<sub>5</sub>

*Myths*: Auriga 477<sub>7</sub> Cygnus 477<sub>7</sub>  
Eridanus 477<sub>7</sub> Hyades 477<sub>7</sub> Phae-  
thon 473 ff.

*Genealogy*: f. of Elektryone (Ale-  
ktrona) 499 f. of Pasiphae 947<sub>0</sub> f. of  
Phaethon by Klymene 473<sub>3</sub> f. of  
Triopas by Rhodos 684<sub>2</sub> forefather  
of Idomeneus 947<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes*: cock 947<sub>0</sub> torch 478 wreath  
of white-poplar 469

*Types*: bust 1185 bust on couch 1171<sub>3</sub>  
colossal 254<sub>5</sub> in four-horse chariot  
975<sub>0</sub> on horseback 473 475 475<sub>6</sub> 478  
radiate bust with crescent (!) 664<sub>1</sub>  
radiate head, facing 469-; seated 479

## Helios (cont.)

*Identified with* Antoninus Pius 321 f.  
Apollon 164<sub>1</sub> 562 568 Apollon and  
Dionysos 253 f. Lairmenos 568  
Mithras 886<sub>0(30)</sub> (?) Phanes 1051  
Theos Hypsistos 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Tyrimnos  
562

*Associated with* Monimos and Azizos  
428 Selene 1171<sub>3</sub> Zeus and Ge 729<sub>0</sub>  
884<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus, Ge, and Erinyes 728<sub>0</sub> f.  
Zeus, rivers, earth, and chthonian  
powers 728<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μελιχίος 1114

*Supersedes* Apollon 730<sub>0</sub>

*Superseded by* Phoibos Ἀπόλλων 500  
— connected with Aurelii 321 gates  
of 41 horses of 828 851

## Hell

*Types*: gaping monster 138<sub>0</sub> harrowing  
of Hell 138<sub>0</sub>

## Hellanikos 1023

## Hellas personified 853

## Helle

*Myth*: golden ram 899<sub>1</sub>

Hellenes, the Thessalian tribe 894<sub>3</sub>

## Helloi 677

## Hellos 677 f. 848

## Hemithea

*Cults*: Kastabos 670 f. Tenedos 670 f.  
847

*Myths*: sent to sea in a coffer 669 ff.  
swallowed by earth 670

*Functions*: childbirth 671 cures 671  
earth 670 f. 673

Henny-penny 54<sub>3</sub>

## Heos (Eos)

*Myths*: psychostasia 734 supplicates  
Zeus 753<sub>3</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Memnon by Tithonos  
281<sub>4</sub> cp. 734

## Hephaistia in Lemnos

*Cult*: Ἐπήκοος Theos Ἰψιστος 878<sub>0(7)</sub>

Hephaistion (Hephaistia) in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub>

## Hephaistos

*Cults*: Mt Aitne 630 Olympia 706<sub>5</sub>  
Olympos in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub> Siderous  
972<sub>1</sub>

*Epithet*: Ὀλύμπιος in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub>

*Myths*: presents Polytechnos with  
double axe 693 sceptre of Zeus  
547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> shield of  
Achilles 972<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of crabs 665 667 f. of  
Palikoi 910<sub>0</sub> f. of Thaleia and gf.  
of Palikoi 909<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes*: blue pilos 386<sub>5</sub> dogs 630  
double axe 709 f. perpetual fire 630

*Identified with* Chryisor 715 Hadran  
630 Ptaḥ 34<sub>1</sub> Zeus Μελιχίος 715

*Associated with* Athena 1137 Zeus 972<sub>1</sub>  
— road-making sons of (= Atheni-  
ans) 817 cp. 628<sub>4</sub>

Hephaistos, Mts of, in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub>

## Hera

*Cults*: Aigion 210<sub>0</sub> Amastris 707 Mt  
Arachnaion 894<sub>1</sub> Argos 290<sub>0</sub> 515



## Hera (cont.)

- 1144<sub>2</sub> 1156<sub>5</sub> Athens 1119<sub>4</sub> Boiotia 731<sub>0</sub> Chalkis in Euboia 981<sub>0</sub> Elis 291<sub>0</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Heleia 931<sub>0</sub> Hierapytna 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 1157<sub>4</sub> Itanos 929<sub>0</sub> Kebrenioi 130 Mt Kithairon 898<sub>6</sub> 899<sub>0</sub> Mt Kokkygion 893<sub>2</sub> Kroton 1021 Lebadeia 899<sub>2</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> Messene 728<sub>0</sub> Mykenai 515 Mylasa 592 Olympia 706<sub>5</sub> Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150 Panionion 259<sub>0</sub> Paros 131 Phokis 731<sub>0</sub> Plataiai 899<sub>0</sub> Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Mt Pron 893<sub>2</sub> Sparta 515 Sykaiboai 130 Tenedos (?) 662 Thebes in Boiotia 899<sub>0</sub> Thespiiai 899<sub>0</sub> Triphylia 291<sub>0</sub>
- Epithets*: 'Ακρία 1156<sub>5</sub> Βασιλεία 731<sub>0</sub> Βασιλῆς 900<sub>0</sub> 'Εξακροστηρία 1093<sub>1</sub> Ζυγία 60<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> ἰσοτελής 1029 Κιθαιρωνία 899<sub>0</sub> Λακινία 291<sub>0</sub> 1021 λευκώλενος 343<sub>0</sub> Μηλιχία (= Μειλιχία) 1157<sub>4</sub> 'Οπλοσμία 290<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>0</sub> πόντια 583 584<sub>0</sub> Τελεία 893<sub>2</sub> 1150
- Rite*: libation from first *kratér* to Zeus and Hera 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub>
- Priests*: among Kebrenioi 130 among Sykaiboai 130
- Priestess*: virgin 210<sub>0</sub>
- Personated by* Alkyone 1088
- Myths*: consorts with Zeus on Mt Gargaron 950<sub>0</sub> consorts with Zeus on Mt Oche 902<sub>1</sub> consorts with Zeus in Rhapsodic theogony 1029 golden apples 1021 Iason 1088 Kallisto 228<sub>6</sub> Merops (?) 1132<sub>1</sub> reconciled to Zeus on Mt Kithairon 898<sub>6</sub> retires to Euboia 898<sub>6</sub> rouses Titans to attack Zagreus 1030 sends crab to attack Herakles 665<sub>3</sub> taken by Rhea to Okeanos and Tethys 1020 transforms Aetos into eagle 933<sub>0</sub> wooed by Ephialtes 130 wooed by Ixion 1088 wooed by Zeus clandestinely 1020 wooed by Zeus on Mt Kokkygion 893<sub>2</sub>
- Genealogy*: d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 w. of Zeus 584<sub>1</sub> 954<sub>0</sub>
- Attributes*: cuckoo-sceptre 893<sub>2</sub> lilies 515 lion-skin 515 sceptre 707 1178 (See also cuckoo-sceptre) sword 713 716 vervain 395<sub>2</sub> vine-wreath 515
- Types*: branch of tree 899<sub>0</sub> enthroned 706<sub>5</sub> Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 771 Janiform head (with Zeus) (?) 662 lopped tree-trunk 899<sub>0</sub> Polykleitos 893<sub>2</sub> 1143<sub>1</sub> 1178 with vine-wreath and lion-skin 515
- Identified with* Semiramis 695<sub>0</sub>
- Associated with* Zeus 259<sub>0</sub> 592 707 776<sub>3</sub> 893<sub>2</sub> 894<sub>1</sub> 900<sub>0</sub> 1137 1144<sub>2</sub> 1150 1157 Zeus and Athena (=Capitoline triad) 319<sub>7</sub> Zeus, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Kore, Baubo 259<sub>0</sub>

## Hera (cont.)

- In relation to* Zeus 693
- Supersedes* Rhea 515
- Superseded by* ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος 1119<sub>4</sub>
- garden of 1021 meadow of 1021 tear of (vervain) 395<sub>2</sub>
- Heraia 757
- Herakleia ad Latmum
- Cult*: Zeus Λαβράνδος 585<sub>3</sub>
- treaty of, with Miletos 318<sub>0</sub>
- Herakleia Pontike
- Cult*: Zeus Στράτιος 976<sub>0</sub>
- Myth*: Herakles plants two oaks 976<sub>0</sub>
- coins of 560<sub>3</sub>
- Herakleia Salbake
- Cult*: Asklepios 1080
- coins of 1080
- Herakleitos 12 13<sub>1</sub> 130<sub>7</sub> 805<sub>6</sub> 852 855<sub>2</sub> 856<sub>0</sub> 858<sub>6</sub> 1024 (?) 1033
- Herakles
- Cults*: Acharnai 163<sub>3</sub> Aigion 742<sub>5</sub> Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia) 469<sub>1</sub> Athens 163<sub>4</sub> 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 1116 f. Baris in Pisidia 446 f. Chios 1157<sub>1</sub> Gadeira 423 Kaulonia (?) 1041 f. Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> Mt Oite 903<sub>2</sub> Rhodes 469 Rome 783 Selge 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Senones (?) 445 f. Skythia 292<sub>4</sub> Tarsos 560 Tyre 423 f.
- Epithets*: Αἰγύπτιος 7<sub>2</sub> ἀνίκητος 292<sub>4</sub> 'Απόμνιος 783 Διὸς παῖς 273 Χάρουφ 899<sub>1</sub>
- Personated by* Nero 98<sub>0</sub>
- Myths*: Antaios 134<sub>1</sub> apples of Hesperides 134<sub>1</sub> 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 37<sub>2</sub> Hesperides 1017 Hippolyte 559 f. Hydra 665<sub>3</sub> Hyperboreoi 1041 (?) Kerberos 469 899<sub>1</sub> Kerkopes 1041 f. (?) Kyknos 274<sub>0</sub> makes wild-olive spring up at Troizen 466 Omphale 559 560<sub>3</sub> pillars 422 f. plants two oaks beside altar of Zeus Στράτιος at Herakleia Pontike 976<sub>0</sub> pyre 23 903<sub>2</sub> rape of Delphic tripod 199<sub>2</sub> sacks Oichalia 902<sub>2</sub> sacrifices to Zeus on Mt Kenaion 902<sub>2</sub> sacrifices to Zeus at Olympia 467 slays Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania 490<sub>0(0)</sub> Tarsos 570<sub>4</sub> worried by flies at Olympia 783
- Genealogy*: b. of Iphikles 317 1017 f. of Tlepolemos 469
- Functions*: ἡ δύναμις τῆς φύσεως 434<sub>3</sub> time 469<sub>1</sub> world-creating 1023
- Attributes*: apple (?) 445 bow and club 446 knife (?) 445 lion-skin 1116 sword, bow, and club 446 wreath of poplar 388<sub>8</sub> wreath of white-poplar 469

Herakles (*cont.*)

*Types*: beardless 742<sub>5</sub> dicephalous 445 ff. double bust (with Hermes) 388 fighting Centaur 615<sub>2</sub> (?) four-armed 446 Gigantomachia 777<sub>2</sub> Hageladas 742<sub>5</sub> introduction to Olympos 735 ff. 771 1167 Janiform (bearded + beardless) (?) 388<sub>8</sub> 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 (?) 903<sub>2</sub> with Theseus and Peirithoos 211<sub>2</sub> wreathed with white-poplar 469

*Identified with* Dius Fidius (?) 724<sub>0</sub> Ophiouchos 241<sub>4</sub> Sandas 560

*Associated with* Apollon 241<sub>1</sub> Asklepios 241<sub>4</sub> Zeus 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus and Athena 1078 Zeus, Athena, Apollon 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 1157<sub>1</sub> Zeus Παπίας Σωτήρ 292<sub>4</sub>

*Compared with* Asklepios 241<sub>4</sub>

*In relation to* Iphikles 445 447<sub>5</sub>

— hunger of 683 pillars of 422 f. pyre of, on Mt Oite 903<sub>2</sub>

See also Hercules

Herculeaneum, paintings from 143 f. 1202 f.

## Hercules

*Cults*: Batavi 64<sub>0</sub> Rome 400<sub>11</sub> 469 783 Thessalonike 1194<sub>4</sub> Tibur 328<sub>3</sub>

*Epithets*: Augustus 65<sub>0</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub> *Barbatus* 64<sub>0</sub> *Deusoniensis* 57<sub>3</sub> *Iulianus* 400<sub>11</sub> *Magusanus* 57<sub>3</sub> 64<sub>0</sub> *Maliator* 64<sub>0</sub>

*Personated by* Commodus 255<sub>0</sub> 400<sub>11</sub> (?) 903<sub>2</sub> Maximian (*Herculius*) 903<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: Myiagrus 783

*Function*: autumn 62 f. 94<sub>1</sub>

*Attribute*: club 62 f.

*Types*: bearded 62 64<sub>0</sub> colossal 254<sub>5</sub>

*Identified with* Donar 62 f. 63<sub>1</sub> 64<sub>0</sub> 94<sub>1</sub>

*Associated with* Apollo and Diana 59<sub>0</sub> Iuno, Mercurius, Minerva 57 ff.

Iupiter 1194<sub>4</sub> Minerva and Iuno 89

*In relation to* Iupiter 95<sub>2</sub>

— 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 1157<sub>3</sub>

Hermaon See Hermes

## Hermaphroditos

*Myth*: reared by Naiades on Mt Ide in Crete 933<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: herm 1091 nursing Eros 152<sub>0</sub>

Hermeias See Hermes

Hermeraclae 388

## Hermes

*Cults*: Ainos in Thrace 496<sub>0</sub> Athens 1043 1117 Egypt 382<sub>2</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Halikarnassos 872<sub>0(5)</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> Kaulonia (?) 1042 Kyzikos 834 Magnesia ad Sipylum (?) 957<sub>0</sub> Metapontum 118<sub>3</sub> Mostene 563 Nisyros 1157<sub>3</sub> Olympia 231<sub>3</sub> 859 878<sub>0(5)</sub> Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150<sub>9</sub> Peiraieus 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Polyrrhenion 1042 Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Tallaiia range 948<sub>1</sub> Thespiiai 1150<sub>0</sub> Troizen 466 Volaterrae (?) 383

*Epithets*: 'Αγώνιος 1042 (?) 'Αργείφοντης 385<sub>0</sub> ἀργείφοντης 384<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> διάκτορος 384<sub>0</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> διπρόσωπος 382<sub>2</sub> Δρόμιος 1042 δῶτορ έάων (έάων) 385<sub>0</sub> 'Εναγώνιος 859 Εύκολος 118<sub>3</sub> θέσμιος 876<sub>0(8)</sub> θυραίος 955<sub>0</sub> Καταιβάτης 14 κερδῶος 31<sub>7</sub> Κτάρος 384<sub>0</sub> οὔνιος (?) 1042 Περφεραίος 496<sub>0</sub> Πολύγιος 466 Τρισμέγιστος 611 943<sub>0</sub> χαριδῶτα 385<sub>0</sub> Χθόνιος 14 1130<sub>1</sub> Ψιθυριστής 1043 ψυχοπομπός 563

*Rite*: libation from first *kratér* 1124<sub>0</sub>

*Worshippers*: 'Ερμαίζοντες 1157<sub>3</sub>

*Myths*: Amphion 1013 conducts goddesses to judgment of Paris 266 conducts Io to Zeus 961<sub>0</sub> consorts with Apemosyne 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> Lykos 1013 sceptre of Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> sinews of Zeus 449<sub>0</sub> slays Argos 379 f. steals oxen of Apollon 1042 (?) uses Typhon's sinews as lyre-strings 450<sub>0</sub> Zethos and Amphion 1019<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Pan by Penelope 691 s. of Pikos who is also Zeus 942<sub>0</sub> s. of Polyktor 384<sub>0</sub> s. of Zeus 385<sub>0</sub>

*Functions*: bearer of oblations to the dead 384<sub>0</sub> chthonian 385<sub>0</sub> 1068 1075 dispenser of treasures 385<sub>0</sub> divinised ancestor (?) 1068 messenger 479 phallic 1068 pillar 383 slayer of Argos (?) 385<sub>0</sub> slayer with lightning-flash (?) 385<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology*: 383<sub>7</sub>

*Attributes*: caduceus 1117 *endromídes* 713 lance 713 *oinochóe* 1117 *pétasos* 383 386 388 713 snakes 1111 vervain 395<sub>2</sub> winged *caduceus* 718 winged cap 718 winged hat 388 winged sandals 718

*Types*: bifrontal 341<sub>0</sub> 382 f. column or pillar of stone 384<sub>0</sub> 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 383<sub>7</sub> 384<sub>0</sub> herm 152<sub>0</sub> 384<sub>0</sub> 834 955<sub>0</sub> Janiform head (with Zeus) 1219 Lysippos (?) 859<sub>3</sub> phallic post 384<sub>0</sub> Pheidias 479<sub>6</sub> *psychostasia* 733 resting 859<sub>3</sub> seated 751<sub>1</sub>



- Hermes (*cont.*)  
*Identified with* Kasmilos 314<sub>2</sub> Monimos 428 Phaunos 694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> Thoth 611 Trophonios (Trephonios) 1075  
*Associated with* Aphrodite 146<sub>2</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 1043 Daimones 1150<sub>9</sub> Polis 1155<sub>5</sub> Zeus 957<sub>0</sub> (?)  
*Compared with* Plouton 385<sub>0</sub> Zeus 385<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κτήσιος 384<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κτήσιος and Penates 1068 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385<sub>0</sub> — blood of (vervain) 395<sub>2</sub> sceptre of 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>
- Hermes, the planet  
*Function:* λόγος 558<sub>0</sub>
- Hermione  
*Cults:* Demeter Χθονία 1077 Trajan 1180<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1077 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1061 Zeus Ἐμβατήριος (=Trajan) 100<sub>6</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub>
- Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1150
- Hermopolis  
*Cults:* ogdoad 701<sub>0</sub> Ostanos 701<sub>0</sub>
- Herodotos, portrait-herm of (with Thoukydides) 389 f.
- Heroës  
*Cult:* Athens 1123  
*Rites:* food fallen on floor reserved for them 1129<sub>2</sub> libation from second kratér 1123
- Heroïs 240 242
- Heros  
*Cults:* Alexandria 1127<sub>0</sub> Megara 896<sub>0</sub> 897<sub>0</sub> Olympia 897<sub>0</sub>
- Hesiod, portrait-herm of (with Homer) 389
- Hesione, d. of Danaos 1150
- Hesperides  
*Epithet:* λιγύφωνοι 1030  
*Myth:* golden apples 1017 1021
- Hesperos 261 430<sub>4</sub> 430<sub>5</sub>
- Hestia  
*Cults:* Aigai in Aiolis 259<sub>0</sub> Athens 259<sub>0</sub> Delphoi 1216 Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Hierapytna 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> Kos 19<sub>0</sub> 238<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Miletos 317<sub>2</sub> 1220 Paros 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Pergamon 259<sub>0</sub> Phaleron 183 f. Philadelpheia in Lydia 960<sub>0</sub> 1229 Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Skythia 292<sub>4</sub> Sparta 259<sub>0</sub> Syracuse 916<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets:* Βολλαία (? Βόλλαία) 259<sub>0</sub> Βουλαία 259<sub>0</sub> 317<sub>2</sub> Δημίη 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Ταμία 19<sub>0</sub> 238<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite:* meal burnt 19<sub>0</sub>  
*Personated by* Agrippina, w. of Germanicus Caesar 260<sub>0</sub>  
*Function:* cosmic 43 316<sub>0</sub>  
*Types:* double bust (with Hermes) 392  
*Identified with* Tabiti 293<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus 259<sub>0</sub> 317<sub>2</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> Zeus Εὐμένης 1228
- Heudonos 587
- Hiera in Lesbos  
*Cults:* Apollon Μαλόεις 488<sub>0(2)</sub> Artemis 488<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Hierapolis in Phrygia  
*Cults:* Apolline hero 571 Apollon Αρχηγέτης 567 Attis 306<sub>1</sub> emperor 571 Lairbenos 566 Mother of the gods 306<sub>1</sub> youthful hero (? Lairbenos) on horseback bearing double axe 566 Zeus Βοζίος (Βωζίος) 570 Zeus Τρώιος 571<sub>6</sub>  
*Festival:* Hilaria 306<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 565 f. 571 1158<sub>9</sub> *katabasion* at 14
- Hierapytna  
*Cults:* Aphrodite 723<sub>0</sub> Apollon Πύτιος (= Πύθιος) 723<sub>0</sub> Ares 723<sub>0</sub> Artemis 723<sub>0</sub> Athena Πολιάς 723<sub>0</sub> Athena Σαλμωνία 723<sub>0</sub> Athena Ὀλερία 723<sub>0</sub> Eileithyia Βιναρία 723<sub>0</sub> Hera 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> Hera Μηλιχία 1157<sub>4</sub> Hermes 723<sub>0</sub> Hestia 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> Korybantes (Kyrbantes) 723<sub>0</sub> Kouretes (Koretetes) 723<sub>0</sub> Leto (Lato) 723<sub>0</sub> Nymphs 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βιδάτας 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Zeus Δικταίος 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> cp. 930<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μηλιχίος 1157<sub>4</sub> Zeus Μοννίτιος 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὀράτριος (= Φράτριος) 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σκύλιος 723<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 342<sub>0</sub> oath of 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>
- Hiera Syke 1103  
*Rite:* exhibition of fig (?) 291<sub>2</sub> cp. 292<sub>0</sub> 1103  
*Myth:* Demeter reveals fig to Phytalos 291<sub>2</sub> 1092<sub>6</sub> 1103
- Hierokaisareia in Lydia  
*Cults:* Dionysos Ἡρικεπαίος 1025 Theos Ἰψιστος 881<sub>0(20)</sub>  
*Priest:* ιεροφάντης 1025
- Hieron Oros in Crete 945<sub>2</sub>
- Hieron, the potter 777
- Hieronymos 1023
- Hiketesia 1040
- Hilacira  
*Cult:* Sparta 1015<sub>7</sub>  
*Associated with* Phoibe 1015<sub>7</sub>
- Hilaria 306<sub>1</sub>
- Himera, coin of 558<sub>1</sub>
- Hippa See Hipta
- Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150<sub>2</sub>
- Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos 706<sub>5</sub>
- Hippodameia, w. of Autoonios 414<sub>2</sub>
- Hippokrene 898<sub>5</sub>
- Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons  
*Myth:* Herakles 559 f.
- Hippolytos  
*Myths:* Artemis 393 buried beside temple of Aphrodite Κατασκοπία at Troizen 944<sub>0</sub> death 414 ff. Nemi 149 Phaidra and Theseus 1043 raised from dead by Asklepios 394<sub>2</sub> 1087  
*Genealogy:* s. of Theseus 1087  
*Functions:* mythical prototype of *rex Nemorensis* 399  
*Type:* Janiform (with Virbius) 392 ff.  
*In relation to Artemis* 149 414 417

- Hippochoëtis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 1149<sub>0</sub>  
 Hippothoon 1137<sub>2</sub>  
 Hippothoos, s. of Lethos 1154<sub>3</sub>  
 Hipta 347<sub>0</sub> (?) 957<sub>2</sub> (?)  
 Hiram 425  
 Hiranyagarbha 1035  
*Identified with Brahmā* 1035 Prajāpati  
 1035  
 Histie See Hestia  
 Hittites  
*Cults*: Artemis (?) 410<sub>1</sub> bull of bronze  
 or iron or silver 910<sub>1</sub> dagger-god  
 (akin to Kronos?) 550 ff. 845 god  
 with grape-bunches and corn-ears  
 564 f. lion-god (akin to Kronos?)  
 550 ff. Sutekh 621 f. 623 Tešub  
 766<sub>1</sub> 767<sub>0</sub> 910<sub>1</sub> winged deities 457  
 youthful god bearing double axe  
 599<sub>2</sub> youthful god on lioness(?)  
 552  
*In relation to Amazons* 560 Artemis  
 Χιτώνη (?) 410<sub>1</sub> Iupiter *Dolichenus*  
 615 Tenedos 662 Zeus Ἀταβύριος in  
 Rhodes 615  
 — axes of 560 double eagle of 779<sub>2</sub>  
 reliefs of, from Babylon 766<sub>1</sub> 767<sub>0</sub>  
 reliefs of, at Eyuk 620 f. reliefs of,  
 from Sinjerli 767<sub>0</sub> rock-carvings of,  
 at Boghaz-Keui 550 ff. 845 thunder-  
 weapon of 790  
 Hlōðyn 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Hludana 65<sub>1</sub> See also Hluθena  
 Hluθena 65<sub>1</sub> See also Hludana  
 Hōdhr  
*Myth*: stabs Baldr with lance of  
 mistletoe 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Holda 66<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: snow 66<sub>0</sub> spinning 65 66<sub>0</sub>  
 winter 65 66<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Minerva* 65 66<sub>0</sub> 94<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to Milky Way* 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Holden 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Holl 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Holle 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Holmos (?) 209<sub>2</sub>  
 Holy Cross Day 326<sub>4</sub>  
 Homer, apotheosis of 1203<sub>4</sub> indebted to  
 early Orphic theogony 1020 omits  
 mere magic 989 portrait-herm of  
 (with Hesiod) 389  
 Homole (Homolos), Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὁμολώιος (?) 904<sub>4</sub>  
 Homolion  
*Cults*: St Elias 1227 Zeus Ὁμολώιος (?)  
 1227  
 — bronze rings from 166<sub>2</sub>  
 Homoloia, d. of Enyeus 900<sub>1</sub>  
 Homoloia, festival of Zeus Ὁμολώιος  
 900<sub>1</sub>  
 Homoloion, Mt, near Thebes in Boiotia  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὁμολώιος (?) 900<sub>1</sub>  
 Homonoia  
*Cult*: Dorylaeion 280<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithet*: Σεβαστή 280<sub>1</sub>  
 Homoroka 558<sub>0</sub>
- Honos  
*Type*: with sheathed sword and cap-  
 tured armour 99  
 — on column of Mayence 96 100  
 Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?) 291<sub>0</sub>  
 Horae  
*Associated with Ianus* 336<sub>0</sub>  
 Horai  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus by  
 Themis 37<sub>1</sub> 94<sub>2</sub>  
*Functions*: attendants of Zeus 94<sub>2</sub>  
 seasons 479 year 94<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 94<sub>2</sub>  
*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* (?)  
 165<sub>0</sub> Zeus 94<sub>2</sub>  
 — as attribute of Zeus 1138<sub>5</sub> sym-  
 bols of 1054  
 Horatii 363 f.  
 Horatius Cocles, statue of, struck by  
 lightning 9  
 Horkos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Eris 723<sub>0</sub> s. of Zeus  
 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Horomazes See Ahura Mazdāh  
 Horos  
*Cults*: Athens 985<sub>0</sub> Denderah 773<sub>0</sub>  
 Egypt 255 Koptos 450<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: eye swallowed by Typhon 450<sub>0</sub>  
 nursed by Isis 986<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Isis 126  
*Etymology*: 255  
*Types*: child seated on lotos 773<sub>0</sub> hawk  
 on lotos 774<sub>0</sub> holding genitals of  
 Typhon 450<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Apollon* 252 255  
 — ladder of 126 soul of, identified  
 with Orion 450<sub>0</sub>  
 Hortensii 147  
 Hrimnir 682  
 Hūdānś (= Ὑδηνός?)  
*Cult*: Sardeis 1227 f.  
 But see Πλδānś  
 Hulda 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Hulle 66<sub>0</sub>  
 Hungary, prince with golden sun and  
 princess with golden moon in folk-  
 tale from 1012<sub>1</sub>  
 Hunni  
*Myth*: sword of Mars 548<sub>0</sub>  
 Hyades 274 f.  
 Hyades, the constellation 477  
 Hyakinthia 246<sub>1</sub>  
 Hyakinthos  
*Myth*: slain by *diskos* of Apollon 1156  
*In relation to Apollon* 491<sub>0(6)</sub> (?) 1042 (?)  
 Dioskouroi 435 (?)  
 Hyde, old name of Sardeis 1228  
 Hydisos  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἄρειος 705 f. 848  
 — coins of 705 f.



- Hydra  
*Myth*: Herakles 665<sub>3</sub>
- Hygieia  
*Cults*: Oropos 1072 Philadelpheia in Lydia (?) 1229  
*Epithet*: θεσπεσίη 954<sub>0</sub>  
*Attributes*: sceptre 1077 snake 1075  
*Type*: seated 1072 1077  
*Identified with* Salus 94<sub>3</sub>  
*Associated with* Amphiaraios and Pan 1072 Asklepios and Telesphoros 1078  
*Compared with* Herkyna 1075
- Hyllos 902<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Hymenaios 1164<sub>0</sub>
- Hymettos, Mt  
*Cults*: Apollon Προβύσιος 897<sub>5</sub> Zeus 873<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ὀμβριος 897<sub>5</sub> 1226 Zeus Ὑμηττιος 897<sub>5</sub>
- Hymnarion, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὑνναρεὺς 987<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 987<sub>1</sub>
- Hypaipa  
*Cult*: youthful hero with double axe and bay-branch in guise of Apollon Τύριμνος 564
- Hypata  
*Cults*: Hermes 1155<sub>5</sub> Polis 1155<sub>5</sub>
- Hypatios, St 32 f.
- Hypatos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὑπατος 875<sub>1(1)</sub> 898<sub>2</sub>
- Hyperbios 712
- Hyperborean Land 465
- Hyperborean Maidens, arrival of, in Delos 453<sub>3</sub> 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*: δᾶμον... Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα 465 χιλιετείς 465 500<sub>4</sub>  
*Rites*: offerings sent to Apollon at Delos 497 ff. with pl. xxvi περφερέες 495<sub>6</sub> sacred things wrapped in wheaten straw 497 498<sub>2</sub> 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  
*Etymology*: 494 ff. 495<sub>6</sub>  
*In relation to* Agyieús-pillars 169 499 f. amber-routes 493 f. 497 ff. China (?) 495
- Hyperes, king of Troizen 414<sub>2</sub>
- Hyperion  
*Epithet*: ἠλέκτωρ 499<sub>2</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: sun 947<sub>0</sub>
- Hyperoche 452 f. 466 501
- Hyperochos 452
- Hyperphas 1122<sub>7</sub>
- Hypnos  
*Cult*: Sikyon 321<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithet*: Ἐπιδώτης 321<sub>1</sub>
- Hypnos (*cont.*)  
*Genealogy*: b. of Thanatos 317  
*Attribute*: horn 1127<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: 1127<sub>0</sub>
- Hypseus 1123
- Hypsistarioi 885<sub>0(28)</sub>
- Hypsistianoi 885<sub>0(28)</sub>
- Hypsistos  
*Cults*: Ak Tash (Temenothyrai?) in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Ioudaia 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Kappadokia 885<sub>0(28)</sub> Sarii-Tsam in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub>  
*Epithet*: Παντοκράτωρ 885<sub>0(28)</sub>  
*Rite*: lamp-lighting 881<sub>0(20)</sub>  
*Worshippers*: Ὑψιστάριοι or Ὑψιστιανοί 885<sub>0(28)</sub>  
 See also Elioun, Theos Hypsistos
- Hypsouranios 715<sub>4</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> 1037
- Hyria 30
- Hysmine 1141
- Hysminias 1141
- Ia, betrothed to Attis 970<sub>0</sub>
- Iakchos  
*Epithet*: Νέος 97<sub>0</sub>  
*Personated by* Antinoos 97<sub>0</sub>
- Ialysos  
*Cult*: Elektryone (Alektroina) 499
- Iambe  
*Myth*: Demeter 821 851
- Ian  
*Identified with* Zan 341 344 353 842  
 — in the Salian hymn 330<sub>0</sub> 331<sub>0</sub> 341  
 See also Ianus
- Iana  
*Epithet*: Arquis 339<sub>6</sub>  
*Functions*: arches 339<sub>6</sub> moon 339<sub>6</sub>  
*Etymology*: 338<sub>6</sub> 340<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Diana
- Ianiculum 368<sub>3</sub>
- Ianos See Ianus
- Ianus  
*Cults*: Aenona 325 Corinium in Dalmatia 325 Etruria 378 Falerii 373 Iulia Apta 325 Lambaesis 369<sub>0</sub> Noricum 324 Ouxenton (?) 386<sub>1</sub> Philadelpheia in Lydia 374 Rome 364 ff. Saloniae (?) 325 Tusculum (?) 368<sub>2</sub> Volaterrae (?) 383  
*Epithets*: anni origo 336<sub>10</sub> annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi 336<sub>10</sub> antiquissimus divom 335<sub>1</sub> Augustus 325 biceps 336<sub>10</sub> Cameses or Camises (?) 330<sub>0</sub> 331<sub>0</sub> Conservator (?) 327 327<sub>11</sub> Culsanís 378 Curvatius 364 deorum deus 337<sub>4</sub> divom deus 337 duonus (duenos?) 330<sub>0</sub> 331<sub>0</sub> duonus Cerus (duenos Ceros?) 330<sub>0</sub> 331<sub>0</sub> 724<sub>0</sub> εφορος πάσης πράξεως 338<sub>3</sub> εφορος του παντός χρόνου 336<sub>8</sub> Geminus 324 337<sub>4</sub> 338<sub>3</sub> 358 360 365 lucifer annorum 336<sub>10</sub> Iunonius 336<sub>8</sub> Matutinus 338 Pater 325 335<sub>1</sub> 336<sub>5</sub> 337<sub>4</sub> 338 369<sub>0</sub> 377<sub>1</sub> Pater Augustus 325 Ποπάνων 338<sub>3</sub>

Ianus (*cont.*)

- προπάτωρ 328<sub>7</sub> πρώτος τῶν ἀρχαίων  
θεῶν 335<sub>3</sub> quadrifrons 360<sub>3</sub> Quirinus  
364<sub>1</sub> 377<sub>2</sub> temporis auctor 336<sub>6</sub>  
θεὸς ἀρχαϊότατος τῆς Ἰταλίας 335<sub>2</sub>  
ὑπατος Ζεὺς 328<sub>7</sub> (See also Ζεὺς  
ἄφθιτος) Vaesus 325 *veterum pro-*  
*merios recum (vetesom promesios*  
*recom?)* 330<sub>0</sub> 331<sub>0</sub> *Zeus Loidorie*  
(*Ieu Loidosie?*) 330<sub>0</sub> 331<sub>0</sub> Ζεὺς  
ἄφθιτος 328<sub>7</sub> (See also ὑπατος Ζεὺς)
- Festivals: Kalendae Ianuariae* 336<sub>0</sub>  
*Kalendae Octobres* 364
- Rites: archway at entrance of Roman*  
Forum closed in peace, opened in  
war 341<sub>0</sub> 358<sub>5</sub> cakes (πόπανα) offered  
on the *Kalendae* 338<sub>3</sub> *Ianuli* chanted  
by Salii 375 f. passing under the  
yoke (?) 359<sub>6</sub> twelve altars to suit  
twelve months 336<sub>8</sub>
- Personated by Caracalla* 371 Com-  
modus 370 Cn. Pompeius Magnus  
371 Salii (?) 375 f.
- Myths: drives Sabines out of Rome*  
by flood of water 394<sub>3</sub> first king of  
Italy 368<sub>3</sub> founds Ianiculum 368<sub>3</sub>
- Genealogy: f. of Aion* 337 f. of Canens  
394<sub>3</sub> f. of Fontus 368 394<sub>3</sub> f. of  
Tiber 394<sub>3</sub> h. of Iuturna 368<sub>3</sub> 394<sub>3</sub>  
s. of Caelus and Hecate 368<sub>3</sub>
- Functions: air* 335 archway 330<sub>0</sub> bright  
sky combined with dark sky (?) 378  
chaos 335 cosmic power 336 day  
336 doorway 340<sub>2</sub> eternity 336 *ini-*  
*tiator* 1090 *Kalendae* 336<sub>8</sub> king 330<sub>0</sub>  
months 336 an older Iupiter 335 ff.  
oldest god of Italy 335 seasons 336  
sky 335 337 ff. 338<sub>0</sub> 354 f. 842 sun  
336 time 336 universe 335 year 336
- Etymology: 335<sub>0</sub> 338 ff. 340<sub>2</sub>*
- 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 341<sub>0</sub> 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 quad-  
ruple 373 triple (?) 373<sub>5</sub> vault (See  
archway)
- Identified with Aion* 337 Apollon 339<sub>6</sub>  
Celtic Janiform god 324 ff. Chaos  
335<sub>0</sub> Iupiter 328 365 Kronos 374  
Llyr 326 Saturnus 374 Zeus 328<sub>7</sub>
- Associated with Horae* 336<sub>9</sub>
- In relation to Iupiter* 328<sub>6</sub> 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 341<sub>0</sub> 355 ff. in the plural  
(= *anni*) 336<sub>10</sub> significance of the  
double face of 378 ff. transformed  
into Persephone 370
- See also Ani, Anigemius, Ian
- Ianus, an Italian king 330<sub>0</sub>
- Iao  
*Identified with Adonai* 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Deus  
Altissimus 889<sub>0(34)</sub> Theos Hypsistos  
889<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Iaon, river in Peloponnesos 413<sub>1</sub>
- Iapetos 894<sub>0</sub>
- Iapheth (Japheth) 694<sub>0</sub>
- Iapodes tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- 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* 814<sub>3</sub>  
See also Iaribolos
- Iaribolos  
*Cult: Palmyra* 885<sub>0(20)</sub>  
See also Iarebolos
- Iason  
*Myths: caldron of apotheosis* 211 Hera  
1088 Kirke 1097<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy: descended from Aiolos* 1088  
*Type: swallowed by snake* 222<sub>2</sub> 1217
- Iasos  
*Cults: Zeus* 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus "Τψιτρος  
879<sub>0(17)</sub> 963<sub>5</sub>
- Iasos, b. of Dardanos 317
- Iberians 340<sub>3</sub>
- Idaeon Cave, excavation of 935<sub>0</sub> ff. in rela-  
tion to Hagia Triada 522<sub>4</sub> rock  
crystal from 927<sub>0</sub> *týnpana* from  
697<sub>0</sub> 770<sub>2</sub>  
See also Ide, Mt, in Crete
- Idaeon Daktyloi See Daktyloi
- Idaia, as name of Crete 940<sub>0</sub>
- Idaia, w. of Zeus 940<sub>0</sub>
- Idalion, silver bowl from 553
- Idas  
*Myths: Leukippides* 438<sub>2</sub> Marpessa  
439<sub>14</sub> Tyndaridai 437 ff.  
*Genealogy: b. of Lynkeus* 317
- Ide, Mt, in Crete 932<sub>1</sub>  
*Cults: Daktyloi* 232<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> Holy Cross  
(Timios Stauros) 935<sub>0</sub> Zagreus 838  
934<sub>0</sub> Zan 934<sub>0</sub> Zeus 941<sub>0</sub> Zeus Bi-  
dáras 934<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Idaios 549 838  
932<sub>1</sub> ff. 980<sub>5</sub>
- Festival: trieteric* 934<sub>0</sub>
- Rites: annual dance of modern Cretans*  
on summit 939<sub>0</sub> funeral offering to  
Zeus 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> thrice nine days  
spent in Idaeon Cave 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>  
throne strown annually for the god  
934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> cp. 940<sub>0</sub> wearing of black  
wool 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>



- Ide, Mt, in Crete (*cont.*)  
*Myths*: Hermaphroditos reared by Naiades 933<sub>0</sub> Kouretes 549 Kronos 549 Telchines 933<sub>0</sub> Zeus 230 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 932<sub>1</sub>  
 — Arkesion, a cave on 549 939<sub>0</sub> ascent of 939<sub>0</sub> fruitful poplar (or willow) in mouth of Idaean Cave on 932<sub>1</sub> Idaean Cave on 230 933<sub>0</sub> ff. 935<sub>0</sub> ff. Idaean Cave on, visited by Epimenides 933<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Idaean Cave on, visited by Pythagoras 933<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> plateau of Nida on 935<sub>0</sub> 937<sub>0</sub> summit of called Psiloriti 935<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Daktyloi, Idaean Cave
- Ide, Mt, in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> ff.  
*Cults*: Kybele 950<sub>0</sub> Mater *Idaea* 950<sub>0</sub> Meter *Ἰδαία* 950<sub>0</sub> Zeus 855<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* 297<sub>5</sub> (?) 950<sub>0</sub> ff. Zeus *Πατρῶος* 950<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *μητέρα θηρῶν* 950<sub>0</sub> *πολυπίδαξ* 949<sub>5</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> *πολύπτυχος* 950<sub>0</sub> *σκολοπενδρώδης* 949<sub>5</sub>  
*Myths*: birth of Daktyloi 949<sub>5</sub> Daktyloi sons of Aigesthios (Agdestis?) by Ide 970<sub>0</sub> *Διὸς ἀπάτη* 1021 Ide, d. of Melisseus 949<sub>5</sub> judgment of Eros 949<sub>5</sub> judgment of Paris 949<sub>5</sub>  
*Etymology*: 932<sub>1</sub> 949<sub>5</sub>  
 — in relation to Hyperboreoi (?) 453 solar phenomenon on 949<sub>5</sub>
- Ide, personification of Mt Ide in Phrygia  
*Type*: wreathed with fir 949<sub>5</sub>
- Ide, d. of Melisseus 949<sub>5</sub>
- Ide, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 970<sub>0</sub>
- Idmon 471
- Idomeneus  
*Myth*: Phaistos 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: descended from Helios 947<sub>0</sub> s. of Deukalion, s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793<sub>7</sub>
- Idrieus 715
- Iguvium  
*Cult*: Iupater *Sancius* 724<sub>0</sub> f.
- Iki kilisse in Galatia  
*Cult*: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835<sub>5</sub>
- Ikonion  
*Cults*: Agdistis (Angdistis) 970<sub>0</sub> Meter *Βοηθηνή* 970<sub>0</sub> Meter Theon 970<sub>0</sub> Theoi *Σωτήρες* 970<sub>0</sub>  
 — *stéle* from 799
- Ilia 1016
- Ilion  
*Cults*: Athena *Ἰλιάς* 950<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* 950<sub>0</sub> f.  
 — coins of 950<sub>0</sub>
- Ilissos 1115 ff. 1123 1135 1138<sub>5</sub> 1139  
 — small Ionic temple on 1118<sub>4</sub> 1119<sub>0</sub>
- Ilissos-'island' 1119<sub>4</sub>
- Illyrioi  
*Cults*: Apollon 458 sky-god (Ianus, Zan) 349 (?) 353 (?) 842 (?)  
*In relation to Dorians* 341 Leleges 354<sub>9</sub> Ligures 340<sub>3</sub>
- Illyrioi (*cont.*)  
 — *Agyiéis*-pillars of 165 f. eight-year cycle of 440<sub>2</sub> tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- Ilos  
*Myths*: foundation of Troy 349 Pal-ladion 8  
*Genealogy*: gf. of Priamos 8
- Imbros  
*Cults*: Bendis 314<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 314<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἰψιστος* 878<sub>0(8)</sub> 922<sub>1</sub>
- Inachos  
*Myth*: drives Io from home 503  
*Genealogy*: f. of Kasos and Belos 981<sub>1</sub>
- India  
*Cults*: Brahmā 774<sub>1</sub> Çiva 790 f. iron tridents and stone axes 790 792 850 Kāma 774<sub>1</sub> Krishna 774<sub>1</sub> Lakshmi 774<sub>1</sub> Rudra 791 Sarasvatī 774<sub>1</sub> Vishnu 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: cosmic egg 1035 f. Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos 7<sub>2</sub>  
 — pillars of Herakles and Dionysos in 423
- Inessa 908<sub>1</sub>
- Inhissar in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835<sub>4</sub>
- Ino  
*Myths*: lashes Maenads with ivy-sprays 1041 plots death of Phrixos 904<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: Bacchant milking herself 347<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Inönü in Phrygia  
*Cults*: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835<sub>4</sub> Zeus *ἐξ Αὐλῆς* 249<sub>2</sub> Zeus *ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός* 836 ff. 1226 Zeus *Τελεσφόρος* 838 1089  
 — altars from 836 ff.
- Intercidona 643<sub>8</sub>
- Invidia 505<sub>2</sub>
- Io  
*Myths*: bride of Zeus 961<sub>0</sub> driven from home by Inachos 503 pursued by Zeus as fly (?) 782<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Epaphos by Zeus 961<sub>0</sub>  
*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 1187<sub>2</sub> 1188
- Ioudaia  
*Cults*: Hypsistos 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Jehovah 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Theos *Ἰψιστος* 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 — coins of 1202
- Iovilae See Iūvilas
- Iovis  
*Cult*: Gallia Lugudunensis 547<sub>0</sub> 619  
*Associated with Esus and Volcanus* 619
- Iphikles  
*Genealogy*: b. of Herakles 317 1017

- Iphikles (*cont.*)  
*In relation to Herakles* 445 447<sub>5</sub>  
 See also Iphiklos (= Iphikles)
- Iphiklos (= Iphikles) 451 f.  
 See also Iphikles
- Iphiklos, s. of Phylakos  
*Myth*: cured by Melampous 452 684 f.
- Iphithea (?) 353<sub>3</sub>
- 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 outstretched arms 473
- Irmin  
*Etymology*: 52<sub>6</sub> 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 *Agyieús*-pillar 166 178 compared with Diana-pillar 157 166
- Isauroi 973<sub>1</sub>
- Ischys, s. of Elatos 1089
- Isinoe (?), d. of Danaos 1150<sub>2</sub>
- Isis  
*Cults*: Athens 985<sub>0</sub> Delos 922<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Pharia* 928<sub>0</sub> *Ταροσειράς* 985<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: effigy of Osiris buried in pine-tree 303<sub>2</sub> libation of milk from golden bowl shaped like female breast 347<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: founds Pelousion 986<sub>0</sub> nurses Diktys 986<sub>0</sub> nurses Horos 986<sub>0</sub> nurses Pelousios 986<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: earth 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: leafy spray (?) 1129<sub>0</sub> *modius* (?) 1129<sub>0</sub> poppy 1165<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: bust on couch 1171<sub>3</sub> double bust (with Apis) 392 enthroned under arch 362  
*Identified with Demeter* 252 Tethys 481<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with Sarapis* (Serapis) 1128<sub>0</sub> (?) 1171<sub>3</sub> Zeus *Κύνθιος* and Sarapis 922<sub>0</sub>  
 — soul of, identified with Kyon by Greeks, with Sothis by Egyptians 450<sub>0</sub>
- Isityche 1128<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Islands of the Blest 36 117 465
- Isodaites (= Plouton) 1113<sub>0</sub> (2)
- Isopata, gold ring from 49<sub>1</sub>
- Ištar  
*Attribute*: axe (*i.e.* woodpecker?) 696<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with Sin and Sibitti* 545<sub>0</sub>  
 Isthmia, the festival 490<sub>0</sub> (5) 951<sub>0</sub>
- Istia See Hestia
- Istros, springs of 465 494
- Italy  
*Cults*: Lares 1059 Penates 1059 Picus 696<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: burial within the house 1059  
 — coins of 1063
- Itanos  
*Cults*: Apollon *Πύθιος* 929<sub>0</sub> Athena *Πολιάς* 929<sub>0</sub> Hera 929<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἀγοραῖος* 929<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Δικταῖος* 929<sub>0</sub> ep. 930<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἐπόψιος* 1130<sub>7</sub>  
 — coins of 1130<sub>7</sub> oath of 929<sub>0</sub>
- Ithake, coins of 706<sub>5</sub> the cave in 42
- Ithomaiā (Ithomaiā, Ithomaïs) 741<sub>4</sub> 890<sub>6</sub>
- Ithome, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus *Ἰθωμάρας* 741 ff. 890<sub>6</sub> 1222  
*Festival*: Ithomaiā (Ithomaiā, Ithomaïs) 741<sub>4</sub> 890<sub>6</sub>  
*Rites*: human sacrifice 890<sub>6</sub> water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus 890<sub>6</sub>  
*Myth*: Zeus brought up by nymphs Ithome and Neda 890<sub>6</sub>
- Ithome, the nymph 890<sub>6</sub>
- Iulia Apta  
*Cult*: Ianus *Vaeosus* 325
- Iuno  
*Cults*: Aquincum 68<sub>2</sub> Blatsche 1084 Mogontiacum 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> Rome 364 Thibursicum Bure 68<sub>2</sub> Urbs Salvia (?) 803  
*Epithets*: *Augusta* 61<sub>0</sub> *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub> *Cinxia* 899<sub>0</sub> *Lucetia* 61<sub>0</sub> *Lucina* 59<sub>3</sub> 60<sub>0</sub> 61<sub>0</sub> 1226 *Pronuba* 61<sub>0</sub> *Regina* 59<sub>3</sub> 87<sub>3</sub> 95<sub>1</sub> 96 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> 98 *Sancta* 96 98 *Sororia* 364  
*Festivals*: *Kalendae Martiae* 61<sub>0</sub> *Kalendae Octobres* 364  
*Rite*: brandishing torches 61<sub>0</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into Beroe* 1031  
*Functions*: *Kalendae* 336<sub>8</sub> light 61<sub>0</sub> marriage 61<sub>0</sub> motherhood 1226 procreation 1226 spring 59 61<sub>0</sub> 94<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: flower 61<sub>0</sub> girdle (?) 61<sub>0</sub> iris (?) 61<sub>0</sub> lily 61<sub>0</sub> peacock 60<sub>0</sub> 67 sceptre 98 f. torch or torches 59 61<sub>0</sub> two snakes (?) 61<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: bearing babe and flower 61<sub>0</sub> bearing babe and lily or iris (?) 61<sub>0</sub> bearing babe and torch 60<sub>0</sub> bearing *patera* and sceptre 60<sub>0</sub> bearing torch or torches 59 clad in goat-skin (?) 60<sub>0</sub> grouped with children 60<sub>0</sub> 61<sub>0</sub> standing on cow 99<sub>0</sub> veiled 60<sub>0</sub> with foot on head of cow 98 f. with foot on head of ox 98<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with Fria* 59 94<sub>1</sub> Luna, Diana, Ceres, Proserpina 256  
*Associated with Hercules and Minerva* 89 Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> Mercurius and Ceres 1181<sub>0</sub> Mercurius; Hercules, Minerva 57 ff. Mercurius and Minerva 89



## Iuno (cont.)

In relation to Frija 67

— breasts of 37<sub>2</sub> of a woman corresponds with Genius of a man 1059

## Iupater

Cults: Iguvium 724<sub>0</sub> f. Umbria 724<sub>0</sub>

Epithet: Sancius 724<sub>0</sub>

Rite: calf offered by man holding wheel 724<sub>0</sub> f.

See also Diespiter, Iupiter

## Iupiter

Cults: Aizanoi 968<sub>0</sub> Alban Mt 46<sub>3</sub> Allmendingen 619 1221 Allobroges 570<sub>0</sub> Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Apulum 754<sub>1</sub> Aquileia in Venetia 328 842 Blatsche 1084 Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul 726<sub>0</sub> Clunia in Spain 1102<sub>8</sub> Corinth (?) 1214 Mt Dikte 927<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> Mt Gerizim 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 888<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>9</sub> (?) Gothia 620 Heliopolis in Syria 745<sub>1</sub> Jerusalem 984<sub>1</sub> Kassiope 906<sub>3</sub> Mt Ladicus in Gal-laecia 320<sub>0</sub> Lambaesis 369<sub>0</sub> Luxovium in Germania Superior (?) 1213 Matilica 401<sub>0</sub> Mogontiacum 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> Naissos 948<sub>4</sub> Napoca 754<sub>1</sub> Pannonia 823<sub>1(2)</sub> Patrai 1214 Pergamon 1179 f. Pompeii 1158 Ravenna 1091 Rome 45 46 46<sub>0</sub> 111<sub>0</sub> 369<sub>0</sub> 400<sub>11</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> 403<sub>0</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> 601 708 708<sub>5</sub> 835<sub>6</sub> 838 f. 1102<sub>8</sub> 1103<sub>0</sub> 1172<sub>0</sub> 1181<sub>0</sub> 1195<sub>1</sub> Salonae 69<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> Mt Silpion (?) 1188 Sirmium 1194<sub>4</sub> Spoletium 803<sub>2</sub> Tiber-island 726<sub>0</sub> Tomoi 823<sub>1(1)</sub> Urbs Salvia 803 ff. Venafrum 69<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> Vichy 285<sub>0</sub>

Epithets: *Aepilofius* (= *Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948<sub>4</sub> *Aezanensis* 968<sub>0</sub> *Aezaniticus* 968<sub>0</sub> *Ambisagrus* (= *Ambisacrus* rather than *Ambisager*) 328 421<sub>6</sub> 673<sub>3</sub> 842 *Amicalis* (= *Zeus Φίλιος*) 1177<sub>2</sub> 1179 f. 1186<sub>6</sub> *Ataburius* 588<sub>1</sub> *auctor bonarum* *Tempestatium* 94<sub>2</sub> *Augustus Ultor* 1102<sub>8</sub> *Baginas* 570<sub>0</sub> *Bronton* 835<sub>6</sub> *Caelestinus* 369<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> *Caelestis* 69<sub>0</sub> 400<sub>11</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> *caelipotens* 401<sub>0</sub> *Caelius* 400<sub>11</sub> *Caelus* (?) 400<sub>11</sub> *Capitolinus* 601 1188 *Casius* 588<sub>1</sub> *Casius* (*Cassius*) in Korkyra 906<sub>3</sub> *Cenaeus* 902<sub>2</sub> *Conservator* 88<sub>1</sub> 327 328 369<sub>0</sub> 1195<sub>1</sub> *Custos* 367<sub>1</sub> (?) 1181<sub>0</sub> *Dapalis* 1172 *Deus* 958<sub>0</sub> *deus unus et idem* (?) 1060 *Dianus* 328 842 *Dictaeus* 927<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> *Dictaeus rex* 928<sub>0</sub> *divom pater atque hominum rex* 1070 *Dolichenus* 99<sub>0</sub> 609 614 f. *Epulo* 1172<sub>0</sub> *Fagutalis* 403<sub>0</sub> *Farreus* 1172 *Feretrius* 111<sub>0</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> 601 613 *Fulgur* 46<sub>0</sub> *fulgurator* 815<sub>4</sub> *Genetaeus* 616<sub>5</sub> *Heliopolitanus* 745<sub>1</sub> *Heros* 823<sub>1(1)</sub> 823<sub>1(2)</sub> *Hospitalis* (= *Zeus Ἐένιος*) 1101<sub>3</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> *Idaeus* 950<sub>0</sub> *Imperator* 708 848 917<sub>0</sub> *Iurarius* 726<sub>0</sub> *Iutor* 803 ff. 850 *Labryandius* 588<sub>1</sub> *Ladicus* 320<sub>0</sub> *Lapis* 260<sub>0</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> *Laprius* 588<sub>1</sub> 599 *Latiaris* 46<sub>3</sub> *Liberator* (Nero) 1214 *matutinus*

## Iupiter (cont.)

338<sub>1</sub> *Milichius* 1158 *Militaris* 706 848 *Molio* 588<sub>1</sub> *omnipotens rerum regumque repertor* (?) 1060 *Optimus Maximus* 10 87<sub>2</sub> 87<sub>3</sub> 88<sub>1</sub> 88<sub>2</sub> 89<sub>6</sub> 89<sub>8</sub> 90 f. 91<sub>1</sub> 93 95<sub>1</sub> 96 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> 328 361 620 1194<sub>4</sub> 1196 *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 401<sub>0</sub> *Optimus Maximus Celestis Patronus* 401<sub>0</sub> *Optimus Maximus Conservator* 88<sub>1</sub> *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823<sub>1(1)</sub> 823<sub>1(2)</sub> *Optimus Maximus Paternus Aepilofius* 948<sub>4</sub> *Optimus Maximus Tavianus* 754<sub>1</sub> *Paternus Aepilofius* (= *Zeus Πατρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948<sub>4</sub> *Patronus* 401<sub>0</sub> *Peregrinus* 887<sub>0(31)</sub> *Pistor* 260<sub>0</sub> *prodigialis* 19<sub>0</sub> *progenitor genetrisque deum* 1060 *Propagator* 369<sub>0</sub> 706<sub>8</sub> (?) *Propugnator* 707<sub>0</sub> *Ruminus* 365<sub>4</sub> *Sabadius* (= *Sabazius*) 285<sub>0</sub> *Sabazius* 1197 *Sanctus Bronton* 835<sub>6</sub> 836 838 *Sarapis* 888<sub>0(0)</sub> (?) 983<sub>9</sub> (?) *Stator* 46<sub>0</sub> 422<sub>1</sub> 708<sub>5</sub> *Summanus* (?) 319 725<sub>0</sub> *Summus* (?) 319 *Svelsurdus* (?) 822<sub>13</sub> *Tauarus* 32 *Taranucus* 32 *Tavianus* 754<sub>1</sub> *Tempes-tatum divinarum potens* 94<sub>2</sub> *Terminialis* 1090 f. 1133<sub>1</sub> (?) *Terminus* 1090 *tertius* 940<sub>0</sub> *Tigillus* 110<sub>5</sub> 363 365 *Tonans* 39<sub>1</sub> 60<sub>0</sub> 111<sub>0</sub> 505<sub>2</sub> 811 835<sub>6</sub> 1041 (?) *Triumphator* 706<sub>8</sub> *Tropaeophorus* 706<sub>8</sub> *Ultor* 1102<sub>8</sub> 1103<sub>0</sub> *Urius* (?) 822<sub>13</sub> *Velsurus* (?) 822<sub>13</sub> *Victor* 708 848 *Zbelsurdus* (?) 1226

*Festivals*: *Epula Iovis* (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172<sub>0</sub> May 94<sub>2</sub> *Quinquennialia* 601

*Rites*: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172<sub>4</sub> *lectisternia* 1170<sub>6</sub> 1171 oath by Iupiter *Lapis* with flint in hand 546<sub>0</sub> ox as *piaculum* 803<sub>2</sub> *spolia opima* 601 *summanalia* 725<sub>0</sub> table swept with vervain 395<sub>2</sub> 397<sub>0</sub> treaty struck with flint of Iupiter *Feretrius* 546<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: *flamen Dialis* 341<sub>0</sub> 828

*Personated by* Antoninus Pius 811 Augustus 1091 Diocletian (*Iovius*) 903<sub>2</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub> Domitian 338<sub>1</sub> 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 24<sub>1</sub> Titus (?) 810 Trajan 810 f. triumphing general 361 Vespasian (?) 810

*Myths*: consorts with Semele 1031 drives Saturnus from his kingdom 448<sub>1</sub> mutilates Saturnus 448<sub>1</sub> *Pallicus* 909<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Genius 1060 f. of Liber by Proserpina 1031 f. of Olympus (?) by the nymph Chalcea 973<sub>1</sub> gf. of Tages 1060 s. of Caelus 941<sub>0</sub> s. of Saturnus 940<sub>0</sub> 941<sub>0</sub>

## Iupiter (cont.)

*Functions:* aether 1090 celestial 1090 (See also sky) chthonian 1090 container and sustainer of the world 110<sub>5</sub> earth 803 father and mother of the gods 1060 flesh, wine, and bread 1173(?) good weather 94<sub>2</sub> holder of scales 734<sub>3</sub> lightning by night 725<sub>0</sub> nocturnal sky 725<sub>0</sub> nurture 365<sub>4</sub> oak-tree 570<sub>0</sub> sea 803 sky 337 340 f. 373 803 (See also celestial) thunder 830<sub>6</sub> Thursday 70 treaties 725<sub>0</sub> universe 335<sub>5</sub> a younger Ianus 335 ff.

*Attributes:* bay-wreath 751<sub>2</sub> dog(?) 367<sub>1</sub> dolphin 803 f. double axe 609 eagle 400<sub>11</sub> 751<sub>2</sub> 812 eagle on globe 95<sub>2</sub> *feretrum* 601 f. 613 fork 850 mallet 620 sceptre 400<sub>11</sub> 812 spear 711 f. 848 thunderbolt 803 f. 810 ff. 850 trident 803 f. 850 trophy 1195<sub>2</sub> two-pronged fork 803 ff. violet mantle 803 wheel 57<sub>6</sub> 1213

*Types:* advancing with thunderbolt, trident, and fork 803 f. bearded head 331 334 bundle of herbs clothed as puppet 1171 bust 1133<sub>1</sub> bust with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left 712 on column 46 eating sacrificial meal(?) 1172<sub>0</sub> enthroned on a pillar 47 flint (unhafted neolithic celt?) 546<sub>0</sub> grasping or hurling thunderbolt in chariot 82 831<sub>1</sub> cp. 76<sub>0</sub> handing thunderbolt to Trajan 1181<sub>0</sub> on horseback with uplifted bolt 82 Janiform 326 ff. protecting emperor 104<sub>1</sub> seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 1103<sub>0</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub> 1214 seated with Victory in right hand and sceptre in left 1103<sub>0</sub> (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 708<sub>5</sub> standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in raised left 70<sub>1</sub> standing with thunderbolt(?) in outstretched right hand and spear in raised left 711 f. standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle 285<sub>0</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub> standing with thunderbolt and sceptre under arch 367 standing with thunderbolt and sceptre in four-horse chariot driven by Victory 331 334 831<sub>1(2)</sub> tree-trunk 109

*Identified with* Donar 64<sub>0</sub> 95<sub>2</sub> Genius 1060 Ianus 328 365 Jehovah 1197 Scaelus 620 Theos Hysistos

## Iupiter (cont.)

886<sub>0(30)</sub> Thor 620 Vediovis(?) 726<sub>0</sub>  
*Assimilated to* Hercules 95<sub>2</sub>

*Associated with* Fontes 369<sub>0</sub> Fontes and Minerva 401<sub>0</sub> Fortuna 1195<sub>2</sub> Genius Fontis 369<sub>0</sub> Genius huius loci 1194<sub>4</sub> Hercules 1194<sub>4</sub> Iuno Regina 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> Lares 751 Mater Phrygia 950<sub>0</sub> Victoria 1195<sub>2</sub>

*In relation to* emperor 708 Erinys 1102<sub>7</sub> Furiae 1102<sub>7</sub> Hercules 95<sub>2</sub> Ianus 328<sub>6</sub> 331 335 ff. 353 842

— acorn of (walnut) 775<sub>0</sub> beard of (silver-bush) 775<sub>0</sub> chariot of 76<sub>0</sub> 82 331 334 830<sub>6</sub> 831<sub>1</sub> flame of (a flower) 775<sub>0</sub> footprints of 37<sub>2</sub> *pullus Iovis* 35<sub>0</sub> *regalia* of 811 f. statue of, made of armour 46<sub>3</sub> throne of 1102<sub>7</sub> and Ianus on coins 331 ff. and Ianus in the Salian hymn 328 ff.

See also Diespiter, Iupater

Iupiter, the planet 480<sub>5</sub>

Iustitia 99<sub>1</sub>

Iuturna

*Genealogy:* w. of Ianus 368<sub>3</sub> 394<sub>3</sub>

Iūvilas 823 1226

Ivríz 564 f.

Ixion

*Myths:* Hera 1088 Zeus 1098<sub>4</sub>

*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<sub>1</sub> ladder of 127 f. 129<sub>1</sub> 136

Jains, sacred column of 150<sub>2</sub>

James, St, b. of the Lord

*Type:* on chalice of Antioch 1202<sub>0</sub>

James, St, s. of Zebedee

*Type:* on chalice of Antioch 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub>

Janina

*Etymology:* 350

— folk-tale from 678 f.

Jehovah

*Cults:* Mt Gerizim 887<sub>0(31)</sub> Ioudaia 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub>

*Epithets:* Κύριος "Υψιστος 888<sub>0(32)</sub> Theos Ζῶν 1102<sub>8</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub> "Υψιστος 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub>

*Rite:* θυσίαί ἐντελείς ὀλόκαυτοι...καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν 888<sub>0(32)</sub>

*Priest:* ἀρχιερεύς 889<sub>0(0)</sub>

*Function:* hills 887<sub>0(31)</sub>

*Identified with* Bacchus 1197 Dionysos 1197 'El 'Ólâm 1037 Iupiter Sabazius 1197 Liber Pater 1197 Zeus "Υψιστος 889

Jerusalem

*Cults:* Aphrodite (Venus) 984<sub>1</sub> Liber Pater (supposed) 232<sub>0</sub> Zeus (Iupiter) 984<sub>1</sub>

— Antiochos iv Epiphanes and 1189<sub>1</sub> 'cup-marks' at 793<sub>4</sub> golden vine



- Jerusalem (*cont.*)  
 at 281<sub>4</sub> pyramids built by Helene of Adiabene near 1146<sub>0</sub> tomb of 'Zechariah' near 1146<sub>0(d)</sub>
- Jews  
*Cult*: Theos "Υψιστος 884<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 — of the Dispersion propagate the cult of Theos Hypsistos 889 f. use gentile formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, "Ἡλιον 884<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Jodute See Tiodute
- John, St  
*Type*: on chalice of Antioch 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub>  
*Supersedes* Zeus Ἀραβύριος in Rhodes 923<sub>0</sub>  
 — 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 1202<sub>0</sub>
- Juktas, Mt  
*Cults*: Authentēs Christos 945<sub>0</sub> Panagia 945<sub>0</sub> Rhea (?) 944<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: annual pilgrimage to church on summit 945<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Britomartis pursued by Minos 939<sub>1</sub> burial of Minos (?) 944<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 939<sub>1</sub>  
 — profile of Zeus (originally Minos?) on 939<sub>1</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> remains on summit of 943<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> tomb of Zeus on 940<sub>0</sub> ff.
- Kabeirion, apsidal temple of Theban 900<sub>0</sub>
- Kabeiro  
*Identified with* Bendis 314<sub>0</sub> Hekate 314<sub>0</sub>
- Kabeiroi  
*Cults*: Lemnos 663 ff. Pergamon 953<sub>3</sub> f. Phoinike 314<sub>0</sub> Samothrace 313 842 Thrace 313 ff.  
*Epithet*: Μεγάλοι Θεοί 313 f. 954<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: mysteries 314<sub>2</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> f.  
*Myth*: witness birth of Zeus 954<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: sons of Ouranos 954<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: control storms 953<sub>3</sub> Father and Son 317 Mother (Axiokersa), Father (Axiokersos), and Son (Axieros) conceived as rebirth of the Father 314  
*Etymology*: 313<sub>11</sub> 313<sub>12</sub>  
*Attributes*: double axe 953<sub>3</sub> ram's head 954<sub>0</sub> sword 953<sub>3</sub>  
*Types*: two youthful males 953<sub>3</sub> two youthful warriors 953<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with* crabs 664 f. Zeus and Dionysos 664<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus Σαβάριος (?) 664<sub>1</sub>
- Kabeiros, a Pergamene *prytanis* 953<sub>3</sub>
- Kadmilos  
*Cults*: Phoinike 314<sub>0</sub> Samothrace 314<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Ešmun 314<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Kasmilos
- Kadmos  
*Myths*: helps Zeus against Typhoeus 449<sub>0</sub> seeks Europe 449<sub>0</sub> takes charge of Semele's child 28 f.
- Kadoi  
*Cult*: Artemis Ἐφεσία 408<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 408<sub>0</sub>
- Ka-Hegal 483
- Kaikias 488<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Kaineus  
*Myth*: sets up his spear as a god 547<sub>2</sub>
- Kairos 859 ff.  
*Cult*: Olympia 859  
*Genealogy*: youngest s. of Zeus 859 861  
*Etymology*: 860 f.  
*Attributes*: butterfly 860 globe 860 mirror (?) 863<sub>1</sub> razor 859 f. 861 f. rudder 862 wheel 863 863<sub>1</sub> whip 863<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: bearded runner 860 f. female figure (Occasio) on little wheel 863 Lysippos 859 f. 864 Pheidias (?) 862 f. winged runner in military dress (?) 863<sub>1</sub> youthful runner 859 f. 861 f.  
*Identified with* Bios 864 Chronos 861 864  
*Assimilated to* Kronos 861
- Kaisareia in Kappadokia  
*Cults*: Mt Argaios 977<sub>1</sub> ff. Sarapis 978<sub>0</sub> Tyche (Tranquillina) 978<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 978<sub>0</sub> ff. 983<sub>0</sub> earlier names of 978<sub>0</sub>
- Kalaïs  
*Genealogy*: s. of Boreas by Oreithyia, d. of Erechtheus 444  
*Etymology*: 444
- Kalaos, f. of Attes 444
- Kalaureia  
*Cult*: Zeus Σωτήρ 728<sub>0</sub>
- Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania  
*Myth*: slain by Herakles 490<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Kalchas, s. of Thestor  
*Myth*: contest with Mopsos 489<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Kalchedon  
*Cult*: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 461<sub>0</sub>
- Kalchedonia, m. of Solymos 973<sub>1</sub>
- Kalchos, king of Daunia 490<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Kaldene, d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973<sub>1</sub>
- Kalikantzarai See Kallikantzaroi
- Kallikantzaroi  
*Myth*: attack the tree or column or columns supporting the earth or sky 56<sub>2</sub>
- Kalliope  
*Genealogy*: m. of Orpheus 1024
- Kallirrhoe, spring adjoining Ilissos 1116 1119 1119<sub>4</sub>
- Kallirrhoe (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloeis  
*Cults*: Athens 1117 (?) Phaleron 183  
*Attributes*: cornu copiae and *phiale* 1117 (?)  
*Type*: Caryatid 184

- Kallirrhoe (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloios (*cont.*)  
*Associated with* Acheloios and Zeus  
 Μειλίχιος (?) 1117 Hestia, Kephisos,  
 Apollon Πύθιος, Leto, Artemis  
 Λοχία, Eileithyia, Acheloios, the  
 Geraistian birth-nymphs, Rhapso  
 183
- Kallirrhoe, d. of Okeanos 716
- Kalliste (= Hekate) 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Kallisto  
*Cult:* Arkadia 1114<sub>0(6)</sub>  
*Myth:* Zeus 228<sub>4</sub> 228<sub>7</sub> 1217  
*Metamorphosed into* bear 228 f.  
*Function:* bear-goddess (?) 1114<sub>0(6)</sub>
- Kalydon  
*Myth:* Calydonian boar 799
- Kalymna  
*Cults:* Apollon 808<sub>0(11)</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος  
 808<sub>0(11)</sub>
- Kāma  
*Cult:* India 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Function:* love 774<sub>1</sub>
- Kamares, Mt  
*Cults:* Rhea (?) 934<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἰδαῖος (?)  
 935<sub>0</sub>  
 — Mauroselaion on 934<sub>0</sub> 935<sub>0</sub>
- Kameiros, relief-ware from 614 f.
- Kamikos 30
- Kamise, st. and w. of Ianos 330<sub>0</sub>
- Kanachos 1165<sub>1</sub>
- Kanai (Kane)  
*Cult:* Zeus Καναῖος 902<sub>2</sub>
- Kanake 684<sub>2</sub>
- Kandaules 559
- Kane See Kanai
- Kanobos (Kanopos)  
*Cult:* Sarapis 985<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth:* Io, touched by Zeus, becomes  
 m. of Epaphos 961<sub>0</sub>
- Kapaneus  
*Myth:* struck by lightning 23 824 f.  
*Genealogy:* f. of Sthenelos 824<sub>5</sub> 892<sub>5</sub>
- Kappadokia  
*Cults:* Mt Argaios 977<sub>1</sub> ff. Hypsistos  
 885<sub>0(23)</sub> Zeus Δακηνός 616 Zeus  
 Σπράτιος 594<sub>8</sub> 595<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 296<sub>0</sub> Kyklops in folk-tale  
 from 992 f.
- Kar, s. of Phoroneus 168<sub>1</sub> 257<sub>4</sub>
- Karbina 29
- Karia  
*Cults:* Apollon 573<sub>10</sub> 574<sub>1</sub> 574<sub>2</sub> 574<sub>3</sub>  
 Dionysos Μάσαρις 565<sub>2</sub> Ge 729<sub>0</sub>  
 Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 573 f. 705 729<sub>0</sub>  
 745<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 763<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
 Κάριος 577 Zeus Λαβραδεύς 559 f.  
 572  
 — coins of 573 f.
- Karia, *akropolis* of Megara 168<sub>1</sub> 257<sub>4</sub>
- Karia, personification of the district 320<sub>0</sub>
- Karien, near Mt Pangaion  
*Cults:* Zeus Ἐρκείος Πατρῶος 1066 Zeus  
 Κτήσιος 1066
- Karkinar 666<sub>2</sub>
- Karko 666<sub>2</sub>
- Karmania  
*Cult:* Ares 464
- Karmanor 190<sub>0</sub>
- Karme 190<sub>0</sub>
- Karneades 237<sub>0</sub>
- Karneia 237<sub>0</sub>
- Karousa  
*Cult:* Zeus Δικαιόσυνος Μέγας 1092<sub>8</sub>
- Karyanda  
*Festival:* bull-sports 582<sub>5</sub>
- Karystos  
*Rite:* Hyperborean offerings 497
- Kasion, Mt, in Egypt 984<sub>4</sub> f.  
*Cult:* Zeus Κάσιος 907<sub>0</sub> 984<sub>4</sub> f.  
*Myth:* temple founded by descendants  
 of Dioskouroi 984<sub>4</sub>  
*Etymology:* 981<sub>1</sub>
- Kasion, Mt, in Syria 981<sub>1</sub>  
*Cults:* Triptolemos 981<sub>1</sub> Zeus Κάσιος  
 907<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> ff. 1191 f.  
*Rites:* hecatomb 982<sub>0</sub> incubation 982<sub>0</sub> (?)  
*Myths:* Kyparissos 981<sub>1</sub> *Seleucides aves*  
 981<sub>1</sub> Zeus fights Typhon 449<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology:* 981<sub>1</sub>  
 — injured by earthquake 1191
- Kasion, town in Egypt 984<sub>4</sub> f.
- Kasios, eponym of Mt Kasion in Egypt  
*Cult:* Pelousion 986<sub>0</sub> 987<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet:* ὁ ναύκληρος 987<sub>0</sub>
- Kasios, eponym of Mt Kasion in Syria 981<sub>1</sub>
- Κασιu, an Aramaean god 983<sub>0</sub>
- Kasmilos  
*Identified with* Hermes 314<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Kadmilos
- Kasos, f. of Kleomachos 981<sub>1</sub>
- Kasos, one of the Kyklades 981<sub>1</sub>
- Kasos, s. of Inachos 981<sub>1</sub>
- Kassiope  
*Cults:* Iupiter *Casius* (*Cassius*) 906<sub>3</sub>  
 Zeus (?) 907<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κάσιος (Κάσσιος)  
 906<sub>3</sub> 907<sub>0</sub>
- Kastabos  
*Cult:* Hemithea 670  
*Myth:* Staphylos and his daughters  
 Molpadia, Rhoio, Parthenos 670 f.
- Kastalia 460
- Kastalios 190<sub>0</sub>
- Kastor  
*Epithet:* ἰππόδαμος 436  
*Genealogy:* b. of Polydeukes 317 1015<sub>7</sub>  
 cp. 1097<sub>2</sub> s. of Zeus by Leda 1015<sub>7</sub>  
*Type:* fights Calydonian boar 799  
 See also Dioskouroi
- Katabasion of Trophonios at Lebadeia  
 1075 f. 1088
- Katane 908<sub>1</sub>  
*Cult:* Apollon 486<sub>5</sub>  
 — coins of 486<sub>5</sub>  
 See also Aitne
- Kato Zakro, clay seal-impression from  
 623 652
- Katreus  
*Myth:* 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy:* s. of Minos and f. of Al-  
 thaimenes and Apemosyne 923<sub>0</sub>



- Kaukasos, the giant 694<sub>0</sub>  
 Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)  
 Kaulonia  
*Cults*: Agon (?) 1042 Apollon 1042 f.  
 Demos (?) 1042 Dionysos 1041 (?)  
 Herakles 1041 f. (?) Hermes Ἄργω-  
 νιος (?) 1042 Hermes Δρόμιος (?) 1042  
 wind-god (?) 1042 Zephyros (?) 1042  
*Festival*: Hiketesia 1040  
*Myth*: Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)  
 — coins of 1040 ff.
- Kebrenioi 130  
 Kekrops  
*Myth*: founds altar of Zeus Ἰπτατος  
 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ge 1121
- Kelaino 176<sub>1</sub>  
 Keleos, a Cretan 929<sub>0</sub>  
 Keltoi  
*Cult*: Zeus 570<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Apollon sheds tears of amber  
 484 843 Kyknos 477  
*In relation to Sabines* 340<sub>3</sub>  
 — poplar in land of 468
- Kenaion, Mt  
*Cults*: Zeus Κήναιος (Κηναίος) 902<sub>2</sub>  
 Zeus Παρρῶνος 902<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Herakles 902<sub>2</sub>
- Kenchreai 1145<sub>1(b)</sub>  
 Kenelm, St 116 f.
- Kentauros  
*Genealogy*: s. of Apollon by Stilbe  
 1134 f.  
*Type*: marine, with head-dress of  
 crab's-claws 665<sub>3</sub>  
 See also Centaurs, Centaurus
- Kentoripa (Kentouripai)  
*Cult*: Agathos Daimon (?) 1129<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 784<sub>7</sub>
- Keos  
*Myth*: Oidipous 1152
- Kephallenia  
*Cult*: Zeus Αινῆσιος 907<sub>2</sub>
- Kepheus, s. of Aleos 1083 1148
- Kephisos, river in Attike near Athens  
 1091 1139<sub>5</sub>
- Kephisos, river in Attike near Eleusis 1103
- Kephisos, the river-god  
*Cult*: Phaleron 183 f.  
*Type*: horned (?) 184
- Kephisos, river in Phokis 460
- Ker  
*In relation to Eros* 315<sub>3</sub>
- Keramos in Karia  
*Cults*: long-haired god (Zeus?) with  
 double axe and sceptre or spear  
 575 f. Zeus 575 f. Zeus Λαβράννδος (?)  
 599<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 575 f. 599<sub>2</sub>
- Keraunia 807<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 Keraunios  
*Cult*: Kition 807<sub>3(1)</sub> Mytilene 807<sub>3(3)</sub>  
 Syria 807<sub>3(2)</sub>  
*Epithet*: Ἰψιστος 807<sub>3(3)</sub>  
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Κεραύνιος
- Keraunos  
*Cult*: Emesa 814<sub>3</sub>  
*Epithet*: ἀστεροβλήτα (?) 119<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: god in oriental military cos-  
 tume 814<sub>3</sub> small male figure em-  
 bodying thunderbolt (?) 784  
*Identified with Zeus* 12 f. 119<sub>1</sub>  
 See also Index II s.v. 'Thunderbolt'
- Kerberos  
*Myths*: Dionysos 256 Herakles 469  
 899<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: offering of honey-cake 1142<sub>10</sub>  
*Type*: three-headed 802  
*Compared with golden hound* 1227
- Kerberos, a Cretan 929<sub>0</sub>
- Kerdylion  
*Cults*: Theos Ἰψιστος 878<sub>0(9)</sub> Zeus  
 Ἰψιστος 906<sub>2</sub>
- Keres  
*Functions*: avenging deities 1101 souls  
 1101
- Kerkidas 290<sub>0</sub>
- Kerkopes  
*Myth*: Herakles 1041 f. (?)
- Kerkops, the Pythagorean 1024
- Keteus 228<sub>5</sub>
- Keyne, St 117
- Keyx  
*Myth*: claims that his w. Alkyone is  
 Hera 1088
- Khem  
*Type*: ithyphallic 772<sub>1</sub>
- Khnemu  
*Attribute*: snake 1084  
*Type*: lion-headed snake with radiate  
 crown 1084
- Khonsu 126
- Kibuka 450<sub>1</sub>
- Kibyra  
*Cult*: Zeus 771  
 — coins of 771
- Kierion  
*Cult*: Zeus 743<sub>7</sub>  
 — coins of 743<sub>7</sub>
- Kilikia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βόρειος 380  
 — coins of 1210
- Kinyras  
*Myths*: buried in sanctuary of Aphro-  
 dite at Paphos 944<sub>0</sub> Myrrha and  
 Adonis 680 848  
*Genealogy*: f. of Adonis 694<sub>0</sub> f. of  
 Myrrha 680
- Kios  
*Cults*: Demeter Καρποφόρος 815<sub>5</sub> Zeus  
 Ὀλύμπιος καὶ Ἀστραπαῖος 815<sub>5</sub>
- Kirke  
*Myths*: Iason 1097<sub>2</sub> Medeia 1097<sub>2</sub>  
 Odysseus 18<sub>6</sub>
- Kithairon, Mt  
*Cults*: Hera Κιθαιρωνία 898<sub>6</sub> 899<sub>0</sub> Pan  
 899<sub>0</sub> Sphragitides 899<sub>0</sub> Zeus 581  
 Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος 898<sub>6</sub>  
*Festival*: Daidala Megala 977<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: burning of oaken images (δαί-

- Kithairon, Mt (*cont.*)  
 δαλα) on altar of wood piled with brushwood 898<sub>6</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of bulls to Zeus and cows to Hera, these victims being filled with wine and incense 898<sub>6</sub>  
*Myths*: singing-match with Mt Helikon 899<sub>0</sub> Zeus pretends marriage with Plataia, d. of Asopos 898<sub>6</sub>
- Kithairon, king of Plataiai 898<sub>6</sub>
- Kition in Kypros  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 807<sub>5(4)</sub> Esmun 1095<sub>0</sub> Keraunios and Keraunia 807<sub>3(1)</sub> Theos "Γψιστος 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 980<sub>3</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος 807<sub>5(4)</sub> (Zeus?) Κεραύνιος and (?) Κεραυνία 807<sub>3(1)</sub>
- Klareotis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 cp. 1149<sub>0</sub>
- Klaros  
*Cults*: Apollon Κλάριος 489<sub>0(4)</sub> Zeus Κλάριος 873<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: contest of Kalchas with Mopsos 489<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Klazomenai, *sarcophagi* of 521<sub>5</sub>
- Kleagoras 1106
- Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 854 ff.
- Klearchos of Rhegion 739 875<sub>1(4)</sub>
- Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub> 501
- Kleite, m. of Kaulon or Kaulos 1042
- Kleomachos, s. of Kasos 981<sub>1</sub>
- Kleonai, coins of 892<sub>4</sub> 1079
- Kleophema, w. of Phlegyas 488<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Kleophrades 733
- Kleostratos 1151
- Klepsydra, spring on Mt Ithome 890<sub>6</sub>
- Klodones 133<sub>0</sub>
- Klotho 212<sub>5</sub> 1023
- Klymene, m. of Phaethon 473<sub>3</sub> 479 (?)
- Klymenos (= Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Klymenos, f. of Erginos  
*Function*: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075
- Klytaimestra  
*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Leda and st. of Helene 1015<sub>7</sub>  
 — ghost of, seen in mirror 206<sub>2</sub>
- Kneph  
*Cult*: Egypt 1127<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: hawk-headed snake 1127<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Agathos Daimon 1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub>
- Knidos  
*Cults*: Apollon Λύκιος 729<sub>0</sub> Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μέγιστος(?) 1157<sub>5</sub> Zeus Μειλίχιος 1157  
 — Triopion at 684<sub>2</sub>
- Knossos  
*Cults*: Elchanos (?) = Velchanos 948<sub>0(3)</sub> Rhea 520<sub>5</sub> 548 Theos "Γψιστος 879<sub>0(14)</sub> two double axes 537 Zeus 'Ελχάνος (?) = *Feλχάνος* 948<sub>0(3)</sub>  
*Myths*: founded by Hestia 940<sub>0</sub> founds Brundisium 30<sub>3</sub>  
 — ancient grove of cypresses at 520<sub>5</sub> clay seal-impressions from 552<sub>1</sub> 652 coins of 491<sub>0(6)</sub> gold ring from 49 f. incised gem from 623 oath of 731<sub>0</sub>
- Knossos (*cont.*)  
 road from, to Idaean Cave 933<sub>0</sub> tomb of Zeus at 695<sub>0</sub> wall-painting from 528 f.
- Kodros  
*Myth*: dressed as woodman with double axe or bill-hook 627<sub>6</sub>  
 — on trophy at Delphoi 1137<sub>2</sub>
- Koios 915<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Kokkygion, Mt  
*Cults*: Hera Τελεία 893<sub>2</sub> Zeus 893<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Zeus married to Hera 893<sub>2</sub>  
 — formerly called Thronax (Thronax?), later Kokkyx 893<sub>2</sub>
- Kokynthos, headland of Bruttii 1042 (?)
- Kolehis  
*Cult*: Phasis 471  
*Myth*: Phrixos 904<sub>1</sub>
- Kolchoi  
*Cult*: Diana 411  
*Myth*: Orestes 421<sub>3</sub>  
 — Egyptian *khrbeis* of 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Kolikantzaroi See Kallikantzaroi
- Koloe  
*Cults*: Apollon Βοζηγνός 568 Apollon Ταρσεύς 568 f. Theos 'Γψιστος 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus Σαβάζιος 285<sub>0</sub>
- Kolonai  
*Myth*: Kyknos, s. of Poseidon 669
- Kolonos  
*Cults*: Athena Πολιοῦχος 1152<sub>5</sub> Demeter 1152<sub>5</sub> Zeus (?) 1152<sub>5</sub> Zeus Χθόνιος 1154 f.  
*Myth*: Oidipous 1152<sub>5</sub>
- Kolophon  
*Myth*: Polytechnos 693
- Kolotes 1078
- Komana in Kappadokia  
*Cult*: Ma 616  
 — priestly kings at 965<sub>0</sub>
- Komana in Pontos, priestly kings at 965<sub>0</sub>
- Koptos  
*Cult*: Horos 450<sub>0</sub>
- Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones)  
*Cult*: Skythia 1179<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1179<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Kore  
*Cults*: Eleusis 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Megalopolis 1178 Megara 1117<sub>7</sub> Nysa in Lydia (?) 564 Paros 131 Phlyeis 1066 Samothrace 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Tegea 1140<sub>5</sub>  
*Epithets*: Μελίβοια (?) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> Πασικράτεια 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Πρωτογόνη 1066  
*Rite*: bridal hymn 132<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: carried off by Plouton 345<sub>0(2)</sub> 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) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>  
*Function*: Corn-maiden 295<sub>2</sub>



- Kore (*cont.*)  
*Attributes:* double axe (?) 564 pig 1140<sub>5</sub>  
 snake (?) 564 torches 1117<sub>7</sub>  
*Type:* horned, four-eyed, two-faced  
 1029  
*Identified with* Phersephone 1029  
*Associated with* Demeter 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> 1178  
 Dionysos 120<sub>1</sub> Zeus and Demeter  
 258<sub>3</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus, Hera, Demeter  
 Θεσμοφόρος, Baubo 259<sub>0</sub>  
 — Κόρης θήρα (?) near Lebadeia 899<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Persephone, Phersephone,  
 Proserpina
- Koressos, Mt  
*Cult:* Zeus 962<sub>2</sub>  
 — rock-cut throne on 962<sub>2</sub>
- Koretas 190<sub>0</sub>
- Korkyra  
*Cults:* Apollon 730<sub>0</sub> Artemis 457 De-  
 meter 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus 675 f. 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 "Υψιστος 879<sub>0(12)</sub> 907<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 906<sub>3</sub> 907<sub>0</sub> coins struck in  
 675 f. 'Corcyraean whip' at Dodona  
 826 851
- Koronis  
*Myths:* bears Asklepios to Apollon at  
 Lakereia 484 bears the second As-  
 klepios to Ischys s. of Elatos 1089  
 cp. 210<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy:* d. of Phlegyas 463<sub>1</sub> m. of  
 Asklepios 833<sub>0</sub>
- Korybantēs (Kyrbantēs)  
*Cults:* Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Priansos 723<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths:* drown cries of infant Zeus  
 928<sub>0</sub> hide Zeus from Kronos 940<sub>0</sub>
- Korybas  
*Cult:* Haimoniōi 295  
*Rite:* Eleusinia 133<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Attis 295
- Korykia 901<sub>2</sub>
- Koryphon (Koryphaion), Mt  
*Cult:* Artemis Κορυφαία 869<sub>1</sub>
- Kos  
*Cults:* Asklepios Καῖσαρ (= Claudius)  
 1088 Hestia (Histie) Ταμία 19<sub>0</sub>  
 238<sub>0</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 880<sub>0(18)</sub> 964<sub>1</sub>  
 Zeus 'Ικέσιος 1095<sub>0</sub> Zeus Πολιεύς  
 238<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite:* wearing of white-poplar 470  
*Myth:* Merops 1132<sub>1</sub>
- Kosingas 130 505<sub>5</sub>
- Kosmos  
*Cult:* Orphists 141<sub>1</sub> 827  
*Type:* four-pillared 141<sub>1</sub> 827
- Kotiaieion  
*Cult:* Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>4</sub>
- Kottos 1023
- Kotys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Atys as  
 Dioskouroi (?) 312
- Koujounlou in Bithynia  
*Cult:* Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>5</sub>
- Koula See Koloe
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros  
*Cults:* Aphrodite 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Histie Δημήτη
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros (*cont.*)  
 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Zeus Καταβάτης 20<sub>1</sub> (Zeus)  
 "Υπατος 875<sub>1(5)</sub> 918<sub>2</sub>
- Koures  
*Rite:* Eleusinia 133<sub>0</sub>  
 — Epimenides as 191 934<sub>0</sub>
- Kouretēs (Koretēs)  
*Cults:* Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> Mylasa 586 f. Priansos  
 723<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet:* 'Ιδαῖοι 296<sub>4</sub>  
*Rites:* personate Zagreus 549 sacrifice  
 children to Kronos 548  
*Myths:* clash shields about infant  
 Zeus 961<sub>0</sub> clash weapons to aid  
 Leto against Hera on Mt Solmissos  
 962<sub>2</sub> drown cries of infant Zeus  
 928<sub>0</sub> flee from Kronos 549 Labran-  
 dos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or  
 Spalaxos 587 rear Zeus on Mt  
 Dikte 929<sub>0</sub> receive infant Zeus from  
 Rhea 931<sub>0</sub> taught to dance by  
 Athena 1029 Mt Sipylos 956<sub>2</sub>  
 wreathed with olive 1029  
*Genealogy:* sons of Zeus 940<sub>0</sub>  
*Function:* δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν  
 931<sub>0</sub>  
*Types:* Assyrian 938<sub>0</sub> grouped about  
 the child Zeus or Dionysos 1210  
*Associated with* Zeus 938<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κρη-  
 ταγενής 587
- Kourion in Kypros, silver-gilt bowl from  
 553
- Kragaleus 163<sub>0</sub>
- Kragasos 669
- Kragos, Mt 971<sub>2</sub>  
*Cults:* Kragos 971<sub>2</sub> Theoi "Αγριοι 971<sub>2</sub>
- Kragos, eponym of Mt Kragos  
*Cults:* Mt Kragos 971<sub>2</sub> Lykia 972<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet:* ἀστειργής 972<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy:* f. of Cheleidon 971<sub>2</sub> s. of  
 Tremilos (Tremiles?) by the nymph  
 Praxidike, b. of Tloos and Pinalos  
 971<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with* one of the Theoi "Αγριοι  
 971<sub>2</sub> f. Zeus 972<sub>0</sub> 974<sub>0</sub>
- 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.
- Kratiai (= Hekate) 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Krateuas, herbal of 395<sub>2</sub>
- Kres, eponym of Crete, hides Zeus on Mt  
 Dikte 928<sub>0</sub>
- Kresion, Mt 1147<sub>6</sub>
- Kretenia 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub>
- Krishna  
*Cult:* India 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Function:* solar (?) 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute:* lotos 774<sub>1</sub>
- Kroisos 311<sub>8</sub> 465

Kronia, island in Ionian Gulf 555<sub>0</sub>  
 Kronia, later called Hierapolis 554<sub>3</sub>  
 Kronion, in Sicily 555<sub>0</sub>  
 Kronion, Mt, at Olympia 554<sub>2</sub>  
 Kronion, Mt, in Lakonike 554<sub>2</sub>  
 Kronos  
*Cults*: Athens 554<sub>2</sub> Byblos 887<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Crete 548 f. Delos (?) 920<sub>0</sub> Gaza (?)  
 675 Mt Kynthos (?) 920<sub>0</sub> Lebadeia  
 899<sub>2</sub> Olympia 554<sub>2</sub> Phrygia 1155 f.  
 Sicily 910<sub>0</sub> Solymoi 972<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: ἀγκυλομήτης 549 845 Ἀκρι-  
 σίας 1156<sub>1</sub> ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν (?)  
 558<sub>0</sub> 558<sub>1</sub> βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ 558<sub>1</sub>  
 ἡερέειν 557<sub>1</sub> Ῥέας πόσι, σεμνὲ Προ-  
 μηθεῦ 549<sub>7</sub> ὑψίπολος 557<sub>1</sub> ὑψίπορος (?)  
 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites*: human omophagy (?) 549 sacri-  
 fice of children by Kouretes 548  
 sacrifice at spring equinox by Βα-  
 σίλαι 554<sub>2</sub>  
*Priests*: Βασίλαι at Olympia 554<sub>2</sub>  
*Personated by magician* (?) 558<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: bound beneath oak-trees by  
 Zeus 1027 buried in Sicily 555<sub>0</sub>  
 consulted by Zeus 1027 devours  
 his children 549 928<sub>0</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> driven  
 out by Zeus 941<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> driven out of  
 Assyria by Zeus, reigns over Italy  
 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> founds Byblos in  
 Phoinike 552 founds Kronia (= Hie-  
 rapolis) 554<sub>3</sub> made drunk on honey  
 by Zeus 1027 mutilated by Zeus  
 448<sub>1</sub> 685 1027 mutilates Ouranos  
 447<sub>8</sub> pursues Kouretes 549 receives  
 from Rhea stone instead of Zeus  
 793<sub>8</sub> 901<sub>1</sub> reigns over Italy, Sicily,  
 most of Libye, and the west 554<sub>3</sub>  
 reigns over the west 695<sub>0</sub> seeks to  
 destroy Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> slays Arsalos,  
 Dryos, and Tosobis 972<sub>0</sub> swallows  
 stone in place of Zeus 191<sub>10</sub> thrust  
 down by Zeus below earth and sea  
 1020 yields the kingship of Italy to  
 Zeus 694<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Aphros and Cheiron  
 by Philyra 695<sub>0</sub> f. of Attis 294 f. of  
 Cheiron by Philyra 871<sub>0</sub> f. of Zan  
 940<sub>0</sub> f. of Zeus 943<sub>0</sub> f. of Zeus by  
 Rhea 941<sub>0</sub> f. of Zeus, Poseidon,  
 Hades 785 forefather of Pikos who  
 is also Zeus 695<sub>0</sub> h. of Rhea 548  
 673 845 s. of Okeanos by Tethys  
 1020 s. of Ouranos by Gaia 447<sub>8</sub>  
 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026  
*Functions*: dark air 557<sub>1</sub> lightning 558  
 mountain 554 pole 557<sub>1</sub> rain 557  
 557<sub>1</sub> 558<sub>0</sub> rain, hail, wind, and  
 thunderstorms 558<sub>0</sub> sea 557<sub>1</sub> 558<sub>0</sub>  
 sky 601 1156<sub>2</sub> solar (?) 552 thunder  
 and lightning 558<sub>1</sub> water 557<sub>1</sub> winter  
 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 549 557<sub>1</sub> 660<sub>1</sub> 845 861  
*Attributes*: bulls 553 f. corn-grains (?)  
 558<sub>1</sub> disk 552 double axe 553 f.

## Kronos (cont.)

601 *drépanon* 448<sub>0</sub> *hárpe* 447<sub>8</sub> 549 f.  
 550 553 f. 845 861 head-dress of  
 feathers 552 f. sceptre 552 thunder-  
 bolt (?) 558<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: aged 861<sub>5</sub> 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* (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Ba'al-  
 hammán 554<sub>3</sub> Bel 558<sub>0</sub> Chronos 861  
 El 558<sub>0</sub> Ianus 374 Prometheus 549<sub>7</sub>  
 Saturnus 555<sub>0</sub> Tholathes (?) 558<sub>0</sub>  
*Compared with Zeus* 554 ff.  
*Confused with Chronos* 374  
*Superseded by Saturnus* 550 Zeus 554  
 601 845  
 — imitated by Marcus Aurelius 105<sub>0</sub>  
 laws of 933<sub>0</sub> pillars of 422 sceptre  
 of 1026 sweat of 558<sub>0</sub> tear of 557<sub>1</sub>  
 tomb of 555<sub>0</sub> 556<sub>0</sub> tower of 36  
 52  
 Kronos, the planet  
*Functions*: δάκρυ 558<sub>0</sub> rain, hail, wind,  
 and thunderstorms 558<sub>0</sub> 558<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with Nebrod* (Nimrod) and  
 Orion 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>  
 Kroton  
*Cults*: Hera Λακινία 1021 Muses 1021  
 Pythagoras as Apollon Ὑπερβόρειος  
 223  
*Rite*: sacrifices to Apollon on seventh  
 day of month 237<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Pythagoras' eagle 222<sub>4</sub>  
*In relation to Pythagoreans* 45  
 — coins of 225 f. garden of Hera  
 Λακινία at 1021  
 Kteatos  
*Genealogy*: b. of Eurytos 317 s. of  
 Molione, nominally by Aktor, really  
 by Poseidon 1015<sub>8</sub>  
 Ktesios (?) 1066  
 Kurshumlu in Phrygia  
*Cults*: Phoibos 839 Zeus Βροντῶν 839  
 Kurtköi in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>4</sub>  
 Kyaneai  
*Cults*: Ares Μέγας 101<sub>1</sub> Eleutheria  
 Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής 101<sub>1</sub> Zeus  
 Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος  
 Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐ-  
 σεβής (= Antoninus Pius) 101<sub>1</sub>  
 Kybele  
*Cults*: Mt Ide in Phrygia 950<sub>0</sub> My-  
 kenai (?) 1221  
*Rites*: effigy worn by votaries 299 f.  
 tat'ooing 123<sub>0</sub>  
*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 970<sub>0</sub> 1221 (?)



- Kybele (*cont.*)  
 mural crown 300 pine-tree 951<sub>0</sub>  
 timbrel 300  
*Types*: seated in *aedicula* with two lions 970<sub>0</sub> standing between two lions with double axe and ritual horns (serpentine?) on her head 1221 (?)  
*Identified with* Agdistis 970<sub>0</sub> Meter Theon 970<sub>0</sub> Rhea 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Attis 301<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Attis 293 842
- Kyklopes  
*Myth*: slain by Apollon 241<sub>4</sub>  
*Genealogy*: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023  
*Function*: underground smiths 784 805<sub>6</sub>  
*Attribute*: lightning 805<sub>6</sub>  
*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 274<sub>0</sub>  
 Kyknos, s. of Poseidon  
*Myth*: Hemithea (Leukothea) and Tennes (Tenes) 669 ff.  
*Genealogy*: h. of Philonome 669 h. of Prokleia 669
- Kylikranes tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Kyllene  
*Cult*: Asklepios 1078
- Kylon 1138  
 Kymak in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντων 835<sub>4</sub>
- Kynados, Mt See Kounados, Mt  
 Kynon (*leg.* Κυνων, *sc.* πόλις)  
*Cult*: dog 987<sub>0</sub>
- Kynortion, Mt 487<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 Kynosoura in Lakonike 1088 f.  
 Kynosouris in Thessaly (?) 1089
- Kynthos, Mt  
*Cults*: Athena Κυνθία 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> Kronos (?) 920<sub>0</sub> Rhea (?) 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κύνθιος 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>  
 — cistern-mosaic on 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>
- Kyparissos  
*Myth*: 981<sub>1</sub>
- Kypris  
*Epithet*: Διωναία (Διαναία) 351<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: maddens the lover 1164<sub>0</sub>
- Kypros  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon 246<sub>1</sub> Ba'al-hammân 1208<sub>2</sub> Dionysos Σάωτης (?) 599<sub>2</sub> Janiform god and goddess 673 tree 157<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ζητήρ 444<sub>7</sub> 1102<sub>8</sub> Zeus Σάωτης (?) 599<sub>2</sub> Zeus Τιμωρός 874<sub>2</sub> 1099<sub>0</sub>
- Kypros (*cont.*)  
 — coins of 424 three-eyed ogre in folk-tale from 995 f.
- Kypselos, chest of 451 739<sub>0</sub> golden Zeus dedicated at Olympia by 737 vow of 737<sub>6</sub>
- Kyrene  
*Cults*: Artemis Ἀγροτέρα 1177<sub>3</sub> Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 259<sub>0</sub> (Zeus) Φίλιος 1177<sub>3</sub>  
*Festival*: Karneia 237<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 708<sub>2</sub> leaden anchor from 876<sub>0</sub>
- Kyrene, eponym of the town  
*Myth*: carried off by Apollon 460<sub>2</sub>
- Kyrios Sabaoth 884<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Kyrrhos  
*Cult*: Zeus Καταιβάτης 15 f. 745<sub>1</sub> 983<sub>1</sub>
- Kys  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Augustus) 97<sub>0</sub>
- Kytissoros 904<sub>1</sub>
- Kyzikos  
*Cults*: Hermes 834 Theos Ἐψιστος 953<sub>1</sub> Zeus 743<sub>7</sub> Zeus Βρονταῖος 833 ff. 852 Zeus Ἐψιστος 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 953<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐψιστος Βρονταῖος 833 ff. 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Myth*: nurses of Zeus 227 f.  
 — coins of 180 319<sub>5</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 743<sub>7</sub>
- Kyzikos, personification of the town 319<sub>5</sub>
- Labaro (?)  
*Cult*: Norba in Lusitania 609<sub>3</sub>
- Labranda  
*Cults*: Zeus Λαβράνδος (Λαμβράνδος, Λαβραύνδος, Λαβραδύνδος (?), Λαβραίνδος, Λαβραίνδος (?), Λαβραένδος, Λάβρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδός, Λαβραδός, Λαβρανδηνός) 576 f. 585 ff. 597 846 Zeus Στράτιος 576 ff. 585 591 594 713 722 846 976<sub>0</sub>  
*Priests*: distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f.  
*Etymology*: 586 600  
 — remains of temple at 588 ff. sacred plane-trees at 590 976<sub>0</sub>
- Labrandos, the Koures 587
- Labrantidai 881<sub>0(20)</sub>
- Labrayndos, god of Mylasa 586 ff.  
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Λαβράνδος
- Labryandos, the king 588
- Laburus  
*Cult*: Emona 609<sub>3</sub>
- Labyadai  
*Etymology*: 629  
 — oaths of 233 233<sub>7</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of 243 f.
- Labyrinth  
*Myth*: Daidalos 600 f.  
*Etymology*: 600 846  
*In relation to* double axe 600 f.  
 — as circular maze-like structure 943<sub>0</sub> as mediaeval maze 601
- Labys 629

- Lachesis  
*Genealogy*: d. of Ouranos by Ge 1023  
*Function*: cosmic 316<sub>0</sub>
- Lactora in Aquitania  
*Rites*: *vires escepit* 306<sub>4</sub> *vires tauri*  
*consacravit* 306<sub>4</sub>
- Ladicus, Mt, in Gallaecia  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Ladicus* 320<sub>0</sub>
- Ladon, the dragon 1017
- Lagina  
*Cults*: Hekate 714<sub>2</sub> Zeus "Γψιστος 963<sub>6</sub>  
 Zeus "Γψιστος καὶ Θεὸς ὁ βασιλικός  
 879<sub>0(17)</sub>
- Laïos, a Cretan 929<sub>0</sub>
- Laïos, f. of Oidipous  
*Myth*: Oidipous 923<sub>0</sub> 1154<sub>3</sub>
- 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 Diony-  
 sopolis 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 *Κουρίδιος* 322<sub>6</sub> Apollon  
 "Τετράχειρ or "Τετράχειρος 322<sub>6</sub> Apol-  
 lon "Τετράωτος 322 Asklepios 1085
- Lakshmi  
*Cult*: India 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: w. of Vishnu 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: lotos 774<sub>1</sub>
- Lambaesis  
*Cults*: Fons 369<sub>0</sub> Genius Fontis 369<sub>0</sub>  
 Ianus *Pater* 369<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Propagator*  
*Conservator* 369<sub>0</sub>
- Lamia 666<sub>2</sub> 828 f. 994<sub>2</sub> 1131
- Lamis 694<sub>0</sub>
- Lammas 325<sub>8</sub> 326<sub>4</sub>
- Lamponeia 951<sub>0</sub> f.
- Lampsakos  
*Cults*: Meter Theon "Τηρητή 697 Priapos  
 464  
 — coins of 674<sub>1</sub> Xenophon at 1106 f.
- Laodike 452 f. 466 501
- Laodikeia Katakekaumene  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Ἀστράπτων  
 817
- Laodikeia on the Lykos  
*Cults*: Caracalla 1186 Gaia 1186 Tha-  
 lassa 1186 Theos "Υψεστος (*sic*)  
 882<sub>0(23)</sub> Theos "Υψιστος 968<sub>3</sub> Zeus  
 319 f. 319<sub>7</sub> 745<sub>1</sub> Zeus (= Caracalla)  
 1186 Zeus "Ασείς 321<sub>0</sub>  
*Festivals*: Deia 320<sub>0</sub> Deia Sebasta Oi-  
 koumenika 320<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Zeus nursed by Rhea under  
 protection of Kouretes 968<sub>3</sub>  
 — coins of 319<sub>7</sub> 571 f. 933<sub>0</sub> 1186
- Laodikeia, personification of the city on  
 the Lykos  
*Types*: seated with statuette of Zeus  
 in right hand and *cornu copiae* in  
 left 320<sub>0</sub> seated with statuette of  
 Zeus in right hand and sceptre in  
 left 319<sub>7</sub> standing with *phiale* in  
 right hand and statuette of Zeus  
 in left 320<sub>0</sub>
- Laodikeia on the sea  
*Cult*: Zeus 1192  
*Myth*: shepherd struck by lightning  
 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
 — coins of 1192 formerly called  
 Leuke Akte, and before that Ra-  
 mitha 886<sub>0(30)</sub>
- Laodokos 452
- Laomedon 892<sub>5</sub>
- Laonoë See Laonome
- Laonome (Laonoë) 472
- Lapersai  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων 1069
- Laphystion, Mt, in Boiotia  
*Cults*: Dionysos Λαφύστιος 899<sub>1</sub> Hera-  
 kles Χάροψ 899<sub>1</sub> Zeus Λαφύστιος 899<sub>1</sub>
- Lapithai  
*Myths*: Ixion 1088 Periphas 1122 f.  
*Type*: fighting Centaurs 615<sub>2</sub> (?)  
 — migration of (?) 1123
- Lapithes, eponym of the Lapithai  
*Genealogy*: f. (or s.) of Periphas 1122  
 1134 s. of Apollon by Stilbe 684<sub>2</sub>  
 1134 f.
- Lapps  
*Cult*: Thor (?) 423<sub>3</sub> 533<sub>2</sub>  
*Rites*: erection of beam pierced by  
 iron nail 423<sub>3</sub> 533<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of bare  
 bones 423<sub>3</sub> world-pillars 57<sub>1</sub>
- Lar  
*Epithet*: *familiai...pater* 1059  
*Rite*: meal 19<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: *Larunda progenitus* 1059  
*Identified with Genius* 1059
- Larasa in Media 958<sub>0</sub>
- Lares  
*Cults*: Italy 1059 Rome 401  
*Epithets*: *familiares* 1059 *Querque-*  
*tulani* 401  
*Festival*: Compitalia 1171<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite*: corn-ears 19<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: souls of deified ancestors  
 1159<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1159<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: goat-*rhytón* 1060 cp. 751<sub>1</sub>  
 pail 1060 cp. 751<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: dancing 1060 seated 751<sub>1</sub>  
 standing 751<sub>1</sub> woollen effigies 1171<sub>2</sub>  
*Assimilated to Attis* 308<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with Genius Neronis* 96 98  
 Iupiter 751  
*In relation to Manes, Genii, Lemures,*  
*Larvae* 1059
- Larisa at Argos  
*Cults*: Athena 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> three-eyed  
 Zeus 892<sub>5</sub> Zeus Λαρισαίος 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub>



- Larisa, old name of Tralleis 587<sub>2</sub>  
 Larisa on the Caystrian Plain  
*Cult*: Apollon *Λαρισηνός* 958<sub>0</sub>  
 Larisa on Mt Messogis  
*Cult*: Zeus *Λαράσιος* 958<sub>0</sub> ff. Zeus *Λα-  
 ρισαῖος* 958<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Λαρίσιος* 957<sub>3</sub> f.  
 Larissa in Thessaly  
*Cults*: Akrisios 1155 Athena 1155 En-  
 hodia 1155 Enhodia *Φαστικά* 1155<sub>4</sub>  
 Polis 1155 Zeus *Μελίχιος* 1155 f.  
*Myths*: Akrisios slain by Perseus 1155  
 Gargaros, s. of Zeus 950<sub>0</sub>  
 Larissa Kremaste  
*Cults*: Hermes 1155<sub>5</sub> Polis 1155<sub>5</sub>  
 — compared with Larisa on Mt  
 Messogis 957<sub>3</sub>  
 Larunda  
*Genealogy*: m. of Lar 1059  
*Etymology*: 1159<sub>1</sub>  
 Larvae  
*In relation to Manes, Genii, Lemures,*  
*Lares familiares* 1059  
 Lasimos 1159<sub>1</sub>  
 Latinus 1071  
 Latinus Silvius 404<sub>0</sub>  
 Latmos, Mt 589  
 Lato See Leto  
 Latos, oath of 730<sub>0</sub>  
 Lavinium  
*Cult*: Penates 1068  
 — *caducei* of iron and bronze to-  
 gether with Trojan pottery pre-  
 served at 1068  
 Lear 325 f. See also Llyr  
 Lebaeia  
*Cults*: Apollon 899<sub>2</sub> St Christopher  
 1076 chthonian Zeus (or Hermes)  
 233<sub>0</sub> St Elias 899<sub>2</sub> Hera 899<sub>2</sub> Her-  
 kyna 1073 1075 Kronos 899<sub>2</sub> Tro-  
 phonios (Trephonios) 899<sub>2</sub> 1073 ff.  
 Zeus 899<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Βασιλεύς* 899<sub>2</sub> 900<sub>0</sub>  
 1073 f. 1076 Zeus *Τρεφώνιος* or *Τρο-  
 φώνιος* 1061 1073 ff.  
*Festival*: Basileia 900<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: honey-cakes offered to snakes  
 1074 f.  
*Myth*: Trophonios (Trephonios) swal-  
 lowed by earth 1075  
 — *bóthros* of Agamedes at 1075 con-  
 tract for building temple of Zeus  
*Βασιλεύς* at 900<sub>0</sub> *Katabásion* at 14  
 1075 f. 1088 *Κόρης θήρα* (?) near 899<sub>2</sub>  
 Lebedos 662  
 Lebena  
*Cult*: Asklepios 1082  
*Rite*: incubation 1082  
 — temple-spring at 1082  
 Lebuinus, St 117  
 Lectisternia See Index II  
 Leda  
*Myths*: consorts with Zeus 1015<sub>7</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub>  
 cp. 941<sub>0</sub> keeps egg of Nemesis in  
 chest 1015 lays two eggs contain-  
 ing Castor and Pollux, Clytemnestra  
 and Helena 1015<sub>7</sub>  
 Leda (*cont.*)  
*Attribute*: Phrygian cap 432<sub>2</sub> (?)  
 — egg of (?) 1062  
 Leibethra (Libethra)  
*Rite*: mysteries 1024  
 Leicester  
*Cult*: Janiform god 325 f.  
*Rite*: workmen begin the year's work  
 in underground chamber sacred to  
 Janiform god 325 f.  
*Myth*: Cordelia buries King Lear in  
 underground chamber beneath the  
 Soar 325 f.  
 Leimon 164<sub>6</sub>  
 Leis 414<sub>2</sub>  
 Leleges 354<sub>0</sub> 458<sub>1</sub> 666<sub>0</sub> 949<sub>5</sub> 951<sub>0</sub>  
 Lemnos  
*Cults*: Bendis 314<sub>0</sub> crabs 664 f. Dio-  
 nysos 314<sub>0</sub> Kabeiroi 663 ff.  
 Lemures  
*In relation to Manes, Genii, Larvae,*  
*Lares familiares* 1059  
 Lenaia 236 244<sub>2</sub>  
 Leo 43<sub>4</sub> 734<sub>3</sub>  
 Leochares 281<sub>4</sub>  
 Leon (*leg.* *Λεόντων*, *sc.* *πόλις*)  
*Cult*: lion 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Leonard, St 134  
 Leonidas 6  
 Lepetymnos  
*Cult*: Mt Lepetymnos 832  
 Lepetymnos, Mt  
*Cults*: Apollon 832 Lepetymnos 832  
*Myth*: two ravens 832  
 Lerne (Lerna)  
*Cult*: Dionysos *Σαώρης* 599<sub>2</sub>  
 — spring at 1022  
 Lesbos  
*Cult*: Dionysos *Ενόρχης* 1021  
*Festival*: Theodaisia 1021  
*Rite*: cannibalism 1021  
*Myths*: Enorches 1021 head of Orpheus  
 290<sub>0</sub>  
 — name-trick in folk-tale from  
 999  
 Leto (Lato)  
*Cults*: Argos 455 Athens 163<sub>4</sub> Badinlar,  
 in Phrygia 567 568<sub>6</sub> Delphoi 1216  
 Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> Heleia (?) 931<sub>0</sub> Hiera-  
 pytna 723<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Pha-  
 leron 183 Priansos 723<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Ἀσιάτις* 455 *Μήρηρ* 567  
 568<sub>6</sub>  
*Myths*: aided by Kouretes on Mt Sol-  
 missos 962<sub>2</sub> bears Apollon and  
 Artemis to Zeus in Lykia 455<sub>2</sub>  
 Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Apollon 237<sub>0</sub> 484  
 m. of Apollon and Artemis by Zeus  
 453 m. of Apollon and Artemis 456  
 m. of Artemis 465 501  
*Etymology*: 455  
*Associated with* Apollon 567 Apollon  
 and Artemis 183 202<sub>1</sub> 203<sub>0</sub> 317<sub>2</sub>  
*In relation to* Artemis 501

- Leukas  
*Cult*: Apollon Ἄκτιος 782  
*Rite*: ox sacrificed to flies 782
- Leuke, d. of Okeanos 468
- Leuke, island in Euxine sea 925<sub>0</sub>
- Leuke Akte 886<sub>0(30)</sub>
- Leukippides 438<sub>2</sub>
- Leukippos, b. of Aphareus 438<sub>2</sub> 1089
- Leukophrys, old name of Tenedos 669
- Leukothea 211
- Leukothea, st. of Tenes 670
- Leuktron or Leuktra in Lakonike  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἴθωμάρας 891<sub>0</sub>
- Libanos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus (Abad) 983<sub>7</sub>  
*Myth*: Libanos 981<sub>1</sub>
- Liber  
*Cults*: Jerusalem (supposed) 282<sub>0</sub>  
 Rome 307<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Bimater* 1031 *bis genitus* 1031 *Pater* 220<sub>0</sub> 244<sub>4</sub> 256 282<sub>0</sub> 1031 1197  
*Festival*: Magna Corona 244<sub>1</sub>  
*Priest*: *archibucolus* 307<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> born in India 1031 descent to the dead 256 reared by Nysus 1031 slain by Titans 1031  
*Genealogy*: s. of Iupiter by Proserpina 1031  
*Function*: triumphs 244<sub>4</sub>  
*Attributes*: bay 244<sub>4</sub> ivy 244<sub>4</sub>  
*Identified with* Apollo and Sol 256 f. Apollo 244<sub>4</sub> Dionysos 220<sub>0</sub> 1031 Jehovah 1197 Osiris 244<sub>4</sub>  
*Associated with* Minerva and Hercules 1181<sub>0</sub>
- Libera (?) 98<sub>1</sub>
- Libethra See Leibethra
- Libye, the country  
*Cult*: Aphrodite 987<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: taboo on garlic among priests of Aphrodite 987<sub>0</sub>
- Libye  
*Type*: double bust (with Triton) 392
- Lichades 903<sub>0</sub>
- Lichas 902<sub>2</sub> 903<sub>0</sub>
- Licinius  
*Personates* Iupiter 1195
- Licinius Iunior  
*Personates* Iupiter 1195
- Ligourio 1145<sub>1(b)</sub>
- Liguria  
*Myth*: Kyknos 477
- Ligurians  
*In relation to* Illyrians and Iberians 340<sub>3</sub>  
 — rock-engravings of 688<sub>0</sub>
- Lindos  
*Cults*: Athena 346<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Athena Πολιάς 923<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 925<sub>0</sub> Psithyros the god 1044 Zeus Ἀραβύριος 925<sub>0</sub> Zeus Πολιεύς 923<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Sminthia 250<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Helene dedicates electrum cup to Athena 346<sub>0</sub>
- Linus 164<sub>5</sub> 164<sub>6</sub>
- Lips in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.
- Litai 1097<sub>2</sub> 1098<sub>0</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> 1101  
*Functions*: avenging deities 1101 prayers of injured man 1100<sub>0</sub> 1101 prayers of injurer 1100<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: halt, wrinkled, squinting 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub>
- Liternum  
*Cult*: Mater deum 306<sub>4</sub>  
*Rite*: (*vires*) *condidit* 306<sub>4</sub>
- Lithuanians  
*Cults*: *Sondergötter* 13<sub>1</sub> wind-god (*Wejopatis*) 445<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Road of the Birds 38 462  
 — star-lore of 158<sub>1</sub>
- Lityerses 295<sub>2</sub> 1096<sub>3</sub>
- Livia, fresco from house of 145 ff.
- Livinus, St 117
- Ljod 682
- Llyr  
*Cult*: Celts 326  
*Identified with* Ianus 326
- Loki 305<sub>0</sub>
- Longinus, the blind soldier 305<sub>0</sub>
- Lopta, near Sidyma  
*Cult*: Apollon 971<sub>2</sub>
- Lotis  
*Metamorphosed into* lotus-tree 486<sub>2</sub>
- Lousoi  
*Cult*: Artemis 646
- Loxo 452<sub>11</sub>
- Lucania  
*Cult*: Zeus 709  
 — coins of 709
- Ludi Plebei 1172<sub>0</sub>
- Ludi Romani 1172<sub>0</sub>
- Lugdunum  
*Cults*: Mars 99<sub>3</sub> Vesta 99<sub>3</sub> Volcanus 99<sub>3</sub>  
*Rite*: *vires exceptit et a Vaticano transtulit* 306<sub>4</sub>
- Lugdunum Convenarum  
*Cult*: Fagus 402<sub>1</sub>
- Luke, St  
*Attribute*: amulet 1200<sub>3</sub> 1200<sub>4</sub>  
*Type*: on chalice of Antioch 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub>
- Luna  
*Function*: Monday 70  
*Attribute*: torch 1050  
*Types*: bust with crescent on head 555<sub>0</sub> colossal 254<sub>5</sub> driving chariot 96  
*Identified with* Diana, Ceres, Iuno, Proserpina 256  
*Associated with* Sol 59<sub>0</sub> 96 98 555<sub>0</sub> 1050
- Lupercalia 20<sub>0</sub>
- Lussoius See Luxovius
- Luxovium in Germania Superior  
*Cults*: Brixia (Bricia) 86<sub>3</sub> Iupiter (?) 1213 Luxovius (Lussoius) 86<sub>3</sub>
- Luxovius (Lussoius) 86 86<sub>3</sub>
- Lydia  
*Cults*: Zeus 1228 Zeus Ἀσκραῖος 872<sub>0(5)</sub> Zeus Κάριος 577 Zeus Κεράνυιος 807<sub>5(6)</sub> Zeus Μηδεύς (Μηδινεύς) 312<sub>5</sub>



- Lydia (*cont.*)  
*Myth*: Sandon Herakles 560  
 — coins of 296<sub>0</sub> 1210 religious prostitution in 959<sub>0</sub> f.
- Lyk(abas?)  
*Cult*: Themisonion 312<sub>5</sub> 313<sub>8</sub>  
*Epithet*: Σώζων 312<sub>5</sub> 313<sub>8</sub>
- Lykabetos, Mt 1115
- Lykaion, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus 423 Zeus Λύκαιος 761 891<sub>3</sub>  
*Rite*: human sacrifice 891<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Kallisto 228<sub>5</sub>  
 — bronze statuettes of Zeus from 737 745<sub>0</sub>
- Lykaon  
*Myth*: 228<sub>5</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Dia 486<sub>1</sub> f. of Kallisto 228<sub>5</sub> s. of Pelasgos 1096<sub>4</sub>
- Lykaonia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Ἀστράπτων 817<sub>2</sub> 835<sub>5</sub>
- Lykia  
*Cults*: Apollon 453 Apollon Λύκειος 458 Artemis Ἐλευθέρα 681<sub>1</sub> Theoi Σκληροί 972<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κράγος 972<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: imprecations by the Theoi Σκληροί 972<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Apollon winters there 455  
*Etymology*: 453  
 — solar symbol of 698
- Lykios, s. of Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>
- Lykokatzaraioi See Kallikantzaroī
- Lykon (Λύκων, *sc.* πόλις)  
*Cult*: wolf 987<sub>0</sub>
- Lykoreia  
*Cults*: Apollon Λυκωρεὺς 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub>  
 Phoibos Λυκῶρειος or Λυκωρεὺς 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Zeus Λυκῶρειος 901<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Deukalion 901<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 901<sub>2</sub>
- Lykoreion, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Λυκῶρειος 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub>
- Lykoreus See Lykoros
- Lykoros (Lykoreus), s. of Apollon by Korykia 901<sub>2</sub>
- Lykos, Boeotian hero  
*Myths*: Antiope 1013 Zethos and Amphion 1013 1015 1019<sub>2</sub>
- Lykos, god of light (?) 902<sub>0</sub> 1013
- Lykos, river in Phrygia 572<sub>2</sub>
- Lykourgos, tomb of, struck by lightning 9
- Lyktos 925<sub>1</sub>  
 See also Lyttos
- Lymphae  
*Associated with Vires* 306<sub>4</sub>
- Lynkeus 317 437 ff.
- Lyóns, marble statuette of Zeus at 759 f.
- Lysippos 45 746<sub>2</sub> 748<sub>0</sub> 749 762 859 f. 864 1046 1139<sub>0</sub> 1143<sub>5</sub> 1145<sub>0</sub>
- Lyttos  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 723<sub>0</sub> Apollon Πύθιος (Πύτιος) 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Ares 723<sub>0</sub> Artemis 934<sub>0</sub> Athena Πολιάς 723<sub>0</sub> Athena Ὠλερία 723<sub>0</sub> Belchanos (?) = Velchanos 948<sub>0(4)</sub> Britomartis 934<sub>0</sub>
- Lyttos (*cont.*)  
 Hera 723<sub>0</sub> Hestia 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Kouretes (Koretēs) 723<sub>0</sub> Leto (Lato) 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Nymphs 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus 934<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Βελχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Zeus Βιδάτας 934<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μοννίτιος 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὀράτριος 723<sub>0</sub>  
*Festivals*: Belchania (May 1?) 948<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Theodaisia 948<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 — oath of 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Lyktos
- Ma  
*Cults*: Asia Minor 294<sub>0</sub> Komana 616 Mastaura 565<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite*: sacrifice of bull 565<sub>2</sub>  
*Priest*: δὰ βίου 616<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: follows Rhea 565<sub>2</sub> nurses Dionysos 565<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Rhea* 565<sub>2</sub>
- Ma as equivalent of Μήτηρ 293<sub>4</sub>
- Machaireus 170<sub>2</sub>
- Machaon  
*Genealogy*: b. of Podaleirios 317  
*Function*: surgeon 451<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 451<sub>1</sub>
- Mâcon, silver statuettes from 746<sub>2</sub> 755
- Macrobi of Apollonia on Mt Athos 500
- Maenads  
*Epithet*: Λαφύστια 899<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: lashed with ivy-sprays by Ino 1041  
*Attribute*: thýrsos 461<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: dancing 476 double bust (with Pan) 392 double bust (with Priapos) 392 double bust (with Satyr) 392 milking her breast into goat-*rhytón* 347<sub>0</sub> neo-Attic 165<sub>0</sub> Skopas 476<sub>3</sub>  
*Associated with Apollon* 461<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 115 245<sub>0</sub> 246<sub>0</sub> 262 f. 265 Satyrs 929<sub>0</sub>  
 — in amber 1221 on votive tablet 903<sub>0</sub>
- Magi 33 395<sub>2</sub> 507 546<sub>0</sub> 701 977<sub>0</sub>
- Magna Corona 244<sub>4</sub>
- Magna Mater See Mater
- Magnes, a herdsman of Mt Ide in Phrygia, discovers loadstone 949<sub>5</sub>
- Magnesia ad Maeandrum  
*Cults*: Apollon Αὐλαίτης (Αὐλαίτης, Αὐλίτης, Αὐλητής) 249<sub>2</sub> Apollon Βιλκῶνιος 948<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἀκραῖος 873<sub>0(7)</sub> 963<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 249<sub>2</sub>
- Magnesia ad Sipylum  
*Cults*: Apollon ἐν Πάνδοις 729<sub>0</sub> Ares 729<sub>0</sub> (Artemis) Ταυροπόλος 729<sub>0</sub> Athena Ἀρεία 729<sub>0</sub> Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Hermes (?) 957<sub>0</sub> Meter Σιτυληνή 729<sub>0</sub> ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου Τύχη 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 957<sub>0</sub>
- Magnesia in Thessaly  
*Cults*: Apollon Κοροπαῖος 730<sub>0</sub> Artemis Ἴωλκία 730<sub>0</sub> Asklepios 1079 Zeus Ἀκραῖος 730<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 — coins of 1079

- Magni, s. of Thor 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Magoi See Magi  
 Magrè  
*Cult*: Rit- 1220  
 Mahalinae 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Maia  
*Identified with Rosmerta* 94<sub>3</sub>  
*Associated with Mercurius* 96 (?)  
 Maiandros, river-god 408<sub>0</sub>  
 Maidike  
*Cult*: Dionysos Ἀσδούλης 270  
 Maionia  
*Cult*: Zeus 745<sub>1</sub>  
 Maira 164<sub>6</sub>  
 Makedonia  
*Cults*: Apollon 458 Arantides 1102<sub>4</sub>  
 Muses 255<sub>3</sub> Zeus Ἰψιστος 878<sub>0(9)</sub>  
 — coins of 323 412 548<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub> folk-  
 lore in 36  
 Malachbelos  
*Cult*: Emesa (?) 814<sub>3</sub>  
 See also Malakba'al  
 Malakba'al (Melekba'al) 1108<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Malachbelos  
 Malea (Maleai), Cape  
*Cults*: Apollon Μαλέαρης (?) 488<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Zeus Μαλειάιος 488<sub>0(0)</sub> 890<sub>4</sub>  
 Malea, headland in Lesbos 488<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Maleates  
*Cult*: Peiraieus 487<sub>3(1)</sub>  
*Associated with Apollon* 487<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 Maleventum See Beneventum  
 Malkandros, f. of Palaistinos or Pelousios  
 986<sub>0</sub>  
 Mallos in Kilikia  
*Myth*: founded by Amphilochos and  
 Mopsos 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 — coins of 552 845 983<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 Maloeis in Lesbos 488<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Malophoros See Demeter *Epithets* Μαλο-  
 φόρος  
 Malos, s. of Zeus 488<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Malthayiah, rock-cut relief at 769<sub>2</sub>  
 Mandaites 1024  
 Mandas, bronze shrines from 141 ff. 154  
 Manes  
*In relation to Genii, Lemures, Larvae,*  
*Lares familiares* 1059  
 Manes, forefather of the Lydians 311 f.  
*Genealogy*: f. of Akmon 312<sub>5</sub> s. of  
 Zeus by Ge 312  
*Identified with Zeus* 312  
 Manichaeans 44 1211  
 Manthea (?) 229<sub>1</sub>  
 Mantinea  
*Cults*: (Artemis) Πηνελόπη (?) 691 f.  
 Asklepios 1078 Poseidon Ἴππιος  
 581 (Zeus) Ἐπιδώτης (Ἐπιδότης)  
 321<sub>1</sub> Zeus Εὐβωλεύς 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κε-  
 ραννός 12 f. 807 Zeus Σωτήρ 321<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: refounded by Antinoe 1083  
 sea-water in sanctuary of Poseidon  
 Ἴππιος 581  
 — coins of 1078  
 Manto, d. of Teiresias 488<sub>0(2)</sub> 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Mantua, relief at 811 f.  
 Marathon  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἰππατος 875<sub>1(3)</sub> 898<sub>1</sub>  
 — battle of 854 tetrapolis of 875<sub>1(3)</sub>  
 Marathon, the hero  
*Personates Zeus* (?) 1146  
*Genealogy*: f. of Sikyon 1146 s. of  
 Epopeus 1146  
 Marcellinus See Petrus  
 Marduk  
*Cult*: Babylon 128<sub>2</sub> 769<sub>1</sub>  
*Epithet*: Bêl 128<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: storm 769<sub>0</sub>  
*Attribute*: dragon 769<sub>1</sub> 770<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: advancing with double light-  
 ning-fork in either hand (?) 769<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Adad* 769<sub>1</sub>  
 Maria de' Greci, St  
*Supersedes Athena* 910<sub>1</sub>  
 Marina, St 1114  
 Mark, St  
*Attribute*: water-jar 1200<sub>3</sub> 1200<sub>4</sub>  
*Type*: on chalice of Antioch 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub>  
 Marnas  
*Cult*: Gaza 675  
*Identified with Zeus* 675  
 Maroneia, coins of 271<sub>3</sub>  
 Marpessa 439  
 Mars  
*Cults*: Agedincum 99<sub>3</sub> Alani 548<sub>0</sub> Bor-  
 covicium 51<sub>1</sub> Cadenet 619 Lug-  
 dunum 99<sub>3</sub> Rome 547<sub>2</sub> Tiora Ma-  
 tiene 1133<sub>1</sub> 1230  
*Epithets*: Thingsus 51 Ultor 114<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: herdsman finds sword of Mars  
 548<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: oracular 1133<sub>1</sub> 1230 Tues-  
 day 70  
*Attributes*: goose (?) 51<sub>1</sub> spear 547<sub>2</sub>  
 swan (?) 51<sub>1</sub> wheel 57<sub>6</sub> woodpecker  
 on pillar 1133<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: spear (?) 547<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Ziu* 50  
*Associated with Vesta and Volcanus*  
 99<sub>3</sub>  
 — head of, as shield-sign of Sali  
 376<sub>2</sub> on the column of Mayence 96  
 99 sword of 548<sub>0</sub> 682<sub>6</sub>  
 Marsyas  
*Myth*: contest with Apollon 248<sub>0</sub> 249<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 569<sub>2</sub>  
 Marsyas, river in Karia 590  
 Marsyas, river-god 408<sub>0</sub>  
 Märtāṇḍa 1035  
 Martinmas 325<sub>8</sub>  
 Mary Magdalene 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Marys, the three 138<sub>0</sub>  
 Masnes 312  
 See also Manes, forefather of the  
 Lydians  
 Mastaura  
*Cults*: Ma 565<sub>2</sub> Rhea 565<sub>2</sub> youthful  
 hero on horseback bearing double  
 axe 563 Zeus Σπάλωξος 587  
 — coins of 563



- Mater**  
*Cults*: Mt Ide in Phrygia 950<sub>0</sub> Pessinous 969<sub>4</sub> Rome 969<sub>4</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Idaea* 950<sub>0</sub> *Magna* 969<sub>4</sub> 971<sub>0</sub> *Phrygia* 950<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Mt Agdos 969<sub>4</sub> Attis 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> made of stone from Mt Agdos flung by Deukalion 971<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Iupiter *Idaeus* 950<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Mater deum, Meter, Mother of the gods
- Mater deum**  
*Cults*: Liternum 306<sub>4</sub> Rome 301 f. 306<sub>5</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Idaea* 302<sub>1</sub> *Magna* 302<sub>1</sub>  
*Priest*: *sacerdos* 306<sub>4</sub>  
*Priestess*: *sacerdos maxima* 302<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Attis 306<sub>5</sub>
- Mater divum**  
*Identified with* Virgo 734<sub>3</sub>
- Matilica**  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Caelestis* 401<sub>0</sub>
- Matres**  
*Cult*: Allmendingen 619
- Matronae**  
*Cult*: Allmendingen 619
- Matthew, St**  
*Attribute*: city-gate with coin above it (?) 1200<sub>3</sub> 1200<sub>4</sub>  
*Type*: on chalice of Antioch 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub>
- Matutinus** 74
- Maximinus i**, lance of, struck by lightning 10
- Maximinus ii**  
*Personates* Iupiter 1194 f.
- Mayence**, column of 93 ff. 1213 f.
- Mazaka**, old name of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978<sub>0</sub>
- Medeia**  
*Epithet*: *ἐψάνδρα* 211<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Kirke 1097<sub>2</sub> wooed by Zeus 1088
- Medesigiste** 270<sub>5</sub>
- Mediomatrici**  
*Cult*: Janiform god 324  
 — coins of 324
- Medousa**  
*Epithet*: *Γοργάς* 1148<sub>3</sub>  
*Myth*: Perseus 716 ff. 1018  
*Genealogy*: m. of Chrysaor 457  
*Type*: winged 457  
*Identified with* Artemis, Rhea, Kybele, Demeter, etc. as a form of the Great Mother (?) 457  
*Compared with* Tzitzinaina 1018  
 — hair of 191<sub>10</sub> 1148
- Médum** 1145<sub>1(a)</sub>
- Megala Dionysia** 250<sub>1</sub>
- Megala Panhellenia** 1121<sub>0</sub>
- Megalai Theai**  
*Cult*: Megalopolis 1178
- Megaloi Theoi** See Kabeiroi
- Megalopolis**  
*Cults*: Agathos Theos 1125<sub>1</sub> Aphrodite 1178 Apollon *Ἀγυιεύς* 160<sub>5</sub> 163 As-
- Megalopolis (cont.)**  
 klepios 1090 Athena *Ἐργάνη* 164<sub>7</sub> Demeter 1178 *Ἐργάται* 164<sub>7</sub> Kore 1178 Megaloi Theai 1178 Zeus *Φίλιος* 1178 f. 1183
- Megara**  
*Cults*: Acheloius 1117<sub>7</sub> 1138<sub>5</sub> Agathos Daimon (?) 1117<sub>7</sub> Aphrodite *Ἐπιτροφία* 257<sub>4</sub> Apollon *Καρινός* 165<sub>3</sub> 168<sub>1</sub> Demeter (?) 1117<sub>7</sub> Dionysos *Νυκτέλιος* 257<sub>4</sub> Eileithyiai 168<sub>1</sub> Heros 896<sub>0</sub> 897<sub>0</sub> Kore 1117<sub>7</sub> Megaros (?) 1117<sub>7</sub> Muses 1139<sub>0</sub> Nyx 257<sub>4</sub> Pan 1117<sub>7</sub> Plouton (?) 1117<sub>7</sub> Saron (?) 414<sub>1</sub> Sithnides 1117<sub>7</sub> (?) Zeus 257<sub>4</sub> 1138<sub>5</sub> Zeus *Ἀφέσιος* 895<sub>1</sub> 896<sub>0</sub> 897<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Κόνιος* (not *Κρόνιος*, nor *Κώνιος*, nor *Σκότιος*, nor *Χθόνιος*) 257<sub>4</sub> 1139<sub>0</sub>  
*Festivals*: *Πυθάεια* 185<sub>2</sub> *Πυθάεια Σεβαστεία* 185<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: deluge 1138<sub>5</sub>  
 — coins of 163 168<sub>1</sub> 185 f. 1139<sub>0</sub>  
 votive relief from 1117<sub>7</sub>
- Megareus** See Megaros
- Megaris**  
*Cult*: Zeus *Ἀφέσιος* 179
- Megaros** (Megareus), s. of Zeus by one of the Sithnides 897<sub>1</sub> 1117<sub>7</sub> (?)
- Meidias**, the potter 244<sub>4</sub>
- Meilichia** 1091 f. 1092<sub>5</sub>
- Meilichieion** at Alaisa (Halaesa) 1158
- Meilichioi**  
*Cult*: Thebes in Boiotia 1154<sub>6</sub>
- Meilichion** at Orchomenos in Boiotia 1149
- Meilinoe** (?) 1114<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Mekone**  
*Etymology*: 1165<sub>1</sub>
- Melaina** 176<sub>1</sub>
- Melampous**  
*Myths*: cures Iphiklos, s. of Phylakos 452 684 f. rears snakes in oak before his house 1087  
*Etymology*: 1153<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: anguiform (?) 1153<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Oidipous 1153<sub>1</sub>
- Melanis** 176<sub>1</sub>
- Melantheia** 176<sub>1</sub>
- Melantho** 176<sub>1</sub>
- Meleagrides** 497
- Meleagros**  
*Myth*: *meleagrides* 497
- Meles**, river near Smyrna 998<sub>2</sub>
- Meliai**, nymphs of Mt Dikte 933<sub>0</sub>
- Meliboia** (?) (= Kore) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>
- Melichios** See Zeus *Μηλίχιος*
- Melikertes**  
*Myth*: caldron of apotheosis 212  
*Identified with* Melqart or Melqarth 1109<sub>0</sub>
- Melindia** (?) (= Persephone) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>
- Melindia**, m. of Persephone by Aïdes king of the Molossoi 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>
- Melinoe** (?) 1114<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Melinoia** (?) (= Persephone) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>

## Melissa

*Metamorphosed into bee* 928<sub>0</sub>

Melisseus 928<sub>0</sub> 949<sub>5</sub>

## Melissos

*Genealogy*: f. of the nymphs Adrasteia and Eide (Ide) by Amaltheia 933<sub>0</sub>  
cp. 928<sub>0</sub>

Melitodes (= Persephone) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>

Melitone (?) (= Persephone) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub>

## Melos

*Cults*: Theoi Ouranioi 808<sub>0(12)</sub> Tyche 1136<sub>4</sub> Zeus Καταιβάτας 16 f. Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(12)</sub>  
— coins of 788<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub> incised gem from 544 622 terra-cotta relief from 717

## Melqart or Melqarth

*Identified with Herakles* 762 Melikertes 1109<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μελίχιος (?) 1109<sub>0</sub>

## Memnon, s. of Heos

*Myths*: golden vine 281<sub>4</sub> *psychostasia* 733 f.

## Memphis

*Cults*: Nefer-Tem 774<sub>0</sub> ox 987<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: Ostanos 701<sub>0</sub>

## Men

*Cult*: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub>

*Epithet*: Ἀσκαρνός 970<sub>0</sub>

*Function*: lunar 285<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes*: moon 285<sub>0</sub> starry *pilos* 386 winged *caduceus* 285<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with Attis* 295 298

*Associated with Zeus Σαβάζιος* 285<sub>0</sub>

## Menelaos

*Myth*: Helene 1044

*In relation to Agamemnon* 447<sub>5</sub>

— sceptre of 1132<sub>5</sub>

## Menestratos 1151

## Mercurius

*Cults*: Allmendingen 619 Divitia 64<sub>0</sub>  
Gallia Belgica 547<sub>0</sub> Praeneste 397<sub>0</sub>

*Epithet*: *secundus* 1088

*Genealogy*: b. of Aesculapius *secundus* 1088

*Functions*: summer 62 94<sub>1</sub> Wednesday 70

*Attributes*: *caduceus* 70<sub>1</sub> cock 94<sub>3</sub> goat 70<sub>1</sub> purse 70<sub>1</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> winged cap 70<sub>1</sub> (?)

*Types*: running 69<sub>3</sub> running on pillar 69

*Identified with Wodan* 59 63<sub>0</sub> 69 94<sub>1</sub> 386<sub>6</sub>

*Associated with Diana* 67 (?) Iuno and Ceres 1181<sub>0</sub> Iuno, Hercules, Minerva 57 ff. Maia (?) 94 96 Minerva and Iuno 89 cp. 57 ff. Rosmerta 94<sub>3</sub> 547<sub>0</sub> (?) Venus 67

## Meridies 74

## Merops, king of Kos

*Myths*: Hera (?) 1132<sub>1</sub> Rhea (?) 1132<sub>1</sub> Zeus 1132<sub>1</sub>

*Metamorphosed into bee-eater* (?) 1132<sub>1</sub> eagle 1132<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>6</sub>

## Merops, seer of Perkote 1072

## Mesraim See Mizraim

## Messana

*Cult*: Poseidon 795

— coins of 794

See also Zankle

Messapians 30 31<sub>1</sub> 1159<sub>1</sub>

## Messene

*Cults*: Apollon Κόρυδος 458 Hera 728<sub>0</sub>

Zeus 1223 Zeus Ἴθωμάτας 728<sub>0</sub>

741 ff.

*Festival*: Ithomaia 741<sub>4</sub>

— coins of 741 f. 1222 1223

Messenians of Naupaktos 741

## Messogis, Mt

*Cult*: Meter Ἴσοδρόμη 957<sub>3</sub>

Metaneira 821<sub>3</sub>

Metanoia 862 f. 863<sub>1</sub>

## Metapontum

*Cult*: Hermes Εἴκολος 118<sub>3</sub>

*In relation to Pythagoreans* 45

— coins of 667<sub>3</sub>

## Meter

*Cults*: Agra 554<sub>2</sub> 1142<sub>3</sub> (?) Athens 1119<sub>0</sub>

1142<sub>3</sub> Mt Ide in Phygia 950<sub>0</sub> Ikonion

970<sub>0</sub> Magnesia ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Mt

Messogis 957<sub>3</sub> Mt Sipylos 956<sub>2</sub>

Smyrna 729<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: Βοηθηγή 970<sub>0</sub> Δινδυμήνη 970<sub>0</sub>

ἐν Ἀγρας 1119<sub>0</sub> 1142<sub>3</sub> (?) Ἴδαλα 950<sub>0</sub>

970<sub>0</sub> Ἴσοδρόμη 957<sub>3</sub> Πλαστήνη 956<sub>2</sub>

Σιπυληνή 729<sub>0</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with youthful páredros*, at

once her consort and her child 294

Zeus 950<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μιλίχιος 1142<sub>3</sub>

See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter Theon, Mother of the gods

## Meter Theon

*Cults*: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub>

Ikonion 970<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: Ἀγγιστις (= Ἀγδιστις) 970<sub>0</sub>

Ἀνγδιστις (= Ἀγδιστις) 970<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with Kybele* 970<sub>0</sub>

See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter, Mother of the gods

## Methydrion

*Cult*: Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος 290<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?)

protects Rhea against Kronos 291<sub>0</sub>

## Metion 1146

## Metis

*Myth*: swallowed by Zeus 12 348<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: d. (?) of Erebos and Nyx 315<sub>4</sub>

## Metis (masc.)

*Epithet*: πρῶτος 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 1130<sub>7</sub>

Metrodoros, portrait-herm of (with Epikouros) 390



- Michael, St  
*Epithets*: "Άγιος Άσώματος 894<sub>3</sub>  
*Myth*: cleft of Chonai 115  
*Types*: pillar of fire 115 weighing souls 138<sub>0</sub>  
*Supersedes* Zeus 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>0</sub>  
 — well of 115
- Midas  
*Myth*: Attis 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 312<sub>5</sub>
- Midgardh-serpent 305<sub>0</sub>
- Mid-Lent, folk-celebrations of 868
- Miletos  
*Cults*: Apollon 457 Apollon Βραγχιδάτης 255 Apollon Δελφίνιος 237<sub>0</sub> Apollon Διδυμεύς 1220 Apollon Δρύμας 486<sub>5</sub> Apollon Θύϊος 250 Artemis Χιτώνη 410<sub>1</sub> Asklepios 1228 Demos of Rome 1228 Διός Έλπίδες 962<sub>0</sub> Άγιώτατος Theos "Ύψιστος Σωτήρ 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Hestia 1220 Hestia Βουλαία 317<sub>2</sub> Roma 1228 Zeus Βουλαίος 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus Δουσάρης Σωτήρ (?) 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus Καταιβάτης 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος 1228 Zeus Κεραύνιος Σωτήρ 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Λαβραύνιδεύς 1228 Zeus Λαβραύνδιος 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Λαβραύνδος 1228 Zeus Λαβρένδιος 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Λαράσιος 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Λέψυνος 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Νόσιος 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus Όλύμπιος Πεισαίος 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Όμοβούλιος 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σωτήρ 317<sub>2</sub> Zeus Τελεσιουργός 1228 Zeus Τερμινθεύς 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus "Ύψιστος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 963<sub>2</sub>  
*Festivals*: Διός βούς 318<sub>0</sub> Ebdomaia 237<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Neleus, s. of Kodros 405 ff.  
 See also Didyma near Miletos
- Miletos in Crete, *lárnax* from 49 f.
- Miliche  
*Cult*: Thespiiai 1151
- Milichus  
*Genealogy*: s. of a Satyr by the nymph Myrice 1110<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: horned 1110<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok) (?) 1110<sub>0</sub>
- Milky Way 37 ff.  
*Myths*: Furious Host 62<sub>1</sub> golden rope 1211 Gwydion 52 Iring 52 Kyknos 477 ff. milk-white lily 49<sub>1</sub> Phaethon 476 ff.  
*Types*: hoop 39<sub>0</sub> starry circle 39<sub>0</sub> wavy band 48 f.  
*Identified with* Hades 42 43  
*In relation to* sky-ladder 476 sky-pillar 476 sun 40<sub>3</sub>  
 — 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 40<sub>4</sub> 43<sub>1</sub> 476 conceived as two golden bull's-horns 117 1028 constellations traversed by 477<sub>8</sub> names of 37 f. 52 62<sub>1</sub> 66<sub>0</sub> 119 f. 464 479 ff. 480<sub>0</sub> 482 482<sub>2</sub> 484 497<sub>1</sub>
- Milon, the physicist 11
- Miltiades  
*Associated with* Athena and Apollon 1137<sub>2</sub>
- Mimallones 133<sub>0</sub>
- Mimir 305<sub>0</sub>
- Min  
*Cult*: Egypt 767<sub>2</sub>  
*Functions*: heaven 767<sub>2</sub> thunder 767<sub>2</sub>
- Minerva  
*Cults*: Allmendingen 619 1221 Rome 369<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> Urbs Salvia 803  
*Personated by* Sali(i) (?) 376<sub>1</sub>  
*Assimilated to* Athena 66<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Fortuna 95<sub>1</sub> 96 Hercules and Iuno 89 Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules 57 ff. cp. 89 Iupiter Optimus Maximus Caelestinus and Fontes 401<sub>0</sub> Liber and Hercules 1181<sub>0</sub> Mercurius and Iuno 89 cp. 57 ff.  
*Functions*: spinning 65 66<sub>0</sub> weaving 66<sub>0</sub> winter 65 94<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Holda 65 66<sub>0</sub> 94<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Fortuna 95  
 — helmet of 95<sub>1</sub>
- 'Minoans' in Iapygia 30 f. snake-goddess of, compared with Gorgon 930<sub>0</sub> thalassocracy of 830<sub>1</sub>
- Minorca 541
- Minos  
*Epithet*: Διός μεγάλου δαριστής 940<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: buried in precinct of Rhea on Mt Juktas (?) 944<sub>0</sub> dedicates cup to Athena Πολιάς and Zeus Πολιεύς at Lindos 923<sub>0</sub> descends into Dictaeon Cave and returns with laws of Zeus 929<sub>0</sub> killed at Kamikos 30 prays Zeus for an omen 8 pursues Britomartis 939<sub>1</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* Mt Juktas 939<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Glaukos 1087 f. of Katreus and gf. of Althaimenes and Apemosyne 923<sub>0</sub> s. of Zeus 8 793<sub>7</sub> s. of Zeus by Europe 342<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: human Zan (?) 945<sub>0</sub> human Zeus (?) 940<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> lawgiver 929<sub>0</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> priestly king of Knossos 944<sub>0</sub>  
*Superseded by* Zeus 940<sub>0</sub>  
 — tomb of 940<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub>
- Minotaur  
*Type*: stone-throwing 491<sub>0(6)</sub>

- Minyans as Aeolians 1149<sub>3</sub> at Orchomenos in Boiotia 924<sub>0</sub>
- Minyas  
*Cult*: Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150<sub>9</sub>  
*Personates* Zeus (?) 1150  
*Myth*: Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150  
*Genealogy*: f. of Orchomenos 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Aleos 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Ares 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Eteokles and b. of Orchomenos 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Orchomenos 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Poseidon by Chrysgone d. of Halmos 1150<sub>4</sub>  
 — *thólos*-tomb of 1150
- Misa 131
- Mithras  
*Cults*: Borcovicium 1053 Carnuntum 1194<sub>4</sub> Persai 255 Rome 307<sub>0</sub> 835<sub>6</sub> 838f. Sahin in Phoinike 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Deus Sol Invictus* 835<sub>6</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub>  
*Rites*: ladder 129<sub>1</sub> women excluded 1053  
*Worshippers*: *heliodromus* 312<sub>5</sub> *pater* 312<sub>5</sub> *pater patrum* 307<sub>0</sub> *Perses* 312<sub>5</sub>  
*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* (?) 886<sub>0(30)</sub> *Sol Invictus* 307<sub>0</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub>
- Mizraim 35
- Mneme  
*Cult*: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
- Mnemon 670
- Mnemosyne  
*Genealogy*: m. of Muses by Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 1157<sub>0</sub>
- Mochua, St 214<sub>0</sub>
- Modena, Orphic relief at 1051
- Modin 1146<sub>0</sub>
- Moesia  
*Cult*: Theos *Ἐψιστος* 878<sub>0(11)</sub> 949<sub>1</sub>
- Mogontiacum 93  
*Cults*: Genius 96<sub>2</sub> Genius loci 620<sub>2</sub> Iuno *Regina* 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* 96<sub>1</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> Sucaelus 620
- Moirai  
*Function*: cosmic 316<sub>0</sub>  
*Attribute*: roll 479  
*Type*: reading roll 479  
*Associated with* Keraunos 119<sub>1</sub> Zeus and Erinys 1102<sub>7</sub>
- Moirai  
*Cults*: Athens 231<sub>8</sub> Delphoi 231 Olympia 231<sub>8</sub> 878<sub>0(5)</sub>  
*Myths*: Dictaeon Cave (?) 929<sub>0</sub> Themis 37<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Ouranos by Ge 1023  
*Type*: two standing figures 231  
*Associated with* Apollon 231 Themis 37<sub>1</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> Zeus 231  
 — as attribute of Zeus 1138<sub>5</sub>
- Molione  
*Genealogy*: d. of Molos 1015<sub>8</sub> m. of Kteatos and Eurýtos, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015<sub>8</sub>
- Moliones  
*Epithets*: *λευκίππους κόρους... ἄλικας ἰσοκεφάλους* (A. Meineke cj. *ἰσοκάλους* J. M. Edmonds cj. *ἰσοκαρέας*), *ἐνιγυίους* 1015  
*Myth*: born in silver egg 1015  
*Genealogy*: sons of Molione, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015<sub>8</sub>  
*Type*: with two heads, four hands, four feet, one body 1015<sub>8</sub>
- Moloch  
*Cult*: Byblos 887<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Rite*: sacrifice of first-born 1108<sub>2</sub>  
*Functions*: human king regarded as divine (?) 1108<sub>2</sub>
- Molos, f. of Molione 1015<sub>8</sub>
- Molpadia  
*Myth*: Kastabos 670 f.
- Molpos 670
- Moneta 99<sub>1</sub>
- Monimos  
*Cults*: Arabia 428 f. Baitokaike 431 Edessa 428  
*Etymology*: 428  
*Identified with* Hermes 428
- Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis  
*Cult*: Zeus *Περφερέτας* or *Φερφερέτας* 496<sub>0</sub>
- Mopsos  
*Myths*: contest with Kalchas 489<sub>0(4)</sub> fights Amphilochos 489<sub>0(4)</sub> 490<sub>0(0)</sub> 1130<sub>1</sub> founds Mallos in Kilikia 489<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Morges 934<sub>0</sub>
- Morsynos 260<sub>0</sub>
- Morychos 1093<sub>0</sub>
- Mosa See Mousa
- Moses 889<sub>0(0)</sub> 972<sub>1</sub>
- Mossynoikoi tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- 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. 657<sub>5</sub>
- Mot  
*Genealogy*: child of Aer and Chaos 1038 parent of Zophasemin 1038  
*Etymology*: 1023 1038
- Mother of the gods  
*Cults*: Athens 985<sub>0</sub> Dorylaeion 281 Hierapolis in Phrygia 306<sub>1</sub> Pessinous 310 f. 310<sub>2</sub> Phrygia 697 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Διὸς σύνθωκος* 298<sub>2</sub> *μεγάλη* 298<sub>2</sub> *παρθένος ἀμήτωρ* 298<sub>2</sub> *Πεσσινουρίς* 970<sub>0</sub> *Τηρείη* 697  
*Festivals*: *arbor intrat* 303<sub>2</sub> Hilaria 306<sub>1</sub>  
*Priests*: *ἀρχιερεύς* 311<sub>3</sub> Attis and Baktakes 310 f. *ιερεύς* 311<sub>3</sub>



- Mother of the gods (*cont.*)  
*Worshippers*: Ἀτταβοκαοί 310<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: instructs Idaean Daktyloi in iron-working 949<sub>5</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. and w. of Zeus 298<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with* Agdistis 970<sub>0</sub> Rhea 970<sub>0</sub>  
 — mysteries of 310<sub>2</sub>  
 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*: Thespiiai 238<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Muses
- Mouth  
*Cult*: Egypt 1038  
*Etymology*: 1038
- Muhammed 793<sub>4</sub>
- Mukasa 450<sub>1</sub>
- Muses  
*Cults*: Arkesine 1157<sub>0</sub> Kroton 1021 Makedonia 255<sub>3</sub> Megara 1139<sub>0</sub> Mt Pelion (?) 870<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος by Mnemosyne 1157<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: Lysippos 1139<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Zeus 898<sub>5</sub>  
 See also Mousa
- Myiacoeres  
*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. 49<sub>1</sub> 652 head from 123<sub>0</sub>
- Mykonos  
*Cults*: Acheloiios 1092<sub>2</sub> Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092<sub>2</sub> Zeus Βουλεύς 258<sub>3</sub> 1105
- Mylanteioi Theoi 260<sub>0</sub>
- Mylasa  
*Cults*: Hera 592 Kouretes 586 f. Tyche Ἀγαθή 879<sub>0(17)}</sub> Zenoposeidon (Zanopoteidan) 578<sub>4(1)}</sub> 582 663 846 963<sub>7</sub> Zeus 574 1220 Zeus Ἀρσηλῆς (?) 559<sub>6</sub> Zeus Κάριος 577 Zeus Κρηταγενής 586 f. Zeus Λαβράνδος 663 848 963<sub>7</sub> 1220 (See also Labranda *Cults*) Zeus Ὀσογῶα 576 ff. 578<sub>4(3)}</sub> 579<sub>0(8)}</sub> 579<sub>0(10-12)}</sub> 579<sub>0(14-16)}</sub> 579<sub>0(1-5)}</sub> 580<sub>0(7)}</sub> 663 846 963<sub>7</sub> 1220 Zeus Ὀσογῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανοποσειδῶν) 578<sub>4(2)}</sub> 578<sub>4(4)}</sub> Zeus Ὀσογῶα Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν
- Mylasa (*cont.*)  
 578<sub>4(3)}</sub> 579<sub>0(9)}</sub> Zeus Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579<sub>0(13)}</sub> (?) Zeus Ὀσογῶος (?) or Ὀσογῶου (?) 579<sub>0(11)}</sub> 579<sub>0(11)}</sub> Zeus Ὀτωρ-κονδέων 579<sub>0(2)}</sub> 580 f. 580<sub>10(1)}</sub> 581<sub>0(5)}</sub> 581<sub>0(1-5)}</sub> Zeus Στράτιος (Στρατεῖος) 591<sub>2</sub> 963<sub>7</sub> (See also Labranda *Cults*) Zeus Ὀψιστος 879<sub>0(17)}</sub> 963<sub>7</sub>  
*Festivals*: Taurophonia 582  
*Priests*: dedicate temple-columns 580 νεωκόρος 582  
*Myth*: sea-water appears inland 581  
 — as Carian place-name 958<sub>0</sub> coins of 572 ff. 577 f. 592<sub>4</sub> 597<sub>3</sub> 1220 head of Zeus from 597 f. relief at 592 stepped tomb at 1146<sub>0(0)}</sub>
- Mylasos 715 720<sub>4</sub>
- Mylitta 960<sub>0</sub>
- Myndos  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 872<sub>0(6)}</sub> 963<sub>4</sub>
- Myra  
*Cult*: Artemis Ἐλευθέρα (?) 681<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: tree threatened 680 ff.  
*Myth*: Myrrha (?) 681 f.  
 — coin of 680 f.
- Myrice, m. of Milichus 1110<sub>0</sub>
- Myrike, d. of Kinyras 681<sub>1</sub>
- Myrmidones  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἑλλάμιος 894<sub>3</sub>
- Myron 742 1078
- Myrrha  
*Myth*: Kinyras 680
- Myrrhinous  
*Cults*: Apollon 730<sub>0</sub> Demeter 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus 730<sub>0</sub>
- Mysia  
*Cults*: Phanakes 1025 Zeus Κάριος 577
- Mystis 346<sub>0</sub>
- Mytilene  
*Cults*: Apollon Μαλδεις 488<sub>0(2)}</sub> Asklepios 259<sub>0</sub> 1079 Dionysos 1022 Dionysos Ἐβδομεύς 238<sub>0</sub> Theoi Akraioi (?) 873<sub>0(10)}</sub> Theos Κεραύνιος Ὀψιστος 807<sub>3(3)}</sub> 882<sub>0(22)}</sub> Theos Ὀψιστος 882<sub>0(22)}</sub> Zeus 882<sub>0(22)}</sub> Zeus Ἀκραῖος 922<sub>3</sub> Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub> 873<sub>0(10)}</sub> (?) Zeus Ἐλευθέριος Φιλόπατρις (=Theophanes) 97<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: human sacrifice 1022  
 — coins of 259<sub>0</sub> 1079 votive ladders at 130
- Naassene hymns 294 ff.
- Nabu, statue of, at Calah 1089
- Naiades See Nymphs: Naiades
- Naïssos  
*Cults*: Iupiter Optimus Maximus Pater-nus Aepilofius 948<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ἐπιλόφιος 875<sub>0</sub> Zeus Πατρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 948<sub>4</sub>
- Nakoleia  
*Cults*: Theos Ὀψιστος 882<sub>0(23)}</sub> 969<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἀβοζηνός 570 Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>4</sub> Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Πατῆρ Θεός

- Nakoleia (*cont.*)  
 836<sub>2</sub> Zeus Βροντῶν Νεκλήτωρ Πατήρ  
 836<sub>3</sub> Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292<sub>4</sub>
- Nana, d. of Sangarios 969<sub>1</sub>
- Nandi 791<sub>2</sub>
- Nanna, w. of Baldr 305<sub>0</sub>
- Napoca  
*Cult*: Iupiter *O(ptimus) M(aximus) Tavianus* 754<sub>1</sub>
- Narce in the Faliscan district, celt from 509
- Narona  
*Cult*: Aesculapius 1086
- Nâsatia 313
- Nastrand 305<sub>0</sub>
- Nauplia  
*Cult*: Zeus Κραταιβάτης 32 1211
- Nauplios 691
- Naxos  
*Cults*: Dionysos Βακχεύς 1093<sub>0</sub> Dionysos Μελίχιος 1092<sub>0</sub> 1093<sub>0</sub> Dionysos Μουσαγέρτης 250 Zeus Μηλώσιος 918<sub>1</sub>  
*Festival*: Megala Dionysia 250<sub>1</sub>
- Neapolis in Campania  
*Cults*: Apollon 486<sub>5</sub> Virbius 421  
 — coins of 486<sub>5</sub>
- Neapolis in Karia  
*Cult*: Zeus 260<sub>0</sub>  
 — coin of 260<sub>0</sub>
- Neapolis in Samaria  
*Cults*: Artemis Ἐφεστᾶ 408<sub>0</sub> f. Asklepios 1080  
 — coins of 408<sub>0</sub> f. 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 1080
- Neapolis in Skythia (?) 925<sub>0</sub>
- Neaule (= Nea Aule)  
*Cult*: Zeus Σαουάξιος (= Σαβδάξιος) Νεαυλείτης 285<sub>0</sub>
- Nebrod See Nimrod
- Neda, the nymph 890<sub>6</sub>
- Nefer-Tem  
*Cult*: Memphis 774<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: rising sun 774<sub>0</sub>  
*Attribute*: lotos 773<sub>0</sub> 774<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: with lotos-flower on head 774<sub>0</sub>
- Nehemāuit 409<sub>0</sub>
- Neïlos  
*Epithet*: πολύγονος 1023  
*Identified with* Eridanus the constellation 1025 Okeanos 1025  
 — as seed of Osiris 482<sub>0</sub>
- Nekhen, spirits of 126
- Neleus, b. of Pelias 317
- Neleus, s. of Kodros  
*Myth*: Miletos 405 ff.
- Nemausus, ham-shaped coins from fountain at 1141<sub>0</sub>
- Nemea  
*Etymology*: 892<sub>4</sub>
- Nemea, the festival 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 1226
- Nemeseis  
*Cults*: Alexandria 889<sub>0(33)</sub> Smyrna 524 864<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: drawn by griffins 524 two draped females touching bosom of dress
- Nemeseis (*cont.*)  
 with right hand and holding short rod in left 863<sub>1</sub> 864<sub>0</sub>
- Nemesis  
*Cults*: Alexandria 864<sub>0</sub> Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191<sub>5</sub> Sinope 363  
*Epithets*: *multiformis* 695<sub>0</sub> ὑπέρδικος 464  
*Metamorphosed into* goose 1015 1131<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Helene by Zeus 1131<sub>1</sub>  
*Function*: *stádion* 1191<sub>5</sub>  
*Attributes*: crown with stags 146 griffin 146<sub>7</sub> knife 863<sub>1</sub> scales 860 f. 863<sub>1</sub> stag 146<sub>7</sub> wheel 863<sub>1</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: trampling on Hybris 863<sub>1</sub> under arch 363  
*Identified with* Semiramis 695<sub>0</sub>  
*Assimilated to* Kairos 863<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with* Spes, Amor, Furor, Occasio, Fortuna, Fata 862<sub>10</sub>
- Nemi  
*Cults*: Diana 393 399 f. 403<sub>1</sub> Diana *Nemorensis* 149 417 ff. 812 f. Virbius 392 ff.  
*Rite*: rule of succession to office of king-priest 394 f.  
*Priest*: *rex Nemorensis* 394 f. 399 f. ξιφήρης 680<sub>3</sub>  
 — Diana's tree at 417 ff.
- Nemroud Dagh  
*Cults*: Tyche Νέα 1136<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ὠρομάσδης 980<sub>6</sub>
- Neo-Platonists 41 f. 256 f. 557<sub>1</sub>
- Neoptolemos  
*Myth*: Delphoi 170<sub>2</sub>
- Neo-Pythagoreans 1032 f.
- Neptunus  
*Cult*: Allmendingen 619  
*Associated with* Vires 306<sub>4</sub>  
 — on column of Mayence 96 99
- Nereus  
*Attribute*: trident 788<sub>0</sub>
- Nero  
*Cult*: Alexandria 1128<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: Ἀπόλλων 98<sub>0</sub> Ἀπόλλων Κρίστης 98<sub>0</sub> Ἡρακλῆς 98<sub>0</sub> νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων 98<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> νέος Ἥλιος 98<sub>0</sub> ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης 98<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub>  
*Personates* Agathos Daimon 98<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> Apollon 98<sub>0</sub> 254 1128<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 96<sub>3</sub> 97<sub>0</sub> 254 1128<sub>0</sub> Zeus 97<sub>0</sub> 1194  
 — contorniate medal of 1128<sub>0</sub>
- Nerthus 82
- Nerva  
*Personates* Zeus 1194
- Nestor 1203<sub>3</sub>
- Netteia  
*Cults*: Zeus Ἀταβύριος 925<sub>0</sub> (Zeus) [Ἰκέ]σιος (?) 1096<sub>0</sub>
- New Year's Day, pagan rites of, denounced by Christians 374<sub>2</sub>
- Nida See Ide, Mt, in Crete



- Nikaia in Bithynia  
*Cults*: Pan 349 Zeus Ἀσ(σ)τραπαῖος 815 Zeus Λιταῖος 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μῆλιος 918<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 349 918<sub>1</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub>
- Nike  
*Cults*: Heleia 931<sub>0</sub> Olympia 1100<sub>1</sub> Philadelphiea in Lydia 1229  
*Attributes*: palm 866 wreath 866 1082  
*Types*: bearing wreath 964<sub>2</sub> fastening helmet to trophy 110<sub>6</sub> flying with fillet 197<sub>1</sub> hovering 261 multiplied for decorative purposes 309 on globe 860<sub>8</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> on ship's prow 254<sub>4</sub> Paionios 86 Pheidias 758 849 wreathing city's title 1193<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with Zeus* 853 1100<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to Zeus* 982<sub>0</sub>  
 — of gold 1190
- Nikolaos, St  
*Cult*: Palaikastro 931<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: sea-faring 997
- Nikomedeia  
*Cult*: Glykon 1084  
 — coins of 1084
- Nikopolis in Moesia  
*Cults*: Souras (?) 818<sub>2(2)</sub> 822<sub>12</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(9)</sub>
- Nile See Neilos, Nilus
- Nilus, the constellation 481
- Nimrod (Nebrod)  
*Myth*: Zoroastres 33 f.  
*Identified with Orion and the planet Kronos* 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>
- Nineui (Nineveh) 693<sub>4</sub>
- Ninos  
*Genealogy*: h. of Semiramis Rhea 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus* 695<sub>0</sub>
- Niobids 475 475<sub>7</sub>
- Nisaia, port of Megara  
*Cult*: Demeter Μαλοφόρος 488<sub>0(3)</sub>
- Nisyros  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 1157<sub>3</sub> Dionysos 1157<sub>3</sub> Hermes 1157<sub>3</sub> Zeus Μιλίχιος 1157<sub>3</sub>  
*Worshippers*: Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Σύροι 1157<sub>3</sub> Διονυσιασταὶ Εὐρυθεμίδιοι 1157<sub>3</sub> Διοσμιλιχιασταὶ 1157 1157<sub>3</sub> Ἐρμαΐζοντες 1157<sub>3</sub>  
*Myth*: Poseidon 713
- Noah, axe of 609 f.
- Nomos  
*Associated with Zeus* 1029
- Norba in Latium, celt from 509
- Norba in Lusitania  
*Cult*: Labaro (?) 609<sub>3</sub>
- Noricum  
*Cult*: Anigemius 338<sub>3</sub> Ianus Geminus 324
- Norsemen 57<sub>1</sub>
- Notion 958<sub>0</sub>
- Notos  
*Type*: horse 830<sub>7</sub>  
 — in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.
- Nox 74
- Nuada *Argat-lám* 224<sub>1</sub> 450<sub>0</sub>
- Numa Pompilius 23<sub>2</sub>
- Numina Augustorum  
*Cult*: Borcovicium 51<sub>1</sub>
- Nuserat in Mysia  
*Cult*: (Dionysos) Βρόμιος 882<sub>0(ω)</sub>
- Nut 1035
- Nykteus  
*Genealogy*: f. of Antiope 1013 f. of Kallisto 228<sub>5</sub>
- Nymphs  
*Cults*: Athens 1118 Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> Sybrita 731<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with Acheloius* 1118 Vires 306<sub>4</sub>  
 — Dodonides: Polyhymno 1022 Dryades 276 683 f. Epimelides 31<sub>1</sub> Forrinae 808<sub>0(17)</sub> Geraistian 183 f. Hamadryades 486 Heliades 42 485 (?) Hesperides 134<sub>1</sub> 1017 1021 1030 Hyades 274 f. Ithome and Neda 890<sub>6</sub> Meliai 447<sub>8</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> Naiades 124<sub>4</sub> 394<sub>3</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> Naiades: Amaltheia 932<sub>1</sub> Nysai 272 f. Okeanides 473<sub>3</sub> Phryxonides 928<sub>0</sub> Querquetulanae Virae 402<sub>0</sub> Sithnides 897<sub>1</sub> 1117<sub>7</sub> Sphragitides 899<sub>0</sub> Thourides 255<sub>3</sub> Tritonides 898<sub>6</sub> as nurses of Dionysos 1030 as nurses of Zagreus 1030 transform two maidens into fir-trees 486
- Nymphs' Hill at Athens 1114
- Nysa, Mt 449<sub>0</sub> 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 257<sub>4</sub>  
*Epithet*: μελανόπτερος 1020 1050  
*Myths*: consulted by Zeus 448<sub>1</sub> 1027 1029 cosmic egg 1039 1050 Delphoi 238<sub>4</sub> Kronos 448<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. and w. of Phanes 1026 m. by Erebos of Aither, Eros, Metis 315<sub>4</sub> 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 257<sub>4</sub> 448<sub>1</sub> 1027 1029 queen 1026  
*Type*: archaic 1021  
 — oracle of 257<sub>4</sub> sceptre of 1026
- Oaxes, 929<sub>0</sub>

- Oaxos 929<sub>0</sub> See also Axos  
 Occasio 862 f.  
 Oceanus, the constellation 481  
 Oche, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus superseded by St Elias 902<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: union of Zeus with Hera 902<sub>1</sub>  
 Ocrisia  
*Etymology*: 1156<sub>5</sub>  
 Octavianus See Augustus  
 Odessos in Thrace  
*Cult*: Theos Megas 1126<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 1126<sub>0</sub>  
 Odhin  
*Myths*: fights the fire-demon Surtr 305<sub>0</sub> hangs on the tree as a sacrifice to Odhin 305<sub>0</sub> overcome by Fenrir 305<sub>0</sub> rides down to Mimir's well 305<sub>0</sub> rides through the hall of serpents on Nastrand 305<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Vidharr 305<sub>0</sub>  
*Attribute*: broad hat 386  
*Type*: one-eyed 682  
 Odrysai  
*Cult*: Dionysos 269<sub>1</sub> 661 f. (?)  
 — coin of 661 f.  
 Odysseus  
*Myths*: axes as marriage-test 690 Kulkops 990 997 offers meal to dead 18<sub>8</sub> prays Zeus for omen 8 Telegonos 676 923<sub>0</sub> Telephos 1184<sub>3</sub> tree-bed 690  
*Functions*: fire-god (?) 697 hero 698 sun-god (?) 697  
 — raft of 906<sub>3</sub>  
 Oea in Tripolitana 360<sub>2</sub>  
 Ogur (Ogut) in Galatia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντων 835<sub>5</sub>  
 Ogygos 824<sub>6</sub>  
 Oichalia 902<sub>2</sub>  
 Oidipodeion at Eteonos 1152 1154  
 Oidipodes (= Oidipous) 1154<sub>3</sub> 1154<sub>5</sub>  
 Oidipous  
*Cult*: Eteonos 1151 ff.  
*Myths*: as explained by S. Freud 451<sub>0</sub> Eteonos 1152 Keos 1152 Kolonos 1152<sub>5</sub> Laios 923<sub>0</sub> summoned by Zeus Xθόνιος 829 Thebes 1152  
*Metamorphosed into snake* (?) 1155  
*Genealogy*: f. and b. of Eteokles and Polyneikes 825<sub>2</sub> s. of Laios 1154<sub>3</sub>  
*Function*: hypostasis of Zeus Xθόνιος (?) 1154  
*Etymology*: 1152 f.  
*Type*: anguiform 1152 ff.  
*Compared with Melampous* 1153<sub>1</sub> Zeus Μελίχιος 1154  
 — grave of 1154  
 Oineus 1137<sub>2</sub>  
 Oinoanda  
*Cult*: Theos "Γψιστος 879<sub>0(16)</sub>  
 Oinomaos, house of, at Olympia 706 808<sub>0(15)</sub> sacrifice of 706  
 Oistros (?) 1041  
 Oite, Mt 903<sub>2</sub> 1226  
*Cults*: Herakles 903<sub>2</sub> Zeus 903<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Dryope 486 pyre of Herakles 941<sub>0</sub> (?) (T. Faber cj. Αίτηης)  
 — meadows that might not be mown on 903<sub>2</sub> pyre of Herakles on 903<sub>2</sub>  
 Oitosyros (Goitosyros, Gongosyros), the Scythian Apollon 293<sub>0</sub>  
 Okeanos  
*Epithets*: ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων 481<sub>9</sub> ἀψόρροος 481<sub>8</sub> θεῶν γένεσις 481<sub>9</sub> καλλίρροος 1020 μέγας 1027 ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται 481<sub>9</sub> πατήρ 1021  
*Myths*: Hera 343<sub>0</sub> Themis 37<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Leuke 468 f. of Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, etc. by Tethys 1020 h. of Tethys 473 cp. 343<sub>0</sub> s. of Ouranos by Ge 1020  
*Functions*: celestial river 516 seed of sky-god (?) 481<sub>9</sub>  
*Types*: recumbent with head-dress of crab's-claws 665<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with Eridanus* the constellation 1025 Neilos 1025 Osiris 481<sub>9</sub>  
 — at first none other than Milky Way 481 garden of 1021 woods of Persephone beyond 472  
 Olaf, St 135  
 Olbia  
*Cult*: Apollon 493<sub>0(7)</sub>  
 — coins of 493<sub>0(7)</sub> leaden bucrania and double axes from 540  
 Olbia, m. of Astakos 665<sub>3</sub>  
 Oleiai 924<sub>0</sub>  
 Olen 455  
 Olenos in Aitolia  
*Cult*: Zeus 933<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Zeus nurtured by goat Amaltheia 933<sub>0</sub>  
 Olenos, s. of Zeus by Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150<sub>2</sub>  
 Olor, the constellation 477 477<sub>8</sub>  
 Olous  
*Cult*: Zeus Ταλλαῖος 948<sub>1</sub>  
 — oath of 730<sub>0</sub> treaty of 934<sub>0</sub>  
 Olymos  
*Cults*: Apollon 586<sub>2</sub> Artemis 586<sub>2</sub>  
 Olympe, coins of 161 ff. 499  
 Olympia  
*Cults*: Agnostoi Theoi 1100<sub>1</sub> Ares (?) 706<sub>5</sub> Hephaistos 706<sub>5</sub> Hera 706<sub>5</sub> Hermes 231<sub>8</sub> 878<sub>0(5)</sub> Hermes 'Εναγώνιος 859 Heros 897<sub>0</sub> Kairos 859 Kronos 554<sub>2</sub> Moirai 231<sub>8</sub> 878<sub>0(5)</sub> Myiodes 783 Nike 1100<sub>1</sub> Pelops 471 Zan 349 Zeus 349 757 ff. 849 916<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1078 1222 1224 Zeus 'Απόρμιος 783 Zeus 'Αρειος 706 Zeus 'Ερκείος 808<sub>0(15)</sub> Zeus Καθάριος 1100<sub>1</sub> Zeus Καταιβάτης 21 Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(15)</sub> (Zeus) Μοιραγέτας 231<sub>8</sub> Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 758<sub>0</sub> 761 Zeus 'Ορκίος 722 726 f. Zeus "Γψιστος 231<sub>8</sub> 878<sub>0(5)</sub> 891<sub>2</sub> Zeus Xθόνιος 1100<sub>1</sub>



- Olympia (*cont.*)  
*Rites*: altar of Zeus made of ashes from thighs of victims 955<sub>0</sub> 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 466<sub>0</sub> ξυλεύς of Zeus 471  
*Myths*: Herakles and the flies 783 Herakles brings wild-olive from land of Hyperboreoi 466 Pythagoras' eagle 222<sub>4</sub> Pythagoras' golden thigh 224<sub>0</sub>  
 — altar of Zeus at 21 *Áltis* at 915<sub>2</sub> coins of 741 757 ff. 780 f. 849 1224 house of Oinomaos at 706 808<sub>0(15)</sub> Ζᾶνες at 349
- Olympia, the festival at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 f.
- Olympia, the festival at Olympia 490<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Olympia, the festival at Prousa ad Olympum 964<sub>2</sub>
- Olympieion at Athens 1118 ff. 1135 1229 f.
- Olympieion at Megara 1138<sub>5</sub>
- Olympieion at Polichna near Syracuse 916<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub>
- Olympion at Agrigentum 911<sub>0</sub> ff.
- Olympos, Mt, in Arkadia 761
- Olympos, Mt, in Elis  
*Cult*: Zeus (?) 758 891<sub>1</sub>
- Olympos, Mt, in Kilikia 980<sub>2</sub>
- Olympos, Mt, in Kypros 980<sub>4</sub>
- Olympos, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from ground on 972<sub>1</sub>
- Olympos, Mt, in Makedonia 904<sub>6</sub> 905<sub>0</sub> 906<sub>0</sub> 1227  
*Cults*: St Elias 906<sub>0</sub> Zeus 904<sub>6</sub> 1227 ep. 760  
*Epithet*: μακρός 1026  
*Myths*: heaven and earth once met on its summit 905<sub>0</sub> Otos and Ephialtes 129 stars come down at night upon it 905<sub>0</sub> 1211 Zeus binds golden rope to it 1211  
 — gods on summit of 853 remains of altar on 1227
- Olympos, Mt, in Mysia  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 953<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: boar 311<sub>8</sub>
- Olympos, town in Lykia  
*Cults*: Athena 972<sub>1</sub> Hephaistos 972<sub>1</sub> Zeus 972<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 972<sub>1</sub>
- Olympus (?), s. of Iupiter by the nymph Chalcea 973<sub>1</sub>
- Omichle  
*Genealogy*: m. of Aer and Aura by Pothos 1036 1038
- Omphale  
*Myth*: Herakles 559 560<sub>3</sub>
- Omphalian Plain 190
- Omphalos in Crete 190
- Onatas 947<sub>0</sub>
- Onetor 950<sub>0</sub>
- Onnes 569<sub>2</sub>
- Onomakritos 1229
- Onoskelis 666<sub>2</sub>
- Ophiouchos See Ophiuchus
- Ophis, king of Salamis 1087
- Ophites 307<sub>2</sub> 558<sub>0</sub> 653  
 — double axe in diagram of 610 f.
- Ophiuchus 241<sub>4</sub> 1087
- Ophryinion  
*Myth*: Hektor's bones 961<sub>0</sub>  
 — Xenophon at 1107 1157
- Opis (fem.) 452 501 1226
- Opis (masc.) 452 f.
- Orchia (?) in Lakonike  
*Cult*: Apollon Ὀρχιεύς 439
- Orchomenos in Arkadia, coins of 228<sub>5</sub>
- Orchomenos in Boiotia  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1085 Charites 238<sub>0</sub> 1150<sub>10</sub> Dionysos 899<sub>1</sub> Hera Τελεία 1150 Hermes 1150<sub>9</sub> Minyas 1150<sub>9</sub> Zeus Καραίος 873<sub>2</sub> 898<sub>4</sub> Zeus Μείλιχος 1149 Zeus Σωτήρ 1151 Zeus Τέλειος 1150  
*Festival*: Agrionia 164<sub>6</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: burial within the house 1060  
*Myth*: Minyas 1150
- Orchomenos, eponym of Orchomenos in Boiotia  
*Genealogy*: f. of Minyas 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Eteokles and b. of Minyas 1150<sub>5</sub> s. of Minyas 1150<sub>5</sub>
- Orchomenos, s. of Zeus by Hesione or Hermippe 1149 f.
- Ordion 1015
- Oreithyia  
*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 (?) 680<sub>3</sub>  
*Myths*: Apollon 206<sub>2</sub> 1042 (?) Artemis 680 Athena 1098<sub>4</sub> Delphoi 206<sub>2</sub> exile in Oresteion near Megalopolis 1178 Kolchoi 421<sub>3</sub> pursued by Furies 206<sub>2</sub> Rhegion 680 848 Telephos 1179<sub>6</sub> 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 408<sub>0</sub>
- Orikos, coins of 161 ff. 499
- Orion  
*Cult*: Persia 35  
*Epithet*: ξιφήρης 680<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with* Nebrod (Nimrod) and the planet Kronos 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>
- Orion, the constellation 430 483<sub>2</sub> called Σκεπαρνέα 547<sub>0</sub>

- Ornelle  
*Cult*: Zeus Κτήσιος 1067  
 — astragalomantic inscription from 807<sub>5(5)</sub> 1067
- Orontes, personification of the river 1209<sub>5</sub>
- Orontes, the river in Syria  
*Myth*: Kyparissos 981<sub>1</sub>  
 — formerly called Drakon 1187
- Oropos  
*Cults*: Amphiaraos 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 346<sub>0</sub>
- Oros, king of Troizen 414<sub>2</sub>
- Orpheus  
*Epithet*: χρυσάωρ 716  
*Myths*: Eurydike 1022 head floats to Lesbos 290<sub>0</sub> slain by Thracian women 121  
*Genealogy*: s. of Kalliope 1024 s. of Polymnia 1022  
*Attribute*: sword 716  
*Types*: death 121<sub>3</sub> head 290<sub>0</sub> in Christian art 1208 Polygnotos 122<sub>0</sub> with Eurydike and Hermes 211<sub>2</sub>
- Orphic Dionysos See Dionysos
- Orphic Eros See Eros
- Orphic Herakles See Herakles
- Orphic Zeus See Zeus
- Orphists 117 ff. 131 ff.  
*Cults*: Anemoi 141<sub>1</sub> 827 Brontai 141<sub>1</sub> 827 Kosmos 141<sub>1</sub> 827  
 (See also Aither, Chronos, Demeter, Dionysos, Erikepaios (Erikapaios), Herakles, Kouretes, Nyx, Ouranos, Pan, Phanes, Phersephone, Protogonos, Rhea, Titanes, Zagreus, Zeus, Zeus ἀστράπιος, Zeus Κεράνιος, etc.)  
*Myth*: Zagreus 838  
*Rites*: ladder 124 ff. seething in milk 217  
 — gold tablets of 118 ff. numerical speculation of 236<sub>5</sub> soul-path of 114 117 ff. theogonies of, shown in conspectus 1033 f.
- Orthosia, coins of 572 572<sub>2</sub>
- Ortygia near Ephesos  
*Myth*: birth of Artemis 962<sub>2</sub>
- Ortygios, s. of Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub>
- Oscan road-makers' tablet 1158
- Oschophoria 1092
- Osiris  
*Cults*: Denderah 773<sub>0</sub> Philai 773<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: effigy buried in pine-tree 303<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: attacked by Titans 1030 cut up by Typhon 1030 head floats to Byblos 290<sub>0</sub> ladder of Râ 126 wooden phallós 224<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Râ 126  
*Function*: moisture 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: lotos 773<sub>0</sub>
- Osiris (*cont.*)  
*Type*: mummy 773<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Attis* 294 f. Dionysos 252 Liber 244<sub>4</sub> Nu 126 Okeanos 481<sub>9</sub> Ptah 34<sub>1</sub>  
 — seed of 482<sub>0</sub>
- Ossa the messenger of Zeus 904<sub>3</sub>
- Ossa, Mt 1227  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὀσσαίος (?) 904<sub>3</sub>  
*Myth*: Otos and Ephialtes 129
- Ostanes 699<sub>7</sub>  
*Cult*: Hermopolis 701<sub>0</sub>
- Osthanes See Ostanes
- Ostia  
*Cults*: Attis 297 ff. Attis Μηνοτύραννος 303<sub>2</sub>  
 — hall of Dendrophori at 297 Metroion at 297 298
- Othin See Odhin
- Othryades 111<sub>0</sub>
- Otorcondeis 581
- Otos 129 f. 130<sub>4</sub> 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.) 452<sub>11</sub>
- Ourania, the Carthaginian goddess  
*Cult*: Epidaurus 487<sub>3(1)</sub>
- Ouranios 889<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Ouranos  
*Epithets*: ἀστερόεις 1023 μέγας 1023  
*Myths*: flings his sons into Tartaros 1023 mutilated by Kronos 447<sub>8</sub> Titanes 1023  
*Genealogy*: b. of Zeus 940<sub>0</sub> f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Eros by Ge 315<sub>4</sub> f. by Ge of Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes, Arges 1023 f. of Kabeiroi 954<sub>0</sub> f. of Kronos 447<sub>8</sub> f. of Okeanos and Tethys by Ge 1020 f. of Titanes by Ge 1023 h. of Gaia 447<sub>8</sub> s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026  
*Function*: ἐκτύρωσις 557<sub>1</sub>  
 — sceptre of 1026
- Ousoös 981<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Ouxenton  
*Cults*: Ianus (?) 386<sub>1</sub> Janiform Athena (?) 386<sub>1</sub> Janiform Roma (?) 386<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 386
- Oxylos 486
- Oxyrhynchite nome  
*Cult*: Athena 625
- Padus 476
- Paenitentia 863
- Pagai, port of Megara  
*Cults*: Artemis Σώτρυρα (?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub> Demeter (?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub>  
 — coin of 488<sub>0(3)</sub>



- Pagasai  
*Cults*: Dionysos Πέλεκυς (not Πελεκᾶς or Πελεκῖνος, nor Πελάγιος) 660  
 Epidotai 321<sub>1</sub>
- Pagasos the Hyperborean 169
- Paiones  
*Cults*: Dionysos Ἀυαλός (?) and Δύαλος 270
- Paionia  
*Cults*: Artemis Βασιλεία 500 Bendis 500 f. Dionysos Δύαλος 250<sub>4</sub>
- Paionios 86
- Palaia Gargaros 951<sub>0</sub> f.
- Palaikastro  
*Cult*: St Nikolaos 931<sub>0</sub>  
 — excavations at 930<sub>0</sub> 931<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>0</sub>  
 hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος from 931<sub>0</sub>  
 932<sub>0</sub> *lārnax* of painted earthenware from 524 529 845 stone moulds from 623 ff. 654
- Palaimon 490<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Palaistinos, s. of Malkandros 986<sub>0</sub>
- Palamedes 691 902<sub>0</sub>
- Palaxos or Spalaxos, the Koures 587
- Palazzola (Palazzuolo) 1146<sub>0</sub>
- Pales (masc.)  
*Function*: one of the Penates 1059
- Palestine  
*Rite*: burial within the house 1059
- Palicus  
*Metamorphosed into eagle* 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Volcanus by Aetna 909<sub>0</sub>
- Palikoi  
*Cult*: Sicily 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: human sacrifice 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: sons of Adranos (the Syrian Hadran) 910<sub>0</sub> sons of Hephaistos 910<sub>0</sub> sons of Zeus by Aitne 909<sub>0</sub> sons of Zeus by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: *nautici dei* 909<sub>0</sub> volcanic springs 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 909<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Palicus
- Palladion 963<sub>0</sub> 1044
- Palmyra  
*Cults*: Iaribolos 885<sub>0(29)</sub> Theos Μέγας Σαλλοντος (? J. H. Mordtmann cj. 'Αμμουνδάτω: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) 'Ενεουάρης (?) 885<sub>0(29)</sub> Zeus Μέγιστος Κεραύνιος 807<sub>5(1)</sub> Zeus Μέγιστος "Υψιστος 983<sub>2</sub> Zeus "Υψιστος 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> Zeus "Υψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 886<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> Zeus "Υψιστος Μέγιστος Ἐπήκοος 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub>
- Palodes 348
- Pan  
*Cults*: Aule 249<sub>2</sub> Mt Kithairon 899<sub>0</sub> Megara 1117<sub>7</sub> Nikaia in Bithynia 349 Pelousion 986<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: Μέγας 347 ὀρειβάτης 869<sub>0</sub> 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 270<sub>3</sub> with goat's legs and horns 124<sub>2</sub> horned 1117<sub>7</sub> playing lyre 157<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Attis* 296 Phanes 1051 Protogonos 1023 1039 Zeus 349 1023 1024 1039  
*Associated with Amphiaraios and Hygieia* 1072 Harpocrates 986<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Erinys* 1102<sub>7</sub>  
*Supersedes Zan* (?) 347 ff.  
 — cave of, at Aule in Arkadia 249<sub>2</sub>
- Panakra 933<sub>0</sub>
- Panamara  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1066 Hekate Σώπειρα 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Tyche 1066 Tyche of Antoninus Pius 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus Καπετώλιος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Πανάμαρος 587 963<sub>8</sub> Zeus Πανήμεριος 963<sub>8</sub> Zeus Πανήμερος 963<sub>8</sub> Zeus "Υψισ(σ)τος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus "Υψιστος 963<sub>8</sub>
- Panamoros, the Koures 587
- Panathenaia 1121<sub>0</sub> 1135 ff.
- Pandion  
*Genealogy*: f. of Teuthras 1151
- Pangaion, Mt  
*Myth*: Orpheus taught by Kalliope 1024  
 — oaks on 411<sub>6</sub>
- Panhellenia 1119<sub>4</sub> See also Megala Panhellenia
- Panionion  
*Cults*: Hera 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub>
- Pannonia  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 — coin of 323<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Panope in Phokis 1132<sub>6</sub>
- Panormos near Kyzikos  
*Cults*: Apollon 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Artemis 881<sub>0(21)</sub> Dionysos (?) 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Hekate (?) 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Persephone (?) 881<sub>0(21)</sub> Zeus "Υψιστος 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Pantikapaion  
*Cult*: Angistis (= Agdistis) 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1025  
 — leaden *bucrania* and double axes (?) from 540
- Pantikapes, river in Sarmatia 1025
- Pantokrator, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus (?) 907<sub>0</sub>
- Papaïos  
*Cult*: Skythia 889<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Παπαῖος, Πάπας or Παπᾶς, Παπίας, Παππῶος
- Papanios, a Scythian river 293<sub>0</sub>
- Papas  
*Cult*: Phrygia 292 ff. 313 836

- Papas (cont.)  
*Identified with Zeus* Βροντῶν 836 883<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*In relation to Attis* 317 Kybele 842  
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Παπαῖος, Πάπας  
 or Παπᾶς, Παπίας, Παππῶος
- Paphlagonia  
*Cults:* Augustus 729<sub>0</sub> Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Helios  
 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>
- Paphos  
*Cult:* Aphrodite 783<sub>3</sub> 944<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth:* Kinyras 944<sub>0</sub>
- Pappas 296<sub>4</sub>  
 See also Papas
- Papylos 1101<sub>3</sub>
- Paramythia, bronze statuettes from 503<sub>0</sub>  
 746<sub>2</sub> 752 f.
- Paraṣu-rāma 660<sub>1</sub>
- Paris  
*Myths:* judgment 262 266 Mt Gargaron  
 (Gargara) 950<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Hektor* 447<sub>5</sub>
- Parmenides 120<sub>2</sub> 315<sub>4</sub> 316<sub>0</sub> 432  
 — journey of 42 f. 43<sub>1</sub> 476
- Parnassos, Mt  
*Cults:* Apollon 257 453 Dionysos 257  
 Zeus Λυκῶρειος 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Φύξιος 902<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths:* Deukalion 902<sub>0</sub> Semnai 19<sub>0</sub>  
 — view from summit of 901<sub>2</sub>
- Parnes, Mt  
*Cults:* Zeus Ἀπήμιος 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Ὀμβριος 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>0</sub> Zeus Παρνήθιος  
 897<sub>6</sub> Zeus Σημαλέος 4 897<sub>6</sub>  
 — Harma on 831<sub>0</sub>
- Paros  
*Cults:* Aphrodite 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Athena Κυ-  
 θία 922<sub>0</sub> cp. 1227 Baubo 131 Demeter  
 Θεσμοφόρος 131 St Elias 875<sub>1(5)</sub>  
 Hera 131 Hestia Δημῖη 875<sub>1(5)</sub> Kore  
 131 Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 131 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Καταιβάτης 19 f. (Zeus) Ὕπατος  
 875<sub>1(5)</sub> 918<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite:* uninitiated persons and women  
 may not enter precinct of Zeus  
 Ὕπατος 875<sub>1(5)</sub>  
 — Delion at 1227 rock-carvings at  
 1117<sub>7</sub>
- Parthenon, east frieze of 1135 ff. east  
 pediment of 261 710<sub>1</sub> 753 f. metope  
 from north side of 1044
- Parthenopaios  
*Myth:* swears by his spear 13<sub>1</sub> 547<sub>2</sub>
- Parthenos = Virgo, the constellation 399<sub>1</sub>
- Parthenos, d. of Staphylos  
*Myths:* Boubastos 671 Kastabos 670
- Pas (Pa?) as equivalent of Πατήρ, Pater  
 293<sub>4</sub>
- Pasargadai 974<sub>1</sub> 1145<sub>1(c)</sub>
- Pasianax (= Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Pasikrateia See Kore *Epithets* Πασι-  
 κράτεια
- Pasiphae (Pasiphaa)  
*Cult:* Thalamai 31  
*Genealogy:* d. of Helios 947<sub>0</sub>
- Pasiteles 1101<sub>3</sub> (?)
- Passaron  
*Cult:* Zeus Ἀρειος 706
- Passienus Crispus 403<sub>1</sub>
- Patara  
*Cults:* Apollon 210 921<sub>0</sub> Zeus 921<sub>0</sub>  
 — coin of 186 *omphalos* at 167 votive  
 lions at 921<sub>0</sub>
- Patrai  
*Cult:* Iupiter *Liberator* (Nero) 1214  
 — coins of 1214
- Paul, St  
*Types:* 'Dioscuric' 606 1209<sub>2</sub> on cha-  
 lice of Antioch 1202<sub>0</sub> on gilded  
 glass 1207  
*Associated with* St Peter 606 1207 1209<sub>2</sub>  
 — alludes to Sandas (?) 571<sub>2</sub> is taken  
 for Hermes 1096<sub>4</sub>
- Pautalia  
*Cult:* Zeus 743<sub>7</sub>  
 — coins of 743<sub>7</sub> 821
- Pax  
*Attributes:* caduceus 98 olive-branch 98  
*Identified with* Virgo 734<sub>3</sub>  
 — on column of Mayence 96 98
- Paxoi 347
- Pe, spirits of 126
- Pedasa 958<sub>0</sub>
- Pegasos, the horse  
*Myths:* Bellerophon (Bellerophon)es  
 721<sub>2</sub> 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<sub>7</sub>  
 1017 rain 721<sub>5</sub> thundercloud (?) 721<sub>6</sub>  
*Types:* winged horse 1040 winged  
 horse approaching constellation  
 1017<sub>4</sub> winged horse with Eros  
 emerging from its head 1040 wing-  
 less horse 717<sub>2</sub>
- Pegasus, the constellation 1017<sub>4</sub> 1018<sub>0</sub>
- Peion, Mt 962<sub>2</sub>
- Peiraieus  
*Cults:* Agathe Tyche 1104 f. Apollon  
 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Asklepios 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 1105  
 1107<sub>5</sub> (?) 1107<sub>6</sub> (?) 1173 Hermes  
 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Maleates 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Zeus Κτή-  
 σιος 1065 f. Zeus Λαβράυνδος 585<sub>3</sub>  
 Zeus Μελίχιος 1104 ff. 1117 1142  
 1173 ff. Zeus Φίλιος 1104 1173 ff.
- Peirene 1018
- Peisistratidai 1229 f.
- Peitho  
*Associated with* Aphrodite 261 1044  
 (fig. 893)
- Pelagones 588<sub>0</sub>
- Pelargus or Pelasgus  
*Myth:* 1096<sub>4</sub>
- Pelasgians  
*Cult:* Zeus Ἐρεχθεύς (?) 793<sub>8</sub>  
*Etymology:* 588<sub>0</sub>  
 — at Dotion 683 at Knidos 683 in  
 Thessaly 683 684<sub>2</sub>



- Pelasgos  
*Myth*: buried at Argos 1144<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Lykaon 1096<sub>4</sub>
- Pelagus See Pelargus
- Peleg 588<sub>0</sub>
- Pelegon, s. of Axios 588<sub>0</sub>
- 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 Πεlinnaῖος 922<sub>4</sub>
- Pelion, Mt 869<sub>2</sub> 869<sub>3</sub> 1226  
*Cults*: Cheiron 869<sub>2</sub> 871<sub>0</sub> Muses (?)  
 870<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἀκραῖος 869<sub>3(1)</sub> (on p.  
 871) 904<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ἀκραῖος 869<sub>2</sub> 870<sub>0</sub>  
 904<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite*: procession of men clad in fleeces  
 to sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος 870<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Asklepios 1087 Otos and Ephialtes  
 129  
 — remains on summit of 870<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>0</sub>
- Pella in Makedonia  
*Cult*: Zeus 1187<sub>4</sub>  
 — Alexandros of Abonou Teichos at  
 1083 coins of 1187<sub>4</sub>
- 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 224 224<sub>1</sub> sceptre of  
 Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> f. Mt Sipylos 956<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Atreus 957<sub>0</sub> f. of  
 Sikyon 1146 f. of Thyestes 1021 f.  
 of Troizen and Pitheus 414<sub>2</sub> s. of  
 Tantalos 438 957<sub>0</sub>  
 — sceptre of 956<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> throne  
 of 956<sub>2</sub>
- Pelousion  
*Cults*: Harpokrates 986<sub>0</sub> Kasios 986<sub>0</sub>  
 987<sub>0</sub> onion 987<sub>0</sub> Pan 986<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Κάσιος 985<sub>1</sub> ff. Zeus Κάσιος Μέγιστος  
 (?) 985<sub>1</sub>  
*Rite*: taboo on onions 986<sub>0</sub> f.  
*Myth*: founded by Isis 986<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 986<sub>0</sub>
- Pelousios, eponym of Pelousion  
*Myth*: nurtured by Isis 986<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Malkandros 986<sub>0</sub>
- Penates  
*Cults*: Italy 1059 Lavinium 1068 Rome  
 1181<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet*: *Publici Populi Romani* 1181<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: meal 19<sub>0</sub>  
*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 1127<sub>0</sub>  
 Hermes 1068 Zeus Κτήσιος 1068  
*In relation to* Ianus 335  
 — rendered by θεοὶ Πατρῶοι or Γε-  
 νέθλιοι or Κτήσιοι or Μύχιοι or  
 Ἐρκιοι (*leg.* Ἐρκεῖοι) 1068
- Peneios, f. of Stilbe 684<sub>2</sub>
- 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 691<sub>6</sub>
- Penteskuphia, votive *pinakes* from 786
- Penthesileia 303<sub>2</sub>
- Pentheus  
*Function*: divine king 303<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 303<sub>2</sub>
- Penthilos 303<sub>2</sub>
- Pepromene 1138<sub>5</sub>
- Peratai 558<sub>0</sub>
- Perephoneia See Persephone
- Pergamon  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon  
 729<sub>0</sub> Ares 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> (Artemis) Ταυρο-  
 πόλος 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Asklepios 954<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub>  
 1077 1079 f. Asklepios Σωτήρ 956<sub>0</sub>  
 Athena 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Athena  
 Ἀρεία 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Athena Νικηφόρος  
 287<sub>2</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Augustus 1179 1182 Com-  
 modus 1185 Demeter 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub>  
 Dionysos 954<sub>0</sub> Dionysos Καθηγεμών  
 287<sub>2</sub> 288<sub>0</sub> (?) 1184<sub>1</sub> Gaia 1185 Ge  
 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Geta 1186 Helios 729<sub>0</sub>  
 955<sub>0</sub> 1185 Hestia Βουλαία 259<sub>0</sub> Iu-  
 piter *Amicalis* (= Zeus Φίλιος) 1179 f.  
 Kabeiroi 953<sub>3</sub> f. Poseidon 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub>  
 Roma 1179 1182 Selene 1185 Tha-  
 lassa 1185 Theos Ἰψιστος (= Zeus?)  
 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> Trajan 1179 ff. Zeus  
 729<sub>0</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> (?) 954<sub>0</sub> ff. Zeus (= Com-  
 modus) 1185 Zeus (= Geta) 1186  
 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1061 1077 f. Zeus  
 Βάκχος (= Zeus Σαβάξιος) 287 287<sub>2</sub>  
 288<sub>0</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1184 Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Εὐαγγέλιος 956<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος  
 808<sub>0(8)</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus  
 Μέγιστος 956<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μέγιστος Σωτήρ  
 956<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 956<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Σαβάξιος 287<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1184 (See also  
 Zeus Βάκχος) Zeus Σωτήρ 955<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 Τροπαῖος 110<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> Zeus Φίλιος 956<sub>0</sub>  
 1178 1179 ff.  
*Festival*: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180  
*Rites*: altar of Zeus made of ashes  
 from thighs of victims 955<sub>0</sub> sacrifice  
 of two-year-old heifer to Athena,

Pergamon (*cont.*)

three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάκχος, and to Asklepios, and feast of bull's flesh 287<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: ιεροφάντης 1067

*Myths*: birth of Zeus 954<sub>0</sub> Pergamos 1184 Telephos 1179

— aqueducts of 956<sub>0</sub> art of 862 Asklepieion at 1077 coins of 260<sub>0</sub> 424 633<sub>2</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 1079 f. 1082 1181 f. 1184 ff. great altar at 399<sub>1</sub> 684<sub>4</sub> 831<sub>1(4)</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> 1179<sub>6</sub> open-air altar of Zeus Φίλιος at 1180 paraphernalia of diviner from 512 riddance of plague at 954<sub>0</sub> temple of Zeus Ἀσκληπιός at 1077 Traianeum at 1179 ff.

Pergamos, eponym of Pergamon 1184

Perikles

*Personates* Zeus 816<sub>1</sub>

Periklymenos (= Plouton) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>

Periklymenos, f. of Erginos

*Metamorphosed into* eagle 1134<sub>6</sub>

*Function*: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Periklymenos, s. of Poseidon 1071

Perillos 924<sub>0</sub>

Perinthos

*Cults*: Zeus Δοφείτης 874<sub>1</sub> 949<sub>3</sub> Zeus Σάραπις 773<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 560<sub>3</sub> 665<sub>3</sub> 773<sub>0</sub>

Periphas

*Personates* Zeus 1121 ff.

*Myth*: 24<sub>4</sub> 1061 1121 ff.

*Metamorphosed into* eagle 1122 1131 1134<sub>6</sub>

*Etymology*: 1122 1122<sub>5</sub> 1122<sub>7</sub>

— both Attic autochthon and Thesalian king (?) 1123

Periphas, s. or f. of Lapithes 1122 f. 1134

Perkúnas

*Cult*: Romove 93

Perpetua, St 133 f.

Persephassa See Persephone

Persephatta 132<sub>2</sub>

See also Persephone, Phersephone, Proserpina

Persephone

*Cults*: Eleusis 132<sub>2</sub> Emporion 1040 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 881<sub>0(21)</sub> Sicily 1040 Tarentum 1141<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: εἰαρινή 295<sub>2</sub> ἐπανή 893<sub>0</sub> Μελινδία (?) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> Μελίνοια (?) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> Μελιτώδης 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> Μελιτώνη (?) 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> ξανθή 1164<sub>0</sub>

*Rites*: tree decked as maiden, brought into town, mourned forty nights, and then burnt 303<sub>2</sub> union with Zeus 132<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 132<sub>2</sub> 1029

*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus by Rhea or Demeter 1029 m. by Zeus of Meilinoe (?) or Melinoe (?) 1114<sub>0(5)</sub> m. by Zeus of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus 1029 m. by Zeus of the

Persephone (*cont.*)

first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) 1135<sub>4</sub>

*Functions*: chthonian queen 132<sub>2</sub> spring 557<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 295<sub>2</sub>

*Attributes*: corn-wreath 370 pig 1141<sub>0</sub> vervain 395<sub>2</sub>

*Types*: bifrontal 370 head with flowing hair 110<sub>6</sub> rape by Plouton 801

*Identified with* Axiokersa (?) 314<sub>2</sub>

*Associated with* Zeus καταχθόνιος 893<sub>0</sub>

*In relation to* bees and honey 1142<sub>7</sub> Demeter 501

— marriage with 1164 ff. name of, taboo 1114<sub>0</sub> plant of (vervain) 395<sub>2</sub> woods of 472

See also Persephatta, Phersephone, Proserpina

Perses 108

Perseus

*Myths*: Akrisios 1155 1155<sub>7</sub> Danaë 671 1018 Hyperboreoi 463 f. Ione 1186 f. Medousa 716 ff. 1018 sacrifices to Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος 892<sub>4</sub> Tarsos 570<sub>4</sub> teaches Persians to worship fire 1187

*Genealogy*: s. of Danaë 464 s. of Pikos by Danaë 1187<sub>2</sub> s. of Pikos who is also Zeus 694<sub>0</sub> s. of Zeus 665<sub>1</sub> s. of Zeus by Danaë 694<sub>0</sub>

*Function*: solar 1156

*Attributes*: *diskos* 1155 f. *hárpe* 721<sub>7</sub> 1084 *kibisis* 718 lobster 665<sub>1</sub> sickle 721<sub>7</sub> sword 721<sub>7</sub> winged *caduceus* 718 winged cap 718 winged sandals 718

*Assimilated to* Hermes 718

Perseus, the constellation 464 477<sub>8</sub>

Persia

*Cults*: fire 33 ff. Mithras 255 sky 354 Zeus 33

*Rite*: sacrifice of horses 890<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: cosmic egg 1036

— kings of, regarded as divine 853 r for l in 588<sub>0</sub>

Perun

*Attribute*: iris 774<sub>4</sub>

Pessinous

*Cults*: Agdistis 970<sub>0</sub> Attis 970<sub>0</sub> Magna Mater 969<sub>4</sub> Mother of the gods 310 f. 310<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> Attis 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>

— priestly kings at 965<sub>0</sub>

Petelia

*Cult*: Zeus 708 f.

— coins of 708 f.

Peter, St

*Attribute*: keys 1200<sub>3</sub> 1200<sub>4</sub>

*Types*: 'Dioseuric' 606 1209<sub>2</sub> in Catacombs 1200<sub>4</sub> on chalice of Antioch 1200<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>0</sub> on gilded glass 1207

*Associated with* St Paul 606 1207 1209<sub>2</sub>

Petrachos, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus 901<sub>1</sub>



- Petrachos, Mt (*cont.*)  
*Myth*: Kronos receives from Rhea stone instead of Zeus 901<sub>1</sub>
- Petrus and Marcellinus, Catacomb of 1207
- Phaethon  
*Myths*: fall from chariot of Helios 40 43<sub>1</sub> 484 Milky Way 40 43<sub>1</sub> 476 ff. parallel from Pomerania 483 f. sisters turned into larches 402<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Helios by Klymene 473<sub>3</sub>  
*Type*: fall from chariot of Helios 473 478 479  
*Identified with Phanes* 1026 1051  
*In relation to Milky Way* 40 43<sub>1</sub> 483
- Phaiakia  
*Myths*: called Δρεπάνη, Δρέπανον, "Ἄρπη after the δρέπανον of Kronos or Zeus, or after the δρέπανον or ἄρπη of Demeter 448<sub>0</sub> peopled from blood of Ouranos 448<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Korkyra* 448<sub>0</sub>  
 — river in 481<sub>6</sub>
- Phaidra  
*Myth*: Theseus and Hippolytos 1043
- Phaistos  
*Cults*: Velchanos 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> Zeus Φελ-  
 χάνος 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Idomeneus 947<sub>0</sub>  
 — celt from 509 coins of 491<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> double axe at 600<sub>3</sub>
- Phalakrai, a promontory in Euboeia 874<sub>2</sub>  
 (on p. 875)
- Phalakron, a mountain near Argos (?) 874<sub>2</sub>  
 (on p. 875) 893<sub>1</sub>
- Phalakron, a promontory in Korkyra 874<sub>2</sub>  
 (on p. 875) 1226
- Phalakron (Phalakra, Phalakrai), the summit of Mt Ide in Phrygia 874<sub>2</sub>  
 (on p. 875)
- Phalaris, bull of bronze made for 910<sub>1</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>
- Phalces, the Corallian 108 f.
- Phalces, s. of Temenos 110<sub>4</sub>
- Phalces, the Trojan 110<sub>4</sub>
- Phaleron  
*Cults*: Acheloios 183 f. Apollon Πύθιος 183 Artemis Λοχία 183 Eileithyia 183 f. Geraistian birth-nymphs 183 f. Hestia 183 f. Kallirhoe (Kal-  
 liroë), d. of Acheloios 183 Kephisos 183 f. Leto 183 Rhapsos 183 f.
- Phallagoga 1022
- Phanakes  
*Cult*: Mysia 1025
- Phanes  
*Cult*: Thracο-Phrygians (?) 1025  
*Epithets*: αὐτόγονος 1026 μονογενής 1026  
 πρωτόγονος 1026 (See also Proto-  
 gonos)  
*Myths*: sprung from cosmic egg 1023 f.  
 swallowed by Zeus 1027  
*Genealogy*: f. by Nyx of Ge or Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 1026 f. of Zeus 1051  
 parent and h. of Nyx 1026
- Phanes (*cont.*)  
*Functions*: creator 1026 1033 ἔφορος  
 τῆς ζωογόνου δυνάμεως 1025 light  
 1024 1026 light or daylight or sun-  
 light 1025  
*Etymology*: 1025  
*Attributes*: sceptre 1051 thunderbolt  
 1051  
*Types*: αἰδοῖον ἔχων ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν  
 πυχῆν 1024 f. androgynous 1026  
 nude youth standing in oval zodiac  
 with egg-shell above and below him,  
 wings on his shoulders, crescent on  
 his back, heads of lion, goat, ram  
 attached to his body, cloven hoofs,  
 and snake coiled about him, bearing  
 thunderbolt and sceptre 1051  
*Identified with Antauges* 1026 1051  
 Dionysos 1026 1051 Erikepaios 1024  
 1039 Eros 1026 1039 Eubouleus  
 1026 Helios 1051 Metis (masc.)  
 1024 1026 1032 1039 Pan 1051  
 Phaethon 1026 1051 Priapos 1026  
 Protogonos 1026 1039 1051  
*Assimilated to Dionysos* (?) 1051 Helios  
 1051 Pan (?) 1051 Zeus 1051  
*Compared with Christ* 1026  
*In relation to Zeus* 1051  
 — sceptre of 1026
- Phanotos 217<sub>2</sub>
- Phaselis  
*Cults*: Ge 729<sub>6</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>
- Phata in Lydia  
*Cult*: Theos "Υψιστος 881<sub>0(20)</sub>
- Phaunos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Hermes* 694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub>
- Pheidias 475<sub>7</sub> 479<sub>6</sub> 598 737 746<sub>0</sub> 753 757 ff.  
 760 f. 849 862 f. (?) 916<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 1078  
 1135 1137<sub>2</sub> 1138<sub>5</sub> 1188 f.  
 — career of 757<sub>8</sub>
- Phemonoe 350<sub>1</sub>
- Phene  
*Metamorphosed into vulture* 1122 1122<sub>4</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1122<sub>5</sub>
- Pheneos  
*Cult*: Demeter Κίδαρία 1136<sub>4</sub>  
*Festival*: τελετή μείζων 1136<sub>4</sub>  
*Rite*: beating of Underground Folk  
 with rods 1136<sub>4</sub>
- Pherekydes of Syros 315 f. 344<sub>0</sub> 351 852
- Phersephone  
*Cult*: Anazarbos 14<sub>3</sub>  
*Type*: horned, four-eyed, two-faced  
 1029  
*Identified with Kore* 1029  
 — bridal chamber of 1164<sub>0</sub> 1164<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Persēphatta, Persephone,  
 Proserpina
- Phigaleia  
*Cult*: Dionysos 'Ακρατοφόρος 244<sub>4</sub>
- Philadelphiea in Lydia  
*Cults*: Agathos Daimon 1229 Agdistis  
 (Angdistis) 1228 f. Aphrodite 363  
 Arete 1229 Charites 1229 Eudai-

- Philadelpheia in Lydia (*cont.*)  
 monia 1229 Hestia 960<sub>0</sub> 1229  
 Hygieia (?) 1229 Ianus 374 Mneme  
 1229 Nike 1229 Ploutos 1229 Theoi  
 Σωτήρες 960<sub>0</sub> 1229 Theos "Υψιστος  
 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Tyche 'Αγαθή 1229 Zeus  
 Εὐμένης (= Eumenes i) 960<sub>0</sub> 1229  
 Zeus Κορυφαῖος 285<sub>0</sub> 869<sub>1</sub> 957<sub>1</sub>  
 1217 f. Zeus Σωτήρ 1228 f.  
*Rite*: procession of Ianus on *Kalendae*  
*Ianuariae* 374  
 — coins of 363 869<sub>1</sub>
- Philai  
*Cults*: Osiris 773<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ελευθέριος  
 (= Augustus) 97<sub>0</sub>
- Philandros, s. of Apollon 218<sub>0</sub>
- Philemon  
*Myth*: 1096<sub>4</sub>
- 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 1177<sub>2</sub>
- Philip of Macedon  
*Associated with* the twelve gods 1137<sub>1</sub>
- Philippopolis in Thessaly See Gomphoi
- Philippopolis in Thrace, coins of 490<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Philoktetes 903<sub>0</sub>
- Philomela  
*Metamorphosed into* swallow 693
- Philonome 669
- Philyra  
*Genealogy*: m. of Aphros and Cheiron  
 by Kronos 695<sub>0</sub> m. of Cheiron by  
 Kronos 871<sub>0</sub>
- Phlegyai  
*Etymology*: 1134
- Phlegyas 463<sub>1</sub> 488<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Phlious  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1090 Zeus Μελίχιος  
 1106 f.
- Phlox 981<sub>1</sub>
- Phlyeis  
*Cults*: Apollon Διονυσόδότης (less pro-  
 bably Διονυσόδοτος) 251<sub>2</sub> Athena  
 Τιθρωνή 1066 Demeter 'Αρησιδώρα  
 1066 Kore Πρωτογόνη 1066 Semnai  
 1066 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066
- Phobos  
*Cult*: Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Phoenicians  
*In relation to* 'Minoan' culture 662  
 — sacred pillars of 423 425  
 See also Phoinike
- Phoibe  
*Cults*: Delphoi 500 Sparta 1015<sub>7</sub>  
*Function*: earth 500  
*Type*: Gigantomachia 399<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Hilaeira 1015<sub>7</sub>  
*In relation to* Gaia and Themis 500
- Phoibe, one of the Heliades 500<sub>11</sub>
- Phoibos  
*Cults*: Delphoi 839 Kurshumlu in  
 Phrygia 839 Lykoreia 901<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithets*: 'Απόλλων 500 844 Λυκώρειος  
 or Λυκωρεύς 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: interpreter of Zeus 500 sky  
 500  
*Etymology*: 500 500<sub>12</sub>  
*In relation to* Zeus 500 844 Zeus Βρον-  
 τῶν 839  
*Supersedes* Helios 500
- Phoinike  
*Cults*: Agathos Daimon 1127<sub>0</sub> Ba'al  
 Milik (Melek, Molok) 1108 bene-  
 factors of society 1132<sub>6</sub> Ešmun  
 314<sub>0</sub> Kabeiroi 314<sub>0</sub> Kadmilos 314<sub>0</sub>  
 Rešef (Rešup) 630 Theos "Υψιστος  
 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Zeus "Ορειος 868<sub>8</sub>  
*Myth*: cosmic egg 1036 ff.  
 — snake sacred in 1111<sub>1</sub>
- Phoinike, old name of Tenedos 662
- Phoinikous, a name of Mt Olympos in  
 Lykia 972<sub>1</sub>
- Phokis  
*Cults*: Athena 731<sub>0</sub> Hera Βασιλεια 731<sub>0</sub>  
 Poseidon 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βασιλεύς 731<sub>0</sub>
- Phol 844<sub>6</sub>  
*Etymology*: 110<sub>5</sub>  
*Identified with* Apollo (?) 110<sub>5</sub> 844  
 Balder (?) 110<sub>5</sub> 844 St Paul (?) 110<sub>5</sub>
- Pholoe, Mt 894<sub>0</sub>
- Phorkys  
*Genealogy*: s. of Okeanos by Tethys  
 1020
- Phoroneus 168<sub>1</sub> 257<sub>4</sub>
- Phos 981<sub>1</sub>
- Phosphoros 430<sub>4</sub> 430<sub>5</sub> 478<sub>2</sub> (?) 609<sub>1</sub>
- Photeine, St 1116
- Phrixos  
*Myths*: golden ram 899<sub>1</sub> 904<sub>1</sub> received  
 by Dipsakos 904<sub>1</sub> Zeus Λαφύστιος  
 904<sub>1</sub> Zeus Φύξιος 902<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Athamas and f. of  
 Kytissoros 904<sub>1</sub>  
 — tomb 471
- Phrygia  
*Cults*: Agdistis 970<sub>0</sub> Akrisias 1155 f.  
 Attis 313 Deos (Dios) 278 ff. Kronos  
 1156 Mother of the gods 970<sub>0</sub>  
 Mother of the gods Τηρείη 697  
 Papas 292 ff. 313 836 Rhea 970<sub>0</sub>  
 Semele 279 Zeus Βαγαῖος 294<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 295<sub>2</sub> 569 Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννείος  
 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 969<sub>3</sub> Zeus Βροντῶν 835 f.  
 838 f. 852 Zeus Δίος 836 Zeus  
 Κεραύνιος 807<sub>5(5)</sub> Zeus Πάπας or  
 Παπᾶς 292<sub>4</sub> Zeus Σαβάξιος 252  
 Zeus Τετράωτος 322 842  
*Festivals*: arbor intrat 303<sub>2</sub> Ballenaion  
 270<sub>5</sub>  
*Rite*: man bound in sheaf 498<sub>2</sub>  
*Priests*: Βεννείται 883<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Myth*: Lityerses 295<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 296<sub>0</sub>
- Phrygia, Mt, pyre of Herakles on 903<sub>2</sub>



- Phrygia, personification of the district 320<sub>0</sub>
- Phrygians conceive of the Father as re-born in the Son 294
- Phrynos, the potter 785 788<sub>0</sub>
- Phryxonides 928<sub>0</sub>
- Phthonos (?) 1098<sub>5</sub>
- Phylake in Phthiotis  
*Myth*: Melampous cures Iphiklos 684 f. 848
- Phylakides, s. of Apollon 218<sub>0</sub>
- Phylakos, f. of Iphiklos 452 684 f. 848
- Phyle 815 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>0</sub>
- Phyleus 1137<sub>2</sub>
- Phyllis, the river-god  
*Cult*: Bithynia 904<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: receives Phrixos 904<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Dipsakos 904<sub>1</sub>
- Phyromachos 1079
- Phyalidai 291<sub>2</sub> 1091 ff. 1103 1114
- Phyalos  
*Myth*: Demeter 291<sub>2</sub> 1092<sub>6</sub> 1103
- Picti tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- Pictones, coins of 1040
- Picus  
*Cult*: Italy 696<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Canens 394<sub>3</sub>  
*Types*: king 696<sub>0</sub> woodpecker 696<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Faunus 400  
*Compared with* Benhadad (?) 697<sub>0</sub>
- Pikos who is also Zeus 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 697<sub>0</sub> 1222  
*Cult*: Crete (?) 697<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: buried in Crete 696<sub>0</sub> 697<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> king of Assyria 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> king of Italy 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> reigns over the west 695<sub>0</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: b. of Belos, Ninos, Hera, and Aphros 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> f. of Belos by Hera 695<sub>0</sub> f. of Hermes 942<sub>0</sub> f. of Perseus by Danaë 1187<sub>2</sub> great-gs. of Kronos 695<sub>0</sub> s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: deceiver 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> magician 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> tie between east and west 696<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Ninos 695<sub>0</sub> Plouteus 'Αἰδώνιος 695<sub>0</sub> Poseidon Χθόνιος 695<sub>0</sub> 'Seraphin' (Serapis?) 695<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 695<sub>0</sub>  
*Compared with* Hadadrimmon (?) 697<sub>0</sub>  
— tomb of 220<sub>6</sub> 342<sub>0</sub>
- Pikulas  
*Cult*: Romove 93
- Pilumnus 643<sub>8</sub>
- Pinalos, eponym of the Lycian town  
Pinara 971<sub>2</sub>
- Pindos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus 'Ακραῖος 871<sub>3(2)</sub> 904<sub>5</sub>
- Pirot  
*Cult*: Theos 'Επήκοος "Γψιστος 878<sub>0(11)</sub> 948<sub>5</sub>
- Pisces 43<sub>4</sub> 103<sub>0</sub> 664<sub>1</sub>
- Pisias (Pisides?), eponym of Pisidai 973<sub>1</sub>
- Pisidai 973<sub>1</sub>
- Pisidia  
*Cults*: Zeus Ποτεύς (or Πότης or Πότις) 285 287<sub>1</sub> Zeus Σολυμεύς 973<sub>1</sub> f.
- Pithoigia 1139
- Pittakos 130
- Pittheus 414<sub>2</sub> 1091
- Plain of Zeus 1021
- Plakia  
*Cult*: Theos "Γψιστος 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Etymology*: 588<sub>0</sub>
- Plakiane 588<sub>0</sub>
- Plarasa  
*Cults*: Eros 572<sub>10</sub> Zeus 573  
— coins of 572 f.
- Plastene 956<sub>2</sub>
- Plataia, d. of Asopos 898<sub>6</sub>
- Plataiai  
*Cults*: Hera Κιθαιρωνία 899<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 238<sub>0</sub> 763<sub>1</sub>  
*Festivals*: Daidala Megala 898<sub>6</sub> Daidala Mikra 898<sub>6</sub> Eleutheria 1121<sub>0</sub>
- Platon 505<sub>1</sub> 672<sub>1</sub> 840 852 1015<sub>8</sub> 1033 1033<sub>1</sub> 1060 1065 1118 1132<sub>3</sub> 1167 f. 1168<sub>2</sub>  
— as s. of Apollon 237<sub>0</sub> portrait-herm of (with Sokrates) 390 (?)
- Pladāns (= Apollon?)  
*Cult*: Sardeis 1228
- Plouteus  
*Epithets*: 'Αἰδώνιος 695<sub>0</sub> κοίρανος 1164<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Pikos who is also Zeus 695<sub>0</sub>  
See also Plouton
- Plouton  
*Cult*: Delos (?) 1128<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: 'Αγέλαστος (?) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 'Αγησίλαος or 'Αγεσίλαος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Εὐβουλεύς 259<sub>0</sub> 'Ισοδαίτης 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Κλύμενος 233<sub>0</sub> Περικλύμενος 233<sub>0</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πολυδαίμων 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
*Myths*: Kore 345<sub>6(2)</sub> 1103 Leuke 468 f.  
*Attributes*: cornu copiae 1117<sub>7(?)</sub> 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 385<sub>0</sub> Zeus 1105 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385<sub>0</sub>  
— palace of 1226 tomb of 348
- Ploutos  
*Cult*: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
- Pnyx 876<sub>1(1)</sub>
- Podaleia 451<sub>1</sub>
- Podaleirios  
*Genealogy*: b. of Machaon 317  
*Function*: physician 451<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology*: 451<sub>1</sub>
- Pogla  
*Cult*: Artemis Περγαία (?) 363  
— coins of 363

- Poinai 1101  
 Pola  
*Cult*: Venus *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub>  
 Polichna 916<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Polis  
*Cults*: Larissa in Thessaly 1155 Skiathos 878<sub>0(6)</sub>  
*Associated with* Hermes 1155<sub>5</sub> Zeus Μελίχιος and Enhodia 1155 Zeus "Γψιστος 878<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 Pollux 96  
 See also Polydeukes, Dioskouroi  
 Polyarches 317  
 Polyarchos (=Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 1168<sub>5</sub>  
 Polybios, the Giant 713  
 Polyboia 670  
 Polybotes 713  
 Polydaimon (=Plouton) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Polydegmon (=Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Polydektes (=Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Polydeukes  
*Epithets*: ἀεθλοφόρος 439<sub>1</sub> ὄζος "Αρηος 438<sub>3</sub> πύκτης 1097<sub>2</sub> πύξ ἀγαθός 436  
*Genealogy*: b. of Kastor 317 1015<sub>7</sub> s. of Zeus by Leda 1015<sub>7</sub>  
 See also Pollux, Dioskouroi  
 Polydora 486  
 Polygnotos, the painter 122<sub>0</sub>  
 Polygnotos, the vase-painter 197<sub>1</sub>  
 Polyhymno 1022  
 Polyhymnos  
*Myth*: 1022  
 Polykleitos 389<sub>2</sub> 711<sub>3</sub> (?) 742 749 749<sub>1</sub> 893<sub>2</sub> 1143 f. 1178  
 Polykleitos, the younger 1143<sub>1</sub> (?) 1178 (?)  
 Polyktor 384<sub>0</sub>  
 Polymnia 1022  
 Polyneikes  
*Genealogy*: s. and b. of Oidipous 825<sub>2</sub>  
 Polypemon 627  
 Polyphas 1122<sub>7</sub>  
 Polyphemos  
*Myth*: Mt Aitne 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: sky (?) 989 f. sun (?) 989 f.  
 — in folk-tales 988 ff.  
 Polyphemos, s. of Elatos 471  
 Polyrrhenion  
*Cult*: Hermes Δρόμιος 1042  
 — coins of 342<sub>0</sub>  
 Polytechnos  
*Myths*: presented with double axe by Hephaistos 693 pursues Aëdon and Chelidonis 693  
*Metamorphosed into* woodpecker 693  
 Polyxene 117  
 Polyxenos (?) (=Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Pompeii  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Milichius* 1158  
 Pontos  
*Cults*: Poseidon 975<sub>0</sub> Zeus Στράπιος 974<sub>1</sub> ff.  
*Rite*: sacrifices to Zeus Στράπιος on mountain-tops 974<sub>1</sub> ff.  
 — pillars of Herakles in 422
- Popoi  
*Cults*: Dryopes 293<sub>0</sub> Skythai 293<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: underground effigies 293<sub>0</sub>  
 Poros  
*Myth*: drunk on nectar sleeps in garden of Zeus 1027  
 Porphyriion, s. of Sisyphos 1150<sub>4</sub>  
 Porsenna, tomb of 1219  
 Poseidon  
*Cults*: Aigina 184<sub>6</sub> Aixone 730<sub>0</sub> Athens 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> Boiotia 583<sub>3</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> Delphoi 176<sub>1</sub> 177<sub>0</sub> Dorylaeion 281 Heleia (?) 931<sub>0</sub> Mantinea 581 Messana 795<sub>5</sub> Pergamon 729<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> Phokis 731<sub>0</sub> Pontos 975<sub>0</sub> Praisos 731<sub>0</sub> Selinus 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Skythia 292<sub>4</sub> Sparta 729<sub>0</sub> Stelai in Crete 731<sub>0</sub> Syracuse 916<sub>0</sub> Cape Tainaros 890<sub>5</sub> Tralleis 959<sub>0</sub> Zankle 795  
*Epithets*: ἀπότροπος 959<sub>0</sub> ἀργής 959<sub>0</sub> ἀσφάλιος 959<sub>0</sub> εἰνάλιος...Κρονίδης 959<sub>0</sub> ἐνοσίχθων 789<sub>3</sub> "Ιππιος 581 Ἴππιος 959<sub>0</sub> Ἴππιος ποντομέδων ἀναξ 786<sub>1</sub> κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων 869<sub>1</sub> ναυμέδων 793<sub>6</sub> Σεισίχθων 959<sub>0</sub> τεμενοῦχος 959<sub>0</sub> Χθόνιος 695<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: chariot with white horses plunged into sea 975<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of two bulls 902<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of wheat and crops 959<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Aithra (?) 800 Amymone (?) 800 Erechtheus 794 Kleinis 463<sub>1</sub> strikes with trident the Akropolis at Athens 793  
*Genealogy*: f. of Altheos by Leis, d. of Oros 414<sub>2</sub> f. of Astakos by the nymph Olbia 665<sub>3</sub> f. of Boutes 793<sub>12</sub> f. of Hyperes and Anthas by Alkyone, d. of Atlas 414<sub>2</sub> f. of Kteatos and Eurytos 1015<sub>8</sub> f. of Kyknos 669 f. of Minyas by Chryso-gone d. of Halmos 1150<sub>4</sub> f. of Triopas by Kanake 684<sub>2</sub> h. of Demeter 584<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: earthquakes 959<sub>0</sub> lightning 794 ff. 850 originally a specialised form of Zeus 31<sub>3</sub> 582 786 846 850 893<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 582 ff. 1220  
*Attributes*: bident 806<sub>6</sub> 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 795<sub>3</sub> Gigantomachy 713 syncretistic 850 with attributes of Zeus 796 ff.  
*Identified with* Erechtheus 793 Pikos who is also Zeus 695<sub>0</sub> Thamimasadas (Thagimasada) 293<sub>0</sub> Zeus 582 ff. Zeus and Ares 1225



- Poseidon (*cont.*)  
*Associated with* Ge 176<sub>1</sub> Zeus 959<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus and Hades 785 Zeus and  
 Plouton 802 (?)  
*In relation to Zeus* 582 ff. 850  
 — crabs sacred to 665<sub>2</sub> 'sea' of, on  
 Akropolis at Athens 793 trident-  
 mark of, on Akropolis at Athens  
 789 792 ff.
- Poseidonia, coins of 795<sub>3</sub>
- Poseidonios 805<sub>6</sub>
- 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) 397<sub>0</sub>
- Praetextatus, Catacomb of 1206
- Praisos  
*Cults*: Apollon Πύθιος 731<sub>0</sub> Athena  
 731<sub>0</sub> pig 782<sub>5</sub> Poseidon 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
 'Ακραῖος 871<sub>3(4)</sub> Zeus Δικταῖος 731<sub>0</sub>  
 871<sub>3(4)</sub> 930<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: golden hound 1227  
 — coins of 871<sub>3(4)</sub>
- Prajāpati  
*Myth*: birth 1035 f.  
*Identified with* Hiranyagarbha 1035
- Prasiai in Attike  
*Rite*: Hyperborean offerings 497  
*Myth*: Erysichthon 497
- Prasiai in Lakonike  
*Cult*: (Apollon) Μαλέατας 487<sub>3(1)</sub>
- Praxidike, w. of Tremilos (Tremiles?) 971<sub>2</sub>
- Praxiergidaei 1137<sub>0</sub>
- Praxiteles 196 598 599<sub>2</sub> 749 1018 1101<sub>3</sub>  
 1127<sub>0</sub>
- Priamidaei 1102<sub>7</sub>
- Priamos  
*Myths*: death 1069 golden vine 281<sub>4</sub>  
 1184<sub>3</sub> prays to Zeus Ἰδαῖος 8 950<sub>0</sub>  
 three-eyed Zeus 892<sub>5</sub>  
*Genealogy*: gs. of Ilos 8
- Priansos  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 723<sub>0</sub> Apollon Πύθιος  
 (Πύπιος) 723<sub>0</sub> Ares 723<sub>0</sub> Artemis 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Athena Ὠλερῖα 723<sub>0</sub> Eileithyia  
 Βιναρία 723<sub>0</sub> Hera 723<sub>0</sub> Hermes  
 723<sub>0</sub> Hestia 723<sub>0</sub> Korybantes (Kyr-  
 bantes) 723<sub>0</sub> Kouretes (Koretēs)  
 723<sub>0</sub> Leto (Lato) 723<sub>0</sub> Nymphs 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Βιδάτας 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Zeus Δικ-  
 ταῖος (?) 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὀράτριος 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Σκύλιος 723<sub>0</sub>
- Priapos  
*Cult*: Lampsakos 464  
*Epithet*: ἀναξ 1026  
*Rite*: sacrifice of asses 464  
*Type*: double bust (with Maenad) 392  
*Identified with* Phanes 1026  
 — shrine of 154<sub>0</sub>
- Priene  
*Cult*: Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(7)</sub>
- Prinophoroi 411<sub>6</sub>
- Prinophoros  
*Cult*: Thessalonike 411<sub>6</sub>  
*Priestesses*: εὐεία 411<sub>6</sub> θύσα 411<sub>6</sub>  
*Worshippers*: πρωοφόροι 411<sub>6</sub>
- Proculus Iulius 24
- Procyon 477<sub>8</sub>
- Prognaos (?) 353<sub>3</sub>
- Proitos  
*Myth*: Akrisios 1146<sub>0</sub>
- Prokleia 669
- Prokne  
*Metamorphosed into* nightingale 693
- Prokoptes 626 f.
- Prokroustes 626 f.
- Prometheus  
*Epithet*: ἀγκυλομήτης 549<sub>7</sub>  
*Myths*: receives ring from Zeus 990  
 thrusts torch into solar wheel 990  
*Identified with* Kronos 549<sub>7</sub>  
 — in folk-tale from Zakynthos (?)  
 505<sub>5</sub> picture of 986<sub>0</sub>
- Pron, Mt  
*Cult*: Hera 893<sub>2</sub>
- Pronnoi  
*Cult*: Zeus Αἰνήσιος 907<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 907<sub>2</sub>
- Pronoia 863<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Proserpina  
*Genealogy*: m. of Liber by Iupiter 1031  
*Identified with* Luna, Diana, Ceres,  
 Iuno 256  
 See also Persephatta, Persephone,  
 Phersephone
- Prostanna  
*Cults*: Demeter (?) 973<sub>0</sub> Mt Viarus (?)  
 972<sub>2</sub> f. Zeus 973<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 972<sub>2</sub> 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 (Erikapaaios)  
 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 981<sub>1</sub>
- Prousa ad Olympum  
*Cults*: Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 964<sub>2</sub> Zeus Παπ-  
 πῶος 292<sub>4</sub>  
*Festivals*: Olympia 964<sub>2</sub> Pythia 964<sub>2</sub>
- Prousiās, eponym of Prousa ad Olympum  
 964<sub>2</sub>
- Prymnessos  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν 835<sub>4</sub>
- Psara, blind Kyklops in folk-tale from  
 996 ff.

- 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 924<sub>0</sub>  
 Psychai  
*Types*: coining money (?) 1047 f. fulfilling 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 315<sub>3</sub>  
 Psychro Cave on Mt Lasithi 925<sub>1</sub> 926<sub>0</sub> 927<sub>0</sub>  
 — bronze votive tablet from 927<sub>0</sub>  
 Ptah  
*Function*: fire 34<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: potter 1035  
*Identified with* Hephaistos 34<sub>1</sub> Osiris 34<sub>1</sub>  
 Ptelea 405<sub>3</sub>  
 Pteras 190<sub>0</sub>  
 Ptoion, Mt  
*Cult*: Apollon 455  
 — apsidal temple of 900<sub>0</sub>  
 Ptolemais in Phoinike  
*Cult*: Kronos 553 f.  
 — coins of 553 f. 845  
 Purgatory 138<sub>0</sub>  
 Puteoli  
*Cult*: Venus *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub>  
 Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia 237<sub>0</sub>  
 Pylades  
*Etymology*: 453  
*Associated with* Orestes 207<sub>0</sub> 1179  
 — as hypostasis of Apollon (?) 453  
 Pylaios (Pyleos), s. of Lethos 1154<sub>3</sub>  
 Pylaochos (= Hades) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Pyr 981<sub>1</sub>  
 Pyrakmon 784  
 Pyrkon 176<sub>1</sub>  
 Pyrrha, w. of Deukalion 971<sub>0</sub>  
 Pyrrhos, s. of Achilles 452<sub>12</sub> 915<sub>2</sub>  
 Pythaeus 173<sub>4</sub>  
 Pythagoras  
*Myths*: brought up with Astraios 230 eagle at Kroton 222<sub>4</sub> eagle at Olympia 222<sub>4</sub> exhibits golden thigh at Kroton 223 purified with thunderstone 835 934<sub>0</sub> visits Idaean Cave 933<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* cock 223<sub>1</sub>  
*Functions*: as rebirth of Apollon 221 ff. as son of Apollon 222 as specially related to Apollon 223<sub>1</sub> 225 as Apollon *Hyperbóreos* or *Hyperbóreios* 223 as Apollon *Paíon* 223 as Apollon *Pýthios* 223 as emanation from mind of Zeus 225 distinguished from god and man 223<sub>5</sub>  
*Etymology*: 223<sub>3</sub>  
 — on cycle of life's changes 120<sub>1</sub> on food fallen from table 1129<sub>2</sub> on sound of beaten bronze 649 on tomb of Apollon 221 ep. 252 on tomb of Zeus 345<sub>1</sub> 354 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>  
 Pythagoreans  
 — at Kroton 225 burial rites of 472 earliest traditions of 223 *ιεροι λογοι* of 1024 imbued with Orphism 131 1024 numerical speculation of 236<sub>5</sub> on averting thunderstorms 827<sub>7</sub> on Delphic E 177<sub>0</sub> 178<sub>1</sub> on Delphic tripod 178<sub>1</sub> on Delphoi 177 f. on Milky Way 40 ff. 476 840 on sea 557<sub>1</sub> on semicircles of Dioskouroi 434 on spherical earth 432 on tower of Zan 354 primitive lore of 222<sub>1</sub> 223 silence of 7<sub>1</sub> use of meal by 19<sub>0</sub> use of symbol Y by 227<sub>4</sub>  
 Pythaístai 815  
 Pythia, the festival  
 at Ankyra 491<sub>0(0)</sub> at Delphoi 490<sub>0(5)</sub> at Philippopolis in Thrace 490<sub>0(5)</sub> at Prousa ad Olympum 964<sub>2</sub> at Thyateira 562 at Tralleis 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 959<sub>0</sub>  
 — 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 *pneúma* at Delphoi and elsewhere 208<sub>1</sub> 208<sub>2</sub> 209<sub>1</sub>  
 Pytho 816  
 See also Delphoi  
 Python  
*Myths*: slain by Apollon 217<sub>2</sub> 239<sub>0</sub> slays Apollon 221 ff.  
*Functions*: king 1087 oracular *daimónion* 210<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: snake 196 239<sub>0</sub>  
 — bones and teeth of, kept in Delphic tripod 221 changes from holy snake to unholy dragon 241<sub>3</sub>  
 Queen of the Underworld 118 119<sub>0</sub> 119<sub>2</sub> 132  
*Rite*: human consort 132 f. cp. 1164 ff.  
 Quinquennalia 601  
 Quirinus  
*Cult*: Rome 1165<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Romulus 24  
 Râ  
*Myth*: ladder 126  
*Types*: hawk-headed 774<sub>0</sub> phoenix 1035  
 — nostrils of 773<sub>0</sub> 774<sub>0</sub>  
 Râma-çandra 660<sub>1</sub>



- Ramah 1059  
 Ramitha 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
 Ramman  
*Etymology*: 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Types*: seated with lightning-fork 765<sub>1</sub>  
 standing on bull with lightning-fork 766<sub>1</sub> standing on bull with lightning-fork and scimitar (?) 765<sub>1</sub>  
 standing on bull with two lightning-forks 765<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Theos Hypsistos 886<sub>0(30)</sub>
- 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 807<sub>3(11)</sub> (?)  
 Phoinike 630
- Rešef Heš See Rešef (Rešup)
- Rhapso  
*Cult*: Phaleron 183 f.
- Rhea  
*Cults*: Delos 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> Gaza (?) 675  
 Mt Juktas (?) 944<sub>0</sub> Mt Kamares (?) 934<sub>0</sub> Knossos 520<sub>5</sub> 548 Mt Kynthos (?) 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> Mastaura 565<sub>2</sub> Mykenai (?) 515 525 1221 Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: Ma 565<sub>2</sub> *μεγάλη* 296<sub>4</sub> *Φρυγία θεός μεγάλη* 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: human consort in Crete (?) 522  
 524 mysteries of Zeus 'Ιδαίος 932<sub>1</sub>  
 sacrifice of bull 565<sub>2</sub> torches carried over mountain 934<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: bears Zeus in Dictaeon Cave 928<sub>0</sub> consorts with Zeus 1029 entrusts infant Zeus to Kouretes 931<sub>0</sub>  
 gives Kronos stone instead of Zeus 793<sub>8</sub> 901<sub>1</sub> hides infant Zeus in cave on Mt Aigaion 925<sub>1</sub> Merops (?) 1132<sub>1</sub> protected by Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?) against Kronos 291<sub>0</sub>  
 puts Dionysos or Zagreus together again 1032 rescues Zeus from Kronos 928<sub>0</sub> takes Hera to Okeanos and Tethys 1020  
*Metamorphosed into* snake 1029  
*Genealogy*: d. of Okeanos by Tethys 1020 d. of Ouranos by Gaia 925<sub>1</sub> d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. of Attis 294 296 m. of Phersephone or Kore by Zeus 1029 m. of Zeus 830 925<sub>1</sub>  
 1029 m. of Zeus by Kronos 941<sub>0</sub> w. of Kronos 548 673  
*Function*: earth 515 548 557<sub>1</sub>
- Rhea (*cont.*)  
*Etymology*: 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: cypress 932<sub>1</sub> double axe (?) 601 griffins (?) 524 lilies (?) 525 lion 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> poppies 1165<sub>1</sub> poppy-head 515<sub>5</sub>  
*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 970<sub>0</sub> Demeter 1029 1032 Kybele 970<sub>0</sub> Ma 565<sub>2</sub>  
 Mother of the gods 970<sub>0</sub> Semiramis 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> Tyche 675 (?)  
*In relation to* Zeus 552<sub>1</sub>  
*Superseded by* Apollon 921<sub>0</sub> Hera 515  
 — thickets of, in Crete 941<sub>0</sub>
- Rhegion  
*Cults*: Apollon 680 Artemis *Φακελίτις* or *Φακελίνη* 680  
*Myth*: Orestes 680 848
- Rheneia  
*Cult*: Theos 'Υψιστος 880<sub>0(19)</sub>
- Rhipai 495
- Rhithymna  
*Cult*: Apollon (*Στυρακίτης*?) 492<sub>0(10)</sub>  
 — coins of 492<sub>0(10)</sub>
- Rhizenia 934<sub>0</sub>
- Rhodanus 476
- Rhode, in Spain  
*Cult*: axe-bearing god (?) 547<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 547<sub>0</sub>
- Rhodes  
*Cults*: Althaimenes 923<sub>0</sub> Athena (?) 923<sub>0</sub> Dionysos *Σμύνηθιος* (?) 250 Elektryone (Elektrona) 499 Helios 469 Herakles 469 Hermes *Καταιβάτης* 14 Hermes *Χθόνιος* 14 Tlepolemos 469 Zeus 615 Zeus 'Αταβύριος 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ενδεδρος 946<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Tlapolemeia 469  
*Rites*: human sacrifice to Zeus 'Αταβύριος (?) 924<sub>0</sub> statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton invited to banquet 1172  
*Myths*: Althaimenes 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> Apollon and Dionysos destroy mice 250<sub>2</sub>  
*In relation to* 'Minoan' Crete 923<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 253 f. 469<sub>7</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> colossus of 254<sub>5</sub>
- Rhodes, the town  
*Cults*: Agathos Daimon 925<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Αταβύριος 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub>  
*Worshippers*: *Διοσαταβυριασταί* 924<sub>0</sub>  
*Διοσαταβυριασταί* 'Αγαθοδαιμονιασταί 925<sub>0</sub>
- Rhodos, w. of Helios 684<sub>2</sub>
- Rhoikos 1021
- Rhoio, d. of Staphylos  
*Myth*: Kastabos 670
- Riqqeh 1145<sub>1(a)</sub>
- Rit-  
*Cult*: Magrè 1220  
*Etymology*: 1220

Robigus 630

Roma, the personification of Rome

*Cults*: Miletos 1228 Ouxenton (?) 386<sub>1</sub>

Pergamon 1179 1182 Teos 1066

*Types*: Janiform (?) 386<sub>1</sub> seated 103<sub>0</sub>  
standing 361<sub>5</sub> 1181<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with Penates Publici Populi Romani* 1181<sub>0</sub>

Rome

*Cults*: Aesculapius 1080 1083 1086

Asklepios 1088 1090 Attis 306<sub>5</sub>

Attis *Menotyrannus* (*Menoturanus*,

*Minoturanus*) 303<sub>2</sub> Attis *Meno-*

*tyrannus Invictus* 303<sub>2</sub> Attis *Sanctus*

*Menotyrannus* 303<sub>2</sub> Diana 400 f.

421 *Dius Fidius* 724<sub>0</sub> ff. *Divus Pater*

Falacer 1226 Falacer (See *Divus*

*Pater Falacer*) Fontes 369<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub>

Fortuna 1195<sub>2</sub> Furrina 808<sub>0(17)</sub>

Genius Caeli Montis 400<sub>11</sub> Genius

Iovii Augusti 1194<sub>4</sub> Hecatae 307<sub>0</sub>

Hecate 835<sub>6</sub> Herakles Ἡρακλῆς 783

Hercules 469 783 Hercules *Iulianus*

400<sub>11</sub> Ianus *Curvatus* 364 Iuno

*Sororia* 364 Iupiter 45 46 Iupiter

*Caelius* 400<sub>11</sub> Iupiter *Capitolinus*

601 Iupiter *Conservator* 1195<sub>1</sub> Iu-

piter *Custos* 1181<sub>0</sub> (Iupiter) *Deus*

*Bronton* 835<sub>6</sub> Iupiter *Epulo* 1172<sub>0</sub>

Iupiter *Fagutalis* 403<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Fere-*

*trius* 111<sub>0</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> 601 Iupiter *Fulgur*

46<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Lapis* 546<sub>0</sub> Iupiter

*Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 369<sub>0</sub>

401<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Sanctus Bronton* 835<sub>6</sub>

836 838 f. Iupiter *Stator* 46<sub>0</sub> 708<sub>5</sub>

Iupiter *Tonans* 111<sub>0</sub> 835<sub>6</sub> Iupiter

*Ultor* 1102<sub>8</sub> 1103<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Victor*

708 Lares *Querquetulani* 401 Liber

307<sub>0</sub> Magna Mater 969<sub>4</sub> Mater deum

301 f. 306<sub>5</sub> Minerva 369<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> Mith-

ras 307<sub>0</sub> 838 f. Mithras *Deus Sol*

*Invictus* 835<sub>6</sub> Penates *Publici*

*Populi Romani* 1181<sub>0</sub> Quirinus 1165<sub>1</sub>

*Semo Sancus Sanctus Deus Fidius*

725<sub>0</sub> spear of Mars 547<sub>2</sub> Theos

Ἰψιστος 879<sub>0(13)</sub> *tigillum sororium*

363 ff. Venus *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub> Vesta

1148<sub>0</sub> 1172<sub>4</sub> Victoria 1195<sub>2</sub> (Zeus)

Θεὸς Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835<sub>6</sub> 836

(Zeus) Θεὸς Μέγας Βροντῶν 835<sub>6</sub>

836 Zeus *Kepavios* 808<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus

*Πιστιος* (= *Dius Fidius*) 724<sub>0</sub> Zeus

Ἰπατος 876<sub>0(6)</sub>

*Festivals*: Epula Iovis 1172<sub>0</sub> Ludi

Plebei 1172<sub>0</sub> Ludi Romani 1172<sub>0</sub>

*Rite*: sacrifice to *tigillum sororium*

364

*Myths*: Asklepios arrives as golden

snake on shipboard 1083 Horatii

and Curvati 363 f.

— bronze plaque from 664<sub>1</sub> coins of

105 f. 110<sub>8</sub> 331 ff. 336<sub>8</sub> 357 f. 360 f.

362 366 ff. 631 ff. 707<sub>0</sub> 708 708<sub>5</sub>

810 f. 850 f. 903<sub>2</sub> 1080 1082 1083

1091 1102<sub>8</sub> 1103<sub>0</sub> 1126<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>0</sub>

Rome (cont.)

1171 1194<sub>4</sub> 1195<sub>1-3</sub> 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 400<sub>11</sub> Mons Querquetu-

lanus at 400<sub>11</sub> pyramids of 1145<sub>1(6)</sub>

Tigillum Sororium at 363 ff.

Romove

*Cults*: Perkunas 93 Pikulas 93 Potrym-

pus 93

— oak of 92 f.

Romuald, St 135

Romulus

*Myths*: birth 1059 1089 caught up to

heaven 24 dedicates spoils to Iupiter

*Feretrius* 111<sub>0</sub> 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<sub>4</sub>

Roodmas 325<sub>8</sub> 326<sub>4</sub>

Rosarno, *pinax* of terra cotta from 1043

Rosmerta

*Cult*: Gallia Belgica 547<sub>0</sub> (?)

*Identified with* Maia 94<sub>3</sub>

*Associated with* Mercurius 94<sub>3</sub>

Rudra

*Cult*: India 791

Rugiwit 386

Rural Dionysia 236

Russia

*Festival*: Feast of the Golden-reindeer-

horn 465

Sabaoth 889<sub>0(10)</sub>

*Epithet*: ὑψικέρανος 1212

*Identified with* Adonaïos 1212

Sabas, St, founder of monastery near

Jerusalem 116

Sabas, St, the Gothic martyr 1104<sub>3</sub>

Sabas, St, the Greek martyr 1104

Sabazios

*Epithets*: Ἰας 275<sub>8</sub> Ἰεὺς 275<sub>9</sub> Ἰης 275<sub>7</sub>

*Rites*: ἐφουγον κακόν, εἶρον ἀμεινον 1166<sub>1</sub>

mysteries 133<sub>0</sub>

*Function*: dreams 283<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology*: 1217

*Type*: on horseback 283<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with* Dionysos 275<sub>6</sub> Zeus

275<sub>5</sub> 1184

— as link between Zeus and Kyrios

Sabaoth 884<sub>0(10)</sub>

Sabians 129<sub>2</sub>

Sabines 340<sub>3</sub>

Saboi

*Cult*: Dionysos Σάβος or Σαβάξιος 270

Sabus, s. of Sancus 724<sub>0</sub>



- Sadoth, St 134  
 Saeculum Aureum 373<sub>2</sub>  
 Sæhrímnir 214<sub>0</sub>  
 Sagittarius 477<sub>8</sub>  
 Sahin in Phoinike  
*Cults*: Helios (?) 'Ανίκητος (?) Mithras  
 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Theos "Υψιστος Οὐράνιος  
 "Υπατος 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>8</sub>
- Sahsnot  
*Cult*: Saxons 51  
*Identified with* Ziu 50 f.
- Salamis  
*Cult*: Zeus Τροπαίος 110<sub>9</sub>  
*Myth*: Ophis 1087  
 — full moon at battle of 854
- Salapia, coins of 1159<sub>1</sub>  
 Salia, m. of Salios 338<sub>3</sub>  
 Salii 375 ff. 470  
*Rites*: *axamenta* 376<sub>1</sub> *Iunonii* 376<sub>1</sub>  
*Minervii* 376<sub>1</sub>  
 — hymn of 294<sub>0</sub> 328 ff. 337
- Salios, eponym of Salii 338<sub>3</sub>  
 Salmakis 872<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 Salmoneus  
*Personates* Zeus 24<sub>1</sub> 1122  
*Myths*: comes from Thessaly to Elis  
 825 1088 imitates thunders of Zeus  
 8 833  
*Genealogy*: s. of Aiolos 1088
- Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)  
*Cult*: Getai 227 822 851  
*Rite*: messenger sent once in four  
 years 227  
*Myth*: underground retreat in Thrace  
 226  
*Etymology*: 227  
*Identified with* Gebeleïzis (Zibeleïzis)  
 227 822
- Salonae  
*Cults*: Ianus *Pater Augustus* (?) 325  
 Iupiter *Caelestis* 69<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub> Iupiter  
*Optimus Maximus Caelestis Patronus*  
 401<sub>0</sub>
- Salus 94<sub>3</sub>  
 See also Hygieia
- Samaritans  
*Cult*: summit of Mt Gerizim 888<sub>0(10)</sub>
- Šamarra, spiral tower of 128
- Samaš 49<sub>3</sub> 483
- Same or Samos in Kephallenia 354<sub>9</sub>
- Samemroumos 981<sub>1</sub>  
 See also Hypsouranios
- Samos  
*Cults*: Apollon Πύθιος 223<sub>3</sub> Dionysos  
 'Ενόρχης 1021 Zan (?) 354<sub>9</sub>  
*Etymology*: 354<sub>9</sub>  
 — second Heraion at 1230
- Samos or Samothrace 354<sub>9</sub>  
 See also Samothrace
- Samos in Karia 354<sub>9</sub>  
 Samos (Samia, Samikon) in Triphylia  
 354<sub>9</sub>
- Samothrace  
*Cults*: Adamna 295 Bendis 314<sub>0</sub>  
 Demeter 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Dionysos 314<sub>0</sub>
- Samothrace (*cont.*)  
 Hades 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub> Kabeiroi 313 842  
 Kadmilos 314<sub>0</sub> Kore 314<sub>0</sub> 314<sub>2</sub>
- Samuel 1059  
 Samus 93  
 Sanchouniathon 553 715 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> 984<sub>4</sub>  
 1021 1023 1037 f. 1109<sub>0</sub>
- Sancus See Dius
- Sandas  
*Cult*: Tarsos 560  
*Attributes*: bow-case 571 double axe  
 571 sword 571  
*Identified with* Herakles 560  
 — pyramid of 983<sub>0</sub>
- Sandon 560 See Sandas
- Sangarios, river-god in Galatia 969<sub>4</sub>
- Sappho 8
- Saqqâra 1145<sub>1(a)</sub>
- Sarapis  
*Cults*: Alexandria 1158 Mt Argaios (?)  
 978<sub>0</sub> Athens 985<sub>0</sub> Delos 922<sub>0</sub> Dory-  
 laeion 281 Kaisareia in Kappadokia  
 978<sub>0</sub> Kanobos (Kanopos) 985<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithet*: ἐν Κανώπῳ 985<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: *lectisternium* 1171<sub>3</sub>  
*Function*: healing 127  
*Attribute*: *kálathos* 1171<sub>3</sub>  
*Types*: bearded god 1128<sub>0</sub> (?) bust on  
 couch 1171<sub>3</sub> double bust (with Zeus)  
 388 (?) holding Mt Argaios 978<sub>0</sub>  
 snake with bearded human head  
 1128<sub>0</sub> (?)  
*Identified with* Pikos who is also Zeus (?)  
 695<sub>0</sub> Zeus 714<sub>3</sub> (?) 745<sub>1</sub> 773<sub>0</sub> 1158  
*Associated with* Isis 1171<sub>3</sub> Zeus Κύνθιος  
 and Isis 922<sub>0</sub>
- Sarasvati  
*Cult*: India 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: w. of Brahmā 774<sub>1</sub> w. of  
 Vishnu 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: in lotos-wreath 774<sub>1</sub> seated on  
 lotos 774<sub>1</sub>
- Sardanapalos 694<sub>0</sub>
- Sardeis  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Artimuk  
 (= Artemis) 1227 f. Artimuk *Ibsim-*  
*sis* (= Artemis 'Εφεσία?) 1227  
 Hūdāns (= 'Υδηνός?) 1227 f. Pldāns  
 (= 'Απὸλλων?) 1228 Tavśás  
 (= Zeus?) 1227 f.  
 — coins of 424 957<sub>2</sub> formerly called  
 Hyde 1228
- Sardinia  
*Cults*: Aesculapius 1086 Sardopator  
 or Sardus *Pater* 143  
 — bronze statuettes from 446<sub>1</sub> 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-Tsam in Lydia  
*Cults*: Hypsistos 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Theos "Υψισ-  
 τος 881<sub>0(20)</sub>

- Sarmatai, 'Jupiter-columns' among 108  
tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- Saron, the hunter 413 f.  
*Cults*: Bathykolpos 414<sub>1</sub> Megara (?)  
414<sub>1</sub>  
*Function*: sea 414<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to Artemis* 413 f.
- Saron, the place-name or river-name 414<sub>0</sub>
- Saronia 413<sub>7</sub>
- Saronic Gulf 412
- Satan  
*Type*: harrowing of Hell 138<sub>0</sub>  
— euphemistic names of 1112<sub>7</sub>  
throne of 955<sub>0</sub>
- Satrai  
*Cult*: Dionysos 269<sub>1</sub>
- Saturn, the planet 139
- Saturnus  
*Cult*: Carthage 554<sub>3</sub> 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: Augustus 555<sub>0</sub> Augustus  
Balcaranensis 555<sub>0</sub> Balcaranensis  
Augustus 555<sub>0</sub> Balcaranensis (Bal-  
caranensis, Balcharanensis, Balk-  
haranensis) 554<sub>3</sub> deus magnus Bal-  
caranensis 555<sub>0</sub> Dominus 555<sub>0</sub> Do-  
minus Balcaranensis Augustus 555<sub>0</sub>  
Sanctus 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Priest*: sacerdos 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: driven out by Iupiter 448<sub>1</sub> 941<sub>0</sub>  
mutilated by Iupiter 448<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Iupiter 940<sub>0</sub> 941<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: cold 557<sub>1</sub> moisture 557<sub>1</sub>  
Saturday 70  
*Attributes*: bill-hook 550 555<sub>0</sub> bull's  
head 70<sub>1</sub> hárpe 70<sub>1</sub> 550 845 patera  
555<sub>0</sub> sickle 550  
*Type*: bust in pediment 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Ba'al-hammân 554<sub>3</sub>  
Ianus 374 Kronos 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Supersedes*: Kronos 550
- Satyroi  
*Myths*: a satyr caught asleep and  
brought to Sulla 485<sub>3</sub> Milichus s.  
of a Satyr by the nymph Myrice  
1110<sub>0</sub>  
*Attributes*: ass 464 ivy-wreath 388  
*Types*: ἀποσκοπεύων 461<sub>0</sub> dancing 476  
double bust (with Dionysos) 388  
double bust (with Maenad) 392  
double bust (with Zeus) 388 Jani-  
form 388<sub>0</sub> playing sýrinx 165<sub>0</sub> with  
pointed ears 95  
*Associated with* Dionysos 245<sub>5</sub> 246<sub>0</sub>  
262 f. 265 Maenads 929<sub>0</sub>  
— on votive tablet 903<sub>0</sub>
- Scandinavia, rock-carvings of 687 the  
Volsung saga of 682 848
- Scironian Rocks 895<sub>1</sub>
- Scorpio (Scorpius) 43<sub>4</sub> 477<sub>8</sub> 483<sub>2</sub> 558<sub>0</sub>
- Scoti tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>
- Scythia See Skythia
- Scythians See Skythai
- Sdan (?) 342<sub>0</sub>
- Seasons See Horai
- Seb 1035
- Sebastion at Alexandria 1180<sub>4</sub>
- Sebastopolis  
*Cult*: Theos (?) "Υψιστος 883<sub>0(26)</sub>
- Sebeda 662
- Segesta by euphemism for Egesta (?)  
1112<sub>7</sub>
- Seimia  
*Cult*: Emesa (?) 814<sub>3</sub>
- Seirios, rising of 949<sub>5</sub>
- Sekhem, the Great 774<sub>0</sub>
- Sekhet-Hetep 126
- Selagos 1072
- Selene  
*Cults*: Gythion 259<sub>0</sub> Pergamon 1185  
*Myth*: Nemean Lion 892<sub>4</sub>  
*Types*: bust 1185 bust on couch 1171<sub>3</sub>  
bust with crescent 664<sub>1</sub> on horse-  
back 261  
*Associated with* Helios 1171<sub>3</sub>  
— on vase 777<sub>2</sub>
- Seleukeia, a later name of Tralleis 958<sub>0</sub>  
960<sub>0</sub>
- Seleukeia Pieria  
*Cults*: Demos (?) 1192 Theoi Soteres  
869<sub>1</sub> thunderbolt 809 Zeus 1192  
Zeus Κάσιος 810<sub>0</sub> (?) 981<sub>1</sub> f. Zeus  
Κεραύνιος 807<sub>5(3)</sub> 809 Zeus Κορυ-  
φαίος 869<sub>1</sub> 983<sub>3</sub> (Zeus) Νικηφόρος  
(Νεικηφόρος) Κεραύνιος 1225 Zeus  
'Ολύμπιος 869<sub>1</sub>  
*Priests*: κεραυνοφόροι 809  
*Myth*: eagle guides Seleukos i Nikator  
to site 981<sub>1</sub> f. 1188  
— coins of 809 f. 850 982<sub>0</sub> f. 1192
- Selge  
*Cults*: Herakles 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus 492<sub>0(0)</sub>  
— coins of 492<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Selinous  
*Cults*: Apollon 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Athena 489<sub>0(0)</sub>  
(Demeter) Μαλοφόρος 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Hera-  
kles 489<sub>0(0)</sub> (Kore) Πασικράτεια  
489<sub>0(0)</sub> Phobos 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Poseidon  
489<sub>0(0)</sub> Tyndaridai 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus  
489<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Selinous in Kilikia, coins of 101<sub>0</sub>
- Selloi 960<sub>0</sub>
- Selymbria  
*Cult*: Theos "Αγιος "Υψιστος 878<sub>0(10)</sub>  
949<sub>4</sub>
- Sem (Shem) 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>
- Semea 814<sub>3</sub>
- Semele  
*Cults*: Synnada (?) 362 f. Thracο-  
Phrygians 842  
*Epithets*: Θυώνη 251<sub>0</sub> "Υη 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 ff. 1031 Zeus 187<sub>8</sub>  
189<sub>0</sub> 731 ff. (?) 956<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: m. of Dionysos 220  
*Function*: earth 279<sub>3</sub>  
*Etymology*: 279<sub>3</sub>



- Semele (*cont.*)  
*Type*: carrying Dionysos (?) with goat at her feet 363  
*Identified with Ge* 279<sub>3</sub>  
*Associated with Deos (Dios)* 279 f.  
*In relation to Dionysos* 663 Zeus 663  
 — ascent of 242 nurse of 1031 picture of 828
- Semiramel 666<sub>2</sub>
- Semiramis  
*Cult*: Emesa (?) 814<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with Hekate* Χθονική (*sic*) 695<sub>0</sub> Hera Ζωγία 695<sub>0</sub> Nemesis 695<sub>0</sub>  
 Rhea 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub>  
 — and Stabrobates 7
- Semiramis Rhea  
*Genealogy*: w. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> w. of Ninos 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub>
- Semites  
*Cult*: snake 1111<sub>1</sub>
- Semnai  
*Cult*: Phlyeis 1066  
 — as euphemistic title of Erinyes 1112<sub>7</sub> 1113<sub>0(1)</sub>
- Semnai of Parnassos, the three mantic 19<sub>0</sub>
- Semo Sancus See Dios
- Seneca, portrait-herm of (with Sokrates) 390
- Senones  
*Cult*: dicephalous Herakles (?) 445 f.
- Sept 126
- Serapis See Sarapis
- Serdike  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1079 Zeus 744<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 744<sub>0</sub> 821 1079
- Serea in Phrygia  
*Cult*: Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Βεννεὺς Σερεανός 883<sub>0(10)</sub>
- Seriphos  
*Rite*: burial of lobster 665<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Akrisios slain by Perseus 1155<sub>7</sub>  
 — idol from 122<sub>0</sub> lobster held sacred in 665
- Servius Tullius  
*Myth*: birth 1059 1089
- Set, ladder of 126
- Sethlans  
*Etymology*: 709<sub>9</sub>
- Severus, s. of Venicarus 93
- Shi-Dugal 483
- Sibitti  
*Associated with Istar and Sin* 545<sub>0</sub>
- Sicily  
*Cults*: Acheloios 667<sub>3</sub> Kronos 910<sub>0</sub>  
 Palikoi 909<sub>0</sub> Persephone 1040 Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(18)</sub> 812 ff.  
*Myths*: burial of Kronos 555<sub>0</sub> burial of Kronos' sickle 448<sub>0</sub> 555<sub>0</sub>  
 — 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 972<sub>1</sub>
- Sidon  
*Cult*: Astarte 869<sub>0</sub>(?)  
 — coins of 869<sub>0</sub>
- Sidyra  
*Myth*: founded by Sidymos, s. of Tloos by Cheleidon d. of Kragos 971<sub>2</sub>  
 — speech on mythology and ritual of 455<sub>2</sub>
- Sidymos, eponym of Sidyma 971<sub>2</sub>
- Siegfried 447<sub>5</sub>
- Siggeir 682
- Sigmund 682
- Signy 682
- Sigyn 305<sub>0</sub>
- Sikanoi  
*Cult*: Tetraktos (?) 322
- Sikeloi 795 908<sub>1</sub>
- Sikyon  
*Cults*: Aphrodite 1165<sub>1</sub> Asklepios 1080 f. 1082 1090 Hypnos Ἐπιδώτης 321<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Nero) 97<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μειλιχίος 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 1165<sub>1</sub> Epopeus 1013  
 — coins of 1145<sub>0</sub> formerly called Mekone 1165<sub>1</sub>
- 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 Ἐψιστος 881<sub>0(20)</sub>
- Silchester, diminutive bronze axes from 699
- Silenoi  
*Types*: kneeling 199<sub>2</sub> with wreaths of ivy and vine 95  
*Associated with Dionysos* 661
- Silenos  
*Cult*: Aitne (formerly Katane) 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth*: Polyphemos 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Apollon 221 252  
*Attributes*: ass 464 ivy-wreath 388 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: double bust (with Apollon) 388 Janiform (archaistic + Hellenistic) 387 vintager 270<sub>3</sub>
- Sillyon  
*Cult*: Zeus 572<sub>11</sub>(?)  
 — coins of 572(?)
- Sillyos, in Pamphylia 573<sub>0</sub>
- Silpion, Mt  
*Cults*: fire (πῦρ ἀθάνατον) 1187 Iupiter Capitolinus (?) 1188 Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος 1186 Zeus Καπετώλιος (= Iupiter Capitolinus) (?) 1188<sub>14</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος 428 1187 Zeus Νέμειος 1186
- Silvanus 64<sub>0</sub>
- Silvii 417<sub>5</sub>

- Sima 814<sub>3</sub>  
 Simon Magus  
*Personates* Zeus 726<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Helene as Zeus and Athena 726<sub>0</sub>  
*Confused with* Semo Sancus 726<sub>0</sub> —  
 Sin  
*Associated with* Ištar and Sibitti 545<sub>0</sub>  
 Sinis  
*Myth*: Theseus 627<sub>6</sub> 1091  
 Sinjerli, Hittite relief from 767<sub>0</sub> *stèle* of Esar-haddon from 769<sub>0</sub>  
 Sinope  
*Cults*: Nemesis 363 Theos Μέγας "Γψιστος 883<sub>0(25)</sub> Theos "Γψιστος 883<sub>0(25)</sub> Zeus Σάραπης 1171<sub>3</sub>  
 — coins of 363 493<sub>0(7)</sub> 1171<sub>3</sub>  
 Siphnos  
*Cult*: Zeus 'Επιβήμιος 897<sub>3</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub>  
 Sipyrene 970<sub>0</sub>  
 Sipylos, Mt  
*Cults*: Meter Πλαστήγη 956<sub>2</sub> Zeus "Γπαρος (?) 876<sub>0(8)</sub> 956<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Kouretes 956<sub>2</sub> Pelops 956<sub>2</sub> Tantalos 956<sub>2</sub> Zeus born 956<sub>2</sub> Zeus consorts with Semele 956<sub>2</sub>  
 — throne of Pelops on 956<sub>2</sub>  
 Sipylos, personification of the mountain 957<sub>0</sub>  
 Sirens 178<sub>1</sub>  
 Siris, town in Lucania  
*Myth*: Herakles and Kalchas 490<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Sirmium  
*Cults*: Genius huius loci 1194<sub>4</sub> Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 1194<sub>4</sub>  
 Siscia, coins struck at 604  
 Sisypchos  
*Genealogy*: f. of Halmos and Porphyryon 1150<sub>4</sub> s. of Aiolos 1150<sub>4</sub>  
 Sithnides 897<sub>1</sub>  
 Skamandria, coins of 949<sub>5</sub>  
 Skamandros 481<sub>6</sub>  
 Skarphe See Eteonos  
 Skephros 164<sub>6</sub> 455<sub>8</sub>  
 Skepsis  
*Cult*: Zeus 'Ιδαίος (Eidaíos) 951<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 949<sub>5</sub> 951<sub>0</sub>  
 Skias in Arkadia (?)  
*Cult*: Apollon Σκιαστής 439  
 Skiathos  
*Cults*: Polis 878<sub>0(6)</sub> Zeus "Γψιστος 878<sub>0(6)</sub> 922<sub>2</sub>  
 Skiron  
*Myths*: Theseus 627<sub>6</sub> tortoise 895<sub>1</sub>  
 Skirtos 430<sub>1</sub>  
 Skoll 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Skopas 405<sub>3</sub> 469 476<sub>3</sub> 594 1206  
 Skopeloi Kronioi 554<sub>2</sub>  
 Skylla 407<sub>0</sub>  
 Skyllis 739  
 Skythai, deities worshipped by, with their Greek equivalents 292<sub>4</sub> 293<sub>0</sub> divination of 635 driven out of Thrace 107<sub>0</sub> underground effigies of the gods called πόποι 293<sub>0</sub>  
 Skythia  
*Cults*: Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (sc. Leuke) 925<sub>0</sub> Aphrodite Ούρανία 292<sub>4</sub> Apollon 292<sub>4</sub> Ares 292<sub>4</sub> 547<sub>3</sub> Athena Λινδία 925<sub>0</sub> Herakles 292<sub>4</sub> Hestia 292<sub>4</sub> iron scimitar 547<sub>3</sub> 680 Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones) 1179<sub>1</sub> Papaios 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Philioi Daimones (Orestes and Pylades) 1179 Poseidon 292<sub>4</sub> Zeus 'Αταβύριος 925<sub>0</sub> Zeus Παπαίος 292<sub>4</sub>  
*Rite*: Hyperborean offerings 497  
*Myth*: Erysichthon 684  
 — axe-heads from 632<sub>6</sub>  
 Sleipnir 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle 1151  
 Sminthe 250<sub>2</sub>  
 Sminthia 250<sub>2</sub>  
 Smyrna  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Στρατονικός 729<sub>0</sub> Ares 729<sub>0</sub> (Artemis) Ταυροπόλος 729<sub>0</sub> Athena 'Αρεία 729<sub>0</sub> Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Meter Σιπυληνή 729<sub>0</sub> Nemeseis 524 864<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 'Ακράϊος 319 873<sub>0(8)</sub> 962<sub>1</sub> Zeus Πατρώος 280<sub>1</sub>  
*Festival*: Hadrianeia 1121<sub>0</sub>  
 — bronze medallion from 629 f. coins of 319 873<sub>0(8)</sub> in folk-tale from Psara 997 f.  
 Smyrna, old name of Ephesos 962<sub>2</sub>  
 Smyrnaioi, old name of Ephesians 962<sub>2</sub>  
 Soa  
*Cult*: (Zeus) Βεννεύς 883<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Sokrates and Phaidros 1118 and Strep-siades 2 portrait-herm of (with Platon?) 390 portrait-herm of (with Seneca) 390  
 Sol  
*Epithet*: *Invictus* 307<sub>0</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub>  
*Function*: Sunday 70  
*Types*: colossal 254<sub>5</sub> driving chariot 96 radiate bust 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Apollo and Liber Pater 256 f. Mithras 307<sub>0</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub>  
*Associated with* Luna 59<sub>0</sub> 98 1050  
 — in hymn of Salii (?) 329<sub>0(1)(3)(5)(6)</sub>  
 Solmissos, Mt  
*Myth*: Kouretes aid Leto against Hera 962<sub>2</sub>  
 Solomon sends golden pillar to Souron 424<sub>0</sub>  
 — temple of 425 ff. 888<sub>0(0)</sub> 1204<sub>0</sub>  
 Solon, oath of, by (Zeus) 'Ικέσιος, Καθάριστος, and 'Εξακεστήρ 1093<sub>1</sub>  
 Solyma See Solymos, Mt  
 Solymoi  
*Cults*: Kronos 972<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σολυμεύς 973<sub>1</sub> f.  
 Solymos, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Σολυμεύς 973<sub>1</sub> f.  
 Solymos, eponym of Solymoi 973<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ares by Kaldene d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973<sub>1</sub> s. of Zeus by Chaldene 973<sub>1</sub> s. of Zeus by Kalchedonia 973<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Zeus (?) 974<sub>0</sub>



- Sophokles, portrait-herm of (with Euripides) 389  
 Sosias, the potter 1167  
 Sosipolis  
*Cult*: Elis 1151  
 Sotades, the potter 346<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 Soteria 232 f.  
 Souras (?)  
*Cult*: Nikopolis in Moesia 818<sub>2(2)</sub> 822<sub>12</sub>  
 Sousa  
*Cult*: god with bovine horns, axe, and double lightning-fork 769<sub>0</sub>  
 Spain, celts from 509  
 Spalaxos or Palaxos, the Koures 587  
 Sparta  
*Cults*: Apollon 246<sub>1</sub> Apollon Ἀκρίτας 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Apollon Ἀμυκλαῖος 255 Apollon Μαλεάτης 487<sub>3(1)</sub> Ares 729<sub>0</sub> Artemis 457 Artemis Λυγοδέσμα 421<sub>5</sub> Artemis Ὀρβία 421 f. 640<sub>0</sub> 647 Asklepios 1085 Athena Ἀμβουλία 261<sub>0</sub> Athena Ἀρεία 729<sub>0</sub> Athena Ξενία 1101<sub>3</sub> Athena Ὀπιλιέτις or Ὀπιλιία 502<sub>2</sub> Athena Ὀφθαλμίτις 502<sub>2</sub> Athena Χαλκίοκος 739<sub>1</sub> Auxesia and Damoia 890<sub>2</sub> Demeter 729<sub>0</sub> Dioskouroi 1062 Dioskouroi Ἀμβούλιοι 261<sub>0</sub> Ge 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Hera 515 Hestia [Βουλαία] 259<sub>0</sub> Hilaeira and Phoibe 1015<sub>7</sub> Poseidon 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων 1061 1069 Zeus Ἀμβούλιος 261<sub>0</sub> Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1096<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Antoninus Pius) 98<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σωτήρ (= Antoninus Pius) 101<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἐλευθέριος καὶ Ὀλύμπιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σωτήρ (= Antoninus Pius) 101<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐπιδώτας 321<sub>1</sub> (Zeus) Ἐπιδώτης (Ἐπιδότης) 321<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἐρκεῖος 728<sub>0</sub> (Zeus?) Ἰκέσιος 321<sub>1</sub> Zeus Ἰκέτας 1096<sub>1</sub> Zeus Λακεδαίμων 436 Zeus Ξένιος 1101<sub>3</sub> Zeus Οὐράνιος 436 Zeus Ταλετίτας 890<sub>2</sub> 948<sub>1</sub> Zeus Τροπαῖος 110<sub>9</sub> Zeus Ὑπατος 739<sub>1</sub> 875<sub>1(4)</sub> 890<sub>3</sub>  
*Festival*: Hyakinthia 246<sub>1</sub>  
*Rites*: kings sacrifice to Apollon 237<sub>0</sub> octennial probation of kings 440<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: Astrabakos and Alopekos 421 Dioskouroi 436 ff.  
 — idol from 122<sub>0</sub>  
 Spercheios 481<sub>6</sub> 486  
 Spes 862<sub>10</sub>  
 Sphinx 407<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> (?) 718 1082  
 Sphragitides  
*Cult*: Mt Kithairon 899<sub>0</sub>  
 Spolegium  
*Cult*: Iupiter 803<sub>2</sub>  
 Stabrobates 7  
 Staphylos 670  
 Stektorion, coins of 566  
 Stelai in Crete  
*Cults*: Apollon Πύθιος 731<sub>0</sub> Athena 731<sub>0</sub> Poseidon 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus Δικταῖος 731<sub>0</sub>  
 Stephen, St 924<sub>0</sub>  
 Stepterion 240 242  
 Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147<sub>11</sub>  
 Sterope, horse of Helios 828 851  
 Sterope, personification of lightning 828 851  
 Steropes 784 828 851 1023  
 Sthenelos 824<sub>5</sub> 892<sub>5</sub>  
 Stheno 718  
 Sthenoboia 1129  
 Stilbe, d. of Peneios  
*Genealogy*: m. of Kentaurus by Apollon 1134 f. m. of Lapithes by Apollon 684<sub>2</sub> 1134 f.  
 Stoics 256 432 852 854 ff.  
 Straton, the sculptor 1079  
 Stratonikeia  
*Cults*: Agathos Angelos 880<sub>0(0)</sub> Hekate 714<sub>2</sub> Hekate Δαδοφόρος 714<sub>3</sub> Theios Angelos 880<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus Λαβράνδος 585<sub>3</sub> (cp. 586<sub>3</sub>) Zeus Νάκρασος (?) 714<sub>3</sub> Zeus Παναμαρος 714<sub>3</sub> Zeus Πρεμβήνοδος (?) 714<sub>3</sub> Zeus Σέραπις (?) 714<sub>3</sub> Zeus Ὑψιστος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 880<sub>0(0)</sub> 963<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὑψιστος καὶ Θεῖος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 880<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus Χρυσαιορέως or Χρυσάοριος 714 ff. 848  
 — coins of 573 714<sub>2</sub>  
 Strepsiadēs 2  
 Strongyle 824<sub>7</sub>  
 Struppearia 1171<sub>1</sub>  
 Stymphalos  
*Cult*: Artemis Στυμφαλία 692  
 Styrakion, Mt 492<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Sucaelus  
*Cult*: Mogontiacum 620  
*Attribute*: mallet 620  
*Identified with Iupiter Optimus Maximus* 620  
 Šurdh, St 822  
 Surtr 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Surus (?) 822 823<sub>0</sub>  
 Sutekh  
*Cult*: Hittites 621 f. 623  
 Suwasa, in Kappadokia  
*Cult*: Zeus Στράπιος (?) 594 f. 846  
 Svayambhû 1036  
 Sybrita  
*Cults*: Apollon Πύθιος 731<sub>0</sub> Athena Πολιοῦχος 731<sub>0</sub> Nymphs 731<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κρηταγενής 731<sub>0</sub>  
 Sykaiboai 130  
 Sykea  
*Myth*: Sykeas or Sykeus 1103<sub>8</sub>  
 Sykeas or Sykeus 1103<sub>8</sub>  
 Syllion, in Kibyrtis 573<sub>0</sub>  
 Symaitchos, eponym of the river Symaitchos 909<sub>0</sub>  
 Symaitchos, the river in Sicily 909<sub>0</sub>  
 Synaos, coins of 566  
 Synesios, hymn of 307<sub>2</sub>  
 Synnada  
*Cults*: Dionysos (?) 362 f. Dioskouroi 313 Semele (?) 362 f.  
*Myth*: Zeus nursed by Rhea 969<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 313 362 f.

## Syracuse

*Cults:* Artemis *Λαλα* 1140<sub>3</sub> Hestia 916<sub>0</sub> Poseidon 916<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 763<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 915<sub>2</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ὀύριος* 708 917<sub>0</sub> 918<sub>0</sub>

*Rite:* contest of rustic singers wearing stag-horns 1140

*Priest:* ἀμφίπολος of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* as eponymous magistrate 916<sub>0</sub>

— celt from 509 coins of 110<sub>6</sub> 708 918<sub>0</sub>

## Syria

*Cults:* Hadran 910<sub>0</sub> Keraunios 807<sub>3(2)</sub> Zeus 745<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Καταιβάτης* 15 f. (Zeus?) *Κεραύνιος* 807<sub>3(2)</sub> Zeus *Ἔψιστος* 886<sub>0(0)</sub>

— coins of 761 816<sub>4</sub> 1189 f. Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.

Syrna 451<sub>1</sub>

## Sytos

*Cult:* Zeus *Κρήσιος* 1066

## Taautos See Thoth

## Tabai

*Cult:* Zeus 743<sub>7</sub>

— coins of 743<sub>7</sub>

## Tabala

*Cult:* youthful hero, radiate, on horse-back bearing double axe 564

Tabiti, the Scythian Hestia 293<sub>0</sub>

## Tabyris See Atabyris

## Tachnepsis

*Cult:* Delos 985<sub>0</sub>

## Tacitus, M. Claudius, statue of, struck by lightning 10

## Tages

*Genealogy:* s. of Genius and gs. of Jupiter 1060

## Tainaros, Cape

*Cults:* Poseidon 890<sub>5</sub> Zeus (?) 890<sub>5</sub>

Tainaros, s. of Zeus 890<sub>5</sub>

## Taleton, Mt 890

*Cult:* Helios 890<sub>2</sub>

*Rite:* sacrifice of horses to Helios 890<sub>2</sub>

## Tallaia range

*Cults:* Hermes 948<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Ταλλαῖος* (?) 948<sub>1</sub>

## Talos

*Cult:* Crete 890<sub>2</sub> 948<sub>1</sub>

*Myth:* nail and vein 645<sub>0</sub>

*Function:* sun 890<sub>2</sub> 948<sub>1</sub>

*Type:* stone-throwing 491<sub>0(6)</sub>

*Compared with* Zeus 948<sub>1</sub>

## Talthybios

*Myths:* Agamemnon and Briseis 726 Tegea in Crete 1147<sub>6</sub>

## Tammuz

*Cults:* Bethlehem 984<sub>1</sub> Eridu 483

*Associated with* Aphrodite (Venus) 984<sub>1</sub> Samsā 483

*Compared with* Adonis and Zeus 345 Zeus 347

## Tan

*Cults:* Crete 662 Hierapytna 342<sub>0</sub> Polyrrhenion 342<sub>0</sub>

Tan (*cont.*)

— tomb of 342<sub>0</sub>

See also Zeus

Tanagra, vases from 123<sub>0</sub>

## Tanais

*Cults:* Theos *Ἔψιστος* 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 948<sub>3</sub>

Theos *Ἔψιστος* *Ἐπήκοος* 884<sub>0(0)</sub>

## Tanit

*Cult:* Carthage 69<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with* Iuno *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub> Venus *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub>

## Tantalos

*Myths:* Ganymedes 953<sub>2</sub> golden hound 212<sub>5</sub> Pelops 212<sub>5</sub> perpetual thirst 134<sub>1</sub> Mt Sipylos 956<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy:* f. of Aizen 964<sub>3</sub> f. of Pelops 438 957<sub>0</sub> s. of Zeus 957<sub>0</sub>

## Taouion See Tauion

## Taranis 32

## Tarantos in Bithynia

*Cult:* Zeus *Ταρανταῖος* 32<sub>3</sub>

## Taranucus 32

## Taras

*Etymology:* 31 f.

## Tarentum 31

*Cults:* Apollon 1064 Dioskouroi 1064 Persephone 1141<sub>0</sub> pillar 29 45 131 161 166 Venti 464 Zeus 762 ff. 1064 Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 763<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Καταιβάτης* 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 763<sub>1</sub> 1064 compound seals (?) from 1215 Dioscuric reliefs from 1064 disk from 462<sub>0</sub> gold sceptre from 763<sub>1</sub> persistence of 'Minoan' cult at 543

## Tarentum in the Campus Martius 32

Tarraco (Tarragona), coins struck at 604 painted tablet from 2<sub>4</sub> 481<sub>9</sub> 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 570<sub>4</sub> Perseus 570<sub>4</sub> Titanes 570<sub>4</sub>

— coins of 101<sub>1</sub> 550<sub>3</sub> 571 761 f.

Tartaros (Tartara) 827<sub>7</sub> 1023 1032

*Epithet:* *εὐρώεντα* 1028

## Tartaros

*Genealogy:* f. of Typhon by Ge 448<sub>2</sub>

## Tat (= Thoth)

*Genealogy:* s. of Hermes *Τρισμέγιστος* 943<sub>0</sub>

## Tauion

*Cults:* Dioskouroi 1064 Zeus 754<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 754<sub>1</sub> 789<sub>9</sub> 1064

## Taurini

*Cult:* Aeternus 306<sub>4</sub>

*Rite:* *viribus Aeterni taurobolio* 306<sub>4</sub>



- Taurophonia 582  
 Tauros, Mt 449<sub>0</sub>  
 Taurus, the constellation 103<sub>0</sub> 664<sub>1</sub>  
 Tavium See Tauion  
 Τάβσας (= Zeus?)  
*Cult*: Sardeis 1227 f.  
*Epithet*: *Hūdāns* (= 'Τδηνός?) 1227 f.  
 Taygeton, Mt 890<sub>2</sub>  
*Myth*: Lynkeus 437 f.  
 Tchatal Tepe in Lydia  
*Cult*: Theos "Τψιστος 881<sub>0(20)</sub>  
 Tefēnet  
*Cult*: Egypt 626<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with Athena* 626<sub>0</sub>  
 Tegea  
*Cults*: Apollon 'Αγυιεύς 163 Athena 'Αλέα 593 f. 1147 Demeter 1140<sub>5</sub> Eileithyia (?) 1148<sub>1</sub> Kore 1140<sub>5</sub> Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος 807 Zeus Κλάριος 807<sub>2</sub> 873<sub>2</sub> 892<sub>1</sub> 1148 f. Zeus Μέγιστος 807<sub>2</sub> Zeus Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1147 1149 Zeus Στορπάος 815 850 Zeus Τέλειος 1147  
*Festivals*: ἀγῶνες 'Ολυμπιακοί 807<sub>2</sub> of Apollon 'Αγυιεύς 164<sub>6</sub> of Skephros 164<sub>6</sub> 455<sub>8</sub>  
*Myths*: Aleos 1147 Skephros and Leimon 164<sub>6</sub> Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147<sub>11</sub>  
 — 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 1147<sub>6</sub>  
 Tegeates, f. of Skephros 164<sub>6</sub>  
 Teiresias 488<sub>0(2)</sub> 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Tektaios 232<sub>0</sub>  
 Telamon in Etruria, coins of 383  
 Telauges 1024  
 Telchines  
*Myth*: work 'in Idaean caves' 933<sub>0</sub>  
 Telegonos  
*Myth*: slays Odysseus 676 923<sub>0</sub>  
 — a parallel to the story of, from the Torres Straits 676<sub>4</sub>  
 Telephidai (= Pergamenes) 954<sub>0</sub>  
 Telephos  
*Myths*: Achilles 1184<sub>3</sub> Auge 671 Dionysos 1184<sub>3</sub> Odysseus 1184<sub>3</sub> Orestes 1179<sub>6</sub> 1183 Pergamon 1179  
*Genealogy*: h. of Astyoche 281<sub>4</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1183<sub>3</sub>  
 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 1136<sub>4</sub>  
 Tellus  
*Epithet*: *stabil(ita)* 373<sub>3</sub>  
*Type*: reclining beneath vine, while  
 Tellus (*cont.*)  
 four Seasons pass over starry globe 373  
 Tembrogios or Tembrios, river in Phrygia 969<sub>3</sub>  
 Temenothyrai  
*Cult*: Dioskouroi 313  
 — coins of 313 566  
 See also Ak Tash  
 Temnos  
*Cult*: Zeus 'Ακραίος 873<sub>0(9)</sub> 956<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 873<sub>0(9)</sub>  
 Tempe 457<sub>13</sub> 458  
 Tempestates 94<sub>2</sub>  
 Tempus 862  
 Tenedos  
*Cults*: Dionysos (?) 658 ff. Dionysos 'Ανθρωπορραίστης 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 (Tenos) 673 847 two axes 668 Zeus (?) 662  
*Rites*: human sacrifice 667 f. sacrifice of bull-calf 522  
*Myths*: Hemithea 669 ff. Tennes (Tenos) 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 ἀνθρωπος*, *Τενέδιος ξυγγόρος*, *Τενέδιος πέλεκυς* 668 f. seal-stone from 663 weights of 658  
 Tenedos, on borders of Lykia and Pamphylia 662  
 Tenes 662  
 See also Tennes (Tenos)  
 Tennes (Tenos)  
*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 Καπετώλιος 1066 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066  
 Terentum in the Campus Martius 32  
 Tereus  
*Myth*: pursues Prokne and Philomela 692 f.  
*Metamorphosed into hoopoe* 693  
*Attributes*: shield and lance 693<sub>1</sub> spears 693<sub>1</sub> sword 693<sub>1</sub>  
 Termessus (Termessus Maior)  
*Cults*: Augustus 973<sub>1</sub> Dione 974<sub>0</sub> Theos 'Επήκοος "Τψιστος (?) 879<sub>0(16)</sub> Zeus Δωτήρ (?) 'Ιδαίος (?) 321<sub>1</sub> Zeus 'Ελευ-

- Termessos (Termessus Maior) (*cont.*)  
*θέριος* 974<sub>0</sub> Zeus Σολυμεύς 973<sub>1</sub> f.  
 Zeus Σόλυμος 974<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Eleutheria (?) 974<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 973<sub>1</sub> 974<sub>0</sub>
- Terminus  
*Rite*: offerings placed in hole 1090  
*Function*: terminator 1090
- Terra  
*Myth*: Palici 909<sub>0</sub>
- Tešub  
*Cults*: Hittites 766<sub>1</sub> 767<sub>0</sub> 910<sub>1</sub> list of 910<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: axe 767<sub>0</sub> lightning-fork 767<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: standing with axe and lightning-fork 766<sub>1</sub> 767<sub>0</sub>
- Tethys  
*Myth*: nurses Hera 343<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: d. of Ouranos by Ge 1020 m. of Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, etc. by Okeanos 1020 w. of Okeanos 473  
*Identified with* Isis 481<sub>0</sub>
- Tetraotos, a god  
*Cult*: Sikanoi (?) 322  
 See also Apollon Τετράωτος, Zeus Τετράωτος
- Tetraotos, a Phoenician freebooter 322<sub>0</sub> 323<sub>0</sub>
- Teukros 472
- Teuthras  
*Genealogy*: f. of Thespios 1151 s. of Pandion 1151
- Thagimasada See Thamimasadas
- Thalamai  
*Cults*: Asklepios 1085 Pasiphaa 31 Zeus Καβάτας 17 f. 31
- Thalassa  
*Cults*: Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186 Pergamon 1185  
*Attributes*: crab's-claws 665<sub>3</sub> 1185 dolphin 1186 steering-paddle 1185  
*Types*: androgynous 558<sub>0</sub> recumbent 1185 standing 1185 f. with head-dress of crab's-claws 665<sub>3</sub> 1185
- Thalath 558<sub>0</sub>
- Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos  
*Genealogy*: m. of Palikoi by Zeus 909<sub>0</sub>
- Thales 1021
- Thalna 709 f.
- Thamimasadas (Thagimasada), the Scythian Poseidon 293<sub>0</sub>
- Thanatos  
*Genealogy*: b. of Hypnos 317  
*Type*: Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed 309 1045 1166
- Thanr 709 f.
- Thargelia 237<sub>0</sub>
- Thasos  
*Cults*: Bendis 314<sub>0</sub> Dionysos 314<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος 808<sub>0(10)</sub>  
 — antefix from 123<sub>0</sub> coins of 388<sub>0</sub> relief from 863<sub>1</sub>
- Thea Hypsiste  
*Cult*: Gjölde in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub>
- Theai Megalai See Megalai Theai
- Theanor 1024
- Thebarma  
*Cult*: fire 34<sub>1</sub>
- Thebes in Boiotia  
*Cults*: Artemis 412 Demeter 'Ομολόφα 900<sub>1</sub> ep. 901<sub>0</sub> Hektor 961<sub>0</sub> Hera Κιθαιρωνία 899<sub>0</sub> Meilichioi 1154<sub>6</sub> Zeus 'Ομολώιος 900<sub>1</sub> Zeus "Τψιστος 878<sub>0(2)</sub> 898<sub>3</sub>  
*Festivals*: Daphnephoria 455<sub>8</sub> Homoloia 900<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: Drakon 1087 Ogygos 824<sub>6</sub> Oidipous 1152  
 — coins of 110<sub>7</sub> 'Ομολωίδες πύλαι at 900<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>0</sub> 904<sub>4</sub> "Τψισται πύλαι at 878<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Thebes in Egypt  
*Cults*: Amen 774<sub>0</sub> Zeus Θεβαιεύς 960<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: παλλακίδες of Zeus Θεβαιεύς 960<sub>0</sub>  
 — relief from 863<sub>1</sub>
- Theios Angelos  
*Cult*: Stratonikeia 880<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 See also Agathos Angelos
- Thelpousa  
*Cult*: Asklepios 1090
- Themele (= Semele) 279<sub>3</sub>
- Themis  
*Cult*: Delphoi 176<sub>1</sub> 500 1216  
*Epithets*: ἀρχέγονος 954<sub>0</sub> Βουλαία 258<sub>3</sub> εὔβουλος 37<sub>1</sub> 258<sub>3</sub> εὐκταία 723<sub>0</sub> εὐπλόκαμος θεά 1216 ικεσία 873<sub>2</sub> καλή(?) 931<sub>0</sub> ὀρθόβουλος 258<sub>3</sub> ὀρκία 723<sub>0</sub> οὐρανία 37<sub>1</sub> πινυτή 258<sub>3</sub> προφήτης καρτερόβουλος 954<sub>0</sub>  
*Rite*: leap 931<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: Boucheta 267<sub>5</sub> 348<sub>5</sub> consorts with Zeus 37<sub>1</sub> Delphoi 239<sub>0</sub> Deukalion 267<sub>5</sub> 348<sub>5</sub> 971<sub>0</sub> gives oracle to Kronos 928<sub>0</sub> impregnated by pillar of light (= Apollon) 1217  
*Genealogy*: m. of Horai by Zeus 37<sub>1</sub> 94<sub>2</sub>  
*Function*: supports orator 893<sub>3</sub>  
*Etymology*: 268<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: riding on ox 348<sub>5</sub> seated on tripod 206<sub>1</sub> 1217  
*Identified with* Ge 176<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Moirai 929<sub>0</sub> Zeus 258 723<sub>0</sub> Zeus and Apollon 730<sub>0</sub> Zeus and Dike 897<sub>3</sub> Zeus and Dionysos 261 f.  
*Compared with* Europe 267<sub>5</sub>  
*In relation to* Zeus 873<sub>2</sub>  
 — a possible doublet of Thetis 268
- Themisonion  
*Cults*: Dioskouroi (?) 313 Lyk(abas?) Σώζων 312<sub>5</sub> 313<sub>8</sub>  
 — coins of 312<sub>5</sub> 313
- Theodaisia 948<sub>0(4)</sub> 1021
- Theodoric the Great 1071
- Theodoros, sculptor of *tabula Iliaca* 45<sub>1</sub>
- Theodotos, St 1186<sub>4</sub>
- Theognetos, the Thessalian 1024
- Theoi Agnostoi See Agnostoi Theoi



- Theoi Agrioi  
*Cult*: Mt Kragos 971<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Kragos and his kin*  
 971<sub>2</sub> f. Titanes 971<sub>2</sub>
- Theoi Akraioi  
*Cult*: Mytilene (?) 873<sub>0(10)</sub>
- Theoi Ktesioi 1068
- Theoi Ouranioi  
*Cult*: Melos 808<sub>0(12)</sub>
- Theoi Skirroï See Theoi Skleroi
- Theoi Skleroi  
*Cult*: Lykia 972<sub>0</sub>
- Theoi Soteres  
*Cults*: Ikonion 970<sub>0</sub> Philadelpheia in Lydia 960<sub>0</sub> 1229 Seleukeia Pieria 869<sub>1</sub>
- Theophanes  
*Personates Zeus* 97<sub>0</sub>
- Theos  
*Etymology*: 234<sub>1</sub>
- Theos Agnostos See Agnostos Theos
- Theos Basileus Eumenes Soter (= Eumenes ii)  
*Cult*: Elaia in Aiolis 960<sub>0</sub>
- Theos Epekoös See Theos Hypsistos  
*Epithets* 'Επήκοος
- Theos Hagios See Theos Hypsistos  
*Epithets* 'Αγιος
- Theos Hypsistos  
*Cults*: Aizanoi 882<sub>0(23)</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> Akmoneia 882<sub>0(23)</sub> 968<sub>1</sub> Alexandria 889<sub>0(33)</sub> 984<sub>2</sub> Amathous 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 980<sub>3</sub> Arslan Apa in Phrygia 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 969<sub>3</sub> Athribis 889<sub>0(33)</sub> 984<sub>3</sub> Berytos 983<sub>5</sub> Bithynia (?) 883<sub>0(24)</sub> Bosphoros Kimmerios 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 885<sub>0(0)</sub> Golgoi 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 980<sub>3</sub> Gorgippia 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 948<sub>2</sub> Hephaistia in Lemnos 878<sub>0(7)</sub> Hierokaisareia in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Ioudaia 888<sub>0(32)</sub> 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Kerdylion 878<sub>0(9)</sub> Kition 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 980<sub>3</sub> Knossos 879<sub>0(14)</sub> Koloe 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Kos 880<sub>0(18)</sub> 964<sub>1</sub> Kyzikos 953<sub>1</sub> Laodikeia on the Lykos 882<sub>0(23)</sub> 968<sub>3</sub> Miletos 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Moesia 878<sub>0(11)</sub> 949<sub>1</sub> Mytilene 882<sub>0(22)</sub> Nakoleia 882<sub>0(23)</sub> 969<sub>1</sub> Oinoanda 879<sub>0(16)</sub> Pergamon 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> Phata in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Philadelpheia in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Phoinike 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Pirot 878<sub>0(11)</sub> 948<sub>5</sub> Plakia 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Rheneia 880<sub>0(19)</sub> Rome 879<sub>0(13)</sub> Sahin in Phoinike 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>8</sub> Sari-Tsam in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Sebastopolis (?) 883<sub>0(26)</sub> Selymtria 878<sub>0(10)</sub> 949<sub>4</sub> Silandos 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Sinope 883<sub>0(25)</sub> Tanais 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 948<sub>3</sub> Tchatal Tepe in Lydia 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Termessos (?) 879<sub>0(16)</sub> Thyateira 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Tralleis 880<sub>0(0)</sub> 962<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: 'Αγιος 878<sub>0(10)</sub> 949<sub>4</sub> 'Αγιώτατος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 'Επήκοος 878<sub>0(7)</sub> 878<sub>0(11)</sub> 879<sub>0(16)</sub> (?) 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 948<sub>5</sub> 'Εύλογητός 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 'Ιάω 'Αδωναϊ 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Κεραύνιος 807<sub>3(3)</sub> 882<sub>0(22)</sub> κύριε ὀ
- Theos Hypsistos (*cont.*)  
*πάντα ἐφορῶν* 880<sub>0(19)</sub> *κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός* 880<sub>0(19)</sub> Μέγας 883<sub>0(25)</sub> Οὐράνιος 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Οὐράνιος "Υπατος 983<sub>8</sub> Παντοκράτωρ 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> πάντων 'Επόπτης 889<sub>0(33)</sub> 984<sub>2</sub> Σωτήρ 879<sub>0(17)</sub> "Υπατος 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
*Rite*: lamp 879<sub>0(16)</sub>  
*Priests*: ἱερεὺς 879<sub>0(17)</sub> προφήτης 879<sub>0(17)</sub>  
*Worshippers*: ἀδελφοί 883<sub>0(25)</sub> θιασοὶ οἱ σύνοδοι, comprising πρεσβύτεροι and εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί, under control of ἱερεὺς, πατήρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεανισκάρχης, γραμματεὺς 885<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Attribute*: eagle 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 889  
*Identified with Adad or Ramman, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis* 886<sub>0(30)</sub> Adonaï 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Helios 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Iao 889<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus 882<sub>0(22)</sub> 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς 969<sub>3</sub>  
*Superseded by Christ* 879<sub>0(17)</sub>  
 — cult of, propagated by Jews of the Dispersion 889 f. sacred light (φῶς) of 889<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 See also Hypsistos, Zeus *Epithets* "Υψιστος
- Theos Kataibates 14<sub>3</sub>
- Theos Megas  
*Cults*: Delos 985<sub>0</sub> Odessos in Thrace 1126<sub>0</sub> Palmyra 885<sub>0(29)</sub>  
*Epithets*: Σαλλουντος (? J. H. Mordtmann cj. 'Αμμονδάτω; see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) 'Ενεουάρης (?) 885<sub>0(29)</sub>  
*Attributes*: cornu copiae 1126<sub>0</sub> *phiale* 1126<sub>0</sub>
- Theos Zon 1102<sub>8</sub>
- Theoteknos introduces cult of Zeus Φίλιος at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1186 1196
- Theoxenia 243<sub>3</sub> 244<sub>2</sub> 1064 1136<sub>0</sub> (?) 1170
- Thera  
*Cults*: Apollon 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> Melichios (See Zeus Μηλίχιος) Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ 'Αστράπτων 817 (Zeus) 'Ιέσιος 1095<sub>0</sub> Zeus Καταιβάτας 17 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Μηλίχιος τῶν περι Πολύξενον 1156<sub>10</sub> Zeus τῶν περι Λάκιον 1156<sub>10</sub> Zeus τῶν περι 'Ολυμπιόδωρον 1156<sub>10</sub>  
 — archaic inscriptions of 1226 votive lions in 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub>
- Therapia 996 998 f.
- Therapne  
*Cult*: Dioskouroi 1064  
*Myth*: Dioskouroi 437
- Therma(s? -ios?), river-god 408<sub>0</sub>
- Thermos in Aitolia  
*Cults*: Ge 729<sub>0</sub> Helios 729<sub>0</sub> Zeus 729<sub>0</sub>
- Theseus  
*Festivals*: Meilichia 1091 f. Oschophoria 1092

Theseus (*cont.*)

*Myths*: clears road to Delphoi 628  
Damastes 626 f. Phaidra and Hippolytos 1043 Phytalidai 291<sub>2</sub> 1091  
1103 Prokoptes 626 f. Prokroustes  
626 f. Sinis 627<sub>6</sub> 1091 Skiron 627<sub>6</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Hippolytos 1087 gs.  
of Pittheus 1091

*Attributes*: double axe 626 ff. 847  
sword 627<sub>6</sub>

*Type*: attacking Centaur 628

*Associated with* Kodros and Phyleus  
1137<sub>2</sub> Peirithoos and Herakles 211<sub>2</sub>

Thespia, d. of Asopos 1151<sub>3</sub>

## Thespiai

*Cults*: Agathos Daimon (Demon)  
1125<sub>1</sub> 1161 St Charalambos 1150<sub>9</sub>  
Daimones 1150<sub>9</sub> Dionysos Σαώτης(?)  
599<sub>2</sub> Hera Κιθαιρωνία 899<sub>0</sub> Hermes  
1150<sub>9</sub> Miliche 1151 Mousa (Mosa)  
238<sub>0</sub> Zeus Κτήσιος 1061 1066 Zeus  
Μλιχος 1151 Zeus Σαώτης 599<sub>2</sub>  
1151

*Myth*: snake slain by Menestratos 1151

— apsidal temple of 900<sub>0</sub>

## Thespios, eponym of Thespiai

*Genealogy*: s. of Erechtheus 1151 s.  
of Teuthras s. of Pandion 1151

Thesprotia, caldron of 133<sub>0</sub>

## Thessalonike

*Cults*: Hercules Augustus 1194<sub>4</sub> Prino-  
phoros 411<sub>6</sub>

— coins of 411<sub>6</sub>

## Thessaly

*Cults*: pillar 166<sub>2</sub> (?) Zeus Κάριος 873<sub>2</sub>  
Zeus Λαφύστιος 899<sub>1</sub> Zeus Όμολώιος  
900<sub>1</sub> Zeus Τπατος (?) 876<sub>0(7)</sub> Zeus  
Φύξιος 902<sub>0</sub>

*Rites*: burial within the house 1061  
φοιβονομείσθαι 500<sub>12</sub>

*Myth*: Salmoneus 825 833 1088

— kings of, personate Zeus 1087 ff.

## Thetis

*Myths*: Mnemon 670 supplicates Zeus  
45<sub>1</sub> 753<sub>3</sub>

*Etymology*: 268<sub>2</sub>

*Type*: with head-dress of crab's-claws  
665<sub>3</sub>

*Compared with* Metis 12

## Thibursicum Bure

*Cult*: Iuno Caelestis 68<sub>2</sub>

## Thmouis

*Cult*: he-goat 987<sub>0</sub>

Thoas 421<sub>3</sub>Tholathes (?) 558<sub>0</sub>

## Thor

*Cults*: Gothia 620 Lapps (?) 423<sub>3</sub> 533<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite*: erection of beam pierced by iron  
nail (?) 533<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: brings to life his goats when  
cooked in caldron 63<sub>1</sub> 213<sub>0</sub> leads  
Thorolfr Mostrarskegg to Iceland  
533<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Magni 64<sub>0</sub> s. of  
Hlóðyn 66<sub>0</sub>

Thor (*cont.*)

*Functions*: fertility 63<sub>1</sub> thunder 547<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology*: 32

*Attributes*: club 64<sub>0</sub> hammer 547<sub>0</sub>  
mallet 620 sword 305<sub>0</sub> thistle 775<sub>0</sub>

*Type*: bearded 64<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with* Iupiter 620

— carved on high-seat pillar 533<sub>2</sub>  
temple of 533<sub>2</sub>

## Thorikos

*Rite*: burial within the house 1060

## Thornax, Mt, in Lakonike

*Cult*: Apollon Θορνάκιος or Πυθαεύς  
893<sub>2</sub>

Thornax, w. of Iapetos 894<sub>0</sub>

## Thoth

*Epithet*: Astennu 700<sub>0</sub>

*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 118<sub>2</sub> 119

## Thouros

*Identified with* the planet Ares and  
Baal or Bel 694<sub>0</sub>

## Thrace

*Cults*: Apollon 458 Artemis 411  
Artemis Βασιλεια 500 f. Axieros  
314 f. Axiokersa 314 f. Axiokeros  
314 f. Bendis 303<sub>2</sub> 314<sub>0</sub> 411 501  
Boreas 380 Bousbatos 501<sub>3</sub> Dionysos  
269 ff. Dionysos Βάλων 270 (Diony-  
sos) Ίαμβαδούλης 820<sub>3</sub> 821 851  
Dionysos Σαβάγιος 314<sub>0</sub> Dios 277 ff.  
288 313 824 842 Dios Νύσος 313  
Erikepaios (Erikapaios) (?) 1025  
Kabeiroi 313 ff. Κύριος Θεός Προγον-  
ικός Ζβελοσούρδος 1225 Κύριος Zeus  
Ζβελοσούρδος 1225 rider-god 821 823  
Zeus Διόνυσος 282 (Zeus) Ζάλμο-  
ξίς(?) 230 822 Zeus Ζβελοσούρδος  
817 ff. 833 851 Zeus Ζβελοσούρδος ό  
Κύριος 1225 (Zeus) Ζιβελετίς(?) 822  
(Zeus) \*Ζιβελοσούρδος(?) 822

*Rite*: human omophagy 1022

*Myths*: Kosingas 130 Salmoxis 226  
Tereus 692 f.

— as link between Germany and  
Greece 114 coins of 1133<sub>1</sub> (?) kings  
of 271<sub>0</sub>

See also Thracians, Thraco-Phrygians

Thracians tattooed 121 123<sub>0</sub>

## Thraco-Phrygians

*Cults*: Dionysos 268 ff. 663 673 Dios  
277 ff. 663 842 Dios Νύσος 842  
Erikepaios (Erikapaios) (?) 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 245<sub>5</sub>  
 Thrasymedes of Paros 1078 f.  
 Thronax (Thornax ?), Mt, in Argolis 893<sub>2</sub>  
 Thunders See Brontai  
 Thunor 32  
 Thyateira  
*Cults*: Apollon Τύριμνος 562 Theos  
 "Υψιστος 881<sub>0(20)</sub> Tyrimnos 561 f.  
 Zeus 'Αέριος 808<sub>0(0)</sub> Zeus Κεραύνιος  
 808<sub>0(0)</sub> 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 Enorches  
*Myth*: 1021  
*Etymology*: 1022  
 Thyestes, s. of Pelops  
*Myths*: banquet 1021 sceptre of Zeus  
 547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1022  
 — sceptre of 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>
- Thyiad, the principal 242  
 Thyiads 242  
 Thymaitis, an Athenian phratry 1229  
 Thyone 29 279<sub>3</sub> 1022  
 Thyonianus as rebirth of Dionysos (?) 393<sub>0</sub>  
 Tiamat 1038  
*Type*: lion-headed monster (?) 769<sub>0</sub>
- Tiberis, the river-god  
*Genealogy*: h. of Ilia 1016 s. of Ianus  
 394<sub>3</sub>  
*Attributes*: reed 1083 urn 1083  
*Type*: reclining 1083
- Tiber-island  
*Cults*: Aesculapius 1083 1086 Dios  
 Fidius 726<sub>0</sub> Iupiter *Iurarius* 726<sub>0</sub>  
 Simon Magus 726<sub>0</sub>
- Tibur  
*Cult*: Hercules 328<sub>3</sub>
- Tifata, Mt  
*Cult*: Diana 404  
*Etymology*: 404
- Tifis, *kántharos* found near 1204  
 Tigillum Sororium See Rome  
 Tilphossa  
*Cult*: Apollon Τιλφούσιος 439
- Time  
*Attributes*: hour-glass 867 f. scythe  
 867 f.  
*Types*: ancient, medieval, and modern  
 868<sub>1</sub>
- Tina (Tinia)  
*Cult*: Etruria 338<sub>3</sub> 662  
*Identified with* Iupiter 338<sub>3</sub> Zeus 709
- Tinia See Tina  
 Tiodute (Jodute) 1212  
 Tiora Matiene  
*Cult*: Mars 1133<sub>1</sub> 1230
- Titanes  
*Myths*: attack Dionysos or Zagreus  
 218 f. 251<sub>2</sub> 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 (τίτανος) 1032 smear their  
 faces with gypsum 1030 struck  
 with thunderbolt by Zeus 1031  
 Sykeas or Sykeus pursued by Zeus  
 1103<sub>8</sub> Tarsos 570<sub>4</sub> Titanomachia  
 827<sub>7</sub>  
*Genealogy*: sons of Ouranos by Ge  
 1023 cp. 1103<sub>8</sub>  
*Function*: chieftains or kings 971<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 1023  
*Identified with* Theoi Agrioi 971<sub>2</sub>  
*In relation to* the Cretan Zeus or  
 Zagreus 352
- Tithonos 281<sub>4</sub>  
 Tiu See Ziu  
 Tiv  
*Cult*: Etruria 339<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: moon 339<sub>0</sub>
- Tiw See Ziu  
 Tlapolemeia 469  
 Tlepolemos 469  
 Tloos, eponym of the Lycian town Tlos  
*Genealogy*: f. of Sidymos by Cheleidon  
 d. of Kragos 971<sub>2</sub> s. of Tremilos  
 (Tremiles ?) by the nymph Praxi-  
 dike, b. of Kragos and Pinalos 971<sub>2</sub>
- Tmolos, Mt  
*Cults*: Zeus Δεύσιος (?) 957<sub>2</sub> Zeus  
 Κορυφαῖος (See Philadelphieia in  
 Lydia) Zeus 'Υέριος 957<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: birth of Zeus 957<sub>2</sub> 1228 Zeus  
 Σαβάξιος brings the babe Dionysos  
 thither 957<sub>2</sub>  
 — place called Γοβαὶ Διὸς 'Υερίου,  
 later Δεύσιον (? Δευσιόν) on 957<sub>2</sub>
- Tomaris in Lydia  
*Cult*: youthful hero on horseback  
 bearing double axe 563  
 — coins of 563
- Tomis (Tomoi)  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Heros*  
 823<sub>1(1)</sub>  
 — coins of 114<sub>0</sub>
- Torcello, relief at 865 f.  
 Tosobis 972<sub>0</sub>  
 Tottes 569<sub>2</sub>
- Trachis  
*Myths*: Alkyone 1088 Keyx 1088
- Traianeia Deiphileia 1180  
 Traianeum at Pergamon 1179 ff.  
 Traianopolis in Kilikia, coins of 101<sub>0</sub>  
 Traianopolis in Phrygia, coins of 566
- Trajan  
*Cults*: Hermione 1180<sub>4</sub> Pergamon  
 1179 ff.  
*Epithet*: *Optimus* 1181<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180  
*Personates* Zeus 100<sub>6</sub> 1180 1180<sub>4</sub>  
 — Arch of, at Beneventum 1181<sub>0</sub>
- Tralleis 957<sub>3</sub> ff.  
*Cults*: Apollon 958<sub>0</sub> Athena 958<sub>0</sub>  
 Dionysos 960<sub>0</sub> Poseidon 959<sub>0</sub> Theos

Tralleis (*cont.*)

"Υψιστος 880<sub>(10)</sub> 962<sub>0</sub> Zeus 958<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
Εὐμένης (= Eumenes i) 960<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
Λαράσιος 958<sub>0</sub> ff. Zeus Λαράσιος  
Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενῆς (= Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub> f.

*Festival*: Pythia 959<sub>0</sub>

*Rites*: ἀνιπτόποδες 959<sub>0</sub> f. παλλακίδες  
959<sub>0</sub> f.

*Priests etc.*: θεοκόλοι 958<sub>0</sub> ἱεροὶ 958<sub>0</sub>  
ἱερομνήμονες 958<sub>0</sub> priest of Zeus  
Λαράσιος (?) has brick palace 958<sub>0</sub>  
— coins of 491<sub>0(10)</sub> 957<sub>3</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> f.  
jewelry from 638 f. reliefs or fres-  
coes at 961<sub>0</sub>

Tralleus, eponymous founder of Tralleis  
957<sub>3</sub>

Trallioi, a Thracian tribe 957<sub>3</sub>

Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia in  
Kappadokia 978<sub>0</sub>

Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945<sub>0</sub>

Trapezous in Arkadia

*Cult*: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 871<sub>3(3)</sub> 892<sub>2</sub>

Tremilos (Tremiles?), eponym of Tremile  
(= Lykia) 971<sub>2</sub>

Trephon (?) 1074 1076

Trikke

*Cults*: Apollon Μαλεάτας 487<sub>3(1)</sub> 1088  
Asklepios 1079 1088

*Myths*: Asklepios 833<sub>0</sub> Koronis 833<sub>0</sub>  
— coins of 1079 underground *adyton*  
at 1088

Triopas (Triops), f. of Erysichthon 683

*Genealogy*: s. of Helios by Rhodos  
684<sub>2</sub> s. of Lapithes, s. of Apollon  
by Stilbe, d. of Peneios 684<sub>2</sub> s. of  
Poseidon by Kanake 684<sub>2</sub>

Triopidai 683

Triops See Triopas, f. of Erysichthon

Triphylia

*Cult*: Hera Ὀπλοσμία 291<sub>0</sub>

Tripolis in Lydia See Apollonia (Tripolis)

Triptolemos

*Cults*: Antiocheia on the Orontes 981<sub>1</sub>  
Mt Kasion in Syria 981<sub>1</sub>

*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 665<sub>3</sub>

Tritonides 898<sub>6</sub>

Tritopatreus as one of the first three  
Dioskouroi 1135<sub>4</sub>

Troilos 475

Troizen

*Cults*: Aphrodite Ἀκραία 872<sub>0(5)</sub> Aphro-  
dite Κατασκοπία 944<sub>0</sub> Artemis  
Σαρωνία 413<sub>7</sub> Artemis Σαρωνίς 413 ff.  
Asklepios 1085 Athena Σθενιάς  
416<sub>3</sub> Dionysos Σαώτης 599<sub>2</sub> Hermes  
Πολύγυιος 466

*Myths*: Hippolytos 414 ff. 944<sub>0</sub> Saron  
413 f.

— coins of 416 797 kings of 414

Troizen, s. of Pelops 414<sub>2</sub>

Trokmoi 754<sub>1</sub>

Tropaeum Traiani 114<sub>0</sub>

Trophonios (Trephonios)

*Cult*: Lebadeia 232<sub>4</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> 1073 ff.

*Rite*: incubation 232<sub>4</sub>

*Myths*: sleep at Delphoi 232<sub>4</sub> 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* 232<sub>4</sub> Zeus  
Βασιλεύς 1073 f.

*Compared with Amphiaraios* 1075 As-  
klepios 1075

*In relation to Zeus* 900<sub>0</sub>

*Superseded by St Christopher* 1076

Troy

*Cults*: Apollon 453 Artemis 453 Zeus  
8 950<sub>0</sub>

*Myths*: birth of Zeus 951<sub>0</sub> capture  
911<sub>0</sub> Ilos founds the city where cow  
lies down 349 wooden horse 625

— axe-hammers from 635 f.

Trygaios 909<sub>0</sub>

Turin, relief at 861 f.

Tusculum

*Cults*: Castor 1170 f. Diana 403 Dios-  
kouroi (?) 368<sub>2</sub> Fontus (?) 368<sub>2</sub>  
Ianus (?) 368<sub>2</sub>

Tyana

*Cults*: Apollon Βοζηνός (?) 570 Zeus  
Ἀσβαμαῖος 569 Zeus Ὀρκιος (?) 569<sub>4</sub>  
722<sub>5</sub>

Tychai

*Cult*: Epidauros 487<sub>3(1)</sub>

Tyche

*Cults*: Antiocheia on the Orontes  
1196<sub>3</sub> 1197 Athens 1163 Edessa  
429 f. Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978<sub>0</sub>  
Magnesia ad Sipylum 729<sub>0</sub> Melos  
1136<sub>4</sub> Mylasa 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Nemroud  
Dagh 1136<sub>4</sub> Panamara 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 1066  
Peiraeus 1104 f. Philadelpheia in  
Lydia 1228

*Epithets*: Ἀγαθή 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 1104 f. 1163  
1229 (See also Agathe Tyche) Νέα  
1136<sub>4</sub>

*Personated by Antiochos i of Komma-*  
gene 1136<sub>4</sub> Arsinoe ii 1216 bene-  
factor of Melos 1136<sub>4</sub> Tranquillina  
978<sub>0</sub>

*Attribute*: pillar 1136<sub>4</sub>

*Types*: holding infant (Ploutos?) 1136<sub>4</sub>  
seated with Orontes at her feet 1209<sub>5</sub>

*Identified with Rhea* 675 (?)

*Associated with Zeus* 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zeus  
Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος and Philia 1163  
— of Antoninus Pius 879<sub>0(17)</sub> of  
Seleukos ii Kallinikos 729<sub>0</sub>

Tyndareos

*Genealogy*: f. of Dioskouroi and Helene  
918<sub>0</sub>



- Tyndaridai  
*Cults*: Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Sparta 436  
*Myths*: buried at Therapne 437 feud with Idas and Lynkeus 437  
*Genealogy*: affiliated to Zeus 918<sub>0</sub>  
*Type*: supporters of sky 432
- Tyndaris  
*Cults*: Dioskouroi (Tyndaridai) 918<sub>0</sub>  
 Helene (Tyndaris) 918<sub>0</sub> Zeus 917<sub>1</sub> 918<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 917<sub>1</sub> 918<sub>0</sub>
- Tynnichos 906<sub>3</sub>
- Typhoeus 826 839<sub>6</sub>  
 See also Typhon
- Typhon  
*Myths*: Arima 826 909<sub>0</sub> crushed by Zeus under Mt Aitne 909<sub>0</sub> cuts out sinews of Zeus 228 448<sub>2</sub> cuts up body of Osiris 1030 fight with Zeus 448<sub>2</sub> 722<sub>2</sub> 731 826 839<sub>6</sub> Hermes uses his sinews as lyre-strings 450<sub>0</sub> pursued by Zeus to Mt Kasion in Syria 981<sub>1</sub> swallows eye of Horos 450<sub>0</sub> tastes mortal fruit 449<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. of Ge by Tartaros 448<sub>2</sub>  
*Functions*: chthonian 805<sub>6</sub> warmth 557<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: thunderbolt (?) 805<sub>6</sub>  
*Types*: three-bodied 805<sub>6</sub> winged 448<sub>2</sub> with serpent-legs 448<sub>2</sub> with two wings and snaky tails 731<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Arktos 450<sub>0</sub>
- Tyr  
*Myth*: Fenrir 450<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Ziu
- Tyre  
*Cults*: Herakles 423 f. Zeus 424<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 665<sub>3</sub> 1036 f. 1209<sub>5</sub>
- Tyrimneia 561
- Tyrimnos  
*Cult*: Thyateira 561 f. 845  
*Epithets*: ὁ προπάτωρ 561<sub>7</sub> ὁ προπάτωρ θεός 561<sub>8</sub>  
*Festivals*: Tyrimneia 561 τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Τυριμνήων ἀγῶνων 561<sub>9</sub>  
*Priest*: ιερεὺς 561<sub>8</sub>  
*Type*: youthful rider with double axe 561  
*Identified with* Apollon 561 f. 845  
 Helios 562 845
- Umbria  
*Cults*: Fisos (or Fisovios) *Sancios* 724<sub>0</sub>  
 Iupater *Sancius* 724<sub>0</sub>
- Underworld See Index II
- Uni (= Iuno)  
*Cult*: Etruria 338<sub>3</sub>
- Urbs Salvia  
*Cults*: Iuno(?) 803 Iupiter *Iutor* 803 ff.  
 Minerva 803 Victoria 803  
 — painted tiles from 803 ff.
- Ursa Maior 336 928<sub>0</sub> 1017<sub>4</sub>
- Ursa Minor 336 928<sub>0</sub>
- Usil  
*Cult*: Etruria 339<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: sun 339<sub>0</sub>
- Valc(h)anos (?) (= Velchanos)  
*Cult*: Golgoi 948<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 See also Velchanos
- Van, axe-head from 632<sub>6</sub>
- Vaphio, incised gem from 621
- Varpelev, *skýphos* from 1204 f.
- Vediovis  
*Identified with* Iupiter *Iurarius* (?) 726<sub>0</sub>
- Velchania (?) 947<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Velchanos  
*Cults*: Gortyna (?) 947<sub>0(2)</sub> Hagia Triada 947<sub>0(1)</sub> Phaistos 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Apollon 948<sub>0</sub> Volcanus (?) 947<sub>0</sub> Zeus 946<sub>0</sub> ff.
- Venafrum  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Caelestis* 69<sub>0</sub> 401<sub>0</sub>
- Venasa  
*Cult*: Zeus 616
- Venti  
*Cults*: Kaulonia (?) 1042 Lithuania 445<sub>1</sub> Tarentum 464  
*Epithet*: *bonarum Tempestatium potentis* 94<sub>2</sub>  
*Attributes*: cock 445<sub>1</sub> fish 445<sub>1</sub> small cask 445<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: four winged heads 1051 Janiform 445<sub>1</sub>
- Ventina (sc. Aqua)  
*Associated with* Fons and Vires 306<sub>4</sub>
- Venus  
*Cults*: Bovianum Undecimanorum 68<sub>2</sub>  
 Jerusalem 984<sub>1</sub> Pola 68<sub>2</sub> Puteoli 68<sub>2</sub>  
 Rome 68<sub>2</sub>  
*Epithets*: *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub> *Libitina* 1165<sub>1</sub>  
*Verticordia* 98 f.  
*Myth*: sprung from blood of Saturnus and foam of sea 448<sub>1</sub> cp. 448<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: Friday 70  
*Attributes*: mirror 70<sub>1</sub> scales 98 f. 100  
 tortoise 68<sub>1</sub> water-mint 1166<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: standing with foot on footstool 67 f. with apple in hand 491<sub>0(6)</sub> with apple, sceptre, star, and child 68<sub>2</sub>  
*Associated with* Mercurius 67 Tammuz (Adonis) 984<sub>1</sub>  
*In relation to* Frija 67  
 — mirror of 609<sub>1</sub> on column of Mayence 96
- Venus, the planet, symbol of 608 f.
- Verbio (= Virbius) in folk-tale of the Romagnoli 420
- Verelde 66<sub>0</sub>
- Vespera 74
- Vesta  
*Cults*: Agedincum 99<sub>3</sub> Lugdunum 99<sub>3</sub>  
 Rome 1148<sub>9</sub> 1172<sub>4</sub>  
*Festival*: Vestalia 20<sub>0</sub>  
*Rites*: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172<sub>4</sub> meal 19<sub>0</sub> perpetual fire of oak-wood 417<sub>5</sub>  
*Priestesses*: *virgines Vestales* 1148<sub>9</sub>  
*Attribute*: ass 99<sub>4</sub>  
*Identified with* Diana *Nemorensis* 417<sub>5</sub>

- Vesta (*cont.*)  
*Associated with* Mars and Volcanus  
 99<sub>3</sub> Volcanus 99  
 — on column of Mayence 96 99 100
- Vestalia 20<sub>0</sub>
- 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 (?) 973<sub>0</sub>  
 — on coins of Prostanta 972<sub>2</sub> f.
- Vichy  
*Cult*: Iupiter *Sabasius* (= *Sabazius*)  
 285<sub>0</sub>  
 — silver *bratteae* from 285<sub>0</sub>
- Victoria  
*Cults*: Divitia 64<sub>0</sub> Rome 1195<sub>2</sub> Urbs  
 Salvia 803  
*Attributes*: palm-branch 99 811<sub>5</sub> wreath  
 811<sub>5</sub>  
*Types*: on globe 1196<sub>0</sub> writing on  
 shield 57<sub>6</sub> (fig. 22, 3b)  
*Associated with* Iupiter 1195<sub>2</sub>  
 — on column of Mayence 96 98 on  
 Iupiter-columns 57<sub>6</sub> 59<sub>0</sub> 71
- Vidharr 305<sub>0</sub>
- Virae  
*Epithet*: *Querquetulanae* 402<sub>0</sub>
- Virbius  
*Cults*: Neapolis in Campania 421 Nemi  
 392 ff.  
*Priest*: *flamen Virbialis* 421<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: Diana 393  
*Functions*: consort of Diana 392 ff.  
 842 growth 421 f. mythical proto-  
 type of *rex Nemorensis* 399  
*Etymology*: 397<sub>0</sub> 398<sub>0</sub> 399 399<sub>5</sub> 421 f.  
*Type*: Janiform (with Hippolytos)  
 392 ff. 420 f. 842  
*In relation to* Diana 414 417 842  
 Irbos (?) 421
- Virbius, Clivus, at Rome 400 f. 421
- Virbius, river in Lakonike (?) 394<sub>2</sub> 421
- Vires  
*Function*: testicles personified 306<sub>4</sub>  
*Associated with* Deus Magnus Pantheus  
 306<sub>4</sub> Fons and (Aqua) Ventina 306<sub>4</sub>  
 Lymphae 306<sub>4</sub> Neptunus 306<sub>4</sub> Nym-  
 phae 306<sub>4</sub>
- Virgin, the  
*Cults*: Athens 1119<sub>0</sub> 1119<sub>4</sub> Chartres  
 1213 Mt Gerizim 888<sub>0(0)</sub> Mt Juktas  
 945<sub>0</sub> Zaragoza 1213  
*Epithets*: *ἀειπάρθενος* 888<sub>0(0)</sub> *del Pilar*  
 1213 *du Pilièr* 1213 *ἡ ὑπεραγία*  
*Θεοτόκος* 1119<sub>4</sub> *Θεοτόκος* 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 1150<sub>10</sub> *Παναγία* 891<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> *Παναγία*  
*eis tēn Πέτραν* 1119<sub>0</sub>  
*Festival*: Aug. 15 891<sub>0</sub>  
*Supersedes* Charites 1150<sub>10</sub>
- Virgins, the Seven, of Ankyra 1186<sub>4</sub>
- Virgo  
*Epithets*: *spicifera*, *iusti inventrix*,
- Virgo (*cont.*)  
 urbium conditrix, ... lance vitam et  
 iura pensitans 734<sub>3</sub>  
*Identified with* Mater divum, Pax,  
 Virtus, Ceres, dea Syria 734<sub>3</sub>
- Virtus  
*Type*: with banner 99  
*Identified with* Virgo 734<sub>3</sub>  
 — on column of Mayence 96 100
- Virvinus, spring in Lakonike (?) 394<sub>2</sub>
- Vishnu  
*Cults*: India 367 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Myths*: Brahmā 774<sub>1</sub> in bubble as  
 Brahma 1036 Paraśu-rāma 660<sub>1</sub>  
 Rāma-śandra 660<sub>1</sub>  
*Genealogy*: h. of Lakshmī 774<sub>1</sub> h. of  
 Sarasvatī 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Function*: solar (?) 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Attribute*: lotos 367 774<sub>1</sub>  
*Types*: four-handed 774<sub>1</sub> seated be-  
 neath starry arch 367  
 — sixth incarnation of 660<sub>1</sub> seventh  
 incarnation of 660<sub>1</sub>
- Vitellia, goddess 404<sub>0</sub>
- Vitellia, town in Latium 404<sub>0</sub>
- Vitellii 404<sub>0</sub>
- Volaterrae  
*Cults*: Hermes (?) 383 Ianus (?) 383  
 — coins of 382 f.
- Volcanus  
*Cults*: Agedincum 99<sub>3</sub> Gallia Lugudun-  
 ensis 547<sub>0</sub> 619 Lugdunum 99<sub>3</sub>  
*Genealogy*: f. of Palicus by Aetna 909<sub>0</sub>  
*Function*: elemental fire 100  
*Etymology*: 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Donar 63<sub>1</sub> Velchanos (?)  
 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Associated with* Esus and Iovis 619  
 Mars and Vesta 99<sub>3</sub> Vesta 99  
 — on column of Mayence 96 100  
 on Jupiter-columns 57<sub>6</sub> 59<sub>0</sub> smithy  
 of 784
- Volsung 682
- Vulci, tomb-painting at 641
- Vulturnus 368<sub>3</sub>
- Weaving Damsel 66<sub>0</sub>
- Wind-gods See Venti
- Winds See Anemoi
- Wodan  
*Rite*: sacrifice at beginning of summer  
 62<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth*: contest with Fenris-wolf 62<sub>1</sub>  
*Functions*: leader of Wild Hunt or  
 Furious Host 62<sub>1</sub> sky-god 62<sub>1</sub>  
*Attributes*: chariot or coach 62<sub>1</sub> gold  
 helmet 62<sub>1</sub> gold ring 62<sub>1</sub> 990 throne  
 62<sub>1</sub>  
*Type*: one-eyed 62<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with* Mercurius 59 63<sub>0</sub> 69 94<sub>1</sub>  
 386<sub>6</sub>  
*In relation to* Ziu 62<sub>1</sub>
- Woodchester, statuette from 98<sub>3</sub> 1214
- Xenioi Theoi 1177<sub>2</sub>



- Xenokles, the potter 785 789<sub>9</sub>  
 Xenokrateia, dedication of 182 ff. (pl. x)  
 Xenokrates 222  
 Xenophilos, the sculptor 1079  
 Xerxes  
   *Personates* Zeus 853<sub>4</sub>
- Yahwe See Jehovah  
 Yggdrasil 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Yorkshire, Kyklops in folk-tale from 1002 f.
- Zagreus  
   *Cults*: Crete 352 667 Hagia Triada (?)  
     522 Mt Ide in Crete 838 934<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub>  
     Mt Zagros (?) 980<sub>5</sub>  
   *Rites*: 932<sub>1</sub> devoured by Thracian  
     kings 271<sub>0</sub> 667 omophagy 934<sub>0</sub>  
     thunder-making 934<sub>0</sub> cp. 838 f. 852  
     torches carried over mountain 934<sub>0</sub>  
   *Worshippers*: Bakchoi 934<sub>0</sub> Kouretes  
     934<sub>0</sub>  
   *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 cp. 861<sub>5</sub>  
   *Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Phersephone  
     or Kore 1029  
   *Function*: annual rebirth of Zeus 934<sub>0</sub>  
     938<sub>0</sub>  
   *Etymology*: 268<sub>4</sub>  
   *Types*: Assyrian 697<sub>0</sub> horned babe  
     1029  
   *Identified with* Dionysos 234 1029  
   *Associated with* Zeus 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> (?)  
   *Compared with* Zeus *Βροντῶν* 852  
   *In relation to* Titans 352 Zeus 522 980<sub>5</sub>  
     — derived from Mesopotamia (Mt  
     Zagros) 938<sub>0</sub> reaches Crete by same  
     route as Aigokeros 938<sub>0</sub> toys of  
     1030
- Zagros, Mt  
   *Cult*: Zagreus (?) 980<sub>5</sub>
- Zakynthos, Gigantes in folk-tale from  
 505 f. golden crab in folk-tale from  
 666<sub>3</sub> Kyklops in folk-tale from 994 f.
- Zalmolxis See Salmoxis  
 Zalmoxis See Salmoxis  
 Zamama 938<sub>0</sub>  
 Zamis, b. of Rhea 694<sub>0</sub>  
 Zan 344<sub>0</sub> 353 f.  
   *Cults*: Crete 344 f. Mt Ide in Crete  
     934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> Olympia 349 Samos (?)  
     354<sub>0</sub>
- Zan (*cont.*)  
   *Epithet*: Μέγας 341<sub>6</sub> 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 940<sub>0</sub>  
   *Functions*: an older Zeus 340 ff. sky  
     353 f. 842 thunder 341<sub>6</sub> 344  
   *Type*: Ζᾶves at Olympia 343<sub>0</sub> 349 354  
   *Identified with* Great Ox 354 Ian 341  
     344 353 Zeus 220<sub>6</sub> 341<sub>6</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 345  
     942<sub>0</sub>  
   *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 (Ζᾶves) 343<sub>0</sub> 349 354  
     tomb of 341<sub>6</sub> 354 934<sub>0</sub> tower of 178  
     354 watch-tower of 354  
   See also Zeus
- Zanes, consecrated men despatched to the  
 gods 343<sub>0</sub>  
 Zanes, plural of Zan 343<sub>0</sub> 349 354  
   See also Zan, Zeus
- Zanides, Roman empresses (?) so called  
 343<sub>0</sub>
- Zankle  
   *Cult*: Poseidon 794 f. 850  
   *Myth*: called Δρέπανον after δρέπανον  
     of Kronos 448<sub>0</sub>  
   — coin of 794 f. 850  
   See also Messana
- Zanos 353  
 Zaragoza  
   *Cult*: Our Lady *del Pilar* 1213
- Zas 344<sub>0</sub> 351 f. 353  
   See also Zeus
- Zbelsourdos  
   *Etymology*: 822 ff. 824<sub>1</sub> 851  
   See also Zeus *Epithets* Ζβελσοῦρδος
- Zelos 1029  
 Zemela See Semele
- Zen 259<sub>0</sub> 293<sub>0</sub> 341 344<sub>0</sub> 582<sub>4</sub> 855<sub>2</sub> See also  
 Zeus
- Zenoposeidon  
   *Cults*: Corinth (?) 878<sub>0(3)</sub> Mylasa 582  
     663 846 963<sub>7</sub>  
   *Festival*: Taurophonia (?) 582  
   *Priest*: νεωκόπος 582
- Zephyros  
   *Cult*: Kaulonia (?) 1042  
   *Myth*: Kyparissos 981<sub>1</sub>  
   *Type*: horse 830<sub>7</sub>
- Zes 344<sub>0</sub> 352<sub>1</sub> 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 1019<sub>2</sub>

*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*: 445<sub>2</sub>

*Type*: on column 428

*In relation to Zetes* 445

## Zeus

*Cults*: Abédāt in Phoinike 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>4</sub>  
 Achaeans 458 Adrianoi in Mysia 127  
 Aeolians 901<sub>0</sub> Agra 1142<sub>3</sub> (?)  
 Agrigentum 911<sub>0</sub> ff. 1227 Aigai in  
 Aiolis 259<sub>0</sub> Aigai in Makedonia  
 878<sub>0(9)</sub> 906<sub>2</sub> Aigina 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>0</sub> 895<sub>1</sub>  
 Aigion 742 f. 749 826<sub>6</sub> Ainianes 869<sub>0</sub>  
 Mt Ainos 907<sub>2</sub> Mt Aitne 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub>  
 910<sub>0</sub> Aitne (formerly Katane) 908<sub>1</sub>  
 909<sub>0</sub> Aixone 730<sub>0</sub> Aizanoi 882<sub>0(23)</sub> (?)  
 965<sub>0</sub> ff. Akarnania 743<sub>7</sub> 1226 Ak-  
 moneia 312<sub>5</sub> Akrai in Sicily 915<sub>1</sub>  
 Akraiphia 97<sub>0</sub> 1074 Alaisa (Halaesa)  
 1158<sub>6</sub> Alban Mt 808<sub>0(16)</sub> Alexandria  
 1158 1187<sub>0</sub> Alopeke 1115 Altyntash  
 in Phrygia 883<sub>0(0)</sub> Mt Alysis (?)  
 945<sub>1</sub> Amaseia 975<sub>0</sub> f. Amastris 707  
 848 918<sub>0</sub> 1067 Amathous 598 f.  
 869<sub>0</sub> Ambrakia 1222 Amorgos 258<sub>3</sub>  
 Anaphe 1066 Anazarbos 980<sub>1</sub> Mt  
 Anchesmos 897<sub>4</sub> Anchialos in  
 Thrace 878<sub>0(10)</sub> 949<sub>2</sub> Andros 1156  
 Ankyra in Galatia 754<sub>1</sub> 835<sub>5</sub> 971<sub>1</sub>  
 Antandros 815 Antigoneia on the  
 Orontes 1188 Antiocheia in Chry-  
 saoris (= Alabanda) 714<sub>2</sub> Antio-  
 cheia on the Maiandros 259<sub>0</sub> Antio-  
 cheia on the Orontes 428 1178  
 1186 ff. 1188<sub>14</sub> 1196 f. Apameia on  
 the Orontes 1192 Mt Apesas 892<sub>4</sub>  
 Aphrodisias in Karia 585<sub>3</sub> 1220  
 Arabia (?) 1224 Mt Arachnaion 894<sub>1</sub>  
 Mt Arbios 945<sub>2</sub> 946<sub>0</sub> Ardettos 1135  
 Mt Argaios 980<sub>0</sub> Mt Argarizon (See  
 Mt Gerizim) Argos 164<sub>5</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 179  
 808<sub>0(14)</sub> 874<sub>2</sub> 878<sub>0(4)</sub> 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> 893<sub>1</sub>  
 1099<sub>0</sub> 1143 f. 1143<sub>5</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> 1230  
 Arkadia 760 f. 793 849 Arkesine  
 1156 1156<sub>13</sub> 1157<sub>0</sub> Arslan Apa in  
 Phrygia (?) 883<sub>0(0)</sub> Assos 728<sub>0</sub> 857<sub>6</sub>  
 Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub>  
 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Mt Atabyrion in Sicily  
 910<sub>1</sub> Athens 20 f. 97<sub>0</sub> 98<sub>0</sub> 111<sub>0</sub> 231<sub>8</sub>  
 259<sub>0</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> 793 815 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
 876<sub>1(1)</sub> 897<sub>2</sub> 897<sub>3</sub> 903<sub>0</sub> 976<sub>0</sub> 985<sub>0</sub>  
 1061 (?) 1065 1078 1091 f. 1100<sub>1</sub>  
 1103 f. 1114 ff. 1121 ff. 1135<sub>4</sub> 1147  
 1149 1151 1161 ff. 1169 1229 Mt  
 Athos 906<sub>1</sub> Attaleia in Pamphylia  
 111<sub>0</sub> Attike 291<sub>2</sub> 1069 (?) Attouda  
 743<sub>7</sub> Axos 816<sub>4</sub> Babylon 128<sub>4</sub> 675  
 714<sub>1</sub> Bejad in Phrygia 292<sub>4</sub> Beuyuk  
 Evlia near Amaseia 974<sub>1</sub> ff. Bithy -

## Zeus (cont.)

nia 271<sub>0</sub> 292<sub>4</sub> 815 835<sub>5</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub> Blau-  
 dos in Mysia 284<sub>0</sub> Boiotia 238<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub>  
 873<sub>2</sub> 875<sub>1(1)</sub> 900<sub>1</sub> Bosporos 707  
 Bosporos Kimmerios 729<sub>0</sub> Böttia on  
 the Orontes 1187<sub>4</sub> Bouthroton  
 (Bouthrotos) 348 Bruttii 709 Bunar-  
 bashi in Phrygia 835<sub>4</sub> Byblos  
 887<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>6</sub> Celts (See Keltoi)  
 Chaironeia (sceptre of Zeus) 547<sub>2</sub>  
 Chalkis 1098<sub>7</sub> Chalkis in Eubolia  
 1157 Chalkis sub Libano 981<sub>0</sub>  
 Chersonesos Taurike 729<sub>0</sub> Chios  
 922<sub>4</sub> 1157<sub>1</sub> Corinth 869<sub>1</sub> 878<sub>0(3)</sub>  
 892<sub>3</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> Crete 230 344 f. 352 354  
 599 697<sub>0</sub> 727 743<sub>7</sub> 925 ff. 1169<sub>5</sub>  
 1187<sub>4</sub> (?) Damaskos 807<sub>5(2)</sub> 886<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Daphne, near Antiocheia on the  
 Orontes 1191 Delos 259<sub>0</sub> 907<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> 985<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> 1096<sub>0</sub>  
 1105 1217 Delphoi 179 f. 231 ff. 244  
 816 841 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Demotionidai  
 728<sub>0</sub> Denderah 97<sub>0</sub> Didyma near  
 Miletos 317 317<sub>2</sub> 318<sub>0</sub> Mt Dikte  
 927<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> Diokaisareia in  
 Kilikia (?) 810 Dion in Makedonia  
 1111 Dionysopolis in Phrygia 285  
 Divlit near Koloë 975<sub>0</sub> Dodona 214  
 350 350<sub>6</sub> 353 693<sub>3</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 826 855<sub>2</sub>  
 960<sub>0</sub> Doliche 745<sub>1</sub> Dorylaeion 280 f.  
 280<sub>1</sub> 292<sub>4</sub> 835<sub>4</sub> 836 Dreros 948<sub>1</sub>  
 Mt Drios 918<sub>1</sub> Ebimi near Amaseia  
 976<sub>0</sub> Egypt 1023 Elaia in Aiolis  
 955<sub>0</sub> Mt Elakataion in Thessaly  
 397<sub>0</sub> Elasson in Thessaly 808<sub>0(13)</sub>  
 Elis 728<sub>0</sub> 783 Emathia, hill at  
 Antiocheia on the Orontes 1187 f.  
 Ephesos 728<sub>0</sub> 743<sub>7</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> Epidauros  
 894<sub>2</sub> 1061 1066 1076 f. 1144<sub>3</sub> (?)  
 1157<sub>0</sub> 1177 f. Eresos 729<sub>0</sub> Eretria  
 901<sub>0</sub> Erythrai in Ionia 730<sub>0</sub> 1157<sub>0</sub>  
 Essir-keui in Bithynia 835<sub>5</sub> Eu-  
 menea in Phrygia 970<sub>0</sub> Euromos  
 572<sub>7</sub> 573<sub>4</sub> 574 f. 589<sub>0</sub> (?) 1220 Ga-  
 laria or Galarina 1131<sub>1</sub> Galatia  
 835<sub>5</sub> Mt Gargaron (Gargara) 950<sub>0</sub> ff.  
 Gaza 675 1187<sub>0</sub> Genetaean head-  
 land 616 f. 1097<sub>0</sub> Cape Geraistos (?)  
 903 Mt Gerizim 887<sub>0(30)</sub> 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 983<sub>0</sub> Ghel-Ghiraz near Amaseia  
 976<sub>0</sub> Golgoi (?) 948<sub>0(5)</sub> Gomphoi  
 871<sub>3(2)</sub> 1099<sub>0</sub> Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub>  
 947<sub>0(2)</sub> (?) Graeco-Libyans 1111  
 Gumbet in Phrygia 835<sub>4</sub> Günjarik  
 in Phrygia 835<sub>4</sub> Gythion 31 259<sub>0</sub>  
 Hagia Triada 947<sub>0(1)</sub> Halikarnassos  
 585<sub>3</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 963<sub>3</sub> 1228 Halos 904<sub>1</sub>  
 1226 Heleia 930<sub>0</sub> 931<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>0</sub> Mt  
 Helikon 898<sub>5</sub> Hephaistia in Lemnos  
 878<sub>0(7)</sub> (?) Herakleia ad Latmum  
 585<sub>3</sub> Herakleia Pontike 976<sub>0</sub> Her-  
 mione 100<sub>6</sub> 1061 1077 Hierapolis  
 in Phrygia 570 571<sub>6</sub> Hierapytna  
 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> cp. 930<sub>0</sub> 1157<sub>4</sub> Mt  
 Homole (Homolos) (?) 904<sub>4</sub> Homo-



Zeus (*cont.*)

lion 1227 Mt Homoloion near Thebes in Boiotia (?) 900<sub>1</sub> Hydisos 705 f. Mt Hymettos 873<sub>1</sub> 897<sub>5</sub> 1226 Mt Hynnaron 987<sub>1</sub> Mt Hypatos 875<sub>1(1)</sub> 898<sub>2</sub> lasos 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 963<sub>5</sub> Mt Ide in Crete 549 838 932<sub>1</sub> ff. 941<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>5</sub> Mt Ide in Phrygia 855<sub>2</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> ff. Iki kilisse in Galatia 835<sub>5</sub> Ilion 950<sub>0</sub> f. Imbros 878<sub>0(8)</sub> 922<sub>1</sub> Inessa (?) 908<sub>1</sub> Inhissar in Phrygia 835<sub>4</sub> Inönü in Phrygia 249<sub>2</sub> 835<sub>4</sub> 836 ff. 1226 Ione 1186 f. Itanos 929<sub>0</sub> ep. 930<sub>0</sub> 1130<sub>7</sub> Mt Ithome 741 ff. 890<sub>6</sub> 1222 Jerusalem 984<sub>1</sub> Kalaureia 728<sub>0</sub> Kalchedon 259<sub>0</sub> Kalymna 808<sub>0(11)</sub> Mt Kamares (?) 935<sub>0</sub> Kanai (Kane) 902<sub>2</sub> Kappadokia 594<sub>8</sub> 595<sub>0</sub> 616 Karia 559 f. 572 ff. 705 729<sub>0</sub> 745<sub>1</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> Karien near Mt Pangaion 1066 Karousa 1092<sub>8</sub> Mt Kasion in Egypt 907<sub>0</sub> 984<sub>4</sub> f. Mt Kasion in Syria 907<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> ff. 1191 f. Kassiope 906<sub>3</sub> 907<sub>0</sub> Katane (See Aitne) Keltoi 111<sub>0</sub> 570<sub>0</sub> Mt Kenaion 902<sub>2</sub> Kephallenia 907<sub>2</sub> Keramos 599<sub>2</sub> Kerdylion 878<sub>0(9)</sub> (?) 906<sub>2</sub> Kibyra 771 Kierion 743<sub>7</sub> Kilikia 380 Kios 815<sub>5</sub> Mt Kithairon 581 898<sub>6</sub> Kition in Kypros 807<sub>3(1)</sub> (?) 807<sub>5(4)</sub> Klaros 873<sub>2</sub> Knidos 729<sub>0</sub> 1157 Knossos (?) 948<sub>0(3)</sub> Mt Kokkygion 893<sub>2</sub> Koloë in Lydia 285<sub>0</sub> 1067 Kolonos 1152<sub>5</sub> (?) 1154 f. Korkyra 675 f. 730<sub>0</sub> 879<sub>0(12)</sub> 907<sub>1</sub> Kos 238<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> Kotiaëion 835<sub>4</sub> Koujounlou in Bithynia 835<sub>5</sub> Mt Kounados 918<sub>2</sub> Krannon 833 Kurshumlu in Phrygia 839 Kurtköi in Phrygia 835<sub>4</sub> Kyaneai 101<sub>1</sub> Kymak in Phrygia 835<sub>4</sub> Mt Kynthos 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> Kypros 444<sub>7</sub> 599<sub>2</sub> (?) 874<sub>2</sub> 1099<sub>0</sub> 1102<sub>8</sub> Kyrene 259<sub>0</sub> 1177<sub>3</sub> Kyrrhos 15 f. 745<sub>1</sub> 983<sub>1</sub> Kys 97<sub>0</sub> Kyzikos 743<sub>7</sub> 833 ff. 852 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 953<sub>1</sub> Labranda 576 f. 585 ff. 594 597 713 722 976<sub>0</sub> Lagina 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 963<sub>6</sub> Laodikeia Katakekoumene 817 Laodikeia on the Lykos 319 f. 319<sub>7</sub> 745<sub>1</sub> 1186 Laodikeia on the sea 1192 Lapersai 1069 Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> Larisa at Argos 892<sub>5</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> Larisa on Mt Messogis 957<sub>3</sub> ff. Larissa in Thessaly 1155 f. Lebadeia 233<sub>0</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> 900<sub>0</sub> 1061 1073 ff. Leuktron or Leuktra in Lakonike 891<sub>0</sub> Mt Libanos 983<sub>7</sub> Lindos 923<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Lucania 709 Lydia 312<sub>5</sub> 577 807<sub>5(6)</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 1228 Mt Lykaion 423 761 891<sub>3</sub> Lykaonia 835<sub>5</sub> Lykia 972<sub>0</sub> Lykoreia 901<sub>2</sub> Mt Lykoreion 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 948<sub>0(4)</sub> (?) Magnesia ad Maeandrum 873<sub>0(7)</sub> 963<sub>1</sub> Magnesia ad Sipyllum 729<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>0</sub> Magnesia in Thessaly 730<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(1)</sub> Maionia 745<sub>1</sub> Make-

Zeus (*cont.*)

donia 878<sub>0(9)</sub> Cape Malea (Maleai) 488<sub>0(0)</sub> 890<sub>4</sub> Mantinea 12 f. 259<sub>0</sub> 321<sub>1</sub> 807 Marathon 875<sub>1(3)</sub> 898<sub>1</sub> Mastaura 587 Megalopolis 1178 f. 1183 Megara 179 257<sub>4</sub> 895<sub>1</sub> 896<sub>0</sub> 897<sub>0</sub> 1138<sub>5</sub> 1139<sub>0</sub> Melos 16 f. 808<sub>0(12)</sub> Messene 728<sub>0</sub> 741 ff. 1223 Methydrion 290<sub>0</sub> Miletos 317<sub>2</sub> 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 962<sub>0</sub> 963<sub>2</sub> 1228 Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis 496<sub>0</sub> mountains 868 ff. Mykonos 258<sub>3</sub> 1105 Mylasa 559<sub>6</sub> 574 576 ff. 663 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 963<sub>7</sub> 1220 Mynchos 872<sub>0(6)</sub> 963<sub>4</sub> Myrmidones 894<sub>3</sub> Myrrhinous 730<sub>0</sub> Mysia 577 Mytilene 97<sub>0</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> 873<sub>0(10)</sub> (?) 882<sub>6(22)</sub> 922<sub>3</sub> Naissos 875<sub>0</sub> 948<sub>4</sub> (?) Nakoleia 292<sub>4</sub> 570 835<sub>4</sub> 836<sub>2</sub> 836<sub>3</sub> Nauplia 32 Naxos 918<sub>1</sub> Neapolis in Karia 260<sub>0</sub> Neaule (= Nea Aule) 285<sub>0</sub> Nemroud Dagh 980<sub>6</sub> Netteia 925<sub>0</sub> 1096<sub>0</sub> (?) Nicopolis on the Danube 808<sub>0(9)</sub> Nikaia in Bithynia 815<sub>5</sub> 918<sub>1</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> Nisyros 1157<sub>3</sub> Mt Oche 902<sub>1</sub> Ogur (Ogut) in Galatia 835<sub>5</sub> Mt Oite 903<sub>2</sub> Olenos in Aitolia 933<sub>0</sub> Olous 948<sub>1</sub> Olympia 21 231<sub>8</sub> 349 706 722 726 f. 757 ff. 758<sub>0</sub> 761 783 808<sub>0(15)</sub> 849 878<sub>0(5)</sub> 891<sub>2</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1078 1100<sub>1</sub> 1222 1224 Mt Olympos in Elis (?) 891<sub>1</sub> Olympos in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub> Mt Olympos in Makedonia 904<sub>6</sub> 1227 Mt Olympos in Mysia 953<sub>2</sub> Orchomenos in Boiotia 873<sub>2</sub> 898<sub>4</sub> 1149 1150 1151 Ormelle 1067 Oropos 232 1061 1070 ff. Mt Ossa (?) 904<sub>3</sub> Palmyra 807<sub>5(1)</sub> 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 886<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> Panamara 587 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 963<sub>8</sub> 1066 Panionion 259<sub>0</sub> Panormos near Kyzikos 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> Mt Pantokrator (?) 907<sub>0</sub> Paphlagonia 729<sub>0</sub> Mt Parnassos 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Mt Parnes 4 873<sub>1</sub> 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>0</sub> Paros 19 f. 131 259<sub>0</sub> 875<sub>1(5)</sub> 918<sub>2</sub> Passaron 706 Patara 921<sub>0</sub> Pautalia 743<sub>7</sub> Peiraieus 585<sub>3</sub> 1065 f. 1104 ff. 1117 1142 1173 ff. Mt Pelinnaion 922<sub>4</sub> Mt Pelion 869<sub>2</sub> 870<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(1)</sub> 904<sub>2</sub> Pella in Makedonia 1187<sub>4</sub> Pelousion 985<sub>1</sub> ff. Pergamon 110<sub>9</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> 287 287<sub>2</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> 808<sub>0(8)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> (?) 954<sub>0</sub> ff. 1061 1067 1077 f. 1178 1179 ff. 1184 Perinthos 773<sub>0</sub> 874<sub>1</sub> 949<sub>3</sub> Persia 33 Petelia 708 f. Phaistos 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> Phaselis 729<sub>0</sub> Philadelphieia in Lydia 285<sub>0</sub> 869<sub>1</sub> 957<sub>1</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 1217 f. 1228 f. Philai 97<sub>0</sub> Phlious 1106 f. Phlyeis 1066 Phoinike 868<sub>8</sub> Phokis 731<sub>0</sub> Phrygia 282 ff. 292<sub>4</sub> 295<sub>2</sub> 322 569 807<sub>5(5)</sub> 835 ff. 842 852 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 964 ff. Mt Pindos 871<sub>3(2)</sub> 904<sub>5</sub> Pisidia 287 Plarasa 573 Plataiai 238<sub>0</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> Pontos 974<sub>1</sub> ff. Praisos 731<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(4)</sub> 930<sub>0</sub> Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Priene 808<sub>0(7)</sub> Pronnoi 907<sub>2</sub> Prostanna

## Zeus (cont.)

973<sub>0</sub> Prousa ad Olympum 292<sub>4</sub> 964<sub>2</sub>  
 Prynnessos 835<sub>4</sub> Rhodes 615 922<sub>5</sub>  
 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> 946<sub>0</sub> Rhodes the  
 town 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Rome 724<sub>0</sub> 808<sub>0(17)</sub>  
 835<sub>6</sub> 876<sub>0(6)</sub> Salamis 110<sub>9</sub> Sardeis  
 1227 f. Seleukeia Pieria 807<sub>5(3)</sub> 809  
 869<sub>1</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> f. 983<sub>3</sub> 1192 1225 Selge  
 492<sub>0(0)</sub> Selinous 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Selymbria  
 878<sub>0(10)</sub> (?) Serdike 744<sub>0</sub> Serea in  
 Phrygia 883<sub>0(0)</sub> Sicily 808<sub>0(18)</sub> 812 ff.  
 Sikyon 97<sub>0</sub> 1144 ff. Sillyon 572<sub>11</sub> (?)  
 Mt Silpion 1186 f. 1188<sub>14</sub> (?) Sinope  
 1171<sub>3</sub> Siphnos 897<sub>3</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub> Mt Sipy-  
 los 876<sub>0(8)</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> (?) Skepsis 951<sub>0</sub>  
 Skiathos 878<sub>0(6)</sub> 922<sub>2</sub> Skythia 292<sub>4</sub>  
 925<sub>0</sub> Smyrna 280<sub>1</sub> 319 729<sub>0</sub> 873<sub>0(8)</sub>  
 962<sub>1</sub> Mt Solymos 973<sub>1</sub> f. Sparta 98<sub>0</sub>  
 110<sub>9</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> 261<sub>0</sub> 321<sub>1</sub> 436 728<sub>0</sub> 729<sub>0</sub>  
 739<sub>1</sub> 875<sub>1(4)</sub> 890<sub>2</sub> 890<sub>3</sub> 948<sub>1</sub> 1061  
 1069 1096<sub>1</sub> 1101<sub>3</sub> Stelai in Crete  
 731<sub>0</sub> Stratonikeia 585<sub>3</sub> (cp. 586<sub>3</sub>)  
 714 ff. 714<sub>3</sub> 963<sub>9</sub> Suwasa in Kappa-  
 dokia 594 f. Sybrita 731<sub>0</sub> Syracuse  
 708 763<sub>1</sub> 915<sub>2</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub> 918<sub>0</sub> Syria  
 745<sub>1</sub> 807<sub>3(2)</sub> (?) 886<sub>0(0)</sub> Syros 1066  
 Tabai 743<sub>7</sub> Cape Tainaros (?) 890<sub>5</sub>  
 Tallaina range (?) 948<sub>1</sub> Tarantos in  
 Bithynia 32<sub>3</sub> Tarentum 29 ff. 45 131  
 161 559 762 ff. 763<sub>1</sub> 1064 Tavium  
 754<sub>1</sub> Tegea 807 815 850 873<sub>2</sub> 892<sub>1</sub>  
 1147 ff. Temnos 873<sub>0(9)</sub> 956<sub>1</sub> Tene-  
 dos (?) 662 Teos 1066 Termessos  
 (Termessus Maior) 321<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> f. the  
 tetrapolis of Marathon (See Mara-  
 thon) Thalamai 17 f. 31 Thasos  
 808<sub>0(10)</sub> Thebes in Boiotia 878<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 898<sub>3</sub> 900<sub>1</sub> Thebes in Egypt 960<sub>0</sub>  
 Thera 17 817 1066 1095<sub>0</sub> 1156 Ther-  
 mos in Aitolia 729<sub>0</sub> Thespiiai 599<sub>2</sub>  
 1061 1066 1151 Thessaly 873<sub>2</sub>  
 876<sub>0(7)</sub> (?) 899<sub>1</sub> 900<sub>1</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> Thrace  
 230 (?) 282 817 ff. 833 851 1225  
 Thraco-Phrygians 1111 Thyateira  
 808<sub>0(0)</sub> 1184 f. Mt Tmolos 957<sub>2</sub>  
 Tralleis 958<sub>0</sub> ff. Trapezous in Ar-  
 kadia 871<sub>3(3)</sub> 892<sub>2</sub> Troy 8 950<sub>0</sub>  
 Tyana 569 722<sub>5</sub> Tyndaris 917<sub>1</sub> 918<sub>0</sub>  
 Tyre 424<sub>0</sub> Venasa 616 Mt Viarus (?)  
 973<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets:* 'Αβοζηνός 570 'Αγαμέμνων  
 1061 1069 f. 1112 'Αγαμήδης (?) 233<sub>0</sub>  
 1075 "Αγιος 1092<sub>8</sub> ἀγκυλομήτης 549<sub>7</sub>  
 ἄγνός 1122<sub>9</sub> 'Αγοραῖος 51<sub>1</sub> 260<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
 1177<sub>2</sub> 'Αγνιεύς 165 'Αγχέσμιος 897<sub>4</sub>  
 'Αέριος 808<sub>0(0)</sub> 'Αθῶνος 906<sub>1</sub> αἰγίολχος  
 830<sub>7</sub> Αἰθέριος 727<sub>3(3)</sub> Αἰνήσιος 907<sub>2</sub>  
 Αἰτναῖος 908<sub>1</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς  
 ὄρμη 1027 ἀκοντιστήρ κερανοῦ 705<sub>3</sub>  
 'Ακραῖος 319 730<sub>0</sub> 869 871<sub>3</sub> 872<sub>0</sub> 873<sub>0</sub>  
 892<sub>2</sub> 904<sub>2</sub> 904<sub>5</sub> 915<sub>1</sub> 922<sub>3</sub> 956<sub>1</sub> 962<sub>1</sub>  
 963<sub>1</sub> 963<sub>3</sub> 963<sub>4</sub> ἀκρολοφίτας (See also  
 Λοφείτης, 'Επιλόφιος) 343<sub>0</sub> 'Ακταῖος  
 869 904<sub>2</sub> ἀλάστορος 1098 ἀλάστωρ  
 1098 1101 'Αλδήμιος or "Αλδος 675

## Zeus (cont.)

1187<sub>0</sub> ἀληθής Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης (= Pan)  
 1023 "Αλσειος (?) 945<sub>1</sub> 'Αλύσιος (?)  
 945<sub>1</sub> 'Αμβούλιος 261<sub>0</sub> ἀμβροτος (ἄφ-  
 θιτος) νύμφη 1027 f. "Αμμων 388 986<sub>0</sub>  
 1136<sub>4</sub> 'Αμφιάραος 232 794 1061  
 1070 ff. 1076 1112 ἀμφιθαλής 1072  
 ἀναδωδωναῖος (sic) 855<sub>2</sub> 'Αναδότης  
 321<sub>1</sub> 1157<sub>0</sub> ἀναξ 855<sub>2</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> 960<sub>0</sub>  
 ἀναξ ἀνάκτων 337<sub>4</sub> 'Απεσάντιος 892<sub>4</sub>  
 'Απέσας 892<sub>4</sub> 'Απήμιος 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>0</sub>  
 'Απόμνιος 781 ff. 850 'Αποτρόπαιος  
 1157<sub>0</sub> ἀποτρόπαιος 1099<sub>1</sub> "Αρβιος 945<sub>2</sub>  
 946<sub>0</sub> 'Αργαῖος (?) 980<sub>0</sub> ἀργής 980<sub>0</sub>  
 ἀργικέρανος 806<sub>8</sub> 858 1027 f. "Αρειος  
 705 ff. 848 ἀριστοτέχνης 693<sub>3</sub> "Αρνεῖος  
 918<sub>1</sub> "Αρσηλις (?) 559<sub>6</sub> ἄρσην 1027 f.  
 ἀρχή 1033<sub>1</sub> ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων ἀργικέ-  
 ραννος 1027 'Ασβαμαῖος 569 'Ασεις  
 321<sub>0</sub> ἀσελγής 348<sub>2</sub> 'Ασκληπιός 1077  
 'Ασκληπιός 794 1061 1076 ff. 1112  
 'Ασκληπιὸς Σωτήρ 1076 f. 'Ασκραῖος  
 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 'Αστέριος 230 ἀστεροπητής  
 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 806<sub>8</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> 'Αστρα-  
 παῖος 815 850 'Αστράπιος 1122  
 ἀστράπιος 806<sub>8</sub> 815<sub>4</sub> 1100<sub>1</sub> 'Αστράπ-  
 των 817<sub>2</sub> 817<sub>3</sub> 850 ἀστράπτων 817<sub>3</sub>  
 'Αταβύριος in Rhodes 922<sub>5</sub> 923<sub>0</sub>  
 924<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> Ataburius 588<sub>1</sub> αὐξητής  
 1100<sub>1</sub> αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένηλος  
 1028 'Αφέσιος 179 266 f. (?) 841 892<sub>4</sub>  
 895<sub>1</sub> 896<sub>0</sub> 897<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> ἀφίκτωρ 1096<sub>2</sub>  
 1098 1101 Βαγαῖος 294<sub>0</sub> (?) 295<sub>2</sub> 569  
 Βάκχος 287 954<sub>0</sub> 1184 Βάλῆος 271<sub>0</sub>  
 βαρύγδουπος 204<sub>1</sub> Βασιλεύς 727<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 730<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>0</sub> 869<sub>1</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> 900<sub>0</sub> 1073 f.  
 1076 1135 1135<sub>4</sub> (?) βασιλεύς 954<sub>0</sub>  
 1027 f. 1095<sub>0</sub> βασιλεὺς μέγιστος 1122<sub>9</sub>  
 βασιλικός 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Βελχάνος (?) = Φελ-  
 χάνος 948<sub>0(4)</sub> Βεννεύς 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 969<sub>3</sub>  
 Βέννιος 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 969<sub>3</sub> Βήλος 128<sub>4</sub> 210<sub>2</sub>  
 675 Βιδάτας 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> Βοζῖος (Βωζῖος)  
 570 Βόλλαιος 259<sub>0</sub> Βόρειος 380 Βοτ-  
 τιαῖος 1187 f. Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub> 260<sub>0</sub>  
 317<sub>2</sub> 824<sub>4</sub> 824<sub>8</sub> 873<sub>0(10)</sub> 897<sub>3</sub> 1076  
 1177<sub>2</sub> Βουλεύς 258<sub>3</sub> 1105 Βρονταῖος  
 833 ff. 852 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 1100<sub>1</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> Βρον-  
 τήσιος (= Iupiter Tonans) 111<sub>0</sub> 835<sub>6</sub>  
 βροντοποιός 807<sub>2</sub> Βροντῶν 280<sub>1</sub> 805<sub>6</sub>  
 835 f. 838 f. 852 883<sub>0(0)</sub> Βροντῶν  
 (= Iupiter Tonans) 835<sub>6</sub> Βροντῶν καὶ  
 'Αστράπτων 817 Βροντῶν καὶ Πατήρ  
 Θεός 836<sub>2</sub> Βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ  
 836<sub>3</sub> Βωζῖος (Βοζῖος) 570 Βώπτιος  
 1187<sub>4</sub> 1188 Γαιβόλος (?) 18<sub>3</sub> Casius  
 588<sub>1</sub> γενέτης (sc. Διούσου) 616<sub>4</sub>  
 γενέτωρ 1177<sub>2</sub> Γενηταῖος 616 Γιγαν-  
 τοφόνος 449<sub>0</sub> Γογγυλάτης 260<sub>0</sub> 824<sub>4</sub>  
 824<sub>7</sub> Γοναῖος (?) 961<sub>0</sub> Δάης (?) 312<sub>5</sub>  
 δαίμων 856 Δακιηνός 616 Δακίης (?)  
 616<sub>1</sub> Δάκιος (?) 616<sub>1</sub> Δάος 312<sub>5</sub> Δει-  
 πάτυρος (See Deipatyros) Διδυμαῖος  
 317 Διδύμων γενάρχης 317<sub>2</sub> Δικαί-  
 σννος 1092<sub>8</sub> Δικαίσννος Μέγας 1092<sub>8</sub>  
 δικηφόρος 806<sub>1</sub> Δικταῖος 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub>



## Zeus (cont.)

731<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>3(4)</sub> 927<sub>1</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> 930<sub>0</sub> 931<sub>0</sub>  
 1227 Δινύμαϊος (?) 317<sub>1</sub> (See Διδυ-  
 μαϊός) Διδύσος 282 Δίος (rather  
 than Δίος) 280 f. 836 842 Δολιχαῖος  
 614 745<sub>1</sub> Δουσάρης 317<sub>2</sub> Δωδωναῖος  
 693<sub>3</sub> 855<sub>2</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Δωδωναῖος  
 (= Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub> Δωτήρ (?) 321<sub>1</sub>  
 δῶτορ ἀπημονίης 321<sub>1</sub> δῶτορ εἰσῶν 321<sub>1</sub>  
 ἐγγχεικέραννος 704 Εἰδαῖος (See Ἰδαῖος)  
 εἰς δαίμων 1028 Ἐκτωρ 87 ἔλασι-  
 βρόντης 830<sub>2</sub> ἐλατήρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς  
 ἀκαμαντόποδος 94<sub>2</sub> 830<sub>4</sub> Ἐλάφριος  
 599<sub>7</sub> Ἐλαφρός 599 Ἐλευθέριος 97<sub>0</sub>  
 118<sub>1</sub> 238<sub>0</sub> 343<sub>0</sub> 344<sub>0</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 974<sub>0</sub> 1096<sub>1</sub>  
 1135<sub>4</sub> 1158<sub>6</sub> Ἐλικώνιος 898<sub>5</sub> Ἐλλάνιος  
 894<sub>3</sub> Ἐλλήμιος 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 895<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>9</sub>  
 Ἐλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948<sub>0(3)</sub> Ἐμ-  
 βατήριος (= Trajan) 100<sub>6</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub> ἐνά-  
 λιος 878<sub>0(3)</sub> (?) 893<sub>0</sub> ἐν δέμας βασιλείων  
 1028 Ἐνδενδρος 946<sub>0</sub> ἐν κράτος 1028  
 ἐξακέσας (?) 1095<sub>0</sub> Ἐξακεστήρ 1093<sub>1</sub>  
 Ἐξακεστήριος 1093<sub>1</sub> ἐξ Αὐλῆς 249<sub>2</sub>  
 836 f. 1226 ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός  
 837<sub>1</sub> Ἐπάκριος 873 Ἐπερνύτιος (See  
 Ἐπιρνύτιος) Ἐπήκοος 249<sub>2</sub> 837<sub>1</sub>  
 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 886<sub>0(10)</sub> 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> 983<sub>4</sub>  
 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835<sub>6</sub> 836 Ἐπι-  
 βήμιος 897<sub>3</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub> Ἐπιδήμιος 1180<sub>4</sub>  
 Ἐπιδότης (?) 321 Ἐπιδώτας 321<sub>1</sub>  
 Ἐπιδώτης (Ἐπιδότης) 321<sub>1</sub> Ἐπι-  
 κάρπιος 260<sub>0</sub> 1065 1177<sub>2</sub> 1186 Ἐπι-  
 λόφιος (?) 875<sub>0</sub> 948<sub>4</sub> Ἐπιρνύτιος 946<sub>0</sub>  
 Ἐπιστάσιος (= Iupiter Stator) 708<sub>5</sub>  
 Ἐπίστιος 311<sub>8</sub> (See also Ἐφέστιος)  
 Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 1163 1169 ἐπι-  
 τιμήτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξείνων τε 1097<sub>0</sub>  
 Ἐπόπτης 878<sub>0(10)</sub> (?) cp. 889<sub>0(33)</sub>  
 949<sub>2</sub> (?) Ἐπόψιος 697 1121 1123  
 1130 f. 1130<sub>3</sub> 1130<sub>7</sub> 1159 ἐπόψιος  
 1130<sub>4</sub> 1130<sub>5</sub> Ἐρεχθεύς 793 1146  
 ἐρίγδουπος 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub>  
 ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης 584<sub>1</sub> 728<sub>0</sub>  
 ἐρισμάραγος 954<sub>0</sub> 1122<sub>9</sub> Ἐρκεῖος 723<sub>0</sub>  
 728<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> 808<sub>0(15)</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> Ἐρκεῖος Πα-  
 τρώος 1066 Ἐταιρείος (Ἐταίρειος)  
 1175<sub>4</sub> 1176<sub>4</sub> 1177<sub>1</sub> ἔταιρείος (ἔταίρειος)  
 260<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> Ἐταιρήσιος  
 311<sub>8</sub> (See also Ἐταιρείος) Εὐαγγέλιος  
 956<sub>0</sub> Εὐβουλεύς 119<sub>0</sub> 131 258<sub>3</sub> 259<sub>0</sub>  
 1076 1105 Εὐβουλος (?) 1076 Εὐ-  
 βωλεύς 259<sub>0</sub> Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως  
 579<sub>0(13)</sub> (?) Εὐκλείος 118<sub>3</sub> Εὐμένης  
 (= Eumenes i) 960<sub>0</sub> 1229 Εὐμένης  
 (= Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub> f. Εὐξείνος 617  
 1097<sub>0</sub> εὐρύ ἀνάσσων 271<sub>0</sub> εὐρυμέδων  
 1069 εὐρυνεφής 902<sub>2</sub> εὐρύοπα 1089  
 Εὐρωμεύς (?) 589<sub>0</sub> Εὐνπνος 231 f.  
 Ἐφέστιος 1176<sub>4</sub> ἐφέστιος 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 1177<sub>2</sub> Ἐφόρκιος 723<sub>0</sub> Ἐφορος 1130<sub>1</sub>  
 Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελ-  
 χάνος 948<sub>0(5)</sub> Φελχάνιος (?) 947<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Φελχάνος or Φελχάνος 599<sub>7</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> Φευ-  
 χάνος 947<sub>0(1)</sub> Ζάλμοξις (?) 230 822  
 Ζβελθιοῦρδος 819 Ζβελσοῦρδος 817 ff.

## Zeus (cont.)

822<sub>2</sub> 833 851 Ζβελσοῦρδος ὁ Κύριος  
 1225 (See also Κύριος Ζβελσοῦρδος  
 and Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός Ζβελ-  
 σοῦρδος) Ζβερθιοῦρδος (?) 818<sub>2(1)</sub>  
 Ζβερθοῦρδος 820<sub>3</sub> 821 Ζberturdus  
 822<sub>4</sub> Ζητήρ 444<sub>7</sub> 1102<sub>8</sub> Ζιβελεῖζις (?)  
 822 \*Ζιβελεσοῦρδος (?) 822 Ζιβελ-  
 σοῦρδος 822<sub>2</sub> Ζλεθοῦρδος 822<sub>3</sub> ζῶων ἐκ  
 ζῶων 1028 f. Ἴηλακαταῖος 397<sub>0</sub> Ἴηλα-  
 κατεύς 397<sub>0</sub> 1219 Ἴηλιοδρόμος 312<sub>5</sub>  
 ἴηλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη 1027 Θεῖος 879<sub>0(17)</sub>  
 Θεός 958<sub>0</sub> θεός ἐκ θεῶν 1028 f. Θεός  
 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835<sub>6</sub> 836 Θεός Μέγας  
 Βροντῶν 835<sub>6</sub> 836 θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ  
 ἀνδρῶν 1070 θεῶν τὸν ἀριστον... ἠδὲ  
 μέγιστον 1089 Θηβαίεύς 210<sub>2</sub> Θυ-  
 ἔστης (?) 1022 Ἰδαῖος 321<sub>1</sub> (?) Ἰδαῖος  
 in Crete 549 838 932<sub>1</sub> ff. 980<sub>5</sub> Ἰδαῖος  
 in Phrygia 950<sub>0</sub> ff. Ἰδηθεν μεδέων  
 728<sub>0</sub> 855<sub>2</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> Ἰθωμάτας 728<sub>0</sub> 741  
 743 890<sub>6</sub> 1222 Ἰκέσιος 321<sub>1</sub> (?) 1093  
 1093<sub>1</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> 1096<sub>0</sub> (?) 1097<sub>0</sub> 1098<sub>4</sub>  
 1101 1176<sub>4</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> ἰκέσιος 1097 1097<sub>1</sub>  
 Ἰκέτας 1096 1101 ἰκετήσιος 1040 f.  
 1097 1101 ἰκαῖος (?) 1098 1101 ἰκτῆρ  
 1098 1101 ἰκτίος (?) 1098<sub>1</sub> Καβάτας  
 17 f. 31 Καθάριος 311<sub>8</sub> 1093<sub>1</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub>  
 1097<sub>2</sub> 1099 f. 1103<sub>7</sub> Καναῖος 902<sub>2</sub>  
 Καπετώλιος 879<sub>0(17)</sub> 941<sub>0</sub> 1066 1188<sub>14</sub>  
 Καπετώλιος (= Κορυφαῖος) 869<sub>1</sub> Κα-  
 ραῖός 873 898<sub>4</sub> Καραός 1226 Κάριος  
 577 591<sub>1</sub> 598<sub>1</sub> 873<sub>2</sub> καρπῶν τροφεύς  
 1074 Κάσιος 941<sub>0</sub> Κάσιος in Egypt  
 984<sub>4</sub> ff. Κάσιος at Epidauros 894<sub>2</sub>  
 Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Korkyra 906<sub>3</sub>  
 907<sub>0</sub> (See also Iupiter Casius (Cas-  
 sius)) Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Syria  
 810<sub>0</sub> (?) 982<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 1191 f. Κάσι(ο)ς  
 Σῶζ[ων] 987<sub>0</sub> Κάσις (See Κάσι(ο)ς)  
 Καταιβάτας 16 f. Καταιβάτης 13 ff.  
 45 131 161 502<sub>2</sub> 559 745<sub>1</sub> 793 840  
 845 869<sub>1</sub> 962<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>1</sub> 1075 καταχθόνιος  
 582<sub>4</sub> 893<sub>0</sub> Κατεβάτης (= Καταιβάτης)  
 16<sub>1</sub> κελαυεφής 858 950<sub>0</sub> 982<sub>0</sub> κερᾶστις  
 (= Pan) 1023 κεραινεγχῆς 704 κε-  
 ραῖνιος 95 806<sub>8</sub> 807<sub>4</sub> Κεραῖνιος 428  
 807 ff. 850 941<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 1100<sub>1</sub>  
 1187 1225 1228 Κεραῖνιος Σωτήρ  
 962<sub>0</sub> Κεραυνοβόλος 807 850 κεραινο-  
 βόλος 807<sub>2</sub> κεραινοβρόντης 806<sub>8</sub> Κε-  
 ρανός 11 ff. 807 814 840 850 κεφαλή  
 1027 f. Κήναιος (Κηνάιος) 902<sub>2</sub> 903<sub>0</sub>  
 Κιθαιρώνιος 898<sub>6</sub> Κλάριος 807<sub>2</sub> 873<sub>2</sub>  
 892<sub>1</sub> 1148 f. Κλάριος 873<sub>2</sub> Κλύμενος (?)  
 1075 κοίρανος ἀθανάτων 982<sub>0</sub> Κόνιος  
 (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκότιος,  
 nor Χθόνιος) 257<sub>4</sub> 1139<sub>0</sub> Κορυφαῖος  
 285<sub>0</sub> 868 f. 869<sub>1</sub> 957<sub>1</sub> 983<sub>3</sub> 1218 f.  
 (See also Καπετώλιος) κορυφαῖος τῆς  
 τῶν ἀστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ διηγήσεως  
 καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου 869<sub>1</sub> κορίζων  
 928<sub>0</sub> κοῦρος 928<sub>0</sub> (See also Μέγιστε  
 Κοῦρε... Κρόνιε) Κράγος 972<sub>0</sub> Κραται-  
 βάτης 32 1211 κρείων 1089 Κρητα-

## Zeus (cont.)

γενής 238<sub>0</sub> 587 675 731<sub>0</sub> Κρονίδης  
 204<sub>1</sub> 321<sub>1</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> Κρόνιος (See  
 Μέγιστε Κοῦρε...Κρόνιε) Κρονίων  
 734<sub>3</sub> 831<sub>0</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> 1028 1099<sub>2</sub>  
 1219 Κρόνου παῖς 908<sub>1</sub> Κρόνου υἱός  
 957<sub>2</sub> Κτεβάτης (= Καταιβάτης) 16<sub>1</sub>  
 Κτήσιος 3<sub>0</sub> 321 384<sub>0</sub> 1054 ff. 1112  
 1140 κύδιμε δαίμον 957<sub>2</sub> κύδιστ' ἀθαν-  
 άτων 855 κύδιστος 728<sub>0</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> Κύνθιος  
 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> Κύριος Ζβελ-  
 σοῦρδος 1225 Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός  
 Ζβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κώμυρος 1228  
 Λαβραδέυς 559 f. 572 Λαβράνιος 598 f.  
 Λαβραῦνδός 1228 Λαβραῦνδος 962<sub>0</sub>  
 Λαβραῦνδος (Λαμβραῦνδος, Λαβραῦ-  
 νδος, Λαβραῦνδος (?), Λαβραῖνδος,  
 Λαβραῖνδος (?), Λαβράνδος, Λά-  
 βρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδέυς,  
 Λαβραδέυς, Λαβρανδηός) 576 f. 585 ff.  
 585<sub>3</sub> 597 ff. 598<sub>1</sub> 614 663 846 848  
 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 963<sub>7</sub> 1220 1228 Λαβρένδιος  
 962<sub>0</sub> Labrios (?) 599<sub>5</sub> Labryandius  
 588<sub>1</sub> Λακεδαίμων 436 Laodicensis (?)  
 320<sub>0</sub> Laodicenus (?) 320<sub>0</sub> Λαοδικεύς (?)  
 320<sub>0</sub> Λαοδικηνός (?) 320<sub>0</sub> Λαπέρσιος  
 599 Laprius 588<sub>1</sub> 599 Λαράσιος  
 958<sub>0</sub> ff. 962<sub>0</sub> Λαράσιος Σεβαστός Εὐ-  
 μενής (= Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub> f. Λαρισαῖος  
 892<sub>5</sub> 958<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> Λαρίσιος 957<sub>3</sub> f. Λα-  
 ρισσεύς 893<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> Λατιάριος 941<sub>0</sub>  
 Λάφριος (?) 599 Λαφύστιος in Boiotia  
 899<sub>1</sub> Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 904<sub>1</sub>  
 1226 Λέψυρος 962<sub>0</sub> Λίθος (= Iupiter  
 Lapis) 546<sub>0</sub> λιμενοσκοπός 343<sub>0</sub> Λιτ-  
 αῖος 1099 1100<sub>0</sub> Λοφείτης 873 f. 949<sub>3</sub>  
 Λύκαιος 187 761 849 891<sub>3</sub> 927<sub>1</sub> 1013  
 1092 1105 1167 Λυκώρειος 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub>  
 Μαζεύς (?) 294<sub>0</sub> 570<sub>0</sub> μάκαρ 954<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub>  
 μακάρων μακάρτατε 337<sub>4</sub> Μαλειαῖος  
 488<sub>0(0)</sub> 890<sub>4</sub> Μάνης 312 312<sub>5</sub> μαντικός  
 1097<sub>2</sub> μεγαβρόντης 727<sub>3(1)</sub> Μέγας  
 344 f. 350<sub>1</sub> μέγας 295<sub>2</sub> 298<sub>2</sub> 321<sub>1</sub> 342<sub>0</sub>  
 569<sub>7</sub> 727<sub>3(3)</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub> 1122<sub>9</sub>  
 1130<sub>1</sub> 1160 1160<sub>4</sub> μέγας ἀρχός ἀπάν-  
 των 1028 μέγας βοῦς 345<sub>4</sub> Μέγας  
 Βροντῶν 835<sub>6</sub> 836 μεγασθενής 693<sub>3</sub>  
 Μέγιστος 585<sub>3</sub> Μέγιστε Κοῦρε...  
 Κρόνιε 931<sub>0</sub> Μέγιστος 807<sub>2</sub> 885<sub>0(29)</sub>  
 956<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> 985<sub>1</sub> (?) 1157<sub>5</sub> (?) (See also  
 Μέγιστε Κοῦρε...Κρόνιε) μέγιστος  
 728<sub>0</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> Μέγιστος Κεραῦνιος 807<sub>5(1)</sub>  
 Μέγιστος Σωτήρ 956<sub>0</sub> Μέγιστος Ἰψι-  
 στος 886<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> Μειλίχιος 291<sub>2</sub>  
 321 (?) 715 1037 1061 1091 ff. 1154  
 1155 1156 ff. 1159 f. 1161 1173 ff.  
 1177<sub>2</sub> Μειλίχιος 1149 1160 μείλιχος  
 1092<sub>3</sub> Μεληνός 280<sub>1</sub> Μελισσαῖος 928<sub>0</sub>  
 1112<sub>6</sub> Μειλίχιος (= Μειλίχιος) 1147  
 1149 μέσσα 1027 f. 1033<sub>1</sub> Μηδεύς  
 (Μηδινεύς) 312<sub>5</sub> Μήλιος 918<sub>1</sub> Μηλίχιος  
 (= Μειλίχιος) 1156 1157<sub>4</sub> Μηλώσιος  
 918<sub>1</sub> μητίετα 1025 1147 μητιέτης  
 259<sub>0</sub> μητιβείς 716 721<sub>3</sub> 1017 1147  
 Μητίων (?) 1146 Μηχανεύς 1144<sub>2</sub>

## Zeus (cont.)

Μειλίχιος (= Μειλίχιος) 1105 1108  
 1115 1142 1144<sub>3</sub> (?) 1157<sub>1</sub> Μίλιχος  
 (= Μείλιχος) 1151 Μοιραγέτας 231<sub>8</sub>  
 Μοιραγέτης 187<sub>1</sub> 231 1137<sub>0</sub> Molio  
 588<sub>1</sub> Μοννίτιος 723<sub>0</sub> Μόριος 20<sub>4</sub> 502<sub>2</sub>  
 Μυλεύς 260<sub>0</sub> 824<sub>4</sub> 824<sub>9</sub> Νάιος 350<sub>6</sub>  
 763<sub>1</sub> 826 869<sub>0</sub> 1117 (?) Νάκρασος (?)  
 714<sub>3</sub> Νεαυλείτης 285<sub>0</sub> 1217 f. Νεική-  
 τωρ 836<sub>3</sub> Νέμειος 259<sub>0</sub> 1143<sub>5</sub> 1186  
 1187<sub>0</sub> νεφεληγερέτα 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 950<sub>0</sub>  
 1177<sub>2</sub> Νικηφόρος (Νεικηφόρος) Κεραῦ-  
 νιος 1225 νόμον μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν  
 855 Νόσιος 317<sub>2</sub> Νωδαῖος (?) 932<sub>1</sub>  
 ξείνιος 1097<sub>2</sub> ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοιον ἄμ'  
 αἰδοῖοισιν ὀπηδεῖ 1097<sub>0</sub> 1101 Ξένιος  
 260<sub>0</sub> 617 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 983<sub>9</sub>  
 1097<sub>2</sub> 1101 1102<sub>0</sub> 1102<sub>7</sub> 1142 1169<sub>5</sub>  
 1176<sub>4</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> 1229 Ξένιος καὶ Φίλιος  
 1177<sub>2</sub> οἰκοφύλαξ ὄσιων ἀνδρῶν 1125<sub>0</sub>  
 ὄλβιος 337<sub>4</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> ὄλοποιός 1030 Ὀλύ-  
 βριος or Ὀλύβρις 980<sub>1</sub> Ὀλύμπιος 343<sub>0</sub>  
 695<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>3(2)</sub> 941<sub>0</sub> 1074 1157<sub>0</sub>  
 Ὀλύμπιος at Akragas 911<sub>0</sub> Ὀλύμπιος  
 at Athens 1078 1118 1121<sub>0</sub> 1123  
 Ὀλύμπιος in Bithynia 815<sub>5</sub> Ὀλύμπιος  
 in Chios 1157<sub>1</sub> Ὀλύμπιος at Corinth  
 916<sub>0</sub> Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne, near  
 Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191  
 Ὀλύμπιος at Elis 728<sub>0</sub> Ὀλύμπιος at  
 Ephesos 962<sub>2</sub> Ὀλύμπιος in Lykia  
 972<sub>1</sub> Ὀλύμπιος in Mysia 953<sub>2</sub> Ὀλύμ-  
 πιος at Olympia 18 758<sub>0</sub> 761 1188  
 Ὀλύμπιος at Pergamon 956<sub>0</sub> Ὀλύμ-  
 πιος at Prousa ad Olympum 964<sub>2</sub>  
 Ὀλύμπιος at Seleukeia Pieria 869<sub>1</sub>  
 Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse 915<sub>2</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Ὀλύμπιος (= Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub> Ὀλύμ-  
 πιος Πεισαῖος 962<sub>0</sub> Ὀμβριος 897<sub>5</sub> 897<sub>6</sub>  
 898<sub>0</sub> 1226 Ὀμοβούλιος 962<sub>0</sub> Ὀμόγνιος  
 1176<sub>3</sub> 1176<sub>4</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> Ὀμόγνιος 723<sub>0</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub>  
 Ὀμολώιος 857<sub>6</sub> 900<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>0</sub> 904<sub>4</sub> 1227  
 Ὀμολῶος 857<sub>6</sub> Ὀμονῶος 857<sub>6</sub> Ὀμό-  
 ριος (?) 1090 ὁ πᾶς κόσμος 1028 f.  
 Ὀπλόσμιοι 290<sub>0</sub> Ὀπωρεύς 1074 Ὀρά-  
 τριος (= Φράτριος) 342<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> Ὀρειος  
 868 Ὀρέστης (?) 1179 1183<sub>3</sub> Ὀρθώσιος  
 (= Iupiter Stator) 422<sub>1</sub> 708<sub>5</sub> Ὀριος  
 (= Iupiter Terminalis or Terminalis)  
 1090 Ὀρκιος 569<sub>4</sub> 722 722<sub>5</sub> 726 f.  
 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 1176<sub>4</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> Ὀρκιος 723<sub>0</sub> Ὀρομ-  
 πάτας 869<sub>0</sub> Ὀσογῶα 578<sub>4(3)</sub> 579<sub>0(8)</sub>  
 (10-12)(14-16)(1-5) 580<sub>0(7)</sub> 598<sub>1</sub> 616<sub>1</sub>  
 663 715 790<sub>0</sub> 846 963<sub>7</sub> 1220 Ὀσο-  
 γῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανοποτειδᾶν)  
 578<sub>4(2)(4)</sub> Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Εὐερ-  
 γέτης τῆς πόλεως 579<sub>0(13)</sub> (?) Ὀσο-  
 γῶα Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν 578<sub>4(3)(5-7)</sub>  
 579<sub>0(9)</sub> Ὀσογῶος (?) or Ὀσογῶου (?)  
 579<sub>0(11)(1)</sub> Ὀσσαῖος 904<sub>3</sub> ὁ τὰ περὶ  
 τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν 1176<sub>5</sub> 1177<sub>0</sub> ὁ  
 (τῆς) φιλίας ἔφορος 1176<sub>5</sub> 1177<sub>0</sub> ὁ τῆς  
 φιλίας προστάτης 1177<sub>0</sub> ὁ τῶν θεῶν  
 κορυφαῖος 1188<sub>7</sub> ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἕπατος  
 τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος 891<sub>0</sub> Ὀτωρκοδέων



## Zeus (cont.)

579<sub>0(2)</sub> 580 580<sub>10(1)</sub> 581<sub>0(5)(1-5)</sub> Οὐ-  
δαίος (=Plouton) 343<sub>0</sub> Οὐράνιος 436  
869<sub>1</sub> 1065 1158 Οὐράνιος "Υψιστος  
Σααρναίος 'Επήκοος 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>4</sub> Οὐ-  
ριος 707 f. 917<sub>0</sub> 918<sub>0</sub> πᾶ (?) 294<sub>0</sub>  
570<sub>0</sub> παγγενέτης 1122<sub>9</sub> παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ  
855 παγκρατὲς γάνος 931<sub>0</sub> Παγχαίος  
342<sub>0</sub> (?) Παῖς 742 f. 749 826<sub>6</sub> Παλαμ-  
ναίος 260<sub>0</sub> 1097<sub>2</sub> 1098 1098<sub>5</sub> 1099<sub>1</sub>  
1101 παλαμναίων τιμήρορον ἰκεσιδίων  
1097<sub>2</sub> Παλάμνιος 1099<sub>0</sub> πάμμεγας  
349<sub>20</sub> Πανάμαρος 587 714<sub>3</sub> 963<sub>8</sub> 1195<sub>3</sub>  
(See also Πανημέριος, Πανήμερος)  
πάνδωρος 858 Πανελλήνιος 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>0</sub>  
895<sub>1</sub> 1119<sub>4</sub> 1120<sub>0</sub> Πανημέριος 963<sub>8</sub>  
Πανήμερος 963<sub>8</sub> (See also Πανάμαρος)  
Πανκτήςσιος 1067 Παννύχιος 941<sub>0</sub>  
Πανομφαίος 1097<sub>2</sub> 1211 Πανόπτης  
1130 παντοινάκτης 1100<sub>1</sub> πάντων  
διατάκτωρ καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου 1023  
1051 πανυπέριτατος 321<sub>1</sub> Παπαίος 292<sub>4</sub>  
Πάπας οἱ Παπᾶς 292 Παπίας 292<sub>4</sub>  
Παππῶς 292<sub>4</sub> Παρνήθιος 897<sub>6</sub> πασι-  
άναξ 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Πάσιος 1095<sub>0</sub> πάτερ  
(voc.) 271<sub>0</sub> 584<sub>1</sub> 693<sub>3</sub> 728<sub>0</sub> 855<sub>2</sub> 858  
922<sub>5</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>2</sub> 1094<sub>0</sub> 1130<sub>1</sub> πάτερ  
εἰρήνης βαθυκά[ρπου] 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Πατήρ  
836<sub>2</sub> 836<sub>3</sub> πατήρ 1023 1030 πατρα-  
λοίας 942<sub>0</sub> Πάτριος 1141 Πατρῶς  
233 244 280<sub>1</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 902<sub>2</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 1066  
1095<sub>0</sub> Πατρῶς 'Επιλόφιος (?) 948<sub>4</sub>  
πασίλυπος 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> Πεισαίος 962<sub>0</sub>  
Πελασγικός 960<sub>0</sub> Πελινναίος 922<sub>4</sub>  
Περικλύμενος (?) 1075 περίφαντος 1122  
Περίφας (?) 1122 Περφερέτας 496<sub>0</sub>  
1220 Πίκος 697<sub>0</sub> (See further Pikos  
who is also Zeus) Πίστιος (=Fidius)  
724<sub>0</sub> Πλουτοδότης 251<sub>2</sub> 385<sub>0</sub> πνοιή  
πάντων 1027 Πολιεύς 260<sub>0</sub> 869<sub>1</sub> Πο-  
λιεύς at Athens 897<sub>2</sub> 897<sub>3</sub> Πολιεύς at  
Delphoi 231 Πολιεύς in Kos 238<sub>0</sub>  
Πολιεύς at Lindos 923<sub>0</sub> Πολιούχος  
941<sub>0</sub> πολύξενος (?) 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> πολυξενώ-  
τατος 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> πολύσταχυς 295<sub>2</sub> 569<sub>7</sub>  
Πολύτεχνος (?) 693 πολυώνυμος 855  
πόντου ρίζα 1027 Ποτεῦς (or Πότης  
or Πότις) 285 287<sub>1</sub> Ποτηος (accent  
unknown) 285 πρευμενής 1098<sub>4</sub> Προ-  
γονικός 1225 Προπάτωρ 941<sub>0</sub> προσ-  
τρόπαιος (προστροπαίος) 1097<sub>2</sub> 1098 f.  
1099<sub>0</sub> 1101 πρῶτος 1027 f. πυθμὴν  
γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος  
1027 f. 'Ρεμβήνοδος (?) 714<sub>3</sub> Σαάξιος  
(for Σαάξιος=Σαβάξιος) 284<sub>0</sub> Σααρ-  
ναίος 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 983<sub>4</sub> Σαβάξιος 282 285<sub>0</sub>  
287<sub>2</sub> 664<sub>1</sub> (?) 745<sub>1</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>2</sub> 975<sub>0</sub>  
1184 1217 Σαουάξιος (=Σαβάξιος)  
285<sub>0</sub> 1217 f. Σάραπισ 1171<sub>3</sub> cp. 773<sub>0</sub>  
(See also Σέραπισ) Σαώτης 599<sub>2</sub> 1151  
Σεβαστός (=Hadrian) 959<sub>0</sub> f. σει-  
σίχθων 1100<sub>1</sub> Σέραπισ 714<sub>3</sub> (?) (See  
also Σάραπισ) Σερεανός 883<sub>0(0)</sub> Ση-  
μαλέος 4 897<sub>6</sub> Σημαντικός 280<sub>1</sub> σκαται-  
βότης (?) 15<sub>1</sub> 1211 Σκύλιος 723<sub>0</sub>

## Zeus (cont.)

Σκυλοφόρος (=Iupiter Feretrius)  
111<sub>0</sub> Σολυμεύς 973<sub>1</sub> f. Σόλυμος 974<sub>0</sub>  
Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος)  
1220 Σπάλωξος 587 Στάτωρ (=Iupiter  
Stator) 708<sub>5</sub> στεροπηγερέτα 806<sub>8</sub>  
Στήσιος (=Iupiter Stator) 708<sub>5</sub>  
Στορπάος 815 850 1095<sub>0</sub> Στρατεῖος  
591<sub>2</sub> Στρατηγός 707 f. 848 918<sub>0</sub>  
Στράτιος 111<sub>0</sub> 585 591 591<sub>2</sub> 594 594<sub>8</sub>  
595 (?) 595<sub>0</sub> 598<sub>1</sub> 705 713 715 722  
846 848 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 963<sub>7</sub> 974<sub>1</sub> ff. Συκάσιος  
1103 σχετίλιος 727<sub>3(1)</sub> Σῶζων 987<sub>0</sub>  
Σωσίπολις (?) 1151 (cp. i. 58) Σωτήρ  
233 292<sub>4</sub> 317<sub>2</sub> 321<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>0</sub> 434<sub>3</sub> 727<sub>3(3)</sub>  
728<sub>0</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 962<sub>0</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> 1121  
1123 1129<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> 1141 1142<sub>1</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub>  
1147 1151 1156<sub>13</sub> 1159 1162 1169  
1191 1228 f. [Σωτήρ ἄπαν]τος ἀνθρώ-  
πων γένος[?] 280<sub>1</sub> [Σωτήρ] τοῦ σύμ-  
παντος ἀν[θρώπου] γένους] 280<sub>1</sub> Σω-  
τήρ Τέλειος 1123<sub>7</sub> σωτήριος 1123<sub>7</sub>  
1124<sub>0</sub> Ταλαίος 948<sub>1</sub> Ταλετίτας 890<sub>2</sub>  
948<sub>1</sub> Ταλλαίος 948<sub>1</sub> ταμῆς πολέμοιο  
734<sub>3</sub> Ταουιανός 754<sub>1</sub> Ταρανταίος 32<sub>3</sub>  
Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> 1147  
1150 1156<sub>13</sub> 1159 1162 1163<sub>2</sub> 1175  
Τέλειος Σωτήρ 1124<sub>0</sub> Τελεσιουργός  
1228 Τελεσφόρος 838 1089 τελεσ-  
φόρος 1089 τελέων τελειότατον κράτος  
337<sub>4</sub> Τεράστιος 31 1211 Τερμινθεύς  
962<sub>0</sub> τερπικέρανος 502<sub>2</sub> 779 ff. 806<sub>8</sub>  
822 1067 1070 1097<sub>0</sub> Τετράωτος 322  
842 Τηρεύς (?) 693 697 Τιμωρός 874<sub>2</sub>  
1099<sub>0</sub> 1101 τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διὸς  
νεκρῶν Σωτήρος 1125<sub>0</sub> Τρεφώνιος οἱ  
Τροφώνιος 233<sub>0</sub> 794 1061 1073 ff.  
1112 Τριφύλιος 1095<sub>0</sub> Τροπαίος 110<sub>9</sub>  
111<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> Τροπαιοῦχος 111<sub>0</sub> Τρο-  
παιοῦχος (=Iupiter Feretrius) 111<sub>0</sub>  
Τροπαιοφόρος (=Iupiter Feretrius)  
111<sub>0</sub> Τροφώνιος (See Τρεφώνιος)  
Τρώιος 571<sub>6</sub> τῶν περὶ Λάκιον 1156<sub>10</sub>  
τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον 1156<sub>10</sub> τῶν  
περὶ Πολύξενον 1156<sub>10</sub> τῶν φιλικῶν  
καθηκόντων ἔφορος 1177<sub>0</sub> Ὑδηνός (?)  
1227 f. Ὑτέτιος 164<sub>5</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 318<sub>0</sub> 869<sub>1</sub>  
1144<sub>2</sub> ὕετιος 276<sub>1</sub> Ὑμήτιος 897<sub>5</sub>  
'Ὑνναρεῦς ('Ὑνναριεύς?) 987<sub>1</sub> Ὑπατος  
163<sub>4</sub> 737 875 890<sub>3</sub> 897<sub>2</sub> 898<sub>1</sub> 898<sub>2</sub>  
956<sub>2</sub> (?) ὕπατος 271<sub>0</sub> ὕπατος βασιλεὺς  
διὰ παντός 856 ὕπατος θεῶν 1125<sub>1</sub>  
\*Ὑπερβερέτας 496<sub>0</sub> ὕπερμενής 1028  
'Ὑπερφερέτης (=Iupiter Feretrius)  
111<sub>0</sub> 496<sub>0</sub> ὕστατος 1027 f. ὕψιβρεμέτης  
830<sub>1</sub> 838 ὕψιδρομον (Pierson cj. ὕψι-  
βρομον) πυριαυγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων  
830<sub>1</sub> ὕψιζυγος 830<sub>1</sub> ὕψιμέδων 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
907<sub>2</sub> Ὑψιστος 231<sub>8</sub> 293<sub>0</sub> 876 876<sub>1</sub> ff.  
891<sub>2</sub> 892<sub>3</sub> 897<sub>3</sub> 898<sub>3</sub> 906<sub>2</sub> 907<sub>1</sub> 922<sub>1</sub>  
922<sub>2</sub> 953<sub>1</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> (?) 963<sub>2</sub> 963<sub>5-9</sub> 983<sub>2</sub>  
983<sub>4</sub> 983<sub>6</sub> 983<sub>9</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> ὕψιστος 890<sub>1</sub>  
'Ὑψιστος Βρονταίος 834 f. Ὑψιστος καὶ  
'Επήκοος 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 886<sub>0(0)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> Ὑψιστος  
'Επόπτης (?) 949<sub>2</sub> Ὑψιστος Μέγιστος

Zeus (*cont.*)

Ἐπήκοος 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 983<sub>2</sub> Φαλακρός 874<sub>2</sub>  
 893<sub>1</sub> 1099<sub>0</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> 1226 Φερέτριος  
 (= Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111<sub>0</sub> Φερ-  
 φερέτας 496<sub>0</sub> 1220 Φηγός (?) 413<sub>2</sub>  
 φιλόανθρωπος 1177<sub>2</sub> Φίλιος 260<sub>0</sub> 723<sub>0</sub>  
 727<sub>3(1)</sub> 727<sub>3(2)</sub> 728<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 1061 1092<sub>3</sub>  
 1119<sub>0</sub> 1141 1160 ff. 1173 ff. 1186  
 1196 f. φίλος 1167 φίλτατος 1167<sub>5</sub>  
 φοινικαστερόπας 806<sub>8</sub> Φράτριος 723<sub>0</sub>  
 728<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> Φύξιος 902<sub>0</sub> 1097<sub>2</sub>  
 1144<sub>2</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub> φύσεως ἀρχηγέ 855  
 φντάλιος 1100<sub>1</sub> φντάλιμος 260<sub>0</sub> 1177<sub>2</sub>  
 Χαριδότης 1065 Χθόνιος 829 878<sub>0(3)</sub>  
 1100<sub>1</sub> 1119<sub>0</sub> 1155 Χρυσαιορέυς or  
 Χρυσαιορέυς 714 ff. 722 848 Χρυσ-  
 αιρέυς 884<sub>0(0)</sub> ὠδαίος (?) 932<sub>1</sub> Ὀρο-  
 μάσδης 386 980<sub>6</sub>

*Festivals*: Aitnaia 908<sub>1</sub> Basileia 900<sub>0</sub>  
 Boukatia 235 Daidala Megala 977<sub>0</sub>  
 Deia 320<sub>0</sub> Deia Sebastia Oikoumenika  
 320<sub>0</sub> Diasia 1138 ff. Διὸς βοῦς (See  
*Rites*) Eleutheria (?) 974<sub>0</sub> Homo-  
 loia 900<sub>1</sub> Ithomaia (Ithomais) 890<sub>6</sub>  
 Megala Panhellenia 1121<sub>0</sub> Meilichia  
 1091 f. 1092<sub>5</sub> New Year's Day 931<sub>0</sub>  
 Olympia 964<sub>2</sub> Panhellenia 1119<sub>4</sub>  
*pentaeteris* 1179 Traianeia Dei-  
 phileia 1180 *trieteris* 934<sub>0</sub> Xan-  
 thikos 23 981<sub>1</sub> f. yearly sacrifice  
 and *panegyris* 576<sub>2</sub>

*Rites*: altars at Olympia and Perga-  
 mon made of ashes from thighs of  
 victims 955<sub>0</sub> ἀνιπτόποδες at Tralleis  
 959<sub>0</sub> f. banquet for all present at  
 sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος 974<sub>1</sub>  
 bovine omophagy 539 cp. 934<sub>0</sub>  
 burial of bull 345 539 ceremonial  
 purity 934<sub>0</sub> communion-feast 1173  
 daily oblation to sceptre of Zeus at  
 Chaironeia 547<sub>2</sub> Διὸς βοῦς 318<sub>0</sub> Διὸς  
 κώδιον 1065 effigy worn by votaries  
 299 ff. first-fruits 872<sub>0(5)</sub> funeral  
 offering in Idaean Cave 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>  
 god killed and eaten in form of  
 bull 345 hecatomb sacrificed to  
 Zeus Κάσιος on Mt Kasion in Syria  
 982<sub>0</sub> 1192 hecatomb sacrificed to  
 Zeus Νέμειος at Argos 1144<sub>2</sub> human  
 consort 128<sub>4</sub> 210<sub>2</sub> (See also *infra*  
 παλλακίδες) human sacrifice to  
 Zeus Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes (?) 924<sub>0</sub>  
 human sacrifice to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας  
 890<sub>6</sub> human sacrifice to Zeus Λα-  
 φύστιος at Halos 904<sub>1</sub> (?) human  
 sacrifice to Zeus Λαφύστιος on Mt  
 Laphystion 899<sub>1</sub> human sacrifice  
 to Zeus-like deity Θυέστης at My-  
 kenai (?) 1022 incubation 232 982<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 initiation 1186 jars of Zeus Κτή-  
 σιος 1054 ff. libation from first  
*kratér* to Zeus and Hera 1123<sub>7</sub>  
 1124<sub>0</sub> libation from first *kratér* to  
 Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and the Olympians  
 1123 libation from third *kratér* to

Zeus (*cont.*)

Zeus Σωτήρ 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> 1125<sub>0</sub> liba-  
 tion from third *kratér* to (Zeus)  
 Σωτήρ and Ὀλύμπιος 1124<sub>0</sub> libation  
 from third *kratér* to Zeus Σωτήρ or  
 Τέλειος 1123 libation from third  
*kratér* to Zeus Σωτήρ Τέλειος 1123<sub>7</sub>  
 libation to Zeus Διδυμαίος with ivy-  
 leaves 317<sub>1</sub> libation and prayer to  
 Zeus Ἰδαίος 950<sub>0</sub> libation to Zeus  
 Κτήσιος 1058 libation to Zeus  
*τερπικέρανος* 1097<sub>0</sub> love-feast 1197  
 lying prone 835 mysteries at Antio-  
 cheia on the Orontes 1186<sub>6</sub> mys-  
 teries in Crete 345 mysteries at  
 Pergamon 288<sub>0</sub> new fire (?) 1149<sub>2(1)</sub>  
 νηφάλια 1142<sub>3</sub> no wine- or animal-  
 offerings on altar of Zeus Ἰππατος  
 at Athens 875<sub>1(2)</sub> oak-brides burnt  
 on Mt Kithairon 977<sub>0</sub> oath taken  
 over boar 726 f. 728<sub>0</sub> offering of  
 meal (?) 18 omophagy 934<sub>0</sub> cp. 539  
 παγκάρπεια 1058 παλλακίδες at  
 Thebes in Egypt 960<sub>0</sub> παλλακίδες at  
 Tralleis 959<sub>0</sub> f. (See also *supra*  
 human consort) πέλανος 1058 proces-  
 sion up Mt Pelion 870<sub>0</sub> proces-  
 sions at Pergamon 288<sub>0</sub> purifica-  
 tion by figs (?) 1103<sub>4</sub> 1103<sub>7</sub> purifica-  
 tion in cult of Zeus Φίλιος 1186  
 sacrifice by Labyadai (Boukatia)  
 235 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Βρον-  
 ταίος 835 sacrifice of bull to Zeus  
 Στράτιος 975<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of nine bulls  
 to Zeus Κήναιος 902<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of  
 cakes moulded into forms of ani-  
 mals 1138<sub>2</sub> 1140 sacrifice of seven  
 cakes to Zeus Πολιεύς 238<sub>0</sub> sacrifice  
 of goat to Zeus Ἀσκραίος 872<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 sacrifice of humped bull to Zeus  
 Σολυμεύς 973<sub>1</sub> sacrifice of milk,  
 honey, wine, oil, incense to Zeus  
 Στράτιος 974<sub>1</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of ox to  
 Zeus Ἐρκεῖος 728<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of three-  
 year-old ox to Zeus 287<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> sacri-  
 fice of three-year-old ox to Zeus  
 Βάκχος 287<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of pig to  
 Zeus Βουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig  
 to Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of  
 pig to Zeus Λύκαιος 1105 sacrifice  
 of pig to Zeus Μελίχιος 1105 ff.  
 1140<sub>2</sub> (?) 1142 1157 sacrifice of pig  
 to Zeus Φίλιος 1161 sacrifice of ram  
 to Zeus Λαφύστιος 904<sub>1</sub> sacrifice of  
 ram to Zeus (? Μελίχιος ? Φίλιος)  
 1175 sacrifice of sheep to Zeus  
 Μελίχιος 1138<sub>2</sub> 1140 sacrifice of  
 white ox to Zeus Κτήσιος 1065 1067  
 (See also white victims) sacrifice of  
 singed victim to (Zeus) Μηλίχιος  
 1156 sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia  
 on logs of white-poplar 467 sacri-  
 fices to Zeus Στράτιος on mountai-  
 tops 974<sub>1</sub> ff. taboo on onions among  
 devotees of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelou-



Zeus (*cont.*)

sion 987<sub>0</sub> thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Ephesos 962<sub>2</sub> thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus on Mt Ide in Phrygia 950<sub>0</sub> thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Troy 950<sub>0</sub> throne strown annually in Idaean Cave 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> cp. 940<sub>0</sub> thunder-making 838 f. 852 934<sub>0</sub> *θυσία ἄπυρος παγκαρπείας* 1058 torch-lighting 1158 uninitiated persons and women may not enter precinct of Zeus "Ἰπατος in Paros 875<sub>1(5)</sub> union with Deo and Persephatta at Eleusis 132<sub>2</sub> water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890<sub>6</sub> white victims sacrificed to Zeus Ἀκραῖος 871<sub>3(1)</sub> (See also sacrifice of white ox)

*Priests*: ἀμφίπολος of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος as eponymous magistrate of Syracuse 916<sub>0</sub> ἀρχιερεύς 579<sub>0(16)</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> at Adrianoi in Mysia 127 at Dodona go with unwashed feet and sleep on ground 960<sub>0</sub> at Mylasa dedicate temple-columns 580 at Mylasa distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f. Βεννέεται 883<sub>0(0)</sub> ζακός 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> head of priest of Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος denounces murderer 290<sub>0</sub> ἱερεύς 578<sub>4</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου 111<sub>0</sub> 616<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> 976<sub>0</sub> cp. 576 f. ἱεροποιοί 921<sub>0</sub> κλειδοῦχος 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> νεωκόρος 967<sub>0</sub> 976<sub>0</sub> νεωκόρος διὰ βίου 967<sub>0</sub> cp. 1225 ξυλεύς at Olympia 471 of Zeus Ἀκραῖος as eponymous magistrate of Magnetes 871<sub>3(1)</sub> of Zeus Βῆλος 128<sub>4</sub> of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 743 890<sub>6</sub> of Zeus Παῖς 743 of Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος 111<sub>0</sub> Onetor 950<sub>0</sub> ὀνικῶν κάλλει 742<sub>5</sub> πατήρ ἱερέων 117<sub>3</sub> Σελλοί 960<sub>0</sub> Spartan kings 353 τόμαροι (τόμουροι) 693<sub>3</sub> ὑποφῆται 960<sub>0</sub>

*Priestesses*: buried near temple of Zeus Ἰψιστος 878<sub>0(4)</sub> Diotima 1167 'Fly' at Dodona 215<sub>1</sub> κανηφόρος 900<sub>0</sub> πελειάδες 350 693<sub>3</sub> προφῆτις 214 ff.

*Worshippers*: akin to Zeus 950<sub>0</sub> Βάκχοι 934<sub>0</sub> Διοσαταβυριασταί 1157<sub>3</sub> Διοσμυλιχιασταί 1157<sub>3</sub> ἐρανισταί 1161 θιασῶται 585<sub>3</sub> ἱερόδουλοι 616<sub>1</sub> Κουρήτες 934<sub>0</sub> Σαλῖι (?) 328 ff. συνμύσται 282<sub>1</sub>

*Personated by* Agamemnon 1069 f. Aleos (?) 1147 Amphiaraios 1070 ff. Amphitryon 1072 Antiochos iv Epiphanes 1188 f. Antoninus Pius 101<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>0</sub> Athenian kings 1135 1142 Augustus 97<sub>0</sub> 260<sub>0</sub> Caracalla 1186 1209 Commodus 1185 Cretan prince (?) 522 Domitian 97<sub>0</sub> 1194 cp. 811<sub>5</sub> (fig. 777 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 229) Epopeus (?) 1146 Eumenes i 960<sub>0</sub>

Zeus (*cont.*)

1228 forefather of family 1061 Germanicus Caesar 260<sub>0</sub> Geta 1186 Hadrian 260<sub>0</sub> 280<sub>1</sub> 343<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> f. 962<sub>2</sub> 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub> Ixion (?) 1088 Keyx 1088 king 24 192 192<sub>5</sub> 794 833 897<sub>0</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> 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 (?) 192<sub>5</sub> 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 (?) 940<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> Minyas (?) 1150 Nero 97<sub>0</sub> 1194 Nerva 1194 Pelops (?) 1147 Perikles 816<sub>1</sub> Periphans 24<sub>4</sub> 1121 ff. Roman emperors 100 ff. 320<sub>0</sub> (?) 1209 Salomoneus 24<sub>4</sub> 1088 1122 Simon Magus 726<sub>0</sub> Theophanes 97<sub>0</sub> Trajan 100<sub>6</sub> 1180 1180<sub>4</sub> 1209<sub>5</sub> Xerxes 853<sub>4</sub>

*Myths*: Aetos 933<sub>0</sub> Amphiaraios 1071 Asklepios 23 Auriga 477<sub>7</sub> bids Apollon to serve Admetos 241<sub>4</sub> binds Kronos beneath oak-trees 448<sub>1</sub> 1027 birth of Athena 721<sub>2</sub> 1029 born in a cave of Mt Aigaion 925<sub>1</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> born in a cave of Mt Dikte 928<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 986<sub>0</sub> born in a cave of Mt Ide in Crete (?) 230<sub>6</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> born in a cave of Mt Ide in Phrygia 951<sub>0</sub> born at Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961<sub>0</sub> born at Dios Gonai in Lydia 961<sub>0</sub> born on Mt Sipylos 956<sub>2</sub> born on Mt Tmolos 957<sub>2</sub> brings the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos 957<sub>2</sub> brought by Kouretes to Idaean Cave 932<sub>1</sub> cp. 928<sub>0</sub> buried in Crete 219 345 556<sub>0</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> causes Trojan war 261<sub>1</sub> his chariot followed by procession of souls 63<sub>0</sub> childhood 899<sub>0</sub> chooses the eagle 752<sub>4</sub> comes from Crete to Naxos 187<sub>8</sub>

*consorts with* Aigina d. of Asopos 187<sub>8</sub> 894<sub>3</sub> Aitne 909<sub>0</sub> Amaltheia 229<sub>1</sub> Chaldene 973<sub>1</sub> Danaë 694<sub>0</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub> Demeter 1029 Deo (= Demeter) 132<sub>2</sub> 345<sub>6(2)</sub> Dia 1088 Dione 1029 Europe 187<sub>8</sub> 348 929<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub> Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152<sub>4</sub> Hera 343<sub>0</sub> 893<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>1</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 1020 1029 Hermippe d. of Boiotos 1150 Hesionne d. of Danaos 1150 Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150<sub>2</sub> Idaia 940<sub>0</sub> Io 961<sub>0</sub> Kalchedonia 973<sub>1</sub> Kallisto 228<sub>4</sub> 228<sub>5</sub> 1217 Lamia 1130 f. Leda 1015<sub>7</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub> Magna Mater 969<sub>4</sub> Manthea (?) 229<sub>1</sub> Medeia 1088 Nemesis 1015 1131<sub>1</sub> Persephatta (= Kore) 132<sub>2</sub> Persephone 1114<sub>0(5)</sub> Phersephone or Kore 1029 Plouto 449<sub>0</sub> Rhea 1029 Semele 187<sub>8</sub> 956<sub>2</sub> one of the Sithnides 897<sub>1</sub> Thaleia

Zeus (*cont.*)

909<sub>0</sub> Themis 37<sub>1</sub> willow-goddess (?)  
947<sub>0</sub>

consults Nyx 1029 consults Nyx  
and Kronos 1027 creates the world  
anew inside himself 1027 deposited  
by Typhon in Corycian Cave 449<sub>0</sub>  
Deukalion builds altar of Zeus  
'Αφέσιος 892<sub>4</sub> Deukalion sacrifices  
to Zeus Φύξιος 902<sub>0</sub> Dionysos sewn  
up in thigh of Zeus 957<sub>2</sub> Διὸς ἀπάτη  
1020 f. Dirke 1019 drives out Kronos  
933<sub>0</sub> 941<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> drives Kronos out of  
Assyria 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> Erechtheus 24  
794 exiles Apollon to land of  
Hyperboreoi 484 493 Flumen 477<sub>7</sub>  
founds city on Mt Dikte 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
Ganymedes 188<sub>0</sub> 189<sub>0</sub> 281<sub>4</sub> 933<sub>0</sub>  
Gigantomachia 752<sub>4</sub> 830<sub>7</sub> gives  
Dionysos to Ma to nurse 565<sub>2</sub> gives  
golden vine to Tros 281<sub>4</sub> gives ring  
to Prometheus 990 golden hound  
1227 golden ram 899<sub>1</sub> golden rope  
1029 1211 golden vine 281<sub>4</sub> has  
Aigokeros or Capricornus for foster-  
brother 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> has sinews of his  
hands and feet cut out by Typhon  
and hidden in a bear-skin under  
the care of Delphyne 228 449<sub>0</sub>  
Hektor 950<sub>0</sub> helped by Aigokeros or  
Capricornus against Titans 933<sub>0</sub>  
hidden from Kronos by Korybantēs  
940<sub>0</sub> hidden from Kronos by Kres  
928<sub>0</sub> infancy in Dictæan Cave 928<sub>0</sub>  
929<sub>0</sub> infancy on Mt Ide in Crete  
932<sub>1</sub> infancy on a Phrygian moun-  
tain 968<sub>1-3</sub> 969<sub>2</sub> Io 782<sub>1</sub> Ixion 1098<sub>4</sub>  
jars of good and evil 1067 f. Kapa-  
neus 23 824 f. Kasios 981<sub>1</sub> Kekrops  
founds altar of Zeus "Γπατος 875<sub>1(2)</sub>  
Korybantēs drown cries of infant  
Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> Kouretes drown cries of  
infant Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>1-3</sub> leaps  
upon Phanes and swallows him 1027  
Leda 941<sub>0</sub> lets fall drops of blood,  
from which men arise 1032 lets fly  
eagles from west and east 179 makes  
cosmic mantle 351<sub>1</sub> makes Kronos  
drunk on honey 448<sub>1</sub> 1027 Melissa  
928<sub>0</sub> Merops 1132<sub>1</sub> mutilated by  
Typhon 448<sub>2</sub> mutilates Kronos 448<sub>1</sub>  
685 1027 nurses transformed into  
bears 227 f.

nursed by Adrasteia 933<sub>0</sub> Amal-  
theia 928<sub>0</sub> Ithome and Neda 890<sub>6</sub>  
Nymphs on Mt Ide in Crete 932<sub>1</sub>  
Rhea 961<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>1-3</sub> 969<sub>2</sub>

nurtured by bears 928<sub>0</sub> 939<sub>0</sub> bees  
928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> 1112<sub>6</sub> doves 928<sub>0</sub> eagle  
928<sub>0</sub> goat 928<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> goat Amal-  
theia 932<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> pig 928<sub>0</sub>

Oidipous 829 Omphalian Plain  
190 Ophiuchus 1087 Periphas  
1121 ff. Perseus sacrifices to Zeus  
'Απεσάντιος 892<sub>4</sub> piles Mt Aitne on

Zeus (*cont.*)

Enkelados 909<sub>0</sub> piles Mt Aitne on  
Typhon 909<sub>0</sub> places heart of Dio-  
nysos or Zagreus in gypsum image  
1031 Polytechnos 693 pounds heart  
of Zagreus into potion and gives it  
to Semele to drink 1031 prince  
slain by wild boar and buried in  
Crete 522 cp. 727 *psychostasia*  
733 ff. quitting Assyria follows  
Kronos and becomes king of Italy  
694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> reared by Kouretes on  
Mt Dikte 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> refitted with his  
sinews by Hermes and Aigipan  
449<sub>0</sub> Rhea gives Kronos stone in-  
stead of him 793<sub>8</sub> 901<sub>1</sub> Rhea, preg-  
nant with him, is protected against  
Kronos by Hopladamos (Hoplo-  
damos?) 291<sub>0</sub> Rhea rescues him  
from Kronos 928<sub>0</sub> Salmoneus 833  
1122 *Seleucides aves* 981<sub>1</sub> Semele  
24 ff. 731 ff. (?) succeeds Kronos as  
king of Italy 694<sub>0</sub> swallows Metis  
12 348<sub>2</sub> Sykeas or Sykeus 1103<sub>8</sub>  
Thetis 45<sub>1</sub> thrusts Kronos down  
below earth and sea 1020 Titanes  
218 1031 f. 1103<sub>8</sub> transforms Aigo-  
keros or Capricornus and his mother  
Aix into stars 933<sub>0</sub> transforms Ai-  
golios into owl 929<sub>0</sub> transforms  
himself into Eros when about to  
create the world 316 transforms  
Kallisto into bear 228<sub>7</sub> transforms  
Keleos the Cretan into green wood-  
pecker 929<sub>0</sub> transforms Kerberos  
the Cretan into bird 929<sub>0</sub> transforms  
Laios the Cretan into blue thrush  
929<sub>0</sub> Typhon (Typhoeus) 228 448<sub>2</sub>  
722<sub>2</sub> 731 826 839<sub>6</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> Ursa Maior  
928<sub>0</sub> Ursa Minor 928<sub>0</sub> visits Hera  
clandestinely 1020 wraps *aithēr*  
round the world and ties up the  
bundle with golden cord 1029

*Metamorphosed into* Apollon 228<sub>7</sub> Arte-  
mis 228<sub>7</sub> 1217 bear 229 bull 348  
449<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub> 1167<sub>5</sub> cuckoo 893<sub>2</sub>  
1144<sub>2</sub> eagle 187<sub>3</sub> 228<sub>7</sub> 752 909<sub>0</sub> (?)  
941<sub>0</sub> 1133 f. Eros 316 fly 782<sub>1</sub> gold  
1131<sub>1</sub> hoopoe 697 1130 f. human  
lover 941<sub>0</sub> snake 941<sub>0</sub> 1029 1061  
1151 stranger 1096<sub>4</sub> swan 941<sub>0</sub> 1015  
1015<sub>7</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub> vulture 909<sub>0</sub> woodpecker  
524 693 (?) 693<sub>4</sub>

*Genealogy*: b. of Ouranos 940<sub>0</sub> f. of  
Aiakos by Aigiua d. of Asopos 894<sub>3</sub>  
f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Apollon  
and Artemis by Leto 453 f. of  
Apollonios of Tyana 569<sub>4</sub> f. of  
Arkas by Kallisto 228<sub>5</sub> f. of Arkei-  
sios by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152<sub>4</sub>  
f. of Artemis 164<sub>3</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 453 f. of  
Athena by Koryphe 869<sub>1</sub> cp. i. 155  
f. of Attis 294 f. of Atys and Kotys (?)  
312 f. of Chryses by Hesione d. of  
Danaos 1150<sub>2</sub> f. of Dardanos 8 f.



Zeus (*cont.*)

of Dionysos 317 1098<sub>0</sub> f. of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus by Phersephone or Kore 1029 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 1135<sub>4</sub> f. of Epaphos by Io 961<sub>0</sub> f. of Eros by Aphrodite 316<sub>0</sub> f. of Gargaros at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950<sub>0</sub> f. of Geraistos and Tainaros 903<sub>1</sub> f. of Helene 343<sub>0</sub> f. of Helene by Leda 1015<sub>7</sub> f. of Helene by Nemesis 1131<sub>1</sub> f. of Herakles 343<sub>0</sub> f. of Hermes 385<sub>0</sub> f. of Horai by Themis 37<sub>1</sub> 94<sub>2</sub> f. of Kairos 859 861 f. of Kastor 437 f. f. of Kastor and Polydeukes, Klytaimestra and Helene, by Leda 1015<sub>7</sub> f. of Kouretes 940<sub>0</sub> f. of Litai 1097<sub>2</sub> 1098<sub>0</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> f. of Malos 488<sub>0(0)</sub> f. of Manes by Ge 312 f. of Megaros (Megareus) by one of the Sithnides 897<sub>1</sub> 1117<sub>7</sub> f. of Meilinoe(?) or Melinoe(?) by Persephone 1114<sub>0(5)</sub> f. of Metis 343<sub>2</sub> f. of Minos by Europe 8 342<sub>0</sub> 344 929<sub>0</sub> f. of Minos, f. of Deukalion, f. of Idomeneus 793<sub>7</sub> f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 1157<sub>0</sub> f. of Olenos by Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150<sub>2</sub> f. of Orchomenos by Hesione, d. of Danaos, or by Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1149 f. f. of Palikoi by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909<sub>0</sub> f. of Perseus 665<sub>1</sub> f. of Perseus by Danaë 694<sub>0</sub> f. of Phaunos 694<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> f. of Phersephone or Kore by Rhea or Demeter 1029 f. of Polydeukes 437 f. f. of Solymos by Chaldene 973<sub>1</sub> f. of Solymos by Kalchedonia 973<sub>1</sub> f. of Tainaros 890<sub>5</sub> f. of Tantalos 957<sub>0</sub> f. of Zethos and Amphion 445 f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 1013 gf. of Eros 316<sub>0</sub> h. of Ge 292<sub>4</sub> h. of Hera 584<sub>1</sub> h. of Hera Ζυγία 954<sub>0</sub> h. of Idaia 940<sub>0</sub> h. of Kybele 298 h. of Tyche Ἀγαθή 1104 f. s. of Aither 941<sub>0</sub> s. of Ge 294<sub>0</sub> s. of Kronos 943<sub>0</sub> s. of Kronos by Rhea 941<sub>0</sub> s. and h. of the Mother of the gods 298<sub>2</sub> s. of Phanes 1051 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 s. of Rhea 830 1029 youngest child of Rhea 925<sub>1</sub>

*Functions:* *aër* 351<sub>0</sub> *aithér* 557<sub>1</sub> allotments 873<sub>2</sub> all-seeing 258<sub>3</sub> ancestral god of Attic nobility 730<sub>0</sub> ancient king 1135<sub>4</sub> author of days and years 94<sub>2</sub> avenger of impious deeds 1130 bees 1112<sub>6</sub> 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(?) 119<sub>0</sub> 233<sub>0</sub> 258<sub>3</sub> 836 893<sub>0</sub> 1058 1105 1107 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> 1117 1118 1124<sub>0</sub> 1125<sub>0</sub> 1125<sub>1</sub> 1126<sub>0</sub>

Zeus (*cont.*)

1131 1142 1149 1150 1155 f. 1157<sub>0</sub> 1159 1161 1169 f. 1175 1178 chthonian (Zeus Οὐδαίος = Plouton) 343<sub>0</sub> clear air 557<sub>1</sub> clouds 3 corn and wine(?) 1178 cosmic 117 855<sub>2</sub> 1028 f. 1185 cosmic law 855<sub>2</sub> cosmogonic 1230 counsel 317<sub>2</sub> creator of the world 316 1027 crops 1065 1074 1187<sub>0</sub> daylight 436 1013 day-light sky 840 deceased founder of club 1162 deceased kinsman 1163 deceiver 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> destiny 231 Dionysiac 281 ff. 836 847 852 dispenser of good and evil 1067 f. divinised ancestor 1068 dreams 283<sub>0</sub> 1175 1228 dust 257<sub>4</sub> earth 823 father 292 ff. father of mankind 855 fertility 591 1142 1149 fighter 590 f. figs 291<sub>2</sub>(?) 1092 f. 1103 f. 1112 1114 food and drink 754<sub>2</sub> food-supply 434<sub>3</sub> forefather 258<sub>3</sub> forefather of clan 1162 generous giver 321<sub>1</sub> giver of animal and vegetable life 1139 giver of wealth 1065 good tidings 956<sub>0</sub> government 855 ff. guardian of friendship 1176 guardian of harbour 343<sub>0</sub> hail 1 healing 877<sub>0(0)</sub> 1061 hearth 873<sub>2</sub>(?) 1149<sub>2(1)</sub>(?) holder of scales 734<sub>3</sub> inspirer of orator 1181<sub>0</sub> justice 852 justice and injustice among men and animals 1130<sub>1</sub> law-giver 1095<sub>0</sub> life 352<sub>1</sub> 352<sub>4</sub> 1023 lightning 1 4 385<sub>0</sub> 502 ff. 722 ff. 815 ff. 840 850 f. 954<sub>0</sub> 1146 lot 1148 f. (?) love 1176 magician 258<sub>3</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 1147 mills(?) 260<sub>0</sub> mind 258<sub>3</sub> 1028 f. moisture 351<sub>0</sub> 352<sub>4</sub> moon 840 mountains 554 868 ff. 1149 1179 1183 nourishment 594 oak 570<sub>0</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> oaths 233 569<sub>4</sub> 706 722 ff. 727<sub>3</sub> 849 955<sub>0</sub> 1175 f. observer of right and wrong 1130 1130<sub>1</sub> old corn(?) 295<sub>2</sub> omniscience 763 the one God, of whom all other Gods are but parts and manifestations 855<sub>2</sub> oracular 1061 1073 ff. pantheistic 1027 ff. 1051 πνεῦμα 1023 prayers 1099 preserver of the tribe 1159 primeval power 315 f. protector of the bloodguilty 1098 f. protector of descendants 1130 protector of his people 1159 protector of laws and treaties 723<sub>0</sub> protector of suppliants 1093 1097 f. 1130 protector of suppliants and strangers 1097<sub>0</sub> 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. 318<sub>0</sub> 351<sub>0</sub> 591 833 894<sub>1</sub> 897<sub>5</sub> 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>0</sub> 941<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>2</sub> re-creator of the world 1033 ruler 731 848 ruler of gods 266 ruler of sky, sea, and earth 893<sub>0</sub> rumour 904<sub>3</sub> sea 663 893<sub>0</sub> sea-

Zeus (*cont.*)

faring 987<sub>0</sub> sender up of souls 1058  
sky 298 344 353 458 601 663 823  
sleep 231 f. snow 1 343<sub>0</sub> solar 285<sub>0</sub>  
840 948<sub>1</sub> 1130 1130<sub>7</sub> specialised into  
Poseidon 786 850 spinner of fate  
1219 starry sky 436 stars 840 869<sub>1</sub>  
storm 267 591 705 848 streams  
869<sub>0</sub> sun (See solar) suppliant 1096  
1098 1101 suppliant-boughs 1149<sub>2(2)</sub>  
thunder 1 4 344 833 ff. 851 f. 941<sub>0</sub>  
945<sub>2</sub> 1155 thunder and lightning  
280<sub>1</sub> 817 thunderbolt 179 722 ff.  
850 f. trees 946<sub>0</sub> trophy 110<sub>9</sub> 111<sub>0</sub>  
turnips (?) 260<sub>0</sub> underworld 1158  
(See also chthonian) universe (See  
cosmic) upper world 1158 victor 758  
victory 489<sub>0(0)</sub> 812<sub>1</sub> 813<sub>2</sub> violence  
1098 war 705 ff. 848 water 1117<sub>3</sub> (?)  
weather 1 ff. 840 894<sub>3</sub> wind 444<sub>7</sub> (?)  
witness 728<sub>0</sub> f. world (See cosmic)  
a younger Zan 340 ff.

*Etymology:* 259<sub>0</sub> 855<sub>2</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> 1102<sub>8</sub> 1228

*Attributes:* *agrenón* 574 592 *aigis* 781  
1187<sub>0</sub> apple (?) 831<sub>1</sub> bay-wreath 266  
597<sub>3</sub> 714<sub>2</sub> 756<sub>1</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 1187<sub>4</sub> 1192 f.  
1223 bronze bulls 924<sub>0</sub> bronze  
oxen 924<sub>0</sub> buskins 1178 1184 car  
(*benna*) (?) 883<sub>0(0)</sub> chariot 436<sub>1</sub> 851  
Charites (Moirai? Horai?) 232<sub>0</sub>  
*chitón* 597 f. 744 744<sub>4</sub> *chlamýs* 731<sub>1</sub>  
744 ff. cock 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> corn-ears 754<sub>1</sub>  
*cornu copiae* 1105 1162 crab 577 f.  
cup 1178 cypress 932<sub>1</sub> dagger 714<sub>1</sub>  
722 diadem 597<sub>3</sub> double axe 283<sub>0</sub>  
559 ff. 601 614 615 (?) 664<sub>1</sub> (?) 705  
714<sub>1</sub> *drépanon* 448<sub>0</sub> eagle 283<sub>0</sub> 575 f.  
577 f. 707 751 f. 808<sub>0(0)</sub> 833 836 838  
956<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> 1143 1161 1185 f.  
1188 1208 eagles 231 239 841  
Egyptian head-dress (?) 987<sub>0</sub> female  
breasts 592 ff. flower 1224 (?) goat  
987<sub>1</sub> (?) globe 980<sub>0</sub> golden ball 933<sub>0</sub>  
golden calf 354 golden *líknon* 933<sub>0</sub>  
golden vine (?) 281<sub>4</sub> grapes 281 287<sub>1</sub>  
883<sub>0(0)</sub> hammer 945<sub>2</sub> *hárpe* 449<sub>0</sub> hel-  
met 705 f. *himátion* 1082 *himátion*  
of gold 916<sub>0</sub> *himátion* of wool 916<sub>0</sub>  
Horai 1138<sub>5</sub> jar 1054 ff. jug 1117  
*kálathos* 577 592 f. 593 (?) 597 597<sub>3</sub>  
598 *kratér* 283<sub>0</sub> leaf-shaped lance  
709 *líknon* 933<sub>0</sub> lily-wreath 740  
lion (?) 575 f. lioness (?) 575 599<sub>2</sub>  
lion-skin (?) 947<sub>0</sub> lotos 771 1224  
mattock 806<sub>1</sub> Moirai 1138<sub>5</sub> moon  
980<sub>0</sub> necklace 593 Nike 873<sub>0(8)</sub> 1143  
1145<sub>0</sub> 1190 1192 1193<sub>1</sub> oak-branch  
1177 (?) oak-wreath 348 388 763<sub>1</sub>  
1187<sub>4</sub> olive-branch 1177 (?) olive-  
wreath 323<sub>1</sub> palm (?) -tree 284<sub>0</sub>  
panther (?) 575 599<sub>2</sub> pectoral 574  
*phiále* 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 906<sub>3</sub> 1105 1116 (?)  
1143 1145<sub>0</sub> 1161 f. 1175 1184 pillar  
818 pine-wreath 951<sub>0</sub> plane-trees  
590 976<sub>0</sub> plough 281 836 pome-

Zeus (*cont.*)

granate 986<sub>0</sub> radiate crown 980<sub>0</sub>  
scales 734<sub>3</sub> sceptre 258 266 547<sub>2</sub>  
709 731 ff. 763 788<sub>0</sub> 1105 1116 1143  
1145<sub>0</sub> 1188 *sélinon* (?) -wreath 1187<sub>0</sub>  
shield 578 705 712 silver knife 354  
*skýphos* 754<sub>1</sub> snake 283<sub>0</sub> 284<sub>0</sub> 285<sub>0</sub>  
819 820 823 1111 spear 577 f. 704 ff.  
722 848 957<sub>0</sub> stag 575 1220 star  
980<sub>0</sub> 1187<sub>0</sub> stars 980<sub>0</sub> stick 1102<sub>0</sub>  
sun 980<sub>0</sub> sword 591 615 (?) 705  
712 ff. 722 848 tall head-dress 980<sub>0</sub>  
(See also tiara) thunderbolt 283<sub>0</sub>  
722 ff. 785 848 ff. 1145<sub>0</sub> *thýrsos* sur-  
mounted by eagle 1178 tiara 386  
(See also tall head-dress) tortoise  
895<sub>1</sub> trident 577 798 two doves (?)  
872<sub>0(5)</sub> two eagles 179 f. two oaks  
872<sub>0(5)</sub> two ravens (?) 872<sub>0(5)</sub> two  
spears 283<sub>0</sub> two thunderbolts 722  
726 f. vervain 396<sub>0</sub> 397<sub>0</sub> vine 836  
838 vine-staff 909<sub>0</sub> whip 851 willow  
946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> winged chariot 43 321<sub>1</sub>  
woodpecker 518<sub>3</sub> (See further Píkos  
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 26<sub>0</sub> 795<sub>3</sub> advancing with  
thunderbolt in raised right hand  
and eagle on outstretched left 739 ff.  
818 f. 963<sub>0</sub> 1139<sub>0</sub> 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 advanc-  
ing with thunderbolt in raised right  
hand and sceptre in outstretched  
left 25<sub>0</sub> 26<sub>0</sub> 27<sub>0</sub> 709 733 advancing  
with thunderbolt in raised right  
hand and spear (?) in left 708 f.  
amours with Leda, Semele, Kallisto,  
and Ganymedes 228<sub>7</sub> androgyn-  
ous (?) 292<sub>4</sub> 594 androgynous with  
golden wings and heads of bulls  
and snake 1022 f. archaistic 744<sub>1</sub>  
Aristonous 1222 Assyrian 697<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub>  
bearded head as pendant 302 bearded  
head at either end of whip-handle  
301 beardless 285<sub>0</sub> 742 748 946<sub>0</sub> f.  
1224 (?) birth of Athena 709 f. 753<sub>3</sub>  
785 boy with whip (?) 826<sub>6</sub> bronze  
statuette of 'Geometric' age repre-  
senting Zeus fulminant (?) 1222  
bronze statuettes inlaid with silver  
eyes 503<sub>0</sub> Bryaxis (?) 921<sub>0</sub> bull (?)  
924<sub>0</sub> bust as medallion on wreath  
301 bust as support for arm of Attis  
297 bust between horns of crescent  
712<sub>3</sub> bust facing, with thunderbolt  
and sceptre to his right and left  
887<sub>0(0)</sub> bust supported on eagle



Zeus (*cont.*)

with spread wings 1209 in chariot drawn by two eagles 462<sub>0</sub> in chariot drawn by one horse 830 in chariot drawn by two horses 820 833 cp. 285<sub>0</sub> in chariot drawn by four horses 436<sub>1</sub> 825 830<sub>6</sub> 831<sub>1</sub> (See also driving) in *chitón* and *chlamýs* 283<sub>0</sub> in *chitón* and *himátion* 574 577 597 f. 745<sub>0</sub> 745<sub>1</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 887<sub>0(0)</sub> 957<sub>0</sub> colossal 754<sub>1</sub> conical stone 981<sub>0</sub> 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 950<sub>0</sub> (See also in chariot) driving two-horsed vehicle 285<sub>0</sub> driving winged chariot 321<sub>1</sub> duplicated on coin (standing and seated) 319 duplicated on gem (both seated) 318 ff. with female breasts 592 ff. 846 1220 (?) fighting Centaur (?) 614 f. four-eared 322 842 fulminant in two-horse chariot 820 851 fulminant in four-horse chariot 825 831<sub>1</sub> fulminant on pillar 45 Gigantomachia 712 f. 777<sub>2</sub> 820 825 831<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> gilded eagle 423 with golden bay-wreath 258 with golden bull's-horns 1028 grasping or hurling thunderbolt in (sometimes beside) chariot 831<sub>1</sub> grasping thunderbolt in each hand 722 726 f. Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890<sub>6</sub> 1222 f. hero-feast 1163 holding cult-image in his hand 950<sub>0</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> holding eagle and thunderbolt 741<sub>3</sub> (See also advancing) on horseback 664<sub>1</sub>(?) infant asleep on mountain 961<sub>0</sub> infant carried by Amaltheia (?) 363<sub>1</sub> infant seated on ground 957<sub>2</sub> 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. 597<sub>3</sub> 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 1139<sub>0</sub> 1143<sub>5</sub> 1145<sub>0</sub> Myron 1078 oak-tree 111<sub>0</sub> 570<sub>0</sub> with olive-wreath 323<sub>1</sub> Papylos 1101<sub>3</sub> Pheidias 475<sub>7</sub> 598 757 ff. 849 921<sub>0</sub>(?) 1078 1138<sub>5</sub> pillar capped by pyramid (See pyramid-on-pillar) Polykleitos 1143 f. 1178 Polykleitos the younger (?) 1178 pot 3<sub>0</sub> pouring rain from right hand and holding thunderbolt in left 962<sub>2</sub> *psychostasia* 734<sub>0</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> pursuit of

Zeus (*cont.*)

Semele 731 ff. 735<sub>3</sub> pyramid 1144 ff. pyramid-on-pillar 814 f. 1095<sub>0</sub> 1147 (?) radiate 872<sub>0(5)</sub> raising hand in attitude of *benedictio Latina* 291 recumbent on couch 1162 1171<sub>3</sub> recumbent on eagle 102<sub>0</sub> rushing forward with thunderbolt in raised right hand 731 sacred stone 982<sub>0</sub> f. (?) seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated on eagle 102<sub>0</sub> 462<sub>0</sub> (See also upborne on eagle) seated on mountain 853 962<sub>2</sub> 982<sub>0</sub> seated on rock 983<sub>1</sub> seated on rock with eagle flying from right hand and sceptre leaning against right shoulder 758 seated on tree 946<sub>0</sub> f. seated to hurl thunderbolt 473 475 seated to pour rain 962<sub>2</sub> seated with Artemis 'Εφεσία in right hand and sceptre in left 962<sub>2</sub> seated with three Charites (Moirai? Horai?) in right hand 232<sub>0</sub> seated with eagle flying from him 757 758 seated with eagle flying to him 757 seated with eagle in hand 1139<sub>0</sub> 1143 seated with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 871<sub>3(4)</sub> 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 319<sub>4</sub> 758 760 (?) 873<sub>0(8)</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> 1139<sub>0</sub> 1143 1189 1192 1192<sub>6</sub> 1220 seated with *phiále* in right hand 1161 seated with *phiále* in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left 1105 seated with *phiále* in right hand and sceptre in left 1105 1116 f. (?) 1143 1145<sub>0</sub> 1175 seated with *phiále* in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle behind 280<sub>1</sub> seated with right hand raised to head 762 849 seated with sceptre in left hand 737 1173 seated with sceptre in left hand and *phiále* in right 736 seated with sceptre in right hand 755 f. (?) seated with sceptre in right hand and Athena 'Ιλιάς in left 950<sub>0</sub> seated with sceptre in right hand and Nike in left 964<sub>2</sub> seated with sceptre in right hand and sometimes *phiále* in left 906<sub>3</sub> seated with sceptre in right hand and thunderbolt in left 756 seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 280<sub>1</sub> 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 *phiále* in left 735 seated with vine-staff in right hand and thunderbolt in left 909<sub>0</sub> shouldering axe 621 (?) snake

## Zeus (cont.)

1061 1107 ff. 1174 soldier 705 f. standing with Artemis Ἐφεσία in right hand 962<sub>2</sub> standing with eagle in left hand 751<sub>5</sub> standing with eagle in right hand 751<sub>5</sub> standing with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 319<sub>4</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> standing with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 1145<sub>0</sub> standing with *phiale* in right hand and sceptre in left 280<sub>1</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 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 749<sub>1</sub> 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* 918<sub>0</sub> standing with spear in right hand and eagle at his feet 707 standing with spear in right hand and thunderbolt in left 957<sub>0</sub> standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand 280<sub>1</sub> standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in left 734 f. 745 ff. 1145<sub>0</sub> standing with thunderbolt in outstretched right hand and sceptre in left 917<sub>1</sub> standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left 737 739 819<sub>0(5)</sub> 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, 320<sub>0</sub> with supported foot 266<sub>1</sub> surrounded by seven stars 238<sub>0</sub> syncretistic 850 *τετράγωνος* 1147<sub>8</sub> Theokosmos 1138<sub>5</sub> theriomorphic 1151 three-eyed 892<sub>5</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> traveller 1102<sub>0</sub> with trident, eagle, and crab 577<sub>2</sub> with trident, thunderbolt, and eagle 798 with trident, thunderbolt, and sea-monster 798 trophy 111<sub>0</sub> upborne on eagle 951<sub>0</sub> (See also seated on eagle) upborne on eagle between horns of crescent 712<sub>3</sub> winged 1028 *xóanon* 1196 youthful 861<sub>5</sub> 1030 1185 youthful figure holding pomegranate 986<sub>0</sub> *Zêves* at Olympia 349

*Identified with* Adad 983, Adoniaios 293<sub>0</sub> Agamemnon, the god (?) 1069 Ahura Mazdâh 976<sub>0</sub> Âmen-Râ 926<sub>0</sub> Amoun 293<sub>0</sub> Asklepios 1076 ff. Attis 292 Baal 869<sub>0</sub> Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok) (?) 1108 Ba'al-šamin 886<sub>0(0)</sub> 889 Bakchos 287 1184 Celtic Janiform god 323 Chryisor, the Phoenician Hephaistos 715 1037 Daimon 1160<sub>4</sub> Dionysos 282 287 f. 288<sub>0</sub> Epopeus 445 Erechtheus 793 Eros

## Zeus (cont.)

1028 Great Ox 354 Hades 582<sub>4</sub> 1058 Hephaistos 715 Janus 328<sub>7</sub> Jehovah 889 elder Kabeiros 664<sub>1</sub> Kašiu 983<sub>0</sub> (?) Keraunos 12 f. 119<sub>1</sub> Kragos 972<sub>0</sub> 974<sub>0</sub> Mars 50 Melqart or Melqarth (?) 1109<sub>0</sub> Metis (masc.) 1028 Pan 349 1023 1024 1039 Papas 836 Pikos 220<sub>6</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 693<sub>4</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 697<sub>0</sub> Poseidon 582 ff. Poseidon and Ares 1225 Protogonos 1023 1039 1051 Roman emperors (See *Personated by*) Sabaoth 293<sub>0</sub> Sabazios 275 1184 Sarapis 714<sub>3</sub> (?) 745<sub>1</sub> 773<sub>0</sub> 1158 Solymos (?) 974<sub>0</sub> Theos Hypsistos 882<sub>0(22)</sub> 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 969<sub>3</sub> Trophonios (Trophonios) 1075 Velchanos 946<sub>0</sub> ff. the world 1028 f. (See also *Functions* cosmic) Zan 220<sub>6</sub> 341<sub>6</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 345 942<sub>0</sub>

*Assimilated to* Apollon 986<sub>0</sub> Chaos 1051 Dionysos 1178 Poseidon 327<sub>2</sub> (?) (See also *Identified with*) Zagreus 980<sub>5</sub>

*Associated with* Acheloios 1092<sub>2</sub> 1138<sub>5</sub> Acheloios and Kallirrhoe (?) 1117 Agathos Daimon 925<sub>0</sub> Agdistis and Attis 1229 Aigokeros 938<sub>0</sub> Apollon 317 317<sub>2</sub> Apollon and Themis 730<sub>0</sub> Artemis and Athena 1144<sub>2</sub> Athena 259<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1101<sub>3</sub> Athena Νικηφόρος 287<sub>2</sub> Athena Σώτεια 1169<sub>4</sub> Athena and Apollon 458 1094<sub>0</sub> Athena and Herakles 1078 Athena, Herakles, Apollon 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Boule (?) 260<sub>0</sub> *daimones* 931<sub>0</sub> Demeter and Kore 258<sub>3</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> Dike 1029 1033<sub>1</sub> Dione 974<sub>0</sub> 1029 Dionysos and Athena 925<sub>0</sub> Dioskouroi 1209<sub>2</sub> Enehodia and Polis 1155 Ge 266 f. 292<sub>4</sub> Ge and Athenaia 1115 Ge and Helios 729<sub>0</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> Ge, Helios, and Erinyes 728<sub>0</sub> f. goddess bearing wheat-ears (*cornu copiae*?) and torch (sceptre?) 820 hearth 728<sub>0</sub> Hekate 714<sub>2</sub> 714<sub>3</sub> 835<sub>6</sub> 838 Helios 1114 Helios, rivers, earth, and chthonian powers 728<sub>0</sub> Helios, Selene, Asklepios, Hygieia, etc. 259<sub>0</sub> Hephaistos 972<sub>1</sub> Hera 259<sub>0</sub> 592 707 776<sub>3</sub> 893<sub>2</sub> 894<sub>1</sub> 900<sub>0</sub> 1137 1144<sub>2</sub> 1150 1157 Hera and Athena (=Capitoline triad) 319, Hera, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Kore, Baubo 259<sub>0</sub> Herakles 492<sub>0(0)</sub> 1157<sub>1</sub> Herakles Ἄνικητος 292<sub>4</sub> Herkyna 1073 1075 Hermes (?) 957<sub>0</sub> Hestia 259<sub>0</sub> 317<sub>2</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 1228 Horai 94<sub>2</sub> Kabeiroi 664<sub>1</sub> (?) Kouretes 587 938<sub>0</sub> Men 285<sub>0</sub> Meter 950<sub>0</sub> Meter ἐν Ἄργας (?) 1142<sub>3</sub> Moira and Erinys 1102<sub>7</sub> Muses 898<sub>5</sub> Nike 853 1100<sub>1</sub> Nomos 1029 οἱ Σεβαστοί 951<sub>0</sub> Persephone 893<sub>0</sub> Philia and Tyche Ἀγαθή 1163 Polis 878<sub>0(0)</sub>



Zeus (*cont.*)

- Poseidon 959, Poseidon and Hades 785 Poseidon and Plouton 802 (?) Sarapis and Isis 922<sub>0</sub> table 728<sub>0</sub> Themis 258 723<sub>0</sub> Themis and Dike 897<sub>3</sub> Themis and Dionysos 261 f. Trophonios (Trephonios) 1073 f. Tyche Ἄγαθή 879<sub>0(17)</sub> Zagreus 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>
- Compared with* Adonis and Tammuz 345 Agathos Daimon 1161 1163 Apollon 201 ff. Argos 379 Boreas 444 Hermes 384<sub>0</sub> 385<sub>0</sub> 1068 Kronos 554 ff. Kyklops 990 Oidipous 1154 Penates 1068 Plouton 385<sub>0</sub> 1105 Talos 948<sub>1</sub> Tammuz 347 Thyestes, a storm-god (?) 1022
- Contrasted with* Asklepios 1081 f. Charon 641<sub>2</sub>
- In relation to* Apollon 267 730<sub>0</sub> Aristaios 1112<sub>6</sub> Asklepios 1178 Dionysos 267 ff. 522 1210 Eleos 875<sub>1(2)</sub> Erinys 1102<sub>7</sub> Hera 693 kings 1074 Kyrios Sabaoth 884<sub>0(0)</sub> men 855 Metis (masc.) 1025 Nike 982<sub>0</sub> Oidipous 1154 f. Orphic Eros 316<sub>5</sub> Pepromene 1138<sub>5</sub> Phanes 1051 Phoibos 500 839 Poseidon 582 ff. 846 850 Pythagoras 225 Rhea 552<sub>1</sub> 'Schwanfrauen' 51<sub>1</sub> Semele 663 table 1141<sub>8</sub> Themis 873<sub>2</sub> thunder 827 ff. 851 f. Trajan 1179 ff. tripod 1216 Trophonios (Trephonios) 900<sub>0</sub> 1073 ff. twins 422 ff. 843 Zagreus 522 980<sub>5</sub> Zan 353
- Supersedes* Anatolian mother-goddess or her consort 810 Artemis Ἐφεσία 1220 Ba'al 1192 (?) Dion (?), consort of Dione 353 Dios, the Thracophrygian sky-god 280 f. earth-mother 592 (?) 595 846 hero in snake form (?) 1111 Hittite bull-god 910<sub>1</sub> Kronos 554 601 845 Lykos 1013 Minos 940<sub>0</sub> Zan 349 f. 353 f. 842
- Superseded by* Apollon 180 816 902<sub>0</sub> Authentēs Christos 945<sub>0</sub> Bes 675 Christ 945<sub>0</sub> 1209 St Elias 875<sub>1(5)</sub> 894<sub>1</sub> 894<sub>3</sub> 897<sub>5</sub> 898<sub>5</sub> 899<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>1</sub> 906<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>4</sub> 1073 1227 St Gerlando 910<sub>1</sub> God 506 Holy Cross (Timios Staurōs) 935<sub>0</sub> 939<sub>0</sub> St John 923<sub>0</sub> St Michael 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>0</sub>
- Survives as* Zanos (Zānos) or Zonos (Zōnos) in modern Crete 353
- absent from original Orphic cosmogony (?) 1051 acorn of (chestnut or other species of nut) 775<sub>0</sub> all things created anew in belly of 1027 altars of 15 ff. 187 231<sub>8</sub> 259<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 873<sub>1</sub> 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 892<sub>4</sub> 937<sub>0</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> ff. 952<sub>0</sub> f. 975<sub>0</sub> f. 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> 1105 1141 1144<sub>2</sub> 1147 1180 f. 1228 annually reborn as Zagreus 934<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub> 'appellativisch' 1137<sub>0</sub> (?) back of, aēr 1028 belly of, the earth 1028 blood from

Zeus (*cont.*)

- birth of 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> body of, the various parts of the world 1028 f breast of, aēr 1028 bull as theanthropic animal of, in Crete 539 cave of, at Inönü in Phrygia 249<sub>2</sub> chariot of 27 33 43 63<sub>0</sub> 820 830 ff. 851 950<sub>0</sub> cherry of 775<sub>0</sub> consecrated men called Zāves by the Greeks 343<sub>0</sub> dead husband consecrated as Zeus Κρήσιος 1067 decrees of, confirmed by Dionysos 1030 dedication of Zeus Σαουάσιος (= Σαβάσιος) to Zeus Κορυφαίος 285<sub>0</sub> Dionysiac traits in cult of 909<sub>0</sub> Dionysos called Διὸς φῶς 273 distaff of (vervain) 775<sub>0</sub> eagle as messenger of 950<sub>0</sub> ear of 1028 Elpides of 962<sub>0</sub> epiphany of 982<sub>0</sub> epitaph of 220<sub>6</sub> (See also tomb of) eye-brows of (ox-eye) 775<sub>0</sub> eyes of 950<sub>0</sub> eyes of, emit lightning 502 ff. eyes of, the sun and moon 117 1028 feet of, the Underworld 1028 fleece of 1065 1140 1166<sub>3</sub> (?) flower of (carnation?) 775<sub>0</sub> garden of 1017 1021 1027 girle of, the sea 1028 of gold 1190 golden (?) mattock of 806<sub>1</sub> grave-stones dedicated to 292<sub>4</sub> hair of, the stars 1028 head and face of, the sky 1028 hearth of 815 Herakles called Διὸς παῖς 273 herald of 1141 Hittite traits in cult of 615 f. horn of Zeus Ἄμμων worn by Arsinoe ii 773<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>1</sub> horns of, the Milky Way 1028 horse of 830 horses of 436<sub>1</sub> 830<sub>7</sub> (See also *Types* in chariot) house of 44<sub>1</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 344<sub>0</sub> hymn to, by Kleantes 854 ff. hymn to Orphic 1027 1028 images fallen from 963<sub>0</sub> immoralities of, attacked by Christian apologists 942<sub>0</sub> inherits double axe from 'Minoan' sky-god 559 installation of 285<sub>0</sub> invents parasites 1169 jars of 1054 ff. laws of 929<sub>0</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> love towards, denied by Aristotle 1167 men the offspring of 855 mind of 321<sub>1</sub> mind of, aithēr 1028 f. miraculous spring of, at Tyana 569<sub>4</sub> mysteries of (See *Rites* mysteries) a name common to the three brothers Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades 582<sub>4</sub> navel of 190 ff. 191<sub>10</sub> oldest surviving temple of 915<sub>2</sub> in the Orphic theogonies 1051 palace of 1226 pillars of 423 plain of 1021 in the plural (Διες) 1219 in the plural (Διες Κρήσιοι) 321 in the plural (Διοι) 252<sub>3</sub> in the plural (Zāves) 343<sub>0</sub> 349 profile of, on Mt Juktas 940<sub>0</sub> rays of 876<sub>0</sub> rebirth of 230 381 522 852 road of 36 f. 52 464 840 843 Rumour the messenger of 904<sub>3</sub> sacred eels of 590<sub>3</sub> sacred grove of 975<sub>0</sub> sacred lands of 930<sub>0</sub> sacred meadows of

Zeus (*cont.*)

933<sub>0</sub> sacred stone of 982<sub>0</sub>f. in the Salian hymn (?) 328 ff. salt pool of 616<sub>1</sub> scales of 734<sub>3</sub> sceptre of 956<sub>2</sub> 1026 1030 1058 1131 1132 shoulders of, *aér* 1028 sinews of 228 449<sub>0</sub> 450<sub>0</sub> spear of 15<sub>0</sub> 547<sub>2</sub> 704 ff. spring of 569<sub>4</sub> 590<sub>3</sub> 890<sub>6</sub> 1118 f. staff of (*vervain*) 396<sub>0</sub> 397<sub>0</sub> swathing-bands of 929<sub>0</sub> sword of 591 705 712 ff. 848 threatens to cut men in halves 672<sub>1</sub> three gods of the name Zeus (*Iupiter*) distinguished 941<sub>0</sub> throne of 343<sub>0</sub> 475<sub>7</sub> 838 1082 1131 toast of Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1129<sub>0</sub> tomb of 219 341<sub>6</sub> 348 354 556<sub>0</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 940<sub>0</sub>ff. touch of 961<sub>0</sub> tower of 343<sub>0</sub> 354 travestied 1033 treasury of 23 triad of Zeuses 1093<sub>1</sub> watch-tower of 343<sub>0</sub> 354 whip of 260<sub>0</sub> 824 ff. 851 will of 14<sub>1</sub> 261<sub>0</sub> winds as horses of 830<sub>7</sub> wings of 1028 wisdom of 258<sub>3</sub> wrath of 1097<sub>2</sub> 1098<sub>1</sub> 1098<sub>2</sub>

Zeus, as name of a ship 987<sub>0</sub>

Zeus *Hýpatos*, as name of a ship 876<sub>0</sub>

Zeus, king of Crete 940<sub>0</sub> 941<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>

Zeus, the planet

*Function*: γένεσις 558<sub>0</sub>

Zibeleïzis

*Cult*: Getai 822 851

*Etymology*: 823

Zio See Ziu

Ziobe See Zougo

Zioter (*Zeter*) 1212

Ziu 50 ff.

*Functions*: sky 50 81 storm 81 sun 81 warrior 50

*Identified with Ares* 50

*Attributes*: spear 76 swan (?) 51<sub>1</sub> sword 77 thunderbolt 75<sub>1</sub> 76 thunderdrum (?) 83 wheel 77<sub>2</sub> 78<sub>1</sub> 78<sub>2</sub>

*Types*: bearded 74 ff. beardless 74 f. driver of two-horse chariot 75 rider on horse supported by male giant 74 ff.

*Identified with Dings* (?) 50 f. Er 50 f. 114 Iring (?) 51 f. Irmin 52 114 Sahsnot 50 f.

*Assimilated to Iupiter* 74 ff. 78<sub>2</sub> 80<sub>2</sub>

*In relation to Wodan* 62<sub>1</sub>

— name of, attached to Runic letter 1212 f.

Zobe See Zougo

Zogui See Zougo

Zonos 353

Zophasemin

*Genealogy*: children of Mot 1038

*Etymology*: 1038

Zoroastres 33 ff.

*Genealogy*: descendant of Ninus and Semiramis Rhea 694<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology*: 33 ff.

*Identified with Er*, s. of Armenios 54<sub>1</sub>

— perpetual fire on mountain of 33 977<sub>0</sub>

Zougo (*Zogui*)

*Cult*: bearded and breasted goddess (? Zobe ? Ziobe) 595 f. 846 1220



## INDEX II

### SUBJECTS AUTHORITIES

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals  
to foot-notes.

- Ábata* of Zeus on Mt Oite 903<sub>2</sub> of Zeus  
Δικραῖος 928<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Καταιβάτης 21 f.  
of Zeus Φίλιος 1178
- Abbott, G. F. 3 36<sub>3</sub> 480<sub>7</sub> 1112<sub>7</sub> 1164<sub>1</sub>
- Abeken, W. 708 918<sub>0</sub>
- Abel, E. 12<sub>3</sub> 1019 1029
- Abrahams, Miss E. B. 515<sub>2</sub>
- Acclamation of imperial house 980<sub>0</sub>
- Acieris* 630
- Acorn of Iupiter (walnut) 775<sub>0</sub> of Zeus  
(chestnut or other species of nut) 775<sub>0</sub>
- Acorns 405 407<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>0</sub> 523 802 965<sub>0</sub> 1166<sub>1</sub>
- Actors, Etruscan 378
- Acy, E. d' 690<sub>1</sub>
- Adam, J. 44<sub>3</sub> 44<sub>4</sub> 54<sub>1</sub>
- Adamant 447<sub>8</sub> 449<sub>0</sub>
- Adelphoi* in cult of Theos Hypsistos  
883<sub>0(25)</sub> 885<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Adler, E. N. 888<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Adler, Frau 807<sub>3(3)</sub> 873<sub>2</sub> 907<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> 982<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub>  
987<sub>0</sub>
- Adulterers in Tenedos slain with two  
sacred axes 668 f.
- Ádya* of Asklepios at Trikke 1088 of Zeus  
Ὀλύμπιος at Agrigentum 915<sub>0</sub> 1227
- Adze held by statuette 387<sub>4</sub>(?) in Egypt  
545<sub>0</sub> tombstones of Gallia Lugu-  
dunensis dedicated *sub ascia* 547<sub>0</sub>
- Adze-worship of Gaul 547<sub>0</sub>
- Aér* 611<sub>2</sub> 949<sub>5</sub>  
— conceived as shoulders, breast, and  
back of Zeus 1028
- Aeraki, G. 935<sub>0</sub>
- Aerolite 983<sub>0</sub>(?)
- Agápe*, the 'love-supper' of the early  
Christians 1173
- Agnus castus* 517<sub>3</sub>(?) 972<sub>1</sub> 1118
- Agonistic *amphorae* (?) 1064 tables 490<sub>0(5)</sub>  
491<sub>0(0)</sub> urns 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 562
- Agrenón* 167 170<sub>3</sub> 181<sub>1</sub> 187<sub>4</sub> 192 574 592
- Agyieús*-pillar 160 ff. 499 676 841 f. 844  
— compared with Diana-pillar 160 con-  
fused with herm 160<sub>5</sub>
- Ahlwardt, C. W. 855<sub>1</sub>
- Ahrens, H. L. 294<sub>0</sub> 344 463<sub>1</sub> 495<sub>6</sub> 582
- Aigís* Salian shield as 377 worn by em-  
perors 1194 worn by Zeus (See Index I  
*Zeus Attributes*)
- Aithér* 611<sub>2</sub> 840 949<sub>5</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 1026 1029  
— conceived as ear(?) of Zeus 1028<sub>8</sub>  
conceived as mind of Zeus 1028 f.
- Akropóleis* sacred to Zeus 873<sub>0</sub>
- Akrotéria* 16<sub>1</sub> 1102<sub>8</sub>
- Alábastron* 305<sub>0</sub>
- Albers, C. 868<sub>6</sub>
- Alberti, J. 665<sub>0</sub> 1218
- Alders 472 949<sub>5</sub>
- Allegorical (?) figure of Kairos by Lysippos  
859 f.
- Allen, J. Romilly 604
- Allen, T. W. 353<sub>1</sub>
- Allène, H. 118<sub>2</sub>
- Almonds 154<sub>0</sub> 298 300
- Almond-tree 295 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>
- Altar, 'baetylic' 193<sub>2</sub>  
— bearing image of Mt Argaios 978<sub>0</sub>  
before sacred tree 285<sub>0</sub> blood poured  
over 517<sub>1</sub> decorated with double axe  
1228 entwined with snake and flanked  
by snakes 1175 garlanded 1193 1194<sub>4</sub>  
holed 1056 1058 in two stages 975<sub>0</sub> of  
Apollon 163<sub>4</sub> of ashes at Olympia 21  
955<sub>0</sub> of ashes at Pergamon 955<sub>0</sub> 1181  
of brushwood in Skythia 547<sub>3</sub> of Chians  
at Delphoi 170<sub>2</sub> of horns in Delos 1227  
of roughly squared stones in Crete 926<sub>0</sub>  
of rude stones at Athens 1117 of rude  
stones on vase 903<sub>0</sub> of silver in Persia  
34<sub>1</sub> of wooden blocks on Mt Kithairon  
898<sub>6</sub> of Zeus 1141 of Zeus 'Αφέσιος 892<sub>4</sub>  
of Zeus Βουλαῖος 259<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 'Ιδαῖος in  
Crete 937<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 'Ιδαῖος in Phrygia  
950<sub>0</sub> ff. of Zeus Καταιβάτης 15 ff. of  
Zeus Κεραύνιος 1228 of Zeus Λαβραῦνδούς  
1228 of Zeus Λαβράνδος 1228 of Zeus  
Λιταῖος 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Λύκαιος  
187 1105 of Zeus Στράτιος 975<sub>0</sub> f. of  
Zeus Τέλειος 1147 of Zeus 'Υέτιος 1144<sub>2</sub>  
of Zeus 'Υπατος 875<sub>1(2)</sub> of Zeus Φίλιος  
1180 of Zeus Φύξιος 1144<sub>2</sub> portable 1128<sub>0</sub>  
rock-cut 937<sub>0</sub> 952<sub>0</sub> f. stepped 263 sur-  
mounted by ritual horns 517 with boar  
in relief 1063 with festoon-bearing  
eagle 302 with four legs and central  
stem 193<sub>2</sub> pl. xi with hollow for liba-  
tions 983<sub>0</sub> See also Pillar-altars, Table-  
altar
- Altars, bilingual, from Palmyra 885<sub>0(29)</sub>  
886<sub>0(0)</sub> dedicated to Zeus on mountain-  
tops 873<sub>1</sub> fire-altars(?) 426 of Zeus 231<sub>8</sub>  
twelve dedicated to Janus as god of  
months 336<sub>8</sub>

- Aly, W. 456 925<sub>1</sub> 926<sub>0</sub> 1227
- Amber as Hyperborean offering (?) 498 as juice or sweat of solar rays 499 as tears of Apollon 484 843 as tears of Heliades 484 cp. 477 as tears of *meleagrídes* 497 associated with sun-god (?) 498-637 beads of 498 636 f. called *élektron* 397<sub>0</sub> 499 carvings in 938<sub>0</sub> 1221 collected from trees (?) 473<sub>7</sub> compared with gum tragacanth 483 compared with resin from storax-trees 492<sub>0(0)</sub> double axes of 636 f. studs of 618 with neolithic borings and cup-marks 498
- Amber routes 493<sub>2</sub> 844  
— correspond with routes of Hyperborean offerings to Apollon at Delos 497 f. from Baltic to Adriatic *viâ* Elbe, Moldau, Danube, etc. 494 497 f. from Baltic to Black Sea *viâ* Vistula and Dniester 494 498
- Ambrosch, J. A. 641<sub>2</sub> 803
- Ambrosía* 275 928<sub>0</sub>
- Ambrosía*, a mixture of water, oil, and seeds 1058
- Ambrosía*, lily called 773<sub>0</sub>
- Amelung, W. 103<sub>0</sub> 407<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> 515<sub>2</sub> 1079 1225
- Amnion* 517<sub>1</sub>
- Amphora*, water spilt from, as rain-charm 832 f.
- Amulets 125 f. 141<sub>2</sub> 387<sub>4</sub> 410<sub>0</sub> 528 540 f. 625 f. 699 802 1084 1200<sub>3</sub> 1200<sub>4</sub>
- Anagnórisis* 1013<sub>1</sub>
- Ancestor, buried, represented as *phallós* 1089
- Anchor as symbol of Okeanos 479  
— leaden, inscribed Aphrodite *Σάρονσα* 987<sub>0</sub> inscribed Zeus *Κάσι(ο)ς Σάϛ[ων]* 987<sub>0</sub> inscribed Zeus *Ἰππατος* 876<sub>0</sub>
- Anderson, J. G. C. 883<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Anderson, W. J. 965<sub>0</sub>
- André, A. 1198 1208
- Andre, F. 195<sub>1</sub>
- Andree, R. 479<sub>8</sub> 480<sub>2</sub> 482<sub>2</sub>
- Andrian, F. von 236<sub>5</sub> 868<sub>5</sub>
- Androgynous deities at Babylon 675 at Rome 1060 in Egypt 772<sub>1</sub> in Galatia 969<sub>4</sub> of Orphists: Ananke or Adrasteia 1022 of Orphists: Phanes 1026
- Angermann, C. T. 350<sub>4</sub> 1087
- Animal names given to priests and priestesses 215<sub>1</sub>
- Animals made of bread or wax as surrogates 1140<sub>5</sub>
- Ankh* 1200<sub>3</sub> (?)
- Anrich, G. 116<sub>0</sub> 123<sub>0</sub>
- Ansa lunata* 542
- Anson, L. 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 810<sub>0</sub>
- Ansted, D. T. 907<sub>2</sub>
- Anthropogony, Egyptian 1023 Orphic 1032 of Sanchouniathon 1037
- Anthropomorphic conception of the sky 1 of thunderbolt 783 f. 810 850 of thunder and lightning 828 of Zeus *Μετλίχιος* and Zeus *Φίλιος* 1173
- Anthropomorphism, progressive (bundle of herbs, puppet, bust, statue) 1172
- Antíphrasis* 1112<sub>7</sub>
- Antonesco, T. 113<sub>0</sub>
- Anz, W. 129<sub>1</sub>
- Ape 649<sub>4</sub> (?) 987<sub>0</sub>
- Apodiopómpesis* 1099<sub>1</sub>
- Apotheosis, caldron of 210 ff. 841 1031 f. of Getai 227 of Homer 1203<sub>4</sub> of 'king' and 'queen' at Athens 1137<sub>2</sub> of Miltiades at Delphoi (?) 1137<sub>2</sub> of Orphic votary 121<sub>1</sub> of Salmoxis 226 f. on eastern frieze of Parthenon 1135 ff.
- Apotrópaia* 217<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 367<sub>1</sub> 506 ff. 642 f. 645 ff. 654 667<sub>4</sub> 702 ff. 712 827 1058 1162<sub>3</sub> 1224
- Appellative of deity becomes separate personality 1152<sub>4</sub> (Euryodeia) 1089 (Telesphoros) varies from time to time and place to place 1160
- Apples 187<sub>4</sub> (?) 672 as prize in athletic contest 467 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> (?) golden 134<sub>1</sub> 488<sub>0(2)</sub> 1003 1014 1016 f. 1020 f. 1030 golden, surmounted by cross 609 of Hesperides 134<sub>1</sub> of Manto 488<sub>0(2)</sub> of Venus *Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub> on sceptres 763<sub>1</sub> singing 1009 ff. 1016 sons born with 1008 f.
- Apple-branch 134<sub>1</sub> 1011
- Apple-tree as lucky tree 403<sub>0</sub> at Gryneia 489<sub>0(4)</sub> 490<sub>0(0)</sub> in folk-tales 1011 1016 of Diana *Nemorensis* (?) 420<sub>1</sub> of king Volsung 682
- Apsidal temples at Arne in Boiotia, Mt Ptoion, the Theban Kabeirion, Thespiiai 900<sub>0</sub> of Athena *Πολιάς* at Gonnoi 870<sub>0</sub> of Cheiron (?) on Mt Pelion 870<sub>0</sub> of Kabeiroi at Pergamon (?) 953<sub>3</sub>
- Aqueducts of Mylasa 591<sub>4</sub> of Pergamon 956<sub>0</sub> of Urbs Salvia 803
- Arbois de Jubainville, H. d' 476<sub>12</sub> 989
- Arch above Aphrodite 363 above Artemis *Περγαία* (?) 363 above Chipa 362 above Isis 362 above Nemesis 363 above Semele (?) carrying Dionysos (?) 362 f. as type of Ianus 354 ff. 842 at Oea 360<sub>2</sub> at Rheims 359<sub>3</sub> at Saint Remy 359<sub>2</sub> in Forum Boarium at Rome 360<sub>3</sub> of Constantine 361<sub>5</sub> of Ianus at entrance of Roman Forum 355 ff. of Titus 360<sub>1</sub> 1203<sub>7</sub> of Trajan at Beneventum 1181<sub>0</sub> of Trajan at Rome 361<sub>5</sub> over gods 365 ff. over goddesses 362 f. starry, in Hindu art 367 triumphal, its original character and purpose 359 ff. winged 362
- Archaistic reliefs 199 ff. 1203<sub>3</sub> 1229
- Arfert, P. 994<sub>1</sub>
- Arm, golden, in English tale 224<sub>1</sub>
- Armlets of silver 998
- Armstrong, G. C. 1217
- Arndt, P. 393<sub>2</sub> 598
- Arneth, J. 699<sub>4</sub>
- Arnim, J. von 854<sub>9</sub> 855<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>2</sub> 856<sub>4</sub> 856 858<sub>1</sub> 858<sub>4</sub>



- Arnold, E. 71<sub>5</sub>  
 Arrows of Kāma 774<sub>1</sub>  
 Arrow-head, neolithic, regarded as thunderbolt 528 767<sub>2</sub> set in gold, silver, or bronze 528<sub>5</sub> set in golden lily 528  
 Arvanitopoulos, A. S. 272<sub>5</sub> 815<sub>2</sub> 870<sub>0</sub> 871<sub>0</sub>  
*Ascia* See Adze  
 Ashby, T. 142<sub>2</sub>  
 Ashes buried in *amphorae* 870<sub>0</sub> holy 791<sub>0</sub> of Titans made into men 1032  
 Ash-trees 949<sub>5</sub>  
 Asphodel 1154  
 Asses connected with Dionysos 464 connected with Satyroi 464 connected with Silenos 464 connected with Vesta 99<sub>4</sub> cult of 464<sub>6</sub> milk of 463<sub>1</sub> must not enter precinct of Elektryone 499<sub>5</sub> sacrificed to Apollon 463 f. 463<sub>1</sub> sacrificed to Ares 464 sacrificed to Priapos 464 sacrificed to Winds 464  
 Assmann, E. 580<sub>3</sub> 600<sub>3</sub>  
 Astragalomantic inscription 807<sub>5(5)</sub> 1067  
*Astragalos* 1030  
*Astrapé* 11  
*Astropelékia* 506  
 — called also *astrapopelékia* and *astrapóboula* 506 844  
*Asylia* 578<sub>4(1)</sub>  
*Athanasia* in later Platonism 1168<sub>2</sub>  
 Atkinson, B. F. C. 823 824<sub>1</sub> 851 947<sub>0</sub> 1217 1219 f. 1229  
 Atlantes 915<sub>0</sub> 1227  
 Atonement, rite of 1097<sub>2</sub>  
 Attribute as intermediate phase between fetish and symbol 617 814  
 Audollent, A. 889<sub>0(0)</sub> 889<sub>0(34)</sub>  
*Augenblicksgötter* 13<sub>1</sub> 827 851  
 aus'm Weerth, E. 74<sub>4</sub>  
 Aust, E. 46<sub>0</sub> 724<sub>0</sub> 1172<sub>0</sub>  
 Austen, G. E. V. 699  
 Avellino, F. M. 1041  
 Axe as currency unit 618 (?) 655<sub>1</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> as father of she-bear's son 679 as visible token of sky-god 698 as weapon of sky-god 677 bronze, regarded as thunderbolt 559<sub>2</sub> bronze, survives for sacrificial purposes 630 carried by priests and priestesses 620 ff. 847 ceremonial 620 ff. 635 ff. 646 ceremonial, adorned with gold and amber 618 ceremonial, of bronze over clay core 618 ceremonial, of copper 617 combined with animal's head 110<sub>8</sub> combined with bull 622<sub>3</sub> 633 combined with forepart of horse 633 f. combined with horse or rider 618 635 combined with lion's head 631 f. combined with stag and hounds 639 combined with tree or column or pillar implies union of sky-god with earth-goddess 533 combined with wolf's head 632 decorated with *swastika* 647<sub>4</sub> decorated with zigzags and spirals 1221 hafted, symbolises union of sky-father with earth-mother  
 Axe (*cont.*)  
 677 imbedded in stalactite pillar 530 ff. 677 imbedded in tree 677 683 f. 692 imbedded in wooden column 528 f. 677 in connexion with bird and tree 692 in rites of Intercidona 643<sub>8</sub> inscribed, from Delphoi 628 miniature 637 f. miniature, becomes *quasi*-anthropomorphic pendant 647 ff. miniature, inscribed 619 1221 of iron set up as preservative against lightning and hail 704 of stone or bronze arranged for solar cult (?) 618 of stone engraved with Mithraic subjects 510 f. of stone inscribed 507 510 ff. of stone kept as preservative against fire 506<sub>8</sub> of stone kept as preservative against lightning 506 f. of stone kept as preservative against thunder 703 f. of stone regarded as thunderbolt 505 ff. of stone set in gold 506 510 of stone set in iron 509 of stone worn as *apotrópaion* 506 509 f. of stone ('thunderstone') worshipped in India 790 792 of Noah 609 f. of Roman lictor 633 ff. 680 847 1221 of Sir Hywel-y-Vwyall 703<sub>2</sub> poised on pole 702 sacred, distinguished by colour, size, or decoration 635 ff. 847 sacred, modified into gong 649 ff. sacred, set upright on throne 545<sub>0</sub> sacred, with green haft 544<sub>3</sub> superstitious practices with 698 ff. 848 suspended by cord 702 f. symbolic 635 f. thrown from boat on river Stour 703<sub>2</sub> two-handled 620 f. used for divination 701 ff. used to kill off aged and infirm (?) 703<sub>2</sub> votive 646 f. 668 f. with crescentic perforated blade 620 f. 622 622<sub>3</sub>  
 — double, affixed to wooden column 533 845 as heirloom of Lydian kings 572 as unit of currency 655<sub>1</sub> as weapon of sky-god 513 516 518 552 676 845 848 associated with sacred tree 643 at Tenedos 654 ff. belongs primarily to sky-god, secondarily to earth-goddess associated with him 533 625 846 between corn-ears and grape-bunch 564 between horns of *bucrania* 539 between horns of bull's head 527 538 between ritual horns 539 845 borne by kings of Lydia 559 561 borne by youthful Hittite god 552 bound with fillet 565 573 brought by Arselis from Lydia into Karia 559 572 845 called *λάβρυς* by Lydians 560 combined with crab 663 combined with lily 774 combined with trident 532<sub>1</sub> 577 connected by means of fillet with *amphora* 657 connected by means of fillet with Nike 657 f. decorated with concentric circles 646 f. decorated with diagonals and zigzags 639 ff. decorated with *swastika* 647<sub>4</sub> decoration of 635 ff. deity of 543 ff. descending from sky 516 525 845 duplicated to denote god and goddess (?)

Axe (*cont.*)

537 653 duplication of 652 ff. 668 essentially the weapon of a god, not a goddess 601 flanked by pair of pillars 524 f. from Delphoi 190<sub>0</sub> hafted in leafy stem 528 653 845 hafted in tree-trunk 517 f. 520 f. 533 845 head of, with panther (?) 599<sub>2</sub> held by winged sky-god (?) 544 845 hidden meaning of, in Gnostic teaching 613 imbedded in wooden columns 528 f. 532 845 implies anthropomorphic sky-god 543 ff. in Crete, primarily the attribute of Kronos, secondarily that of Rhea 601 in Egypt 545<sub>0</sub> in Karia 559 f. 561 572 ff. 586 601 601<sub>3</sub> 845 f. in Lydia 559 ff. 638 845 in mid air 514 ff. 623<sub>2</sub> (?) in 'Minoan' cult 513 ff. 844 1221 in pairs 308<sub>1</sub> in Phrygia 565 ff. 610 845 in relation to columns or pillars 528 ff. in relation to descending warrior-deity 543 in relation to horns 535 ff. cp. 1221 in relation to *labarum* 601 ff. 846 in relation to Labyrinth 600 f. 846 in relation to tree- or plant-forms 516 ff. in relief on *pithoi* 926<sub>0</sub> in western Europe 617 ff. in western and northern Europe gives place to single axe and hammer 620 incised on 'Minoan' pillars 532 f. incised on 'Minoan' wall 532<sub>1</sub> inserted in stalactite pillars 530 ff. 845 of amber 636 f. of bronze 637 of bronze decorated with moth 643 ff. of bronze plated with gold 637 of copper for exchange or ceremony 617 of electrum 637 f. of gold 518 520 538 637 f. of iron in bundle of iron rods 1221 of ivory 640<sub>0</sub> 1221 of lead 540 of steatite 535 of Athena 625 f. 847 of Constantine the Great (?) 609 of Epeios 613 of Helios 677 f. of Hephaistos 709 f. of Hippolyte 559 of Kabeiros 953<sub>3</sub> of Thracian woman 122<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Λαβράϊνδος* 559 ff. 845 f. of Zeus *Σαβάϊος* (?) 283<sub>0</sub> on head of 'Minoan' goddess 1221 on stepped base between two pillars 524 f. 656 passes through successive phases of fetish, attribute, and symbol 617 pictograph of, passes into linear forms, and thence into syllabic and alphabetic characters 613 613<sub>2</sub> scenes from worship of 517 f. 519 ff. shouldered by panther (?) 572 simulating lily-forms 524 527 soul of, represented as butterfly (moth) 315<sub>3</sub> cp. 643 ff. 847 surmounted by raven (?) 518 520 survives in Gnostic teaching 611 ff. 846 survives in Ophite belief 610 f. 846 symbolises union of sky-father with earth-mother 653 657 673 677 twined with snake 565 twined with snake and surmounted by radiate head 565 votive 629 669<sub>3</sub> with duplicated blades 516 518 520 535 538 847 with eagle standing on it

Axe (*cont.*)

573 with multiple blades 624 654 847 with palm-branches 573 within bay-wreath 565 573  
 Axe-bearing god 535 543 ff.  
 — of 'Minoans' identified with Kronos 548 ff.  
 Axe-blades and axe-hafts in megalithic art of western Europe 685 ff.  
 Axe-cult See Axe-worship  
 Axe-haft, golden 989 silver 989 See also Axe-blades  
 Axe-hammer 627<sub>5</sub> 635 f.  
 Axe-head adorned with figure of horse or rider 618 combined with animal-head 632<sub>6</sub> combined with lion 632<sub>6</sub> combined with lion and hounds 632<sub>6</sub> combined with two lions and prey 635<sub>3</sub> combined with lioness 1221 of semi-precious stone 635 f. symbolic or model 633  
 Axe-shaped pendants 647 ff. 698 847  
 Axe-worship 544<sub>3</sub> ff. development of 609 in Assyria 545<sub>0</sub> in Crete 513 ff. 535 ff. 623 ff. in Crete and Tenedos compared 522 537 668 in Egypt 544<sub>3</sub> 545<sub>0</sub> 685 in Gaul 547<sub>0</sub> 685 ff. in Karia 572 ff. 685 in Lydia 559 ff. 572 587 in Mesopotamia 545<sub>0</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> in northern islands of Aegean 314 at Pagasai 660 685 in Persia 546<sub>0</sub> in Phrygia 565 ff. in Rome 546<sub>0</sub> in Tenedos 522 654 ff. 685 847  
*Axinomanteia* 546<sub>0</sub> (?) 701 ff.  
 Axis of universe 44<sub>3</sub> 169 170<sub>1</sub> 840  
*Axones* of Solon 1093<sub>1</sub> 1094<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub>  
 B., G. Ch. 1003<sub>2</sub>  
 Babelon, E. 382<sub>3</sub> 429<sub>5</sub> 430<sub>1</sub> 592<sub>4</sub> 635<sub>2</sub> 656<sub>4</sub> 658<sub>2</sub> 674<sub>1</sub> 674<sub>3</sub> 674<sub>5</sub> 675<sub>1</sub> 675<sub>7</sub> 676<sub>5</sub> 707<sub>2-5</sub> 741 741<sub>2</sub> 747<sub>1</sub> 755<sub>4</sub> 762<sub>0</sub> 796<sub>0</sub> 975<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 1085 1172<sub>0</sub> 1189<sub>6</sub> 1192<sub>2</sub>  
 Baboon worshipped in Egypt 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Bachmann, L. 260<sub>0</sub>  
 Bachmeyer, L. 76<sub>1</sub>  
 Bachofen, J. J. 230<sub>1</sub> 680<sub>1</sub>  
 Back, F. 164<sub>6</sub>  
 Bährens, E. 329<sub>0(4)</sub> 337<sub>4</sub>  
 Bahrfeldt, M. 676<sub>1</sub> 676<sub>2</sub>  
 Bailey, C. 2<sub>2</sub>  
*Baitylos*, anthropomorphised 555<sub>0</sub>  
*Bakchos* 199<sub>2</sub>  
 Ball as agonistic type 964<sub>2</sub> (?) as toy of Zagreus 1030 cosmic significance of 933<sub>0</sub> golden, of infant Zeus 933<sub>0</sub> cp. 1227  
 Band, O. 1137<sub>3</sub> 1138<sub>4</sub> 1139 1140<sub>2</sub>  
 Banduri, A. 106<sub>2</sub> 107<sub>3</sub>  
 Bangert, A. 476<sub>12</sub>  
 Banner of Constantine the Great 603  
 Banquet at sacrifice of Persian kings 974<sub>1</sub> at sacrifice to Zeus *Στραϊος* 974<sub>1</sub> celestial 1197 in cult of St Elias 975<sub>0</sub> of Thyestes 1021  
 Banqueting-hall of Nero, circular 254<sub>5</sub>  
 Baptism, Christian 123<sub>0</sub> in blood of bull and ram 306



- Bardocucullus* 1089  
 Baring-Gould, S. 671<sub>4</sub> 1002  
 Barley offered to Apollon Γενέτωρ 223<sub>3</sub>  
 Barley-grains 18<sub>6</sub>  
 Bartels, M. 960<sub>0</sub>  
 Barth, H. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Base, the Chigi 199<sub>2</sub> pl. xii  
*Basileús* on eastern frieze of Parthenon 1135 ff.  
*Basilides* worn by *basileús* at Athens 1136  
*Basilissa* (*Basilinna*) on eastern frieze of Parthenon 1135 ff.  
 Basket 1175 1199 1205<sub>4</sub> Cabiric 299  
 Basons, golden 1009  
 Bassi, D. 641<sub>2</sub>  
 Bate, Miss D. M. A. 939<sub>0</sub>  
 Bates, W. N. 466<sub>2</sub>  
 Bather, A. G. 303<sub>2</sub> 827<sub>2</sub>  
 Battle-axe borne by rider-god 312<sub>5</sub>  
 Baud-Bovy, D. 905<sub>0</sub> 906<sub>0</sub>  
 Baudissin, Count W. W. 553<sub>2</sub> 675<sub>4</sub> 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 887<sub>0(0)</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 987<sub>0</sub> 1037 1038 1109<sub>0</sub>  
 Bauer, K. 1197<sub>3</sub>  
 Baumeister, A. 154<sub>0</sub> 479<sub>2</sub> 853<sub>5</sub> 854<sub>5</sub> 861<sub>7</sub> 865<sub>2</sub> 874<sub>1</sub> 1044  
 Baumstark, A. 128<sub>4</sub>  
 Baunack, T. 1082  
 Baur, P. V. C. 615 615<sub>2</sub> 615<sub>3</sub>  
 Bay-branch 203<sub>0</sub> 207<sub>0</sub> 262 ff. 461<sub>0</sub> 565<sub>8</sub> 630 1170<sub>8</sub> 1193  
 Bayfield, M. A. 502<sub>2</sub> 1067 1100<sub>0</sub>  
 Bay-leaves chewed by the Pythia and others for mantic, prophylactic, cathartic, or hygienic reasons 264<sub>2</sub> garland of 302  
 Bayley, H. 139<sub>3</sub>  
 Bay-tree 308<sub>1</sub> 400<sub>11</sub> 486 710 844 949<sub>5</sub> called *tripos* 196 highly charged with divinity, but not a vegetable form of Apollon 264<sub>2</sub> not struck by lightning 751<sub>2</sub>  
 Bay-trunk 196  
 Bay-wreath 244 258 262 ff. 388 390 470 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 573 577 597<sub>3</sub> 714<sub>2</sub> 756<sub>1</sub> 902<sub>2</sub> (?) 924<sub>0</sub> 946<sub>0</sub> 1091 1158<sub>6</sub> 1187<sub>4</sub> 1192 f. 1223 embroidered 244<sub>4</sub> enclosing Charites 1193 of gilt bronze 301<sub>1</sub> of gold 301 (?) 464 preceded by oak-wreath as prize at Pythian games 486  
 Beads, amber 498 636 f. button 647<sub>6</sub> eye 647<sub>6</sub>  
 Beam worshipped at Rome as sort of *ianus* 364 f.  
 Beanstalk, Jack and the 88<sub>3</sub>  
 Bear in ancient religion 680<sub>1</sub> in folk-tales from Pyrenees 402<sub>1</sub> in relation to Artemis 680 in relation to Zeus 227 ff. mates with wood-cutting priest 678 f. metamorphosis into 227 ff. priestess of Artemis conceived as 228<sub>4</sub> (?)  
 Bear's Hole (?) as name of Idaean Cave 939<sub>0</sub>  
 Bears as nurses of Zeus 227 f. 928<sub>0</sub> 939<sub>0</sub> sinews of 449<sub>0</sub>  
 'Bears,' worshippers of Artemis Βραυρωλία called 228<sub>4</sub>  
 Bear-goddess (Kallisto) 1114<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 Bear-skin 227 228 449<sub>0</sub> 450<sub>0</sub>  
 Beard of Jupiter (silver-bush) 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Beast-bridegroom 666<sub>3</sub>  
 Beasts substituted for new-born children 1012  
 Beating with sacred rods 635  
 Beausobre, I. de 44<sub>4</sub>  
 Beauty of the Land 1007 1016  
 Beazley, J. D. 212<sub>0</sub> 731<sub>2</sub> 733 733<sub>1</sub> 735 777<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>2</sub> 1223  
 Bechtel, F. 384<sub>0</sub> 444<sub>9</sub> 481<sub>4</sub> 779<sub>9</sub> 815<sub>3</sub> 901<sub>0</sub>  
 Becker, J. 88<sub>0</sub>  
 Bed of Prokroustes 627  
 Beech-tree as ritual equivalent of oak 402 f. not struck by lightning 403<sub>0</sub> of C. Passienus Crispus 403<sub>1</sub> of Diana on Mt Corne 403<sub>1</sub> of Diana *Nemorensis* (?) 420<sub>1</sub> of Jupiter *Fagutalis* 403<sub>0</sub> on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> sacred in Aquitania 402<sub>1</sub>  
 Bees in relation to Demeter and Persephone 1142<sub>7</sub> in relation to Zeus 1112<sub>6</sub> Kronos drunk on honey of 1027 nurture Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> 1112<sub>6</sub> on statue of Artemis 'Εφεστια 407<sub>0</sub> recompensed by Zeus 933<sub>0</sub> sprung from wasps and sun 928<sub>0</sub>  
 Bee-eater in myth of Merops king of Kos 1132<sub>1</sub> in relation to hoopoe 1131<sub>2</sub>  
 Beer, R. 868<sub>6</sub>  
 Beetle, Aetnaean 909<sub>0</sub> wings of 1047  
 Belemnites regarded as thunderbolts 767<sub>2</sub> 932<sub>1</sub>  
 Bell 652  
 Bellori, G. P. 406<sub>0</sub>  
 Beloch, K. J. 925<sub>1</sub> 926<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
 Belt-hooks 432<sub>3</sub>  
*Benedictio Latina* derived from attitude of Phrygian Zeus 291  
 Benefactors of society worshipped in Phoinike and Egypt 1132<sub>6</sub>  
*Benna* 883<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Benndorf, O. 111<sub>1</sub> 112<sub>1</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 375<sub>1</sub> 406<sub>0</sub> 455<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>2</sub> 759<sub>2</sub> 859<sub>2</sub> 878<sub>0(10)</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> 971<sub>2</sub>  
 Bennett, Miss F. M. 560<sub>4</sub> 1196<sub>2</sub>  
 Bennett, S. A. 92<sub>1</sub>  
 Benseler, G. E. 350<sub>4</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 451<sub>1</sub> 873<sub>2</sub>  
 Bent, J. T. 691<sub>0</sub>  
 Benzinger, I. 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Bérard, V. 1148<sub>10</sub> 1149<sub>0</sub>  
 Berger, E. H. 482  
 Berger, P. 613<sub>2</sub>  
 Bergk, T. 37<sub>2</sub> 251<sub>2</sub> 329<sub>0(3)</sub> 337<sub>4</sub> 812<sub>1</sub> 855<sub>1</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 Bernays, J. 343<sub>0</sub>  
 Berneker, E. 487<sub>2</sub>  
 Bernhardt, G. 22<sub>3</sub>  
 Bernoulli, J. J. 389 f.  
 Bertrand, A. 87<sub>1</sub> 285<sub>0</sub>  
 Besnier, M. 726<sub>0</sub>  
 Beth, K. 1025  
 Bethe, E. 290<sub>0</sub> 435 437<sub>6</sub> 1019<sub>2</sub> 1044 1064 1071 1072

- Beulé, E. 157<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub>  
 Bevan, E. R. 1189<sub>2</sub>  
 Biblical tale influences Greek myth 240<sub>7</sub>  
 Bicknell, C. 688<sub>0</sub> 690<sub>0</sub>  
 Bicknell, C. D. 1213  
*Bidens*, 'forked lightning,' 'lightning-fork'  
 805 f.  
*Bidens*, 'sheep' 806  
 Bident convertible into trident 1225  
*Bidental* 789 792 805 f.  
 Bieber, Fräulein M. 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Bifrontal deity as local variety of the  
 divine Sky 383 ff. the two faces of,  
 differentiated 387 ff. various types of  
 341<sub>0</sub> 365 ff.  
 Bill-hook 475 550 627<sub>6</sub>  
 Bingham, C. W. 604<sub>6</sub>  
 Biot, J. B. 1017<sub>4</sub>  
 Birch, S. 1042  
 Birch-tree 642<sub>3</sub>  
 Bird as *numen* of sacred tree 692 golden  
 1012<sub>1</sub> in connexion with axe and tree  
 692 of Truth 1010 f. 1016 speaking  
 1009 f. 1012<sub>1</sub> 1016 turning men into  
 stone 1005 understanding all languages  
 (Dikjeretto) 1005 1016  
 Bird's head 833<sub>1</sub>  
 Bird's nest 1199<sub>2</sub> (?)  
 Birds, language of 1004 1016 not wor-  
 shipped by Babylonians and Assyrians  
 696<sub>0</sub> Periphas as king of 1122 Road of  
 the 38 462  
 Bird-names borne by Greek and Italian  
 tribes 1134<sub>9</sub>  
 Bird-transformations 463<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub>  
 Birks, E. B. 855<sub>1</sub>  
 Birt, T. 328<sub>5</sub> 329<sub>0(7)</sub> 1059 1060  
 Birthday of Apollon 236  
 Bischoff, E. 118<sub>3</sub>  
 Bissing, F. W. von 538<sub>5</sub> 1216  
 Black ram 471<sub>10</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> wool 934<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub>  
 Blackbird 1011 1016  
 Black-poplar in myth of Dryope 486 of  
 Demeter felled by Erysichthon 497<sub>5</sub>  
 Black-poplars as Otherworld trees 472 843  
 in relation to Apollon 484 ff. 500 in  
 the *Ustrinum Augusti* 472 in woods of  
 Persephone 472 on banks of Eridanos  
 484 f. 843  
 Black-poplar-leaves 472  
 Blanchet, A. 618  
 Blanchet, J. A. 382<sub>3</sub> 658<sub>2</sub> 747<sub>1</sub> 755<sub>4</sub>  
 Blass, F. 728<sub>0</sub>  
 Blaydes, F. H. M. 253<sub>3</sub> 277<sub>3</sub> 345<sub>5</sub> 452<sub>14</sub>  
 868<sub>5</sub> 1130<sub>1</sub>  
 Blegen, C. W. 1226  
 Blinkenberg, C. 122<sub>0</sub> 346<sub>0</sub> 413<sub>7</sub> 505 506<sub>7</sub>  
 509<sub>1-3</sub> 510<sub>2</sub> 512<sub>2</sub> 528<sub>5</sub> 559<sub>2</sub> 642 790 923<sub>0</sub>  
 932<sub>1</sub> 1076 f.  
 Bloch, G. 34<sub>1</sub>  
 Bloch, L. 132<sub>0</sub> 295<sub>2</sub> 315<sub>1</sub> 663<sub>6</sub>  
 Blood from birth of Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> let  
 fall by Zeus gives rise to men 1032 of  
 Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> of animal victims offered  
 to dead (?) 1056 of bull and ram as  
 Blood (*cont.*)  
 means of baptism 306 of Giants made  
 into men 1032 of Hermes (vervain)  
 395<sub>2</sub> of human victims poured over  
 scimitar of Ares 548<sub>0</sub> of Ouranos 447<sub>8</sub>  
 448<sub>0</sub> of Typhon 449<sub>0</sub> 450<sub>0</sub> of young  
 pig in rite of atonement 1097<sub>2</sub> poured  
 over altar 517<sub>1</sub> used for inscription on  
 trophy 111<sub>0</sub>  
 Blue hair of Zetes and Kalais 445<sub>0</sub> colour  
 in Ophite diagram 611<sub>2</sub>  
 Blümner, H. 494<sub>0</sub> 878<sub>0(2)</sub> 892<sub>1</sub> 899<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>1</sub>  
 1076 1137<sub>2</sub> 1147<sub>16</sub> 1222  
 Boar as badge or standard 108 109<sub>1</sub> as  
 relief on altar 1063 at foot of altar (?)  
 964<sub>2</sub> Calydonian 799 in myth of Adonis  
 886<sub>0(30)</sub> in myth of Attis 969<sub>4</sub> in myth  
 of Saron 413 in relation to Cretan  
 Zeus 727 leaps towards altar 964<sub>2</sub> oath  
 on cut pieces of 726 f. oath taken  
 over 728<sub>0</sub> on Mysian Mt Olympos 311<sub>8</sub>  
 Sæhrímnir 214<sub>0</sub>  
 Boar's head 146  
 Boat, model of 521 solar 648<sub>2</sub> with bull's  
 head as prow 142<sub>1</sub>  
 Boats made by descendants of Dioskouroi  
 984<sub>4</sub>  
 Bobeth, W. 1135<sub>4</sub>  
 Boblaye, E. Puillon 892<sub>4</sub>  
 Bochart, S. 230<sub>1</sub> 465<sub>11</sub> 569<sub>4</sub> 675<sub>4</sub> 751<sub>2</sub> 1111<sub>1</sub>  
 1131<sub>2</sub> 1187<sub>0</sub>  
 Boeckh, A. 233<sub>4</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 857<sub>6</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1077 1154<sub>3</sub>  
 Boehlau, J. 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Boehm 368<sub>3</sub>  
 Boehmer, W. 885<sub>0(28)</sub>  
 Bölte 961<sub>0</sub>  
 Boëthius, A. 628<sub>6</sub> 817<sub>0</sub>  
 Boetticher, C. 110<sub>9</sub> 150<sub>3</sub> 152<sub>0</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> 160<sub>0</sub>  
 186 f. 199<sub>2</sub> 199<sub>3</sub> 207<sub>0</sub> 282<sub>0</sub> 1103<sub>4</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub>  
 Boiling, ritual 210 ff.  
 Boisacq, E. 268<sub>1</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 383<sub>7</sub> 421<sub>8</sub> 444<sub>7</sub> 484<sub>5</sub>  
 600<sub>4</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 779<sub>9</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 1098<sub>6</sub> 1159<sub>1</sub>  
 Boissardus, J. J. 702<sub>2</sub>  
 Boissonnas, F. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Bolkestein, H. 1229  
 Boll, F. 237<sub>0</sub> 666<sub>2</sub>  
 Bolte, J. 666<sub>3</sub> 988<sub>5</sub> 988<sub>9</sub> 988<sub>11</sub> 995<sub>2</sub>  
 Bone as fetish (?) 544<sub>3</sub>  
 Bones, human, ground for bread 1002 of  
 birds 555<sub>0</sub> of Hektor 961<sub>0</sub> of mammoth  
 827<sub>2</sub> preserved to ensure sovereignty  
 35 f. sacrificed by Lapps 423<sub>3</sub>  
 Bonfires on top of Mt Kithairon 898<sub>6</sub> 977<sub>0</sub>  
 on tops of mountains in Pontos 974<sub>1</sub> f.  
 977<sub>0</sub>  
 Bonhote, J. L. 523<sub>5</sub>  
 Bonner, C. 538<sub>5</sub> 1220  
 Bonnet, M. 115<sub>4</sub>  
 Bordeaux, P. 604  
 Borghesi, B. 402<sub>0</sub> 1090  
 Bormann, E. 1172<sub>0</sub>  
 Borradaile, L. A. 663<sub>3</sub> 667<sub>3</sub>  
 Bosanquet, R. C. 342<sub>0</sub> 418<sub>3</sub> 520<sub>4</sub> 524<sub>9</sub> 524<sub>12</sub>  
 525<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>0</sub> 625 930<sub>0</sub> 931<sub>0</sub>  
 Bóthros 471<sub>10</sub> 1075 1229



- Bouché-Leclercq, A. 9<sub>6</sub> 318<sub>3</sub> 666<sub>1</sub> 702<sub>4</sub>  
1170<sub>5</sub> 1171<sub>3</sub>
- Bough, golden, on which all birds sing  
1003 f. 1016
- Boundary-stones 423<sub>1</sub> 1090
- Bousset, W. 129<sub>1</sub>
- Bow of Apollon 202<sub>1</sub> 1192<sub>5</sub> of Artemis 202<sub>1</sub>  
453<sub>3</sub> of Eros 1047 (fig. 902) of Herakles  
446 903<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Bow-case 160<sub>0</sub> 571
- Bowls of bronze or iron used by Bacchantes  
to cover their breasts 346<sub>0</sub> of *terra*  
*cotta* or metal made to resemble breasts  
346<sub>0</sub> 347<sub>0</sub>
- Boyd, Miss H. A. (Mrs Boyd-Hawes) 538
- Boyd-Dawkins, W. 926<sub>0</sub>
- Branch making music 1005 1016
- Brand, H. G. 480<sub>1</sub>
- Brand, J. 374<sub>2</sub>
- Brandenburg, C. 142<sub>2</sub>
- Brandt, A. J. H. W. 1024
- Braun, E. 326 f. 528<sub>2</sub> 641<sub>2</sub> 709<sub>7</sub> 709<sub>8</sub> 711<sub>1</sub>  
752 801
- Breast, golden, in West Highland tale 224<sub>1</sub>  
of prince with golden sun 1012<sub>1</sub> of  
princess with golden moon 1012<sub>1</sub>
- Breasts bared as last appeal 206<sub>2</sub> beaten  
in mourning for Attis 970<sub>0</sub> copied in  
bowls of *terra cotta* or metal 346<sub>0</sub> 347<sub>0</sub>  
cut off by the d. of Gallos' concubine  
970<sub>0</sub> of St Agatha 347<sub>0</sub> of Artemis  
'*Ἐφεσία* 406<sub>0</sub> ff. 410<sub>0</sub> of Bacchantes  
covered with bowls of bronze or iron  
346<sub>0</sub> of Helene 346<sub>0</sub> of Isis 347<sub>0</sub> of  
Iuno 37<sub>2</sub> of 'Minoan' females 515 515<sub>2</sub>  
of Zeus in Kappadokia 594 f. of Zeus  
in Karia 592 ff. 1220 (?) of Zeus in  
Pontos 595 f. reliefs representing 877<sub>0(0)</sub>  
879<sub>0(15)</sub>
- Breccia, E. 157<sub>0</sub>
- Bremer, O. 50<sub>1</sub>
- Breuil, H. 792<sub>3</sub>
- Bridge of spikes 138<sub>0</sub>
- Bridge, J. 504<sub>6</sub>
- Briquet, C. M. 139<sub>3</sub>
- Britten, J. 396<sub>0</sub> 471<sub>1</sub> 775<sub>0</sub>
- Brizio, E. 355<sub>5</sub> 356
- Bronteia* 507<sub>2</sub>
- Bronze altar 193<sub>2</sub> car 832 palm-tree 170<sub>2</sub>  
262<sub>5</sub> pillars 423 425 ff. plaque from  
Rome 664<sub>1</sub> sheathing of the archway of  
Ianus 358 sky 358 virtue of beaten 649
- Bronze-age remains 31 47 ff. 122<sub>0</sub> 123<sub>0</sub>  
141 f. 154 157 193 509 513 ff. 617 f.  
620 ff. 628 635 ff. 643 ff. 926<sub>0</sub> f. 938<sub>0</sub>
- Bronzes from Delphoi 628 f. Dodona 739  
cp. 746<sub>2</sub> 752 826 1222 Etruria 377 f.  
382 432<sub>2</sub> 432<sub>3</sub> Gaul 445 f. (?) 747<sub>1</sub> 1089  
Idaeon Cave 937<sub>0</sub> f. Psychro Cave  
530 f. 926<sub>0</sub> f. Sardinia 141 ff. 446<sub>1</sub>  
Sicily (?) 374 ff.
- Broom, folk-lore of 642<sub>3</sub> in rites of De-  
verra 643<sub>3</sub>
- Brown, R. 481<sub>2</sub> 1025
- Brückner, A. 1225
- Brüning, A. 45<sub>1</sub>
- Brugmann, K. 50<sub>1</sub> 277<sub>3</sub> 413<sub>1</sub> 570<sub>0</sub> 583  
1069 f.
- Brunck, R. F. P. 855<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>5</sub> 857<sub>3</sub>
- Brunk, A. 484<sub>1</sub>
- Brunn, H. 211<sub>2</sub> 641<sub>1</sub> 740 1143<sub>1</sub> 1178
- Buck, C. D. 118<sub>3</sub> 723<sub>0</sub>
- Buckland, Miss A. W. 635<sub>7</sub>
- Buckler, W. H. 282<sub>2</sub> 1228
- Buckman, J. 605<sub>1</sub>
- Bucrania* 146 157<sub>0</sub> 195<sub>2</sub> 287<sub>1</sub> 808<sub>0(17)</sub> 838  
920<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub> affixed to coffin (?) 540 and  
double axe 539 and double axe, de-  
cadence of 540 ff. garlanded, on te-  
mpe 112<sub>0</sub> of lead as amulets 540 f. rows  
of 926<sub>0</sub> cp. 539
- Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis 125 126<sub>7</sub> 141<sub>2</sub> 409<sub>0</sub>  
544<sub>3</sub>
- Bücheler, F. 91<sub>1</sub> 118<sub>3</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 124<sub>4</sub> 404<sub>2</sub>
- Bürchner, L. 318<sub>4</sub> 714<sub>6</sub> 939<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>2</sub>
- Bugge, S. 305<sub>0</sub>
- Building-inscription for temple of Zeus  
*Βασιλεύς* at Lebadeia 900<sub>0</sub>
- Bulard, M. 1128<sub>0</sub>
- Bull, Adiounian, in Crete 349 Antiope  
dragged by 1015 as centre of procreative  
power 306 as effigy of river Gelas 910,  
as embodiment of Dionysos 932<sub>0</sub> cp.  
1030 as theanthropic animal of Cretan  
Zeus 539 Dirke dragged by 1013 eaten  
annually by worshippers of Zan 354  
humped 573<sub>5</sub> 765<sub>1</sub> 766<sub>1</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> f. 973<sub>1</sub> in  
bronze 910<sub>1</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub> in iron 910<sub>1</sub> in  
ivory 938<sub>0</sub> in silver 910<sub>1</sub> in *terra cotta*  
938<sub>0</sub> made for Phalaris 910<sub>1</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> of  
Civa 791<sub>2</sub> of Europe 348 of Zeus in  
Rhodes utters human voice (shares in  
human reason?) 924<sub>0</sub> on symbolic or  
model axe-head 633 ridden by Dionysos  
661 sacrificed by Melampous 684 sacri-  
ficed on table-altar 517 sacrificed to  
Zeus *Σολυμείος* 973<sub>1</sub> sacrificed to Zeus  
*Στρατίος* 975<sub>0</sub> signifies Idas 439 signifies  
Lynkeus 439 votive 924<sub>0</sub> 926<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub>  
white, sacrificed to Zeus 10 with gad-  
fly on its back 946<sub>0</sub> with tail formed  
of corn-ears 299<sub>1</sub> Zagreus as 1030
- Bulla* 699<sub>4</sub>
- Bull-cult See Bull-worship
- Bulle, H. 158<sub>2</sub> 748<sub>0</sub> 753<sub>1</sub> 1060
- Bullinger, E. W. 1210<sub>4</sub>
- Bullock, T. W. I. 1211
- Bull's head as prow of boat 142<sub>1</sub> in hand  
of Saturnus 70<sub>1</sub> on gold *labrys* 639 on  
snake 1022 with double axe between  
horns 527 538 637
- Bull's hide made into glue 934<sub>0</sub> made into  
timbrels 345<sub>6</sub>
- Bull's horns connected with double axe  
538 f. golden, in the sky 117 1028 sup-  
porting dove 142
- Bull-slaying at Mylasa 582<sub>5</sub>
- Bull-sports at Karyanda 582<sub>5</sub>
- Bull-worship of Hittites 910<sub>1</sub>
- Bunbury, E. H. 404<sub>1</sub> 404<sub>3</sub> 476<sub>5</sub>

- Bunsen, C. C. J. von 1038  
 Burchett, B. R. 355<sub>1</sub> 366<sub>1</sub> 373<sub>4</sub>  
 Buresch, K. 957<sub>2</sub>  
 Burgess, J. 150<sub>2</sub>  
 Burial, crouched 1060 f. in *pithos* 1060  
 1064 f. of head separately 290<sub>0</sub> of infants  
 in *subgrundarium* 1059 of twin or  
 twin's *placenta* 1064 within the house  
 in Gallia Lugudunensis 1059 within  
 the house in Greece 1060 f. 1065 with-  
 in the house in Italy 1059 1229 within  
 the house in Palestine 1059  
 Burkitt, F. C. 428<sub>6</sub> 1200<sub>1</sub> 1206 1206<sub>9</sub> 1207  
 Burkitt, M. C. 643<sub>7</sub> 792<sub>3</sub>  
 Burmannus, P., the elder 13 f.  
 Burne, Miss C. S. 88<sub>3</sub>  
 Burnet, J. 42<sub>5</sub> 316<sub>0</sub>  
 Burrows, R. M. 30<sub>3</sub> 30<sub>8</sub> 600<sub>4</sub>  
 Bursian, C. 394<sub>2</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 897<sub>6</sub> 898<sub>5</sub> 899<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>1</sub>  
 901<sub>2</sub> 903<sub>0</sub>  
 Burton, Sir R. 1012<sub>1</sub>  
 Bury, J. B. 384<sub>0</sub> 437<sub>7</sub> 607<sub>4</sub> 693<sub>4</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 1179<sub>5</sub>  
 1188<sub>10</sub>  
 Buschmann, J. C. E. 293<sub>1</sub>  
 Buskins 1178  
 Buslepp 31<sub>8</sub> 164<sub>6</sub>  
 Busolt, G. 910<sub>1</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub>  
 Butler, S. 294  
 Butterfly as soul 315<sub>3</sub> 645<sub>4</sub> on chalice of  
 Antioch 1199 on hand of Chronos 860  
 on pillar 1047 pursued by Eros 1047  
 Butterfly-wings 645<sub>3</sub>  
 Buttman, P. 397<sub>0</sub> 899<sub>1</sub>  
  
 Cabbages 646<sub>0</sub>  
 Cades, T. 478<sub>1</sub> 1046 f.  
*Caduceus* held by eagle 1193 of Agathos  
 Daimon 1128<sub>0</sub> of Ahriman 1054 of  
 Mercurius 70<sub>1</sub> of Pax 98 originates as  
 lightning-fork (?) 385<sub>0</sub> represents Pe-  
 nates 1068 winged 285<sub>0</sub> 441 718 1128  
 Cahen, E. 1062  
 Caillemer, E. 1095<sub>0</sub>  
 Cake-moulds (?) 131 802 1215  
 Cakes called *ελαφος* 1140<sub>4</sub> in shape of  
 wheel (*summanalia*) 725<sub>0</sub> in shapes of  
 animals 1138<sub>0</sub> 1140 of wheat and honey  
 1162 offered to Apollon *Γενέτωρ* 223<sub>3</sub>  
 Calder, W. M. 277 278<sub>2</sub> 279 429<sub>1</sub>  
 Calderini, G. 106<sub>1</sub>  
 Caldron as gong 826 at Delphoi 210 ff. at  
 Dodona 214 826 compared with sky  
 204<sub>2</sub> in which Dionysos or Zagreus is  
 cooked 1030 f. of apotheosis 210 ff. 841  
 1031 f. of apotheosis identified with  
 Delphic tripod 219 841 of boiling oil  
 1010 1019 of flames 138<sub>0</sub> Thesprotian  
 133<sub>0</sub> 214<sub>1</sub> Titanic, identified with  
 Delphic tripod 1031  
 Caldron-chariots decorated with birds or  
 birds' heads 833<sub>1</sub>  
 Calendar, Attic 236 Coan 238<sub>0</sub> Delphic  
 235 f. 841 fourfold division of Julian  
 59 lunisolar 456 threefold division of  
 Germanic 59  
 Calf, golden 354 model of 521 of St Abban  
 214<sub>0</sub> of St Germanus 214<sub>0</sub>  
*Caligae* 1089  
 Calverley, W. S. 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Calvet, S. C. F. 619<sub>3</sub>  
 Cameron, J. 396<sub>0</sub>  
 Campbell, J. F. 722<sub>1</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>  
*Candelabra* 424  
 Cannibalism, ritual 1021 See also Omo-  
 phagy  
 Cap, Phrygian 285<sub>0</sub> 298 299<sub>6</sub> 300 306<sub>4</sub> 306<sub>5</sub>  
 308<sub>1</sub> 681 surmounted by star 313<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>4</sub>  
 313<sub>6</sub> 1062 winged 718  
 Capelle, P. 38<sub>5</sub> 41<sub>1</sub> 43<sub>4</sub>  
 Capelle, W. 906<sub>1</sub>  
 Car, bronze, shaken in time of drought  
 831 ff. votive, drawn by ox and ram  
 926<sub>0</sub> See also Chariot  
 Carapanos, C. 648<sub>3</sub> 677<sub>6</sub> 678<sub>1</sub> 1222  
 Cardinali, G. 958<sub>0</sub>  
 Carnoy, A. 549<sub>6</sub>  
 Carolidis, P. 271<sub>0</sub> 312<sub>5</sub> 569<sub>4</sub> 616 f. 616<sub>1</sub> 715  
 Cartailhac, E. 510<sub>4</sub> 511<sub>1</sub> 528<sub>2</sub> 541 690<sub>2</sub>  
 Carter, J. B. 440<sub>4</sub> 696<sub>0</sub>  
 Caryatids, archaistic 402<sub>0</sub> at Agrigentum  
 915<sub>0</sub> 1227 origin of 535 Phaethon's  
 sisters as 402<sub>0</sub> 473  
 Casaubon, I. 699  
 Cassel, J. P. 109<sub>1</sub>  
 Casson, S. 495 1222  
 Castanets 245<sub>5</sub>  
 Castration by knife 299<sub>6</sub> 684 f. by noose of  
 bristles 969<sub>4</sub> of *Archigallus* in cult of  
 Kybele 299 of *Gallus* in cult of Kybele  
 299<sub>6</sub> of Kombabos 299<sub>7</sub> of Kronos by  
 Zeus 448<sub>1</sub> 450<sub>1</sub> 1027 of Ouranos by  
 Kronos 447<sub>8</sub> 450<sub>1</sub> of Zeus by Typhon  
 448<sub>2</sub> ff. 450<sub>1</sub> See also Emasculation  
 Cat worshipped in Egypt 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Catalogue of the gods 1135<sub>4</sub>  
 Cattaneo, R. 865<sub>2</sub> 866<sub>0</sub>  
*Causimomantia* (?) 701<sub>4</sub>  
 Cavallari, F. S. 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Cavedoni, C. 975<sub>0</sub> 1042 1051  
 Cave-gods, syncretism of 839  
 Cave-sanctuaries called *katabasia* 14 of  
 Apollon 249<sub>0</sub> 971<sub>2</sub> of Cheiron 869<sub>2</sub>  
 870<sub>0</sub> of Dioskouroi 1063 f. of Oidipous  
 1151 ff. of Pan 249<sub>2</sub> of Theoi Agrioi  
 971<sub>2</sub> of Zeus *Βροντῶν* 836 ff. 852 of  
 Zeus *Δικταῖος* 927<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *εἰς*  
*Αὐλῆς* 249<sub>2</sub> 836 f. of Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* in  
 Crete 838 933<sub>0</sub> ff. on Mt Dikte 920<sub>0</sub>  
 on Mt Ide in Crete 920<sub>0</sub> on Mt Kamares  
 934<sub>0</sub> 935<sub>0</sub> on Mt Kynthos 920<sub>0</sub>  
 Caylus, A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de 86<sub>1</sub>  
 86<sub>2</sub>  
 Ceccaldi, G. Colonna 718<sub>1</sub>  
 Cedar-tree 412 949<sub>5</sub>  
 Celery, taboo on 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Celestial deities, worshippers of, look up  
 256  
 Celt, neolithic, held to be thunderbolt  
 643 767<sub>2</sub> neolithic, with incised *Don-*  
*nerbesen* (?) 642 See also Axe of stone



- Cenotaph 1059  
*Ceraunia* or *Ceraunius lapis* 507<sub>2</sub>  
 Cerquand, J. F. 989  
 Cesnola, A. P. di 424<sub>6</sub>  
 Cesnola, L. P. di 424<sub>6</sub> 553 598 f. 718<sub>1</sub>  
 Chadwick, H. M. 32<sub>5</sub> 50<sub>1</sub> 52<sub>6</sub> 303<sub>2</sub> 500<sub>3</sub> 682<sub>4</sub>  
 Chain, golden 1009  
 Chalice of anti-Montanists 1208 of Antioch  
 1197 ff.  
 Chamberlain, B. H. 480<sub>1</sub>  
 Chambers, R. 150<sub>1</sub>  
 Chamonard, J. 288<sub>5</sub>  
 Champion, local, as embodiment of Zeus  
 1070  
 Chandler, R. 585<sub>3</sub> 588<sub>7</sub>  
 Chantepie de la Saussaye, P. D. 50 ff. 53<sub>2</sub>  
 88<sub>3</sub> 110<sub>5</sub> 450<sub>0</sub> 844<sub>6</sub> 1218  
 Chantre, E. 616<sub>1</sub>  
 Chapot, V. 107<sub>4</sub> 1225  
 Chariot drawn by eagles 462<sub>0</sub> drawn by  
 griffins 523 drawn by panthers 245<sub>0</sub>  
 drawn by swans 459 f. drawn by winged  
 horses 453<sub>3</sub> in cast bronze 938<sub>0</sub> of  
 Amphiaros 815<sub>7</sub> 1071 of Ares 436<sub>1</sub>  
 of Iupiter 830<sub>6</sub> of Luna 96 of Sol 96  
 of Zeus 27 33 43 63<sub>0</sub> 436<sub>1</sub> 830 ff. 851  
 883<sub>0(0)</sub> (?) 950<sub>0</sub> solar 96 562 traversing  
 arch of heaven 43 f. two-wheeled and  
 hooded 961<sub>0</sub> with white horses plunged  
 into sea as sacrifice to Poseidon 975<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Car  
 Charles, R. H. 955<sub>0</sub>  
 Charm to secure wealth 1127<sub>0</sub>  
*Chásma* in Orphic cosmogony 1033  
 Cherry 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Chess 682  
 Chest of Kypselos 451 739<sub>0</sub>  
 Chestnuts 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Chevalier, U. 1213  
 Child as amulet 387<sub>4</sub>  
 Children, golden 1007  
 Chipiez, C. 49<sub>1</sub> 108<sub>2</sub> 515<sub>1</sub> 550<sub>5</sub> 551<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>5</sub>  
 621 621<sub>0</sub> 621<sub>2</sub> 622<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>6</sub> 805<sub>3</sub> 915<sub>0</sub>  
 Choisy, A. 900<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub>  
 Christ, W. 5<sub>2</sub> 36<sub>7</sub> 395<sub>2</sub> 625<sub>5</sub> 1021 1122<sub>2</sub>  
 Christianity, appeal of, to Thraco-Phrygi-  
 ans 288 842 soil prepared for, by cult  
 of Attis 303 306 f. soil prepared for,  
 by cult of Theos Hysistos 889 f. soil  
 prepared for, by cult of Zeus and  
 Dionysos 288  
 Chryselephantine statues of Aphrodite at  
 Sikyon 1165<sub>1</sub> of Aphrodite *Ούρανία* at  
 Elis 68<sub>1</sub> of Asklepios at Epidaurus  
 1078 f. of Asklepios at Sikyon 1080 f.  
 of Hera at Argos 893<sub>2</sub> of Zeus at  
 Daphne near Antiocheia on the Orontes  
 1188 f. of Zeus at Megara 1138<sub>5</sub> of Zeus  
 at Olympia 758 916<sub>0</sub> 1189 of Zeus at  
 Syracuse (?) 916<sub>0</sub>  
 Chthonian deities, worshippers of, look  
 down 256 lightning 805<sub>6</sub> thunder 805<sub>6</sub>  
 Chwolsohn, D. 129<sub>2</sub>  
 Ciaceri, E. 915<sub>2</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Cicalas 460 1118  
 Cichorius, C. 105<sub>7</sub> 113<sub>0</sub> 567<sub>3</sub> 940<sub>0</sub>  
 Circle of fires or torches in Orphic ritual (?)  
 120<sub>3</sub>  
*Cire perdue* 644 644<sub>1</sub>  
*Cistae*, bronze 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Cistern, curative, on rock-cut altar of Zeus  
 'Ιδαίος in Phrygia 953<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Κύνθιος*  
 and Athena *Κυνθία* 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>  
 Clarke, J. Thacher 876<sub>1(1)</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> f.  
 Clédat, J. 985<sub>0</sub> 985<sub>1</sub>  
 Clerc, M. 561<sub>7</sub> 1110  
 Clermont-Ganneau, C. 888<sub>0(0)</sub> 1087 1111<sub>0</sub>  
 Clothes of women worn by men 1137<sub>0</sub>  
 Cloud, fragrant, on Mt Gargaron 950<sub>0</sub>  
 — on mountain of Zeus 'Ελλάνιος a sign  
 of rain 894<sub>3</sub>  
 Clouds on Mt Athos portend rain 906<sub>1</sub> on  
 Mt Hymettos portend rain, wind, and  
 storm 897<sub>5</sub> on Mt Pelion portend rain  
 or wind 904<sub>2</sub> over Mt Parnes and  
 Phyle portend storm 898<sub>0</sub> Zeus seated  
 on 709 ep. 950<sub>0</sub>  
 Club 383 cut from wild-olive 466 for killing  
 aged and infirm 703<sub>2</sub> of Argos 380 of  
 giant 75<sub>0</sub> 80 82 of Hercules 62 f. of  
 Thor 64<sub>0</sub> on back of bull 633<sub>2</sub> symbol-  
 ism of 469<sub>1</sub> See also Mallet  
 Cluverius, P. 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Cock as shield-sign of Idomeneus 947<sub>0</sub>  
 of Ahriman 1054 of Helios 947<sub>0</sub> of  
 Mercurius 94<sub>3</sub> on head of Lithuanian  
 wind-god 445<sub>1</sub> on knee of Zeus *Φελχάριος*  
 946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> on pillar 1133<sub>1</sub> on relief of  
 Argenidas 1063 once Pythagoras 223<sub>1</sub>  
 with tail formed of corn-ears 298 f.  
 Cock's head 698<sub>2</sub>  
 Cockerell, C. R. 914<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub>  
 Cockerell, S. C. 760<sub>2</sub>  
 Codrington, T. 91<sub>2</sub>  
 Coffe, floating 1018 670 ff. ep. 1006 1010  
 golden 995  
 Cohen, H. 361<sub>5</sub> 371<sub>0</sub> 373<sub>1</sub> 373<sub>5</sub> 1194<sub>4</sub> 1195<sub>1</sub>  
 Cohn, L. 1099<sub>1</sub>  
 Coins belonging to Zeus *Κάσιος* 907<sub>0</sub> be-  
 longing to Zeus *Κήναιος* 903<sub>0</sub> See also  
 Index I under names of various states  
 and towns  
 Colebrooke, H. T. 150<sub>2</sub>  
 Colin, G. 817<sub>0</sub> 1216  
 Collignon, M. 49<sub>1</sub> 123<sub>0</sub> 158<sub>2</sub> 287<sub>1</sub> 408<sub>0</sub> 515<sub>1</sub>  
 805<sub>6</sub> 859<sub>3</sub> 1019<sub>2</sub> 1045 f. 1143<sub>1</sub> 1179<sub>7</sub> 1222  
 Colossal statues of Herakles at Athens  
 1116 of Zeus at Olympia dedicated  
 by Kypselos 737<sub>6</sub> of Zeus at Olympia  
 dedicated by Leontines 741<sub>3</sub> of Zeus  
 at Tarentum by Lysippos 762 of Zeus  
 at Tavium 754<sub>1</sub> of Zeus at Tyndaris  
 918<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Καπετώλιος* (=Iupiter  
*Capitolinus*) at Antiocheia (Mt Sil-  
 pion?) on the Orontes 1188<sub>13</sub> of Zeus  
*Κύνθιος* in Delos (?) 920<sub>0</sub> of Zeus  
 'Ολύμπιος at Athens 1078 of Zeus  
 'Ολύμπιος (?) at Daphne near Antiocheia  
 on the Orontes 1188 1188<sub>13</sub> 1189<sub>0</sub> of  
 Zeus 'Ομολώιος (?) at Homolion 1227

- Colour, variation in, for aesthetic reasons 435 f. See also separate colours
- Columba, G. M. 925<sub>1</sub>
- Column, monolithic 915<sub>2</sub> 965<sub>0</sub> of Antoninus Pius 103<sub>0</sub> 105 of Arkadios 106<sub>3</sub> of Constantine the Great 609 f. of Marcus Aurelius 106<sub>1</sub> of Mayence 93 ff. 840 1213 f. of Theodosios 106<sub>2</sub> 1214 of Trajan 105<sub>7</sub> 108 1181<sub>0</sub> spiral 107<sub>4</sub> 475 substituted for sacred tree (?) 405<sub>3</sub> surmounted by image of goddess 903<sub>0</sub> tapering downwards 196<sub>6</sub>
- Columns believed to be full of gold 966<sub>0</sub> dedicated by Kroisos at Ephesos 580<sub>7</sub> in relation to double axe 528 ff. of Rome and Constantinople 840 supporting earth 56<sub>2</sub> 130<sub>4</sub> (?) 141<sub>3</sub> with acanthus-band beneath Ionic volutes 965<sub>0</sub> with dedicatory inscriptions by priests of Zeus 580
- Columna cochlis* 107 128
- Combe, T. 1127<sub>0</sub>
- Communion with the dead by means of food 1162<sub>2</sub> 1170 ff.
- Comparetti, D. 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 328<sub>3</sub> 999<sub>5</sub> 1001<sub>2</sub>
- Conception by almond or pomegranate 969<sub>4</sub> by apple 682 by eye of God 671<sub>10</sub> by potion 1031 by touch of Zeus 961<sub>0</sub>
- Cone of limestone, inscribed 1158<sub>10</sub>
- Confarreatio* 1173<sub>0</sub>
- Consecratio*-types 101<sub>1</sub> 102<sub>0</sub> 103<sub>0</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> 1209
- Conspectus of Orphic theogonies 1033 f.
- Consulship, double, as successor of dual kingship 441
- Contact and *quasi*-contact between supplicator and supplicated 1099<sub>1</sub> with Mother Earth necessary to priests of Zeus at Dodona 960<sub>0</sub> with Zeus impregnates Io 961<sub>0</sub>
- Continence, ceremonial 222<sub>0</sub> ceremonial, due to two causes 210<sub>0</sub>
- Contopoulos, N. 1006<sub>2</sub>
- Contorniate medals 299<sub>6</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub>
- Conway, Sir M. 1204<sub>1</sub> 1206 1206<sub>9</sub>
- Conway, R. S. 118<sub>3</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 600<sub>4</sub> 600<sub>5</sub> 823
- Conybeare, E. 607 f. 846
- Conze, A. 284<sub>0</sub> 512<sub>2</sub> 568<sub>7</sub> 569<sub>1</sub> 779 878<sub>0(8)</sub> 1056 1058 1229
- Cook, Mrs A. B. 111<sub>0</sub> 523<sub>5</sub>
- Cook, Miss P. M. 54<sub>3</sub> 214<sub>0</sub> 1047
- Cooke, Miss P. B. Mudie (Mrs E. M. W. Tillyard) 206<sub>1</sub>
- Copper Age 617
- Cord, golden 1029
- Cork-tree 403<sub>0</sub>
- Corn-ear, ceremonial 295<sub>2</sub> 296<sub>0</sub> 1172<sub>2</sub> green, as form of Attis 295
- Corn-ears 98<sub>0</sub> 297 ff. 313<sub>6</sub> 564 571 634 657<sub>5</sub> 754<sub>1</sub> 820 (?) 1054 1126<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> 1158<sub>6</sub> 1186
- Cornfield 832<sub>7</sub>
- Cornford, F. M. 2<sub>4</sub> 43<sub>1</sub> 224 316<sub>0</sub> 1042 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Corn-maiden 295<sub>2</sub> 1172<sub>2</sub>
- Corn-mother 295<sub>2</sub>
- Corn-wreath 370
- Cornel-tree 403<sub>0</sub>
- Cornu copiae* as symbol of earth 1050 between corn-ears 573<sub>6</sub> of Agathe Tyche 1129<sub>0</sub> of Agathos Daimon 1117<sub>7</sub> (?) 1125<sub>1</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> of Agathos Theos 1126<sub>0</sub> of Gaia 1185 f. of Kallirrhoe (?) 1117 of Laodikeia 320<sub>0</sub> of Mt Peion 962<sub>2</sub> of Plouton (?) 1117<sub>7</sub> of Theos Megas 1126<sub>0</sub> of Thracian goddess 820 (?) of Zeus 'Επιτέλειος Φίλιος 1162 of Zeus Μιλίχιος 1105 with busts of two boys emergent 441 f. with snake twined about it 1128<sub>0</sub>
- Cosmic egg 1033 ff. robe 1137<sub>0</sub>
- Cosmogonic Eros 1019 ff.
- Cosmogony, Egyptian 1035 Indian 1035 f. Orphic 1019 ff. 1230 Persian 1036 Phoenician 1036 ff.
- Cosquin, E. 671<sub>4</sub>
- Costantin 1033
- Coteler, J. B. 35<sub>0</sub>
- Cotteau, G. 651<sub>1</sub>
- Couches at Theoxenia, *lectisternia*, etc. 1169 ff. in precinct of Zeus Κύνθιος 921<sub>0</sub> of Athena at Tegea 1147
- Coulton, G. G. 1215
- Courby, F. 173<sub>1</sub> 174 ff. 191 221<sub>2</sub> 239<sub>2</sub> 841 1216
- Cousin, G. 581<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> f.
- Couve, L. 816<sub>5</sub> 817<sub>0</sub>
- Cow of Ilos 349
- Cow, wooden, Cretan queen enclosed in (?) 924<sub>0</sub>
- Cow's head beneath foot of Iuno *Sancta* 98 f.
- Cow-dung 791<sub>0</sub>
- Crab attacks Herakles 665<sub>3</sub> combined with double axe 577 cp. 660<sub>0</sub> 663 golden, prince changed into 666<sub>3</sub> in riddle 659<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 'Οσογῶα 577 f. on chest of Artemis 'Εφεστία 407<sub>0</sub> with comic mask as carapace 1221
- Crabs called children of Hephaistos 665 667 identified with Kabeiroi 664 f. in astrology 666<sub>1</sub> in demonology 666<sub>2</sub> in folk-lore 666<sub>3</sub> in mythology 665<sub>3</sub> in religion 665<sub>2</sub> marked with bull's head (?) 667 marked with double axe 663 marked with *Gorgóneion* 667 sacred to Poseidon 665<sub>2</sub> worshipped in Lemnos 665
- Crab's claws as head-dress of Amphitrite 665<sub>3</sub> of marine Centaur 665<sub>3</sub> of Okeanos 665<sub>3</sub> of Thalassa 665<sub>3</sub> 1185 of Thetis 665<sub>3</sub> of Triton (?) 665<sub>3</sub>
- Crane, T. F. 671 995<sub>2</sub> 1008<sub>1</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>
- Cranes 1083
- Crawley, A. E. 290<sub>0</sub> 294<sub>1</sub> 1039
- Crescent, lunar 624 (?) 983<sub>0</sub> 1051 on *kálatos* 714<sub>2</sub>
- Cretan garment worn by *basileús* at Athens 1136
- Creuzer, F. 346<sub>0</sub> 1037 f.
- Criobolium* 306<sub>5</sub> 954<sub>0</sub>
- Crocodile worshipped in Egypt 987<sub>0</sub>
- Crönert, W. 1131<sub>1</sub>
- Croiset, M. 1013<sub>1</sub>



- Crook, R. F. 779  
 Crooke, W. 690<sub>5</sub>  
 Cross at Gosforth 305<sub>0</sub> carved to look like a tree 305<sub>0</sub> described as ladder 139<sub>3</sub> stellar (?) 624 with wheel-head 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Cross-quarter days 326  
 Crow as prophet of storm 519<sub>0</sub> followed by Plataeans 898<sub>6</sub> in Volsung saga 682 on double axe (?) 518<sub>3</sub>  
 Crow, J. M. 876<sub>1(1)</sub>  
 Crown, green 1170<sub>3</sub> *hem-hem* 986<sub>0</sub> in Orphic ritual 119 ff. mural 300 970<sub>0</sub> 1185 of Artemis 147<sub>1</sub> of Diana 147<sub>1</sub> of *rex Nemorensis* 146 f. radiate 255<sub>0</sub> 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> 1186 1194<sub>4</sub> set on curule seat for Remus 440 set on sepulchral couch at Corneto 440<sub>6</sub> 1170<sub>3</sub> turreted (See mural)  
 Crucifixion, Hadrian erects statue of Aphrodite (Venus) on site of 984<sub>1</sub> the sacrifice of Odhin on the tree as pagan parallel to 305<sub>0</sub> 306<sub>0</sub>  
 Crusius, O. 99<sub>1</sub> 315<sub>2</sub> 459<sub>3</sub> 496<sub>0</sub> 498<sub>2</sub> 501 684<sub>3</sub> 1102<sub>4</sub>  
 Crypt under temple at Aizanoi 965<sub>0</sub>  
 Cuckoo as form of Zeus 893<sub>2</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub> in relation to hoopoe 1131<sub>2</sub> in Salian hymn (?) 330<sub>0(8)</sub> on double axe (?) 518<sub>3</sub> on sceptre 893<sub>2</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 Cucumber 154<sub>0</sub>  
 Cuirass, miniature 930<sub>0</sub>  
 Cumont, E. 595<sub>0</sub> 596<sub>2</sub> 975<sub>0</sub>  
 Cumont, F. 67<sub>8</sub> 67<sub>9</sub> 69<sub>1</sub> 71<sub>7</sub> 73<sub>0</sub> 102<sub>0</sub> 129<sub>1</sub> 131<sub>1</sub> 270<sub>3</sub> 280<sub>1</sub> 288<sub>3</sub> 288<sub>5</sub> 297<sub>2</sub> 309 408<sub>0</sub> 429<sub>1</sub> 430 555<sub>0</sub> 594<sub>8</sub> 595<sub>0</sub> 596 666<sub>1</sub> 814<sub>3</sub> 836<sub>4</sub> 836<sub>11</sub> 876<sub>1</sub> 879<sub>0(16)</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 886<sub>0(0)</sub> 889<sub>0(34)</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 975<sub>0</sub> ff. 1051 1054 1085 1221  
 Cumulative expressions (*ἀναξ ἀνάκτων*, etc.) 337<sub>4</sub>  
 Cunningham, A. 129<sub>3</sub>  
 Cup on Arch of Titus 1203<sub>7</sub>  
 Cups, votive, in Psychro Cave 926<sub>0</sub>  
 Cup-bearer 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Cuperus (Cuypers), G. 873<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 'Cup-marks,' neolithic, in France 792 f. in Greece (?) 792 in Palestine 793<sub>4</sub>  
 Curse-tablets 889<sub>0(34)</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Cursing, *formulae* of, on Phrygian tombs 278<sub>2</sub>  
 Curtin, J. 682<sub>7</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>  
 Curtis, C. D. 359<sub>1</sub>  
 Curtis, E. L. 426<sub>4</sub>  
 Curtius, E. 628<sub>5</sub> 861<sub>7</sub> 862<sub>0</sub> 862<sub>3</sub> 865<sub>2</sub> 877<sub>0(0)</sub> 892<sub>4</sub> 1100<sub>1</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub> 1154<sub>3</sub>  
 Cycle of life in Orphic ritual 119 f.  
 Cymbals from which mystics drink 346<sub>0</sub> 347<sub>0</sub> in cult of Attis 300  
 Cynocephalous deities 701<sub>0</sub>  
 Cypress-leaves 520<sub>5</sub>  
 Cypress-tree as handle of double axe (?) 528 Kyparissos transformed into 981<sub>1</sub> on coin of Troizen (?) 416 with altar before it 563 f.  
 Cypress-trees, artificial 520<sub>5</sub> Cretan 528 (?) 932<sub>1</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> grove of 520<sub>5</sub> in Crete called Cypress-trees (*cont.*)  
*δρυῖται* 932<sub>1</sub> in relation to Rhea or Zeus 932<sub>1</sub>  
 Cypress-wood, roof of 932<sub>1</sub> 934<sub>0</sub>  
 Daebritz 459<sub>3</sub> 494 496<sub>0</sub> 500<sub>4</sub>  
 Dähnhardt, O. 665<sub>3</sub>  
 Dagger of Babylonian Zeus 714<sub>1</sub> sticking if owner is dead 1011  
 Dagger-god of Hittites 550 ff.  
*Daidouchia* 1168<sub>3</sub>  
*Daidouchos* 1084  
*Daímon*, significance of the term 1125<sub>1</sub> 1159<sub>1</sub> See also Index I  
*Daímones* distinguished from *theoi* 1159 f. 1160<sub>5</sub> See also Index I  
 Dalechamps, J. 701  
 Dalton, O. M. 106<sub>2</sub> 107<sub>3</sub> 138<sub>1</sub> 606<sub>1</sub> 606<sub>3</sub> 863<sub>1</sub> 865<sub>2</sub>  
 Dance, Athena teaches Kouretes their 1029 lunar 336 Messapian 31<sub>1</sub> mimetic 600 'Minoan' 31<sub>1</sub> of Death 868<sub>4</sub> of Kouretes 1030 of naked girl at banquet of Zeus "Γψιστος 882<sub>0(0)</sub> round altar of Zeus Δικταῖος 931<sub>0</sub> round churchyard on Lammas Day 325<sub>8</sub>  
 Daniell, E. T. 974<sub>0</sub>  
*Danse Macabre* See Dance of Death  
 Dart, double-headed 767<sub>2</sub>  
 Dattari, G. 626<sub>0</sub>  
 Daumet, H. 124<sub>4</sub>  
 David 1134<sub>4</sub>  
 David, T. W. 426<sub>4</sub>  
 Davis, Miss G. M. N. 268<sub>4</sub>  
 Dawkins, R. M. 506<sub>8</sub> 511<sub>1</sub> 538<sub>1</sub> 543 f. 640<sub>0</sub> 647 672<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 992<sub>1</sub> 1061  
 Day, divisions of the 74 87 89  
 Dead fed by living 1058 Hellenic offerings to 977<sub>0</sub> make food for living 1058 marriage-banquet of 1164 souls of, animate the year's vegetation 1172  
 Death conceived as marriage with god or goddess of the Underworld 1164 ff. represented as Love 309 1045 1166 See also Dance of Death  
 Déchelette, J. 109<sub>1</sub> 122<sub>0</sub> 476<sub>4</sub> 494<sub>1</sub> 494<sub>2</sub> 617<sub>6</sub> 618 618<sub>2</sub> 647 647<sub>4</sub> 647<sub>6</sub> 648<sub>2</sub> 649<sub>1</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> 685 f. 686<sub>2</sub> 686<sub>3</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 688<sub>0</sub> 690<sub>1</sub> 792<sub>2</sub> 833<sub>1</sub> 1059  
 Deecke, W. 338<sub>3</sub> 339<sub>0</sub> 355 383  
 Deer in relation to Diana 154<sub>0</sub> nurses children 1008 white 264  
 Deer-heads (?) 146 f.  
 Deer-skin 1022  
 Deification See *Apothéosis*  
 Deissmann, A. 881<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Deities, dicephalous, of Baris in Pisidia 446 f. dicephalous, of Senones 445 f. Egyptising 626 identified with plants 413<sub>2</sub>  
 Delatte, A. 118<sub>2</sub> 223<sub>2</sub> 434<sub>3</sub> 1024  
 Delattre, A. L. 630<sub>3</sub>  
 Delbet, J. 550<sub>5</sub> 620<sub>5</sub>  
 Delrio, M. 701<sub>3</sub> 702<sub>4</sub>  
*Delubrum* 1172<sub>2</sub>

- Deluge 892<sub>4</sub> 897<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> 1139<sub>7</sub>  
 Demargne, J. 926<sub>0</sub> 927<sub>0</sub>  
 Deneken, F. 1069 1170<sub>5</sub>  
 Dennis, G. 1219  
 Dennison, W. 124<sub>0</sub> 135<sub>1</sub>  
 Deonna, W. 594<sub>7</sub> 643<sub>7</sub> 1213 1218  
 Desire in primitive psychology 1039  
 Dessau, H. 1172<sub>0</sub>  
 Dethier, P. A. 195<sub>1</sub>  
 Deubner, L. 14<sub>3</sub> 102<sub>0</sub> 232<sub>2</sub> 232<sub>4</sub> 504<sub>4</sub> 1087  
 Devil conceived as black man with six or eight horns 326<sub>3</sub> conceived as goat with four horns 326<sub>3</sub> Janiform 326  
 De-Vit, V. 402<sub>0</sub> 631<sub>1</sub>  
 Dew on cabbages 646<sub>0</sub>  
 Diadem ending in two stars 1189 of Zeus *Λαβράνδος* 597<sub>3</sub> priestly 301 301<sub>1</sub> surmounted by star 1189<sub>3</sub>  
 Diagram, Ophite, of supramundane region 610 f.  
 Diana-pillars 143 ff. 405<sub>2</sub> 412<sub>6</sub> 841 compared with *Agyieús*-pillar 160 compared with *Irmínsûl* 157 compared with Jain *stambha* or *lât* 150<sub>2</sub> compared with May-pole 149 f.  
 Dickins, B. 52<sub>0</sub> 1212 f.  
 Dickins, G. 757<sub>1</sub> 805<sub>6</sub>  
 Dickins, Mrs G. See Hamilton, Miss M.  
 Dieckmann, H. 1197<sub>3</sub>  
 Diehl, C. 581<sub>1</sub>  
 Diels, H. 43<sub>1</sub> 131<sub>5</sub> 132<sub>2</sub> 236<sub>5</sub> 1115<sub>2</sub>  
 Dieterich, A. 12<sub>3</sub> 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 120<sub>2</sub> 131<sub>5</sub> 131<sub>7</sub> 267<sub>2</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> 451<sub>5</sub> 1168<sub>7</sub>  
 Dieterich, K. 993<sub>2</sub>  
 Dieulafoy, M. 128<sub>2</sub>  
*Dipetês* 481<sub>4</sub> 481<sub>6</sub> cp. 481<sub>5</sub>  
 Dikjeretto See Bird  
 Dilthey, K. 1019<sub>2</sub>  
 Dindorf, K. W. 350<sub>4</sub> 599<sub>7</sub> 728<sub>0</sub> 1093<sub>1</sub> 1152<sub>5</sub>  
 Dindorf, L. 249<sub>2</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub>  
*Dioblês*, *Dióbletos* 22 ff. 436 840  
*Diopeetês* 963<sub>0</sub>  
*Diosemia* 4 ff. 809 840  
 Diptych 853  
 Discovery of fire 981<sub>1</sub> of fishing 715<sub>4</sub> 1037 of hunting 715<sub>4</sub> 1037 of iron 715<sub>4</sub> 949<sub>5</sub> 1037 of loadstone 949<sub>5</sub> of poppy 1165<sub>1</sub> of rafts and boats 984<sub>4</sub>  
 Disk held by Janiform god at Mallos in Kilikia 552 on *pitthos* from Gournia 538 solar, radiate, on coins of Rhodes 924<sub>0</sub> starry, on Lydian jewelry 639 with crescent and cross (moon and star?) 624 with rayed edge and four spokes (sun?) 624  
 Disks of bronze dedicated to Semo Sancus (Sangus) 724<sub>0</sub> of gold, with dots or rays, from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub> of gold, with moths, from Mykenai 645  
*Diskos* of Apollon 1156 of Perseus 1155 f.  
*Diskos*-thrower 490<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 Disney, J. 388<sub>12</sub>  
 Distaff of Zeus (vervain) 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Dithyramb 659<sub>1</sub>  
 Dittenberger, W. 118<sub>3</sub> 233<sub>7</sub> 599<sub>7</sub> 714<sub>6</sub> 817<sub>0</sub> 873<sub>2</sub> 880<sub>0(19)</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 1120<sub>0</sub> 1121<sub>0</sub>  
 Divination by appearance of Milky Way 482 by axe 701 f. by barley 19<sub>0</sub> by birds 440<sub>5</sub> by entrails of ox 891<sub>0</sub> by inscribed slices of celts 512 by knuckle-bones 807<sub>5(5)</sub> by liver 338<sub>3</sub> 339<sub>0</sub> by meal 19<sub>0</sub> by pebbles 221 by *phiale* 206 by rods 635 by sacrifice of pigs 1107 by severed head 290<sub>0</sub> by sieve 702<sub>2</sub> 702<sub>4</sub> by weight 734<sub>3</sub>  
 Diviner, paraphernalia of, from Pergamon 512  
 Divining-glass See *Lekanomanteia*  
 Divining-rod 227<sub>4</sub>  
 Dobrusky, V. 1225  
 Doe, horned 465 f. 854 1219 in myth of Saron 413  
 Doehle 31<sub>3</sub>  
 Dörpfeld, W. 21<sub>3</sub> 789<sub>7</sub> 896<sub>0</sub> 916<sub>0</sub> 1061 1100<sub>1</sub>  
 Dog as ornament on lamps 367<sub>1</sub> biting arm of lady 138<sub>0</sub> in myth of Katreus 923<sub>0</sub> in pig-skin as surrogate for pig 1140<sub>5</sub> of Asklepios at Epidauros 1079 of Lares in guise of Attis 308<sub>1</sub> worshipped at Kynon polis 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Dogs of Hephaistos (Hadran) on Mt Aitne 630 will not enter temple of Hercules at Rome 783  
 Dog's skin 1003  
 Dog-star, rising of 949<sub>5</sub>  
*Dókana* 160 f. 436<sub>3</sub> 841 1063 f.  
 Dolphin 205<sub>1</sub> 218<sub>0</sub> 383 524 (?) 659<sub>1</sub> 795 795<sub>3</sub> on either side of obelisk 163<sub>2</sub> round trident 981<sub>0</sub> 1071 with sceptre and eagle as emblems of sea, earth, and air (?) 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 Domaszewski, A. von 93<sub>3</sub> 93<sub>4</sub> 93<sub>6</sub> 93<sub>7</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 98<sub>1-3</sub> 99<sub>1</sub> 99<sub>4</sub> 100<sub>3</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 109<sub>1</sub> 1181<sub>0</sub>  
*Donnerbesen* 642 775<sub>0</sub> 847  
 Donner-von Richter, O. 71<sub>6</sub> 74 89<sub>6</sub>  
 D'Ooge, M. L. 789<sub>4</sub> 789<sub>7</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub>  
 Doorway associated with sacred tree or pillar 178<sub>5</sub> in relation to Ianus 330<sub>0</sub> 340<sub>2</sub> cp. 354 ff.  
 Dottin, G. 341<sub>1</sub> 440<sub>2</sub> 455<sub>1</sub> 688<sub>0</sub>  
 Double axe See Axe, double  
 Double busts of a single deity 365 ff. of a single deity under diverse aspects 387 of a single man 371 389 of a single man under diverse aspects 371 392 ff. of deities regarded as manifestations of the same power 388 of god and goddess 390 ff. of men likely to be associated in memory 389 f.  
 Doublet, G. 1042  
 Douce, F. 868<sub>4</sub>  
 Douglas, Miss E. M. (Mrs Van Buren) 419 420<sub>1</sub>  
 Dove as oblation 535 of marble 896<sub>0</sub> (?) on bronze tablet from Psychro Cave 927<sub>0</sub> on bull's horns 142 142<sub>1</sub> on head of Cnossian goddess 536 on myrtle-tree (?) 710<sub>3</sub> on roof 142 f. on sceptre



- Dove (*cont.*)  
 1133<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>4</sub>(?) 1134<sub>5</sub> on wing of Ahriman  
 1054
- Doves, bones of, in jar (?) 555<sub>0</sub> in relation  
 to Artemis 457 nurture Zeus in Cretan  
 Cave 928<sub>0</sub> of bronze from Idaean Cave  
 938<sub>0</sub> of clay in shrine at Gournia 538  
 on chalice of Antioch 1199 on double  
 axe (?) 518<sub>3</sub> on lamp from Gezer 1203<sub>3</sub>  
 on oak-trees (?) 872<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Dove-goddess in Cnossian shrine 536
- Dragatsis, I. Ch. 1105<sub>8-10</sub> 1173<sub>6</sub> 1174<sub>2</sub>
- Dragon in Greek folk-song 828 in Greek  
 folk-tales 990 ff. 1005 1016 f. of Mar-  
 duk 769<sub>1</sub> pursued by St Elias 820
- Drake, M. and W. 1104<sub>3</sub>
- Drákos* or *Drákontas* 990<sub>8</sub>
- Dreams, dedication in accordance with  
 282<sub>2</sub> 1177 1228 of Achilles' son 41<sub>4</sub>  
 of Constantine the Great 602 f. of  
 cosmic ladders 127 portending death  
 1163<sub>6</sub> portending marriage 1163<sub>6</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub>  
 sent by dead kings 1071 sent by Sa-  
 bazios 283<sub>0</sub> sent by Zeus 282<sub>2</sub> 1228 the  
 folk of 41
- Dressel, A. R. M. 34<sub>1</sub>
- Dressel, H. 1171<sub>3</sub>
- Drexel, F. 1213
- Drexler, W. 167 f. 254 267<sub>2</sub> 294<sub>0</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> 347<sub>0</sub>  
 566<sub>0</sub> 567<sub>3</sub> 578<sub>2</sub> 578<sub>3</sub> 580<sub>3</sub> 610<sub>9</sub> 626<sub>0</sub>  
 665<sub>3</sub> 807<sub>3(1)</sub> 899<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub> 982<sub>0</sub> 987<sub>0</sub> 1038  
 1085
- Drinking-horn 661
- Droop, J. P. 647<sub>1</sub>
- Drosinos 514
- Drought 894<sub>1</sub> 894<sub>3</sub> 895<sub>1</sub> 897<sub>5</sub> See also  
 Rain-charm
- Dubois, M. 580<sub>4</sub> 586<sub>1</sub>
- Du Cange, C. d. F. 339<sub>1</sub>
- Ducati, P. 737 1217
- Du Chaillu, P. B. 637<sub>1</sub>
- Duchesne, L. 307<sub>1</sub>
- Duck's head 648 698
- Ducks as solar symbol (?) 698 in Roman  
 fresco 146
- Ducks, wild 691
- Dümmler, F. 615<sub>3</sub> 615<sub>4</sub>
- Dürnbach, F. See Durrbach, F.
- Duhn, F. von 516<sub>6</sub> 517<sub>3</sub> 518<sub>3</sub> 519<sub>0</sub> 520<sub>5</sub>  
 521<sub>4</sub> 521<sub>6</sub> 524<sub>6</sub> 838<sub>8</sub> 966<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub>
- Dulaure, J. A. 1089
- Dulcimer 124<sub>1</sub>
- Dumont, A. 511<sub>1</sub> 638<sub>6</sub>
- Duncker, M. 559<sub>6</sub>
- Duplication of Attis 308 ff. of Augustus  
 1209 of Christ 1209 of double axe 537  
 652 ff. 668 847 of eagles 189 of Kyklops  
 999 f. of lotos 769 776 780 of name  
 of Zeus 727<sub>3(1)</sub> of spear-head 799 of  
 thunderbolt 727 of trident-head 797 of  
 Zeus 318 ff. 842
- Durand, P. 138<sub>1</sub>
- Durm, J. 71<sub>5</sub> 73<sub>1</sub> 359<sub>1</sub> 360<sub>5</sub> 915<sub>0</sub> 1219
- Durrbach (Dürnbach), F. 388<sub>6</sub> 423<sub>3</sub> 583<sub>0</sub>  
 862<sub>0</sub> 865<sub>2</sub> 1071
- Dussaud, R. 430 431<sub>1</sub> 431<sub>2</sub> 600<sub>4</sub> 814<sub>3</sub> 886<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 886<sub>0(30)</sub> 1111
- Dust, a nuisance in Greece 257<sub>4</sub>  
 — of corpse causes sound sleep 996
- Dyer, T. F. Thiselton 396<sub>0</sub>  
*Dýnamis* of Zeus 808<sub>0(0)</sub>
- E** at Delphoi 176<sub>2</sub> 178 1216  
 — as head of Poseidon's trident 177<sub>0</sub> as  
 image of scales 177<sub>0</sub> as image of sky  
 resting on pillars 178 as numeral 177<sub>0</sub>  
 as question or prayer 177<sub>0</sub> as symbol  
 of dialectic 177<sub>0</sub> as symbol of five sages  
 176<sub>2</sub> as symbol of sun 176<sub>2</sub> as three  
 Charites 177<sub>0</sub> as window 177<sub>0</sub>
- Eagle as animal counterpart of Zeus 752  
 as embodiment of Zeus 187 752 941<sub>0</sub> as  
 lightning-bearer 751<sub>2</sub> 777 779 849 933<sub>0</sub>  
 1159 as messenger of Zeus 950<sub>0</sub> as  
 shield-boss (?) 938<sub>0</sub> as symbol of resur-  
 rection 1209<sub>6</sub> as symbol of sun (See  
 solar) as telephany of sky-god 187 at  
 Olympia 222<sub>4</sub> bearing divinised em-  
 peror 101<sub>1</sub> bearing festoon on altar  
 302 bearing Zeus 102<sub>0</sub> 462<sub>0</sub> beneath  
 emperor's head 1193 beneath Mt Geri-  
 zim 887<sub>0(31)</sub> bestriding bay-wreath with  
 Charites 1193 black 8 933<sub>0</sub> carrying off  
 asp 283<sub>0</sub> carrying off sacrifice to Zeus  
 1141 carrying sceptre and wreath 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 double, of Hittites 779<sub>2</sub> flight of 752<sub>2</sub>  
 flying with sceptre towards emperor  
 1134<sub>0</sub> gilded 423 guides Seleukos i  
 Nikator to site of Seleukeia Pieria  
 981<sub>1</sub> f. holding *caduceus* and palm-  
 branch 1193 holding thunderbolt (See  
 on thunderbolt) holding wreath 1186  
 1193 holding wreath and bay-branch  
 1193 hovering above altar 280<sub>1</sub> in  
 fig(?)-tree 964<sub>2</sub> in myth (?) of Agamem-  
 non 1132<sub>3</sub> in myth of Kleinis (*ψυαλερος*)  
 463<sub>1</sub> in myth of Merops 1132<sub>1</sub> in myth  
 of Periklymenos 1134<sub>6</sub> in myth of  
 Periphas 1122 in pediment 961<sub>0</sub> not  
 struck by lightning 751<sub>2</sub> nurtures Zeus  
 in Cretan cave 928<sub>0</sub> of Agathos Demon  
 1125<sub>1</sub> of Iupiter 400<sub>11</sub> 811<sub>5</sub> 812 of Zeus  
 502<sub>2</sub> (?) 575 ff. 751 f. 808<sub>0(0)</sub> 836 1122  
 1131 ff. 1185 f. 1208 f. on altar 892<sub>4</sub>  
 1193 on Mt Argaios 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> on  
 chalice of Antioch 1208 f. on column  
 968<sub>0</sub> on double axe 518<sub>3</sub> (?) 573 on  
 globe 95<sub>2</sub> 578 (?) on Ionic capital 878<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 on *Irmínsúl* 53 178 f. on pine-tree 909<sub>0</sub>  
 on roof of shrine or temple 982<sub>0</sub> on  
 sceptre 1132 f. 1133<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>4</sub> on sceptre  
 of Zeus conceived as alive 1133<sub>1</sub> on  
 stone 186 on *terra sigillata* 1205<sub>4</sub>  
 on thigh of animal-victim 1193 on  
 thunderbolt 763<sub>1</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> 1064 1193 on  
*thýrsos* 1178 prince changed into 666<sub>3</sub>  
 Roman 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> shouldering sceptre  
 1133<sub>1</sub> side by side with snake 283<sub>0</sub> solar  
 186 431 white, at Kroton 222<sub>4</sub> with  
 sceptre and dolphin as emblems of

- Eagle (*cont.*)  
 air, earth, and sea (?) 1133<sub>1</sub> See also  
 Index I Aetos, Aquila
- Eagle's head 1134<sub>0</sub>
- Eagles at Delphoi 179<sub>1</sub> chariot drawn by  
 462<sub>0</sub> look at sun 230<sub>8</sub> of Zeus 231 239  
 on Delphic *omphalós* 179 ff. tamed by  
 Pythagoras 222<sub>4</sub> two, on altar 808<sub>0(17)</sub>  
 votive, at Tralleis 958<sub>0</sub>
- Earrings 620
- Ears, leaf-shaped 399 399<sub>1</sub>
- Earth conceived as belly of Zeus 1028  
 conceived as flat disk with central  
*omphalós* 167 conceived as flat disk  
 with sky resting on side-props 432 843  
 conceived as globe enclosed in sphere  
 half light, half dark 432 843 conceived  
 as half of cosmic egg 1020 1023 invoked  
 728<sub>0</sub> symbolised by *cornu copiae* 1050
- Earth-mother in relation to sky-father 677
- Earthquakes 827<sub>2</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> 994<sub>2</sub> 1170<sub>6</sub> 1171  
 1191
- Ebeling, H. 481<sub>5</sub>
- Ebersolt, J. 610<sub>1</sub> 610<sub>3</sub> 610<sub>5-7</sub>
- Echesamía* 6 f.
- Eckhel, J. 249<sub>2</sub> 372<sub>4</sub> 373<sub>2</sub> 402<sub>0</sub> 429<sub>5</sub> 673  
 1041 f. 1195<sub>1</sub>
- Eclipse, solar 450<sub>0</sub> 1017<sub>4</sub> (?)
- Edmonds, J. M. 699
- Eels decked with gold 590
- Egbert, J. C. 613<sub>2</sub>
- Egg as offering to dead 1060 birth of  
 Enorches from 1021 birth of Helene  
 from 1015 birth of Kastor and Poly-  
 deukes from 1015 birth of Moliones  
 from 1015 cosmic 422<sub>5</sub> 1020 f. 1022 f.  
 1026 1033 ff. 1051 cosmic, called 'the  
 brilliant *chitón*' or 'the cloud' 1024  
 cosmic, containing seated Eros 1048  
 cosmic, in Egypt 1035 cosmic, in  
 India 1035 f. cosmic, in Orphic theo-  
 gonies 1050 f. cosmic, in Persia 1036  
 cosmic, in Phoinike 1036 ff. cosmic,  
 splits into heaven and earth 1035 f.  
 1037 f. 1048 cosmic, with gold and  
 silver halves 1035 fallen from moon  
 1015<sub>7</sub> flanked by snakes 1062 golden  
 1035 f. 1039 halved to form caps of  
 Dioskouroi 1015 hung from roof at  
 Sparta 1015<sub>7</sub> in hand of Asklepios  
 1077 kept in chest by Leda 1015 laid  
 by Daita or Daito (Daiso) 1021 laid by  
 Nemesis 1015 laid by Nyx 1020 silver  
 1015 symbolising moon (?) 1015<sub>7</sub>
- Eggs in bird's nest 1199<sub>2</sub> (?) in glass goblet  
 1203<sub>1</sub>
- Eggeling, J. 1035 f.
- Egyptism in Aischylos 252
- Eight years' distribution of land in Dal-  
 matia 440<sub>2</sub> period in cult and myth  
 239 ff. tenure of Spartan kings 440<sub>2</sub>
- Eiresiōne* 13<sub>1</sub>
- Eiselastikōs agōn* 959<sub>0</sub> 1179<sub>8</sub>
- Eisele, T. 284<sub>0</sub> 285<sub>0</sub> 288<sub>3</sub> 307<sub>2</sub>
- Eisen, G. A. 647<sub>6</sub> 1197 ff.
- Eisler, R. 88<sub>3</sub> 177<sub>0</sub> 224<sub>1</sub> 386 426 426<sub>4</sub> 427<sub>3</sub>  
 545<sub>0</sub> 547<sub>0</sub> 587<sub>7</sub> 588<sub>0</sub> 1017<sub>4</sub> 1036 1038  
 1051 1053 1137<sub>0</sub>
- Eitrem, S. 237<sub>0</sub> 267<sub>2</sub> 382<sub>3</sub> 388<sub>6</sub> 388<sub>9</sub> 451<sub>1</sub>  
 477<sub>0</sub> 488<sub>0(0)</sub> 1042 1042<sub>11</sub> 1156<sub>4</sub> 1170<sub>8</sub>
- Elderkin, G. W. 282<sub>0</sub>
- Electrum, cup of, modelled on the breast  
 of Helene 346<sub>0</sub> double axes of 637 f.  
 earrings of 638
- Elegiacs 222<sub>0</sub>
- Elektron*, 'amber' 499
- Ellendt, F. 806<sub>1</sub>
- Elm-tree at Ephesos 405<sub>3</sub> of Artemis 405<sub>3</sub>  
 turns its leaves at solstice 470<sub>0</sub> vene-  
 rated in France 403<sub>0</sub>
- Elýsia* 22 789 840
- Elýsion* 36
- Emasculation of Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> of Attis  
 970<sub>0</sub> of Gallos, king of Pessinous (?)  
 970<sub>0</sub> of Kronos by Zeus 447 f. of Ou-  
 ranos by Kronos 447 of sky-god 447 of  
 Zeus by Typhon 448 See also Castration
- Emerald 423
- Emperor identified with sun-god 321 f.
- Enchyristriai* 1065 1229
- Endt, J. 123<sub>0</sub>
- Enelýsia* 21 f. 789 840
- Engelhardt, C. 1204<sub>5</sub>
- Engelhardt, C. M. 136<sub>3</sub>
- Engelmann, R. 739<sub>3</sub> 764<sub>2</sub> 1044
- Enkoimesis* See Incubation
- Enneeteris* 240<sub>3</sub>
- Enthronement, ritual, in cave of Zeus  
*Βροντῶν* 838 852
- Entrails, divination by 891<sub>0</sub>
- Épheboi* 1121<sub>0</sub>
- Ephésia grámmata* 410<sub>0</sub>
- Epiphany of Hector 961<sub>0</sub> of Hemithea 671  
 of Zeus Κάσιος 982<sub>0</sub>
- Epitaph of Apollon 221 of Dionysos 220  
 of Pikos ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς 220<sub>6</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> of Pikos ὁ  
 καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι 943<sub>0</sub> of Zan  
 354 of Zan Κρόνον 940 945<sub>0</sub> of Zan ὃν  
 Δία κικλήσκουσιν 220<sub>6</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> of Zeus  
 940<sub>0</sub>
- Epitaphs, Phrygian, end with a curse on  
 violator of tomb 277 ff.
- Ερόνυμοι* in trophy from spoils of 'Mar-  
 athon' at Delphoi 1137<sub>2</sub> on eastern  
 frieze of Parthenon 1137<sub>2</sub>
- Epopteia* 1168<sub>3</sub>
- Eranistai* 1161 1170<sub>2</sub>
- Erman, A. 99<sub>1</sub> 127<sub>0</sub>
- Ernout, A. 404<sub>2</sub>
- Eschenbach, A. C. 34<sub>1</sub>
- Escher-Bürkli, J. 476<sub>5</sub>
- Espérandieu, É. 61<sub>0</sub> 71<sub>5</sub> 75<sub>0</sub> 75<sub>1</sub> 78<sub>1</sub> 79<sub>1</sub>  
 1213
- Etymology, popular, serves religion 401<sub>0</sub>
- Euhemerism 241<sub>4</sub> 696<sub>0</sub>
- Euphemism 1112<sub>7</sub> 1113<sub>0</sub> 1114<sub>0</sub>
- Euphemistic titles of ancestor 1125<sub>1</sub> bear-  
 goddess (?) 228<sub>4</sub> 1114<sub>0(6)</sub> d. of Zeus by  
 Persephone (?) 1114<sub>0(5)</sub> the Devil 1112<sub>7</sub>  
 Erinyes 1113<sub>0(1)</sub> genitals 450<sub>0</sub> Hades



- Euphemistic titles of (*cont.*)  
 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> Hekate 1114<sub>0(4)</sub> Persephone  
 1113<sub>0(3)</sub> snake 1152f. snake-god 1114<sub>0(7)</sub>  
 Zeus 1092<sub>8</sub> 1111 f. 1131 1159 1174
- Evans, Sir A. J. 30<sub>7</sub> 30<sub>8</sub> 31<sub>1</sub> 47<sub>2</sub> 49<sub>1-4</sub> 131<sub>1</sub>  
 143<sub>2</sub> 157<sub>0</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 161<sub>6</sub> 193 514<sub>2</sub> 518<sub>3</sub> 520<sub>4</sub>  
 527 528<sub>1</sub> 528<sub>6</sub> 532 f. 535 538<sub>1</sub> 538<sub>4</sub> 539<sub>1</sub>  
 543 552<sub>1</sub> 600<sub>4</sub> 613 613<sub>2</sub> 623<sub>1</sub> 624<sub>0</sub> 625  
 628<sub>7</sub> 637<sub>9</sub> 639 645<sub>3</sub> 652<sub>10</sub> 653 654 656<sub>0</sub>  
 662<sub>12</sub> 688<sub>0</sub> 794<sub>5</sub> 795 799<sub>4</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 927<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
 939<sub>1</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> 1221
- Evans, Sir J. 505 506<sub>5</sub> 506<sub>9</sub> 511<sub>1</sub> 512<sub>1</sub> 528<sub>4</sub>  
 618<sub>1</sub> 643<sub>10</sub>
- Evil eye See Eye, evil
- Ewald, G. H. A. 1109<sub>0</sub>
- Ewald, H. 1037 f.
- Exposure of children at Athens 1229 in  
 'Expulsion' tales 1014 ff.
- Expurgation in Euripides 1012 f. in Homer  
 989 in Sophokles 1012
- Eye as seat and doorway of soul 504 evil  
 502 504 f. 844 evil, personified as In-  
 vidia 505<sub>2</sub> giants with one 988 ff. good  
 504 f. 844 of Apollon good 504<sub>6</sub> of  
 Arkesilas good 504<sub>6</sub> of Athena evil (?)  
 503<sub>0</sub> of Athena piercing 502<sub>2</sub> of God  
 671<sub>10</sub> of Horos 450<sub>0</sub> of Muses good 504<sub>6</sub>  
 of Zeus darts lightning 502 ff. 844 of  
 Zeus evil 504 844 of Zeus flashing 502<sub>2</sub>  
 of Zeus inlaid with silver 503<sub>0</sub> of Zeus  
 jealous 503 f. of Zeus witness of right  
 and wrong 502<sub>2</sub>
- Eyes, four, of Kronos 553 four, of Kyklopes  
 999 of Zeus Ἰδαίος fixed on Ilion 950<sub>0</sub>  
 three, of Zeus 1144<sub>2</sub>
- Eye-brows of Zeus (ox-eye) 775<sub>0</sub>
- Eye-sight explained by Empedokles 505<sub>1</sub>  
 explained by Platon 505<sub>1</sub>
- Fabricius, E. 195<sub>1</sub> 196<sub>7</sub> 197<sub>2</sub> 197<sub>3</sub> 935<sub>0</sub> 952<sub>0</sub>
- Facius, J. F. 895<sub>1</sub>
- Falk, H. 533<sub>2</sub>
- Farbridge, M. H. 1210<sub>4</sub>
- Farnell, L. R. 13<sub>1</sub> 115<sub>2</sub> 118<sub>2</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 166<sub>3</sub> 238<sub>3</sub>  
 245<sub>5</sub> 262<sub>8</sub> 267<sub>2</sub> 267<sub>5</sub> 268<sub>3</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 303<sub>2</sub> 313  
 410<sub>1</sub> 450<sub>1</sub> 453 457 f. 495<sub>6</sub> 583<sub>3</sub> 692<sub>3</sub> 868<sub>6</sub>  
 873<sub>2</sub> 1032 1070 1098<sub>4</sub> 1114<sub>0(6)</sub> 1114<sub>0</sub>  
 1214
- Farquhar, E. P. 905<sub>0</sub>
- Fasces of Roman lictors 635 1221
- Father and Son as forms of the same deity  
 in Phrygia 287 f. and Son, Greek types  
 of, in Christian art 1210
- Father, Son as rebirth of 294 314 ff. 611<sub>2</sub>
- Fawn of Artemis 152<sub>0</sub>
- Fay, E. W. 1220
- Fazellus, T. 917<sub>0</sub> 918<sub>0</sub>
- Fear that sky may fall 54 ff.
- Feathered head-dress 143 143<sub>2</sub> 552 f.
- Feet of Hephaistos 451<sub>1</sub> of Podaleirios 451<sub>1</sub>  
 unwashen 959<sub>0</sub> f.
- Fehrenbach, E. 291<sub>2</sub>
- Fehrle, E. 210<sub>0</sub>
- Feist, S. 464<sub>10</sub> 715<sub>8</sub> 1039
- Fellows, Sir C. 588 591 591<sub>4</sub> 974<sub>0</sub>
- Ferguson, W. S. 817<sub>0</sub>
- Fergusson, J. 150<sub>2</sub>
- Fetish as Egyptian term for 'god' (?) 544<sub>3</sub>  
 becomes first attribute and then symbol  
 617 814
- Fick, A. 277<sub>4</sub> 293<sub>2</sub> 295<sub>1</sub> 354<sub>9</sub> 384<sub>0</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 451<sub>1</sub>  
 496<sub>0</sub> 569 600<sub>5</sub> 662 666<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> 1025  
 1072 1087 1134<sub>9</sub> 1149<sub>3</sub> 1156<sub>6</sub> 1156<sub>8</sub>
- Ficker, G. 307<sub>1</sub>
- 'Fig,' a prophylactic gesture known as the  
 291<sub>2</sub>
- Figs as means of purification 1103<sub>4</sub> called  
 μείλιχα in Naxos 1092<sub>9</sub> in folk-tales  
 671<sub>6</sub> 672 on altar-top 154<sub>0</sub>
- Fig-juice, purification by 291<sub>2</sub> (?) 1103 (?)
- Fig-tree at Prousa ad Olympum (?) 964<sub>2</sub>  
 at Sykea in Kilikia 1103<sub>8</sub> in myth of  
 Apollon and raven 832<sub>7</sub> in myth of  
 Sykeas or Sykeas 1103<sub>8</sub> lightning-proof  
 1104<sub>0</sub> of Dionysos Συκεάτης 488<sub>0(0)</sub> of  
 Zeus Μείλιχος (?) 1092 f. 1103 f. 1112  
 1114 of Zeus Συκάσιος 1103 parable of  
 barren 682<sub>2</sub> St Sabas hung on 1104  
 white 403<sub>0</sub> wild, at Klaros 489<sub>0(4)</sub> 490<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 wild, at Siris in Lucania 490<sub>0(0)</sub> wild,  
 beside the Eleusinian Kephisos 1103  
 with eagle on it (?) 964<sub>2</sub>
- Fig-trees in Crete 946<sub>0</sub> on Mt Ide in  
 Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub>
- Fig-wood 1022 1093<sub>0</sub>
- Filbert-trees 949<sub>5</sub>
- Fillets linking *amphora* etc. to double axe  
 657 f. linking cult-image to ground  
 408<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> 574 1220 on oak at Dodona  
 677 radiate 461<sub>0</sub> round sacred stone  
 981<sub>0</sub> 982<sub>0</sub> round thunderbolt 809
- Fimmen, D. 890<sub>6</sub>
- Finamore, G. 1001<sub>1</sub> 1001<sub>2</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>
- Fines payable to Zeus and Hephaistos 972<sub>1</sub>  
 payable to Zeus Σολυμείς 973<sub>1</sub> f.
- Finger, golden, in Epirote tale 224<sub>1</sub> of  
 St Adalbert 214<sub>0</sub> of Attis endowed with  
 perpetual movement 970<sub>0</sub>
- Fiorelli, G. 118<sub>2</sub> 392<sub>9</sub> 393
- Fir-cone 300 907<sub>2</sub> 949<sub>5</sub>
- Fire carried before Asiatic kings 34<sub>1</sub> carried  
 before Roman emperors 34<sub>1</sub> carried  
 in rites of Asklepios Ζεὺς Τέλειος 1076  
 descends on Zoroastres 33 ff. discovery  
 of 981<sub>1</sub> in Dictaeon Cave 928<sub>0</sub> kindled  
 from lightning by Perseus 1187 new  
 816 f. 1149<sub>2(1)</sub> perpetual, on Mt Aitne  
 630 perpetual, at Apollonia in Illyria  
 485 perpetual, at Athens 1148 per-  
 petual, on Mt Chimaira 972<sub>1</sub> perpetual,  
 on common hearth of primitive folk  
 1148 perpetual, at Delphoi 1216 per-  
 petual, at Ione, 1187 perpetual, at  
 Nemi (?) 417<sub>5</sub> perpetual, on Mt Olym-  
 pos in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub> perpetual, at Rome  
 417<sub>5</sub> perpetual, on mountain of Zoro-  
 astres 33 977<sub>0</sub> regarded as divine in  
 Babylonia 34<sub>1</sub> regarded as divine in  
 Egypt 34<sub>1</sub> regarded as divine in Persia  
 33 ff. 1187 regarded as flower 771 royal

- Fire (*cont.*)  
 34 sanctuary of, at Ione 1187 springing from ground on Mt Chimaira 972<sub>1</sub> springing from ground on Mt Olympos in Lykia 972<sub>1</sub> worshipped by Hypsistarioi 885<sub>0(28)</sub>
- Fires of St Elmo 980<sub>0</sub>
- First-fruits sent to Apollon *Ἀπόλλων* 497 sent to Apollon *Πύθιος* 240 816 f. sent to Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος* 872<sub>0(5)</sub> wrapped in wheaten straw 497 498<sub>2</sub>
- Fir-trees in myth of Dryope 486 on Mt Ainos 907<sub>2</sub> silver, on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> silver, reaching through *aēr* to *aithēr* 949<sub>5</sub>
- Fischbach, F. 606<sub>3</sub>
- Fish 205<sub>1</sub> 414<sub>1</sub> called *πομπίλος* 448<sub>0</sub> golden, in folk-tale from Hungary 1012<sub>1</sub> in folk-tale from Epeiros 672 in hand of Lithuanian wind-god 445<sub>1</sub> incised on celt 643<sub>7</sub> of Aigokeros or Capricornus 933<sub>0</sub> on chalice of Antioch (?) 1199<sub>2</sub> on *lárnax* from Palaikastro 524 (?) on vase from Knossos 527 f. tame, at Labranda 590<sub>3</sub>
- Fish-goat 938<sub>0</sub>
- Fish-hooks 1151
- Fishing in folk-tale from Sicily 1000 inventor of 715<sub>4</sub> 1037
- Flach, J. 1154<sub>4</sub>
- Flag 545<sub>0</sub>
- Flasch, A. 739<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub>
- Flather, J. H. 339<sub>1</sub>
- Fleece as head-dress of priests at Anagnia 377 golden 899<sub>1</sub> in rites of Dionysos or Zagreus 1030 of Zeus 1065 1140 1166<sub>3</sub> (?) worn by procession up Mt Pelion 870<sub>0</sub>
- Fleming, R. B. 122<sub>0</sub>
- Flies as emissaries of a god, if not the god himself 782 as sign of storm 782 avoid Mt Carina in Crete 783<sub>3</sub> avoid temple of Aphrodite at Paphos 783<sub>3</sub> avoid temple of Hercules at Rome 783 placated by sacrifice of ox 782
- Flint of Iupiter *Feretrius* 546<sub>0</sub> of Iupiter *Lapis* 546<sub>0</sub>
- Flogging of Eros by Silenos 1048 of Maenads with ivy-sprays 1041 of schoolboy by Eros 1048 of Underground Folk at Pheneos 1136<sub>4</sub> of the Vestal Ilia 1016 of young men at altar of Artemis *Ὀρθία* 421<sub>3</sub>
- Flood of Deukalion 348<sub>5</sub> 892<sub>4</sub> 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub>
- Flower of Zeus (carnation?) 775<sub>0</sub>
- Flowers 95 298 407<sub>0</sub> 515 624 710 771<sub>0</sub> (?) 949<sub>5</sub> 977<sub>1</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> associated with thunder and lightning 774<sub>4</sub> 775<sub>0</sub> 776<sub>0</sub>
- Flower-fays 527
- Flute of *Archigallus* 299 (?) 300
- Flute-players 407<sub>0</sub> 670
- Flutes of Apollon 246 249<sub>2</sub> of Athena 249<sub>2</sub> of Boeotians 898<sub>6</sub> of one of the Charites 249<sub>2</sub> of Hyperboreans 249<sub>2</sub> of Marsyas 249<sub>2</sub> of Satyr 262 on pine-tree 306<sub>5</sub>
- 'Fly,' priestess at Dodona called 215<sub>1</sub>
- Foal 987<sub>1</sub>
- Förster, R. 103<sub>0</sub> 1164<sub>0</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub> 1197<sub>3</sub>
- Folkard, R. 396<sub>0</sub> 772<sub>1</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub> 1166<sub>0</sub>
- Folk-tales, types of: 'Bluebeard' 995<sub>2</sub> 'Danaë' 671 'Dragon-slayer' 1151 'Expulsion' 1003 ff. 1012 ff. 'Floating Coffin' 671<sub>4</sub> 1018 'Otherworld-visit' 1166<sub>2</sub> 'Polyphemus' 988 ff. 'Strong Hans' 679
- Fonts 1216
- Food falling from tables is devoted to dead friends 1129 1162 must not be picked up from floor 1129
- Forbes, E. 971<sub>2</sub>
- Forcellini, Ae. 599<sub>7</sub>
- Forchhammer, P. W. 327
- Forefather appears as snake 1060 1061 buried in the house 1059 1060 f. called Lar or Genius 1059 conceived as Iupiter 1059 f. conceived as Zeus 1061
- Fork in relation to thunderbolt of Zeus 798 ff. 850 of demon 138<sub>0</sub> of Etruscan god of the Underworld (?) 850 of Hades (?) 227<sub>4</sub> 798 ff. of Iupiter *Iutor* 850
- Formigé, J. C. (C. J.) 111<sub>1</sub>
- Formulae* at weddings 1166<sub>1</sub> in rites of Sabazios 1166<sub>1</sub> magical 889<sub>0(0)</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub> mystic 1218
- Forrer, R. 80<sub>2</sub> 109<sub>1</sub> 547<sub>0</sub> 606<sub>1</sub> 617<sub>6</sub> 622<sub>3</sub> 632<sub>6</sub> 690<sub>3</sub> 1040 1213
- Forster, E. S. 18<sub>2-4</sub>
- Forty 303<sub>2</sub>
- Foucart, P. 12 268<sub>4</sub> 562<sub>3</sub> 586<sub>7</sub> 592<sub>4</sub> 593<sub>1</sub> 594 596<sub>3</sub> 1105<sub>4</sub> 1105<sub>6</sub> 1107 f.
- Fougères, G. 779 813<sub>2</sub> 814<sub>0</sub>
- Foundation-deposit 609 f.
- Foundation-myths of Alexandria 1127<sub>0</sub> 1188 of Antiocheia on the Orontes 1183 1193 of Boucheta 348 of Bouthroton 348 of Crete 349 of Ephesos 405 of Mt Kasion in Egypt 984<sub>4</sub> of Mantinea 1083 of Miletos 405 ff. of Pelousion 986<sub>0</sub> of Seleukeia Pieria 981<sub>1</sub> f. 1188 of Troy 349
- Foundation-sacrifice 1188
- Fountain at Orchomenos in Boiotia 1149 in myth of Apollon and raven 833<sub>0</sub> See also Spring
- Four-eared See Index I Tetractos
- Four-eyed Phersephone or Kore 1029 warrior from Sardinia 446<sub>1</sub> See also Janiform
- Four-handed Apollon 322<sub>6</sub>
- Foville, J. de 491<sub>0(6)</sub>
- Fowler, H. N. 211<sub>2</sub> 597<sub>2</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub>
- Fowler, W. Warde 100<sub>0</sub> 337<sub>4</sub> 353<sub>6</sub> 354 f. 359<sub>6</sub> 363<sub>6</sub> 518<sub>3</sub> 519<sub>0</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> 1059 1170<sub>5</sub> 1172 f. 1172<sub>0</sub>
- Fox sacrificed at Aizanoi 964<sub>3</sub>
- Fox, C. R. 578<sub>1</sub> 578<sub>2</sub>
- Fränkel, M. 268<sub>1</sub> 413<sub>7</sub> 894<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1076 f. 1098<sub>1</sub> 1180 1180<sub>1</sub>
- Frankincense 485



- Franz, R. 228<sub>4</sub> 1114<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 Fraser, J. 1228  
 Frazer, Sir J. G. 92<sub>3</sub> 93<sub>1</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 224<sub>1</sub> 242<sub>1</sub>  
   294<sub>1</sub> 295<sub>2</sub> 299 303<sub>2</sub> 306<sub>2</sub> 311<sub>9</sub> 328<sub>5</sub> 378  
   392<sub>8</sub> 392<sub>9</sub> 394 f. 397<sub>0</sub> 398<sub>0</sub> 400 400<sub>6</sub> 403<sub>1</sub>  
   417 f. 420 421<sub>1</sub> 434 436<sub>8</sub> 440<sub>2</sub> 450<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>0</sub>  
   465 471<sub>10</sub> 498<sub>2</sub> 538<sub>5</sub> 550<sub>5</sub> 551<sub>1</sub> 552 559<sub>4</sub>  
   627<sub>3</sub> 635<sub>9</sub> 643 645<sub>4</sub> 672<sub>0</sub> 680<sub>10</sub> 681 f.  
   685<sub>2</sub> 692 817<sub>0</sub> 826 833 868<sub>3</sub> 892<sub>1</sub> 894<sub>3</sub>  
   895<sub>1</sub> 896<sub>0</sub> 898<sub>5</sub> 899<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>1</sub> 904<sub>1</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 960<sub>0</sub>  
   976<sub>0</sub> 988 999<sub>5</sub> 1059 1071 1076 1081  
   1089 1096<sub>3</sub> 1103 f. 1108<sub>2</sub> 1112<sub>7</sub> 1114<sub>0(6)</sub>  
   1132<sub>6</sub> 1135<sub>6</sub> 1140<sub>5</sub> 1147<sub>16</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub> 1148<sub>5</sub>  
   1148<sub>9</sub> 1149<sub>2(1)</sub> 1151<sub>6</sub> 1162<sub>2</sub> 1222  
 Freshfield, D. W. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Freud, S. 450<sub>1</sub>  
 Frickenhaus, A. 173<sub>5</sub> 231<sub>7</sub> 381<sub>1</sub> 742<sub>3</sub> 742<sub>4</sub>  
   758<sub>0</sub> 864<sub>3</sub>  
 Friederichs, C. 393<sub>2</sub> 862<sub>0</sub> 865<sub>2</sub>  
 Friedländer, J. 446 f. 575<sub>5</sub> 576<sub>1</sub>  
 Friedländer, P. 670<sub>8</sub> 828<sub>10</sub>  
 Friend, H. 396<sub>0</sub> 774<sub>4</sub> 775<sub>0</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub> 1166<sub>0</sub>  
 Fries, C. 791  
 Fritze, H. von 18<sub>6</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 956<sub>0</sub> 1079 1184<sub>1</sub>  
 Fritzsche, H. 806<sub>1</sub>  
 Frobenius, L. 1033  
 Fröhner, W. 102<sub>0</sub> 105<sub>7</sub> 296<sub>4</sub> 371<sub>0</sub> 372<sub>1</sub> 373<sub>1</sub>  
   373<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>6</sub> 1126<sub>0</sub> 1197  
 Frontality 739 1206  
 Frothingham, A. L. 359 f. 457 937<sub>0</sub> 1068  
   1181<sub>0</sub> 1211  
 Fruit 297 300 517  
 Fuchs, A. 76<sub>1</sub>  
 Furious Host See Wild Hunt  
 Furnace, victims cast into 1011 1019  
 Furneaux, H. 441<sub>3</sub> 442<sub>2</sub>  
 Furtwängler, A. 49<sub>1</sub> 111<sub>0</sub> 112<sub>1</sub> 124<sub>1</sub> 124<sub>2</sub>  
   265<sub>1</sub> 265<sub>2</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 309<sub>3</sub> 315<sub>3</sub> 475<sub>7</sub> 478<sub>2</sub> 510<sub>1</sub>  
   510<sub>2</sub> 514<sub>2</sub> 515<sub>1</sub> 515<sub>3</sub> 597 621 621<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>7</sub>  
   641<sub>2</sub> 641<sub>4</sub> 645<sub>4</sub> 646<sub>1-3</sub> 673<sub>6</sub> 718<sub>3</sub> 731<sub>1</sub>  
   737<sub>4</sub> 749<sub>1</sub> 757<sub>1</sub> 798<sub>2</sub> 798<sub>3</sub> 831<sub>1(1)</sub> 832 f.  
   852<sub>11</sub> 853<sub>5</sub> 854<sub>7</sub> 854<sub>8</sub> 863<sub>1</sub> 895<sub>0</sub> 1043  
   1045 ff. 1064 1070 1078 1090 1117<sub>7</sub>  
   1126<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub> 1143<sub>1</sub> 1162<sub>4</sub> 1170  
   1170<sub>1</sub> 1216  
 Fyfe, T. 935<sub>0</sub>  
  
 Gad-fly on back of bull 946<sub>0</sub>  
 Gaebler, H. 412<sub>2</sub>  
 Gaerte, W. 1220  
 Gaertringen, F. Hiller von 1147<sub>4</sub>  
 Gaidoz, H. 37 52<sub>4</sub> 87<sub>1</sub> 479<sub>9</sub> 480<sub>4-6</sub> 1079  
 Garden of the gods 1021 of Hera 1021 of  
   Okeanos 1021 of Zeus 1017 1021 1027  
   1119  
 Gardner, E. A. 240<sub>3</sub> 758<sub>0</sub> 867 1136<sub>0</sub>  
   1143<sub>1</sub>  
 Gardner, P. 162<sub>1</sub> 193<sub>5</sub> 370<sub>2</sub> 504<sub>6</sub> 758 784<sub>1</sub>  
   1042 1072 1095<sub>0</sub> 1143 1145<sub>0</sub>  
 Gardthausen, V. 635<sub>0</sub>  
 Garland, golden, in Bacchic procession  
   120<sub>3</sub> in Orphic ritual (?) 120<sub>3</sub> cp. 1168  
 Garlic 1172<sub>4</sub> taboo on 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Garnett, Miss L. M. J. 990<sub>7</sub>  
 Garnett, R. 418<sub>3</sub>  
 Garrucci, R. 369<sub>1</sub> 606<sub>2</sub> 709<sub>1</sub> 709<sub>3-5</sub> 795<sub>3</sub>  
   831<sub>1(2)</sub> 1042 1050 1206<sub>9</sub> 1207<sub>0</sub>  
 Garstang, J. 550<sub>5</sub> 551<sub>1</sub> 552 560<sub>4</sub> 620<sub>5</sub>  
 Gassies, G. 78<sub>1</sub> 78<sub>2</sub> 108<sub>4</sub>  
 Gastinel, G. 1064  
 Gates of Day 42 of the gods 42 of men 42  
   of Night 42 of the sun 41  
 Gatti, G. 400<sub>11</sub>  
 Gauckler, P. 808<sub>0(17)</sub>  
 Gaye, R. K. 1168<sub>2</sub>  
 Gedike, F. 855<sub>1</sub>  
 Geffcken, J. 31<sub>3</sub>  
 Geffroy, A. 107<sub>3</sub>  
 Gelder, H. van 923<sub>0</sub>  
 Geldner, K. F. 1036  
 Gelzer, H. 696<sub>0</sub>  
 Genitals in fig-wood 1022 kept as relics  
   450<sub>1</sub> of Attis 970<sub>0</sub> of Jacob 451<sub>1</sub>  
   of Kronos 448<sub>1</sub> of Ouranos 447<sub>8</sub> of  
   Saturnus 448<sub>1</sub> of Typhon 450<sub>0</sub> of Zeus  
   450<sub>0</sub> 1029  
 Genthe, H. 493<sub>2</sub>  
 Georgiades, A. S. 897<sub>4</sub>  
 Gerhard, E. 125<sub>2</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> 168<sub>1</sub> 250<sub>4</sub> 263<sub>2</sub> 287<sub>0</sub>  
   315<sub>2</sub> 320 f. 327 371 384<sub>0</sub> 387<sub>4</sub> 432<sub>1</sub> 432<sub>2</sub>  
   594 709<sub>7</sub> 710<sub>2-4</sub> 718<sub>2</sub> 800<sub>1</sub> 805<sub>2</sub> 838<sub>8</sub>  
   946<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> 1061 1062 1064 1088 1091  
   1125<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>8</sub> 1204<sub>3</sub>  
 Gerhard, G. A. 349<sub>20</sub>  
 Gerth, B. 3<sub>7</sub> 1068  
 Gestures of salutation 1199 1209<sub>2</sub> of sup-  
   plication 1099<sub>1</sub> 1175 prophylactic 291<sub>2</sub>  
   sexual 291<sub>2</sub>  
 Gherkin 154<sub>0</sub>  
 Ghirardini, G. 736<sub>1</sub>  
 Giannopoulos, N. I. 166<sub>2</sub> 1226  
 Giant, one-eyed, blinded by hero 988 ff.  
   See also Index I Giant, Gigantes  
 Gibbon, E. 607  
 Gifford, S. K. 133<sub>3</sub>  
*Gigantensäulen* See Jupiter-columns  
 Gigantomachy 82 435<sub>5</sub> 436<sub>1</sub> 684<sub>4</sub> 712 f.  
   752<sub>4</sub> 820 825 830<sub>7</sub> 831<sub>1</sub> 911<sub>0</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> 973<sub>1</sub>  
 Gilbert, G. 1148<sub>12</sub>  
 Gilbert, O. 11<sub>1-3</sub> 43<sub>1</sub> 120<sub>2</sub> 363<sub>6</sub> 365<sub>1</sub> 432<sub>5</sub>  
   582<sub>8</sub> 722<sub>3</sub> 789 805<sub>6</sub>  
 Gilded chalice 1200 glasses (See Glasses,  
   gilded) statues of Iupiter 45 46  
 Giles, H. A. 479<sub>10</sub> 495<sub>5</sub>  
 Giles, P. 340<sub>2</sub> 397<sub>0</sub> 421<sub>7</sub> 549<sub>6</sub> 583 588<sub>0</sub> 860<sub>4</sub>  
   1095<sub>0</sub> 1154<sub>5</sub> 1228  
 Gillies, M. M. 1227  
 Ginzel, F. K. 242<sub>3</sub> 243<sub>1</sub>  
 Girard, P. 292<sub>0</sub>  
 Giraudon, A. 731<sub>2</sub>  
 Giraux, L. 643<sub>7</sub>  
 Girdle 515<sub>2</sub>  
 Glass cups covered with open-work in  
   gold, silver, or lead 1204 f. mountain  
   1012<sub>1</sub>  
 Glasses, gilded 606 1206 f.  
 Globe as seat of Eros 1047 beneath feet  
   of Ahriman 1054(?) beneath foot of  
   Chronos 864 cp. 860 beneath foot of  
   Eros 1047 beneath foot of Fortuna

Globe (*cont.*)

862<sub>10</sub> beneath foot of Kairos 860 860<sub>5</sub>  
beneath feet of Victoria 1196<sub>0</sub> beside  
Iupiter 95<sub>2</sub> carried by Eros 1047 cosmic  
491<sub>0(6)</sub> 1082 held by deified emperor  
978<sub>0(?)</sub> held by Zeus 980<sub>0(?)</sub> solar  
491<sub>0(6)</sub> 492<sub>0(0)</sub> starry 373 surmounted  
by eagle 95<sub>2</sub> 578(?) surmounted by  
phoenix 373<sub>2</sub>

Glutz, G. 727<sub>3</sub>

Glue of bull's hide 934<sub>0</sub>

Gnecchi, F. 371<sub>0</sub> 372<sub>4</sub> 1083 1102<sub>8</sub>

Goat Amaltheia(?) 746<sub>2</sub> as tattoo-mark  
121 122<sub>0</sub> beside long-haired god at  
Keramos 575<sub>6</sub> (?) beside Semele (?)  
carrying Dionysos (?) 363 in riddle  
659<sub>1</sub> nurtures Attis 969<sub>4</sub> nurtures Phy-  
lakides and Philandros 218<sub>0</sub> nurtures  
Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> of Mercurius 70<sub>1</sub>  
of Zeus Ἰνναρεύς (?) 987<sub>1</sub> on Mt Ar-  
gaios 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> on shield 375 (?) 377 (?)  
sacrificed at Babylon 463<sub>1</sub> sacrificed at  
Delphoi 217 sacrificed to Zeus Ἀσκραῖος  
at Halikarnassos 872<sub>0(5)</sub> wild 987<sub>1</sub> with  
four horns 326<sub>3</sub> worshipped at Thmouis  
987<sub>0</sub>

Goat's head 146 154<sub>0</sub> 405<sub>2</sub>(?) 978<sub>0</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> 1051

Goat's horn as *cornu copiae* 95<sub>1</sub>

Goats discover oracle at Delphoi 217<sub>2</sub> of  
Apollon 217<sub>2</sub> of Thor 63<sub>1</sub> 213<sub>0</sub> votive  
938<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub>

Goat-*rhytón* of Bacchant 347<sub>0</sub> of Lares  
1060

Goat-skin 989

Goddess, bearded 596

Godley, A. D. 2<sub>3</sub>

Goetling, K. W. 1025 1154<sub>4</sub>

Goez, H. 473<sub>1</sub> 475 f. 475<sub>0</sub>

Gold *aigis* 261 *amides* 1065 apple 488<sub>0(2)</sub>  
1003 1016 f. apples 763<sub>1</sub> 1014 1017  
1020 f. 1030 apple surmounted by  
cross 609 arm 224<sub>1</sub> axe-haft 989 ball  
933<sub>0</sub> basons 1009 bay 459 bay-wreath  
258 301(?) believed to be hidden in  
columns 966<sub>0</sub> bird 1012<sub>1</sub> borders 1065  
bough identified with branch plucked  
by would-be *rex Nemorensis* 417<sub>5</sub> bough  
on an evergreen oak near Lake Avernus  
417<sub>5</sub> bough on which all birds sing  
1003 f. 1016 bowls 853 breast 224<sub>1</sub>  
brick 853 *bucrania* 538 652 654 *bullæ*  
699<sub>4</sub> bull's head with double axe be-  
tween horns 538 bull's horns in the  
sky 117 1028 busts of Romulus and  
Remus 441 calf 354 chain 1009 chest  
671<sub>10</sub> child 1035 children 1007 coffer  
995 cord 1029 crab 666<sub>3</sub> crowns 1157<sub>3</sub>  
disks 938<sub>0</sub> double axe 518 520 eagles of  
Zeus at Delphoi 179 eagles of Zeus on  
Mt Lykaion 423 egg 1035 f. 1039  
embryo 1035 equestrian statue of At-  
talos iii 955<sub>0</sub> finger 224<sub>1</sub> fish 1012<sub>1</sub>  
fleece 899<sub>1</sub> garlands in Bacchic proces-  
sion 120<sub>3</sub> glasses 606 Greek name of, a  
Semitic loan-word 715 hair 1028 helmet

Gold (*cont.*)

62<sub>1</sub> 261 *himátion* 916<sub>0</sub> horn of reindeer  
465 horns of Cerynean hind 465 hound  
212<sub>5</sub> 1227 house of Nero 254<sub>5</sub> key 991  
leg 224<sub>1</sub> *líknon* 933<sub>0</sub> lily-work of Etrus-  
can necklace 528 lyre 520 mattock (?)  
806<sub>1</sub> *míttra* 459 moon 1012<sub>1</sub> Nike 290<sub>0</sub>  
1190 olive-wreath 261 open-work 1205  
ox-horn 982<sub>0</sub> pigeon 677 pillar 422<sub>12</sub>  
423 plane-tree given by Pythios to  
Dareios 281<sub>4</sub> plane-tree of Persian  
kings 281<sub>4</sub> plaque in relief 938<sub>0</sub> plinth  
853 ram 899<sub>1</sub> ring from Isopata 49<sub>1</sub>  
rings from Knossos 49 f. 516<sub>3</sub> 543 944<sub>0</sub>  
rings from Mykenai 47 ff. 49<sub>1</sub> 514 ff.  
525 543 652 ring of Wodan 62<sub>1</sub> 990  
rope 1211 scales held by Zeus 734<sub>3</sub>  
sceptre 763<sub>1</sub> seat 1011 1016 snake 1083  
spear 261 staff 989 star 1010 f. stars  
1014 statue of Apollon 220 220<sub>0</sub> statue  
of Colchian Diana 411 statue of Zeus  
dedicated at Daphne by Antiochos iv  
Epiphanes 1188 ff. statue of Zeus  
dedicated at Olympia by Kypselos 737  
sun 1012<sub>1</sub> tablets of Orphists 118 ff.  
thigh of Pythagoras 223 ff. throne 1016  
thunderbolt 809 810 tripod 201<sub>2</sub> vine  
at Jerusalem 281<sub>4</sub> 1217 vine given by  
Priamos to Astyoche 281<sub>4</sub> 1184<sub>3</sub> vine  
given (by Priamos) to Tithonos 281<sub>4</sub>  
vine given by Pythios to Dareios 281<sub>4</sub>  
vine given by Zeus to Tros 281<sub>4</sub> vine  
in Delos 282<sub>0</sub> vine of Persian kings  
281<sub>4</sub> wand 990 992 994<sub>4</sub> wings 1020  
womb 1035 wreath 603

Golden Age 1160

Golden bough See Gold bough

Golther, W. 52<sub>7</sub>

Gomme, Sir G. L. 703<sub>2</sub>

Gondi, F. Grossi 1128<sub>0</sub>

Gong at Dodona 133<sub>0</sub> 214<sub>1</sub> 826 1226 axe-  
pendant modified into 649 ff. 847 in  
relation to *kóttabos*-stand 1162<sub>3</sub>

Gonzenbach, L. 1012<sub>1</sub>

Good eye. See Eye, good

Goodwin, C. W. 700<sub>0</sub>

Goodyear, W. H. 529<sub>1</sub> 772<sub>1</sub> 788<sub>1</sub>

Goose as form of Zeus 1075 in relation to  
Penelope 691 of Asklepios 1079 cp.  
1083 of Herkyna 1075 of Mars (?) 51<sub>1</sub>  
presented to Râ 774<sub>0</sub>

Goose's egg 1083

Gordon, G. B. 527<sub>2</sub>

*Gorgóneion* See Index I

Gossen 519<sub>0</sub> 612<sub>0</sub>

Gozzadini, Count G. 650<sub>1</sub> 651 652<sub>1</sub>

*Grabphalli* 1089

Gräber, F. 956<sub>0</sub>

Graef, B. 195<sub>1</sub> 469<sub>2</sub>

Graef, P. 359

Graefe, C. F. 410<sub>0</sub>

Grævius, J. G. 13

*Graffiti* 1200 1206 1210

Graillet, H. 293<sub>3</sub> 299<sub>3</sub> 299<sub>7</sub> 300<sub>3</sub> 306<sub>2</sub> 306<sub>4</sub>  
592<sub>2</sub> 950<sub>0</sub>



- Granger, F. 392, 394 f. 400 701, 1059  
 Grape-bunches 154<sub>0</sub> 281 287<sub>1</sub> 540 564 657<sub>5</sub>  
 658 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> f. 1204  
 Grapes 95 1054  
 Grape-vines 285<sub>0</sub>  
 Grasberger, L. 414<sub>0</sub>  
 Grasshopper 1199  
 Grassmann, H. 344<sub>3</sub>  
 Graux, C. 611<sub>7</sub>  
 Grave of 'Ascanius' 1146<sub>0</sub> of Asklepios  
 1088 f. of Cestius 1145<sub>1(b)</sub> of Deukalion  
 1118 of followers of Proitos and Akri-  
 sios 1146<sub>0</sub> of Ganymedes 953<sub>2</sub> of giant  
 1002 of Hadrian 1145<sub>1(b)</sub> of Hektor  
 961<sub>0</sub> of Kronos 555<sub>0</sub> 556<sub>0</sub> of 'Kyros'  
 1145<sub>1(c)</sub> of the Maccabees 1146<sub>0</sub> of  
 Minos 940<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> of Oidipous 1154 of  
 Pelasgos 1144<sub>2</sub> of Penelope 691 of  
 Phytalos 1092<sub>6</sub> of Cn. Pompeius Magnus  
 984<sub>4</sub> of 'Pompey' 1146<sub>0</sub> of 'Romulus'  
 1145<sub>1(b)</sub> of 'Scipio' 1145<sub>1(b)</sub> of snake  
 (Agathos Daimon) 1127<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 556<sub>0</sub>  
 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> ff. omphaloid  
 1057 regarded as shrine of Zeus 883<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 surmounted by 'Dipylon' *amphora*  
 1056 surmounted by *loutrophoros* 1058  
 surmounted by *prothesis*-vase 1056 ff.  
 Green winged horse lightens and thunders  
 1003  
 Greenwell, Canon W. 632<sub>6</sub> 656 f.  
 Grégoire, H. 596<sub>3</sub> 1220  
 Gregorio, A. de 374  
 Grenfell, B. P. 696<sub>0</sub>  
 Grienberger, T. von 330<sub>0(9)</sub>  
 Griffin as support of Minerva's helmet  
 95<sub>1</sub> eagle-headed 407<sub>0</sub> foreparts of 407<sub>0</sub>  
 lion-headed 407<sub>0</sub> of Apollon 160<sub>0</sub> of  
 Artemis 'Εφεσία 407<sub>0</sub> of Nemesis 146<sub>7</sub>  
 relief of 896<sub>0</sub>  
 Griffin's head 146<sub>2</sub> (?) 146<sub>4</sub> (?) 146<sub>7</sub> (?) 639  
 698<sub>2</sub>  
 Griffins, chariot drawn by 523  
 Griffith, F. Ll. 544<sub>3</sub>  
 Grimm, J. 37<sub>6</sub> 53<sub>3</sub> 88<sub>3</sub> 109<sub>1</sub> 158<sub>1</sub> 230<sub>1</sub>  
 774<sub>4</sub> 782<sub>1</sub> 844<sub>6</sub> 868<sub>2</sub> 868<sub>3</sub> 1033 1131<sub>2</sub>  
 1212  
 Grimm, W. 988 f.  
 Grivaud de la Vincelle, C. M. 1089  
 Grotefend 337<sub>4</sub>  
 Grueber, H. A. 331<sub>7</sub> 371<sub>0</sub> 372<sub>4</sub> 402<sub>0</sub> 635<sub>2</sub>  
 1172<sub>0</sub>  
 Grünwedel, A. 774<sub>1</sub>  
 Grunau, S. 92  
 Gruppe, O. 14 94<sub>2</sub> 99<sub>1</sub> 115<sub>2</sub> 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 122<sub>0</sub>  
 129<sub>1</sub> 131<sub>5</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 176<sub>1</sub> 232<sub>2</sub> 236<sub>5</sub> 242<sub>3-5</sub>  
 249<sub>2</sub> 267<sub>5</sub> 268<sub>2-4</sub> 276<sub>2</sub> 294<sub>0</sub> 295<sub>2</sub> 302<sub>2</sub>  
 315<sub>3</sub> 348<sub>2</sub> 352<sub>1</sub> 410<sub>1</sub> 422<sub>1</sub> 444<sub>6</sub> 444<sub>7</sub> 455<sub>2</sub>  
 456 458<sub>2</sub> 459<sub>3</sub> 464<sub>6</sub> 467<sub>2</sub> 477<sub>0</sub> 486<sub>5</sub> 492<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 496<sub>0</sub> 504<sub>3</sub> 515<sub>5</sub> 549<sub>5</sub> 549<sub>6</sub> 553<sub>2</sub> 554 558<sub>0</sub>  
 583 600<sub>3</sub> 626 627<sub>3</sub> 641<sub>2</sub> 675<sub>4</sub> 680<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>2</sub>  
 721 722 791 798<sub>6</sub> 806<sub>8</sub> 848 857<sub>6</sub> 868<sub>6</sub>  
 874<sub>2</sub> 878<sub>0(3)</sub> 892<sub>4</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 957<sub>2</sub>  
 960<sub>0</sub> 963<sub>0</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> 981<sub>1</sub> 987<sub>0</sub> 1020 f. 1023  
 1025 1026 1029 1032 1033 1036 1037  
 1045 1069 1074 1085 1087 1089 1102<sub>3</sub>  
 Gruppe, O. (*cont.*)  
 1103<sub>4</sub> 1112<sub>6</sub> 1114<sub>0(6)</sub> 1125<sub>1</sub> 1135<sub>4</sub> 1156  
 1164<sub>0</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub> 1179<sub>3</sub>  
 Gsell, S. 73<sub>0</sub>  
 Guadet, J. 359<sub>1</sub>  
 Gubernatis, A. de 88<sub>3</sub> 396<sub>0</sub> 402<sub>1</sub> 665<sub>3</sub> 772<sub>1</sub>  
 1165<sub>1</sub> 1166<sub>0</sub>  
 Gudeman, A. 1023  
 Günther, R. 494  
 Guhl, E. 406<sub>0</sub>  
 Guillaume, E. 550<sub>5</sub> 620<sub>5</sub>  
 Guimet, É. 547<sub>0</sub>  
 Guinea-fowl 497  
 Gum tragacanth 483  
 Gundel, W. 1211 1219  
 Gusman, P. 392<sub>7</sub>  
 Gypsum, image of, containing heart of  
 Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 Titans  
 smeared with 1030  
 Haakh 308 ff.  
 Hackman, O. 988 ff. 999<sub>6</sub> 1001<sub>3</sub>  
 Haddon, A. C. 189<sub>3</sub> 642 676<sub>4</sub>  
 Haebler, C. 613<sub>4</sub> 625<sub>5</sub>  
 Haebler 666<sub>1</sub>  
 Hahn, J. G. von 671 678 f. 683 995<sub>2</sub> 1003  
 1004<sub>1</sub> 1006<sub>1</sub> 1006<sub>2</sub> 1007<sub>1</sub> 1012 f. 1016  
 Haines, C. R. 939<sub>1</sub>  
 Hair, blue 445<sub>0</sub> crimped or waved by  
 Romans 318<sub>8</sub> dedicated at puberty  
 859 f. false 30 light and dark, in Jani-  
 form head of Boreas 380 'Minoan'  
 fore-lock 519 f. of Attis always grows  
 970<sub>0</sub> of hermit 1004 of Iupiter 711<sub>3</sub> of  
 Medousa 191<sub>10</sub> 1148 of Zeus golden  
 1028 of Zeus Στρατηγός 707 votive, in  
 clay 944<sub>0</sub>  
 Halbherr, F. 770<sub>2</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 935<sub>0</sub>  
 Halévy, J. 1038  
 Half-man, folk-tale of, from Epeiros 671 f.  
 Hall, Edith H. 538<sub>2</sub>  
 Hall, H. R. 143<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>1</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>1</sub> 517<sub>3</sub> 518<sub>3</sub>  
 538<sub>3</sub> 600<sub>4</sub> 601<sub>3</sub>  
 Hall, I. H. 598 f.  
 Hall, R. W. 605<sub>1</sub>  
 Halliday, W. R. 693<sub>4</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> 988 990<sub>8</sub> 1019<sub>0</sub>  
 1067 1114<sub>0</sub> 1134<sub>9</sub> 1222  
 Haltères 1154  
 Hamaker, H. A. 558<sub>0</sub>  
 Hamilton, Miss M. (Mrs G. Dickins) 232<sub>4</sub>  
 891<sub>0</sub> 1114<sub>5</sub>  
 Hamilton, W. J. 923<sub>0</sub> 966<sub>0</sub> 977<sub>1</sub> 980<sub>0</sub>  
 Hammer of Charles Martel 660<sub>1</sub> of Charon  
 641 of Donar 640 609 of Hercules (?)  
 640 of Thor 547<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 945<sub>2</sub> on base  
 of Ahriman 1054 thrown to ratify ac-  
 quisition of property 703<sub>2</sub>  
 Hammers of Iupiter (Thor) 620  
 Hammeran, A. 74<sub>4</sub>  
 Ham-shaped coins from fountain at Ne-  
 mausus 1141<sub>0</sub>  
 Hand of God holding horn full of rays  
 1134<sub>4</sub> silver, of Nuada 224<sub>1</sub>  
 Hands of goddess curved up over her  
 breasts 535 of goddess raised, one palm

- Hands (*cont.*)  
 outwards, the other in profile 536 sup-  
 pliant 881<sub>0(0)</sub> 889<sub>0(33)</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> votive, in  
 bronze 886<sub>0(30)</sub>  
 Hanging 1104  
 Hannig, F. 720 1018<sub>3</sub>  
 Harding, P. J. 419  
 Hardouin, J. 1041  
 Hare 152<sub>0</sub>  
 Harnack, A. 307<sub>1</sub>  
*Hárpe* a sickle-knife invented by Thra-  
 cians 550<sub>1</sub> found among many peoples  
 of Asia Minor 550 of Demeter 448<sub>0</sub> of  
 Kronos 447<sub>8</sub> 549 f. of Perseus 718 721<sub>0</sub>  
 721<sub>7</sub> 1084 of Saturn 70<sub>1</sub> 550 on tauro-  
 bolic altar 306<sub>4</sub>  
 Harris, J. Rendel 133<sub>3</sub> 248<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 318 428  
 429<sub>3</sub> 430<sub>1</sub> 434 442<sub>4</sub> 447<sub>6</sub> 451 452 487 ff.  
 487<sub>3</sub> 488<sub>0(0)</sub> 692<sub>9</sub> 693<sub>4</sub> 697<sub>0</sub> 824 844 851  
 1014 1064 1072 1219  
 Harrison, E. 412<sub>7</sub>  
 Harrison, Miss J. E. 49<sub>1</sub> 118<sub>2</sub> 120<sub>2</sub> 120<sub>3</sub>  
 121<sub>3</sub> 131<sub>5</sub> 152<sub>0</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 165<sub>0</sub> 170<sub>3</sub> 177<sub>0</sub> 207<sub>0</sub>  
 243<sub>3</sub> 258<sub>1</sub> 262<sub>7</sub> 280<sub>0</sub> 313 f. 315<sub>3</sub> 375<sub>1</sub> 432<sub>4</sub>  
 450<sub>1</sub> 458<sub>1</sub> 458<sub>5</sub> 495 511<sub>1</sub> 516<sub>6</sub> 517<sub>3</sub> 520<sub>5</sub>  
 692<sub>6</sub> 693<sub>4</sub> 791 931<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>0</sub> 1022 1030 1039  
 1056 1058 1062 1067 1083 1089 1095<sub>0</sub>  
 1105<sub>8</sub> 1105<sub>9</sub> 1107<sub>4</sub> 1110 f. 1111<sub>0</sub> 1114<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 1125<sub>1</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub> 1137<sub>0</sub> 1151<sub>8</sub> 1151<sub>9</sub> 1160<sub>5</sub>  
 1161 1161<sub>3</sub> 1163<sub>3</sub> 1213  
 Harry, J. E. 805<sub>6</sub>  
 Hartland, E. S. 291<sub>0</sub> 294<sub>1</sub> 451<sub>1</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 1018  
 Hartung, J. A. 365<sub>4</sub>  
 Hartwig, P. 460<sub>2</sub> 473<sub>1</sub> 473<sub>3-5</sub> 473<sub>7</sub> 475 479<sub>1</sub>  
 Harvest-rites 498<sub>2</sub> 1096<sub>3</sub>  
 Hasluck, F. W. 835<sub>2</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> 1082  
 Hat of bifrontal sky-god 385 f. of Odhin  
 386 winged 388  
 Hatch, L. P. 1219  
 Hatchet See Axe  
 Hatzfeld, J. 1217  
 Hauck, A. 604<sub>4</sub>  
 Haug, F. 57<sub>3</sub> 57<sub>5</sub> 70<sub>0</sub> 70<sub>1</sub> 71<sub>1-3</sub> 71<sub>6</sub> 71<sub>7</sub> 74<sub>4</sub>  
 75<sub>1</sub> 76<sub>0</sub> 77<sub>2</sub> 87<sub>2</sub> 87<sub>3</sub> 88<sub>1</sub> 88<sub>2</sub> 1212  
 Hauser, F. 473<sub>3</sub> 475<sub>7</sub> 902<sub>2</sub>  
 Haussoullier, B. 318<sub>0</sub>  
 Hauvette-Besnault, A. 580<sub>4</sub> 586<sub>1</sub>  
 Havercamp, S. 1172<sub>0</sub>  
 Haverfield, F. 91<sub>1</sub>  
 Havet, L. 329<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Hawes, C. H. 166<sub>1</sub> 341<sub>3</sub> 538<sub>3</sub>  
 Hawes, H. 538<sub>3</sub>  
 Hawk as embodiment of Horos 774<sub>0</sub> as  
 shield-boss (?) 938<sub>0</sub> Egyptising 553 in  
 relation to hoopoe 1131<sub>2</sub> on lotos 774<sub>0</sub>  
 on pillar 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 Hawk-headed god (Râ) 774<sub>0</sub> snake (Kneph)  
 1127<sub>0</sub>  
 Hays, W. J. 1219  
 Hazel-tree 403<sub>0</sub>  
 Hazzidakis, J. 925<sub>1</sub> 935<sub>0</sub>  
 Head as means of divination 290<sub>0</sub> as seat  
 of the soul 290<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>0</sub> buried separately  
 290<sub>0</sub> 1218 of Archonides preserved in  
 honey 290<sub>0</sub> of deceased treasured in
- Head (*cont.*)  
 family (Africa), or buried separately  
 from body and replaced by stone image  
 (ancient Egypt) 1218 of priest of Zeus  
 Ὀπλόσμιος denounces murderer 290<sub>0</sub>  
 of Publius prophesies 290<sub>0</sub>  
 Heads of gods (*struppi*) placed on sacred  
 couches 1170 ff.  
 Head, B. V. 162<sub>1</sub> 225<sub>6</sub> 254 313<sub>8</sub> 363<sub>1</sub> 429<sub>5</sub>  
 430<sub>0</sub> 447 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 563<sub>1</sub> 570<sub>1</sub> 572<sub>2</sub> 575<sub>5</sub>  
 660 660<sub>3</sub> 662 705<sub>9</sub> 794<sub>5</sub> 810<sub>0</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub>  
 1042 1192<sub>9</sub> 1224  
 Head-dress, Egyptian 987<sub>0</sub> of crab's claws  
 1185 Oriental 980<sub>0</sub>  
 Headlam, W. 345<sub>5</sub> 1098<sub>2</sub> 1098<sub>3</sub>  
 Healing gods: Asklepios, Hygieia, Teles-  
 phoros See Index I. Dionysos Ἴατροῦς  
 250<sub>3</sub> Zeus Ἰψιστος 877<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Health bestowed by dead kings 1071  
 Heart of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 of  
 Liber 1031  
 Hearth, common, of the Arcadians 1148  
 invoked 728<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος 815  
 Heberdey, R. 728<sub>0</sub> 757<sub>1</sub> 972<sub>1</sub>  
 Hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Κάσιος on  
 Mt Kasion in Syria 982<sub>0</sub> 1192 sacrificed  
 to Zeus Νέμειος at Argos 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Hecatombs sacrificed to Zeus Μειλίχιος at  
 Athens 1141  
 Hedén, E. 1102<sub>7</sub>  
 Hedgehog 964<sub>3</sub>  
*Hedjmos*, taboo on 987<sub>0</sub> See also Mint  
 Heeren, A. H. L. 858<sub>1</sub>  
 Hehn, V. 279<sub>3</sub> 466<sub>4</sub>  
 Heim, R. 410<sub>0</sub>  
 Heiss, A. 1040  
 Helbig, W. 103<sub>0</sub> 144<sub>1</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> 158<sub>2</sub> 160<sub>0</sub> 165<sub>0</sub>  
 392<sub>9</sub> 393 f. 398<sub>1</sub> 400 473<sub>7</sub> 641<sub>1</sub> 652<sub>3</sub>  
 Hellebore, white 903<sub>2</sub>  
 Helm, K. 50<sub>1</sub>  
 Helmet, horned 110<sub>8</sub> miniature 930<sub>0</sub>  
 of Wodan 62<sub>1</sub> of Zeus Ἄρειος 705 f.  
 plumed 376<sub>1</sub> 376<sub>2</sub>  
 Hempl, G. 330<sub>0(8)</sub>  
 Henderson, W. 1002  
 Henzen, W. 804<sub>0</sub>  
 Hepding, H. 124<sub>0</sub> 292<sub>4</sub> 293<sub>3</sub> 306<sub>4</sub> 307<sub>1</sub>  
 969<sub>4</sub> f.  
 Herald of Zeus 1141  
 Heraldic device 189<sub>1</sub>  
 Herbig, G. 378<sub>2</sub>  
 Herm, double, of Dionysos 381 f. ithy-  
 phallic 645<sub>4</sub> 1091 of Augustus per-  
 sonating Iupiter 1091 of Diana 149 of  
 Hermaphroditos 1091 of Hermes 152<sub>0</sub>  
 384<sub>0</sub> 834 955<sub>0</sub> of Homer with Hesiod  
 389 of Octavian 1091 phallic 384<sub>0</sub> 1150<sub>0</sub>  
 Hermann, G. 296<sub>4</sub>  
 Hermann, K. F. 327  
 Hermet, F. 690<sub>2</sub>  
 Hero appears as snake 1064 1151 ff. blinds  
 one-eyed giant 988 ff. buried in pre-  
 cinct of god 953<sub>2</sub> buried in sanctuary  
 of goddess 944<sub>0</sub> 1152 1155 engulfed in  
 chasm 923<sub>0</sub> escapes by clinging under



- Hero (*cont.*)  
 sheep, goat, ox, etc. 989 escapes by giving false name 989 999 escapes by putting on sheep-skin, goat-skin, ox-hide, etc. 989 fated to be slain by his own son 923<sub>0</sub>
- Hero-feast an antecedent of the celestial banquet 1168 as marriage-banquet of the dead 1163 f. satirised by Aristophanes 1166<sub>3</sub>
- Héron de Villefosse, A. 445 f. 647<sub>4</sub>
- Herrmann, P. 94<sub>2</sub> 1019<sub>2</sub>
- Hertlein, F. 53<sub>2</sub> 57<sub>2</sub> 58 ff. 59<sub>1</sub> 59<sub>3</sub> 61<sub>0</sub> 70<sub>0</sub> 71 ff. 71<sub>1</sub> 71<sub>4</sub> 71<sub>5</sub> 71<sub>7</sub> 74 74<sub>1</sub> 74<sub>5</sub> 75<sub>0</sub> 75<sub>1</sub> 76<sub>0</sub> 76<sub>1</sub> 77<sub>0</sub> 77<sub>1</sub> 77<sub>2</sub> 78<sub>1</sub> 78<sub>2</sub> 79<sub>1-3</sub> 80<sub>1</sub> 80<sub>2</sub> 81 f. 81<sub>1</sub> 81<sub>2</sub> 81<sub>4</sub> 87<sub>2</sub> 88 88<sub>0</sub> 88<sub>5</sub> 89<sub>1-8</sub> 90<sub>2</sub> 93<sub>3</sub> 95<sub>1</sub> 108<sub>6</sub> 109<sub>1</sub> 1213
- Herwerden, H. van 261<sub>0</sub> 271<sub>0</sub>
- Herzfeld, E. 128<sub>3</sub>
- Hesseling, D. C. 641<sub>2</sub>
- Hetaïrai* in service of temples 959<sub>0</sub> f.
- Hettner, F. 70<sub>0</sub> 74<sub>6</sub> 75<sub>1</sub> 77<sub>2</sub> 88<sub>5</sub> 89<sub>8</sub> 95<sub>2</sub>
- Heuzey, L. 124<sub>4</sub> 905<sub>0</sub> 993<sub>2</sub>
- Hewitt, J. W. 899<sub>1</sub>
- Hexameters, buried 1186<sub>5</sub> would-be 101<sub>1</sub> 183<sub>2</sub> 220<sub>6</sub> 278<sub>2</sub> 344<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>0</sub> 612<sub>1</sub> (?) 739<sub>0</sub> 875<sub>1(2)</sub> 900<sub>1</sub> 911<sub>0</sub> 1067 1095<sub>0</sub> 1150<sub>7</sub> (?) 1154<sub>3</sub> 1157<sub>5</sub> (?)
- Heydemann, H. 207<sub>0</sub> 212<sub>4</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 853<sub>5</sub> 854<sub>4</sub> 854<sub>5</sub> 861<sub>7</sub> 1154<sub>1</sub>
- Hicks, E. L. 580<sub>7</sub> 1157<sub>5</sub> 1180<sub>1</sub>
- Hides, freshly-flayed, strewn on road 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>
- Hieródouloi* 616<sub>1</sub> 1175
- Hieroi* 958<sub>0</sub>
- Hierophántes* 291<sub>2</sub> 292<sub>0</sub> 1025 1067 1084 1168<sub>3</sub>
- Hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera 1020
- High-seat pillars 57<sub>1</sub> 533<sub>2</sub>
- Hild, J. A. 94<sub>2</sub> 267<sub>2</sub> 1060 1160<sub>5</sub>
- Hildburgh, W. L. 642<sub>3</sub>
- Hill, G. F. 105<sub>5</sub> 323<sub>2</sub> 331<sub>7</sub> 349<sub>2</sub> 369<sub>1</sub> 370<sub>2</sub> 372<sub>1</sub> 376<sub>2</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> 412<sub>2</sub> 425<sub>1</sub> 446<sub>3</sub> 447 552<sub>7</sub> 553 657<sub>3</sub> 657<sub>6</sub> 610<sub>9</sub> 674<sub>1</sub> 675<sub>4</sub> 681<sub>1</sub> 794<sub>5</sub> 869<sub>0</sub> 887<sub>0(31)</sub> 895<sub>0</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> 950<sub>0</sub> 972<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> 974<sub>0</sub> 1042 1134<sub>4</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub> 1172<sub>0</sub> 1187<sub>0</sub> 1189<sub>2</sub> 1209<sub>5</sub> 1220 1224
- Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 236<sub>1</sub> 874<sub>1</sub> 1066 1229
- Hind, Cerynean, on 'geometric' *fibula* 466 with golden horns 465 f. 843 with horns in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew writers 465 f. cp. 854 1219
- Hinke, W. J. 765<sub>2</sub> 766<sub>0</sub>
- Hirsch, Baron L. de 909<sub>0</sub>
- Hirschfeld, G. 973<sub>1</sub>
- Hirschfeld, O. 547<sub>0</sub>
- Hirschfelder, W. 472<sub>4</sub>
- Hirt, H. 293<sub>0</sub> 455<sub>3</sub>
- Hirzel, R. 727<sub>3</sub>
- Hitzig, H. 878<sub>0(2)</sub> 892<sub>1</sub> 899<sub>1</sub> 901<sub>1</sub> 1076 1137<sub>2</sub> 1147<sub>16</sub> 1222
- Hoeck, K. 190 f. 723<sub>0</sub>
- Höfer, O. 32<sub>4</sub> 115<sub>2</sub> 143<sub>2</sub> 246<sub>1</sub> 260<sub>0</sub> 270<sub>4</sub> 271<sub>0</sub> 284<sub>0</sub> 287<sub>1</sub> 293<sub>0</sub> 413<sub>6</sub> 414<sub>1</sub> 416<sub>3</sub> 422<sub>1</sub>
- Höfer, O. (*cont.*)  
 455<sub>0</sub> 560<sub>8</sub> 578<sub>3</sub> 587 599 627<sub>1</sub> 627<sub>3</sub> 692<sub>1</sub> 693<sub>1</sub> 807<sub>3(1)</sub> 814<sub>3</sub> 828<sub>6</sub> 873<sub>2</sub> 1026 1036 1044 1066 1099<sub>1</sub> 1099<sub>2</sub> 1110 1112<sub>7</sub> 1114<sub>0(4)</sub> 1122<sub>7</sub> 1122<sub>9</sub> 1131<sub>1</sub> 1131<sub>4</sub> 1150<sub>2</sub> 1154 1160<sub>7</sub> 1184<sub>1</sub> 1211 1220
- Höpken, J. 477<sub>0</sub>
- Hoernes, M. 637 648<sub>1</sub> 648<sub>2</sub> 649<sub>1-3</sub> 686<sub>2</sub> 687<sub>1</sub> 690<sub>1</sub> 1059
- Hoffmann, E. 549<sub>8</sub>
- Hoffmann, O. 115<sub>0</sub> 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 162<sub>9</sub> 452<sub>14</sub> 471<sub>1</sub> 496<sub>0</sub> 583 901<sub>0</sub> 948<sub>0(5)</sub> 1102<sub>4</sub>
- Hoffmann, O. A. 71<sub>5</sub>
- Hoffmann, S. F. W. 31<sub>3</sub>
- Hofmann, G. 729<sub>0</sub>
- Hogarth, D. G. 405<sub>3</sub> 410<sub>0</sub> 516 530 ff. 530<sub>2</sub> 567 569<sub>4</sub> 569<sub>5</sub> 623<sub>2</sub> 637 926<sub>0</sub> 927<sub>0</sub>
- Holder, A. 32<sub>4</sub> 32<sub>5</sub> 86<sub>3</sub>
- Holed vases convey liquid offerings to the dead 1056
- Holland, R. 99<sub>1</sub> 396<sub>0</sub> 471<sub>1</sub> 497<sub>2</sub> 775<sub>0</sub>
- Holleaux, M. 198<sub>1</sub>
- Holm, A. 914<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub>
- Holmes, T. Rice 792<sub>2</sub>
- Holm-oak as lucky tree 403<sub>0</sub> gigantic 403<sub>1</sub> on Mt Algidus 404 on Mt Corne 403<sub>1</sub> on Mt Tifata 404 See also Oak-tree
- Holstenius, L. 406<sub>0</sub>
- Holthenus, E. 13
- Holwerda, A. E. J. 947<sub>0</sub> 1020
- Homolle, T. 535<sub>2</sub>
- Honey as ingredient of cake 1140<sub>4</sub> (*ἐλαφος*) 1162 (*πυραμίς*) as intoxicant 448<sub>1</sub> 1027 as preservative 290<sub>0</sub> in relation to Demeter and Persephone 1142<sub>7</sub> offered to Bona Dea 1142 offered to dead 977<sub>0</sub> 1056 1142 offered to Dionysos *Μειλίχιος* (?) 1112<sub>6</sub> offered to Dis 1142 offered to Eumenides 1142 offered to Gaia 1142 offered to Hekate 1142 offered to Kerberos 1142 offered to snake (?) 1151 offered to Zeus *Μειλίχιος* (*Μειλίχιος*) 1112<sub>6</sub> (?) 1142 offered to Zeus *Στράτιος* 974<sub>1</sub> cp. 977<sub>0</sub>
- Honey-cake 1074 1151 (?) cp. 1140<sub>4</sub> 1162
- Hoopoe as form of Zeus 1130 f. compared with woodpecker 692 in relation to cuckoo, hawk, woodpecker, and bee-eater 1131<sub>2</sub> on Cretan *sarcophagus* (?) 523 used in charms 1131<sub>2</sub>
- Hoops, J. 487<sub>1</sub>
- Hopf, L. 665<sub>3</sub>
- Hopkins, E. W. 1035 f.
- Hoppin, J. C. 734<sub>0</sub> 737 777<sub>2</sub> 1167<sub>6</sub> 1223
- Horn dedicated to Zeus *Σωτήρ* 317<sub>2</sub> (Gjallarhorn) held by Heimdallr 305<sub>0</sub> of Zeus "Αμμων worn by Arsinoe ii 773<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub>
- Horns, altar of 1227 charged with vital force of divine beast 540 connected with double axe are probably bovine 538 f. in relation to double axe 535 ff. cp. 1221 of devil, four, six, or eight in number 326<sub>3</sub> phalloid, on lamp 367<sub>1</sub> ritual 517 525 528 535 538 ff. 624 ritual, formed of two-headed snakes (?)

- Horns (*cont.*)  
 1221 ritual, originally bovine 555<sub>0</sub>  
 ritual, originate in mountain-symbol (?)  
 1220 ritual, originate in shrine of  
 buried bull 539 f. ritual, with sprays  
 rising from them 927<sub>0</sub>
- Horse, fore-part of, on licitor's axe 633 f.  
 green winged, that lightens and thunders  
 1003 1017 in bronze 938<sub>0</sub> marked  
 with double axe 660 must not enter  
 precinct of Elektryone 499<sub>5</sub> of the Plain,  
 winged 1006 f. 1016 1018 red 435 ridden  
 by Eros 1040 white 435 white-faced  
 black 722<sub>1</sub> winged 1003 1006 f. 1016 ff.  
 1040 (See also Horses and Index I  
 Pegasos) with Eros emerging from its  
 head 1040
- Horses, heroes destroyed by 414<sub>2</sub> of Apollon  
 453<sub>3</sub> of children in 'Expulsion' tales  
 1014<sub>2</sub> of Dioskouroi 313<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>5</sub> 313<sub>8</sub> of  
 Helios 851 sacrificed in Persia 890<sub>2</sub>  
 sacrificed to Ares 548<sub>0</sub> sacrificed to  
 Helios 890<sub>2</sub> sacrificed to Poseidon 975<sub>0</sub>  
 tombs for, at Agrigentum 1146<sub>0</sub> victims  
 torn asunder by 1004 1019 white 975<sub>0</sub>  
 winged 453<sub>3</sub> 785
- Hospitality 1097<sub>0</sub>
- Houel, J. 917<sub>0</sub>
- Hound chasing goat or stag on Mt Argaios  
 978<sub>0</sub> golden 1227 of Diana 69 of Perseus  
 718 of Tantalos 212<sub>5</sub>
- Hounds in bronze 938<sub>0</sub> of Diana 144 cp.  
 149 on axe-head 632<sub>6</sub>
- Hour-glass of Death 868 of Time 867 f.
- Housman, A. E. 264<sub>2</sub>
- How, W. W. 311<sub>9</sub> 436<sub>8</sub>
- Hrozny, F. 910<sub>1</sub>
- Hübner, E. 91 91<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>6</sub>
- Hülsemann, C. 46<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 147<sub>2</sub> 147<sub>5</sub> 355<sub>5</sub>  
 359<sub>1</sub> 361<sub>5</sub> 363<sub>6</sub> 400<sub>11</sub> 403<sub>0</sub> 404<sub>3</sub> 472<sub>7</sub> 726<sub>0</sub>  
 1083
- Huish, M. B. 717<sub>1</sub>
- Human sacrifice at foundation of Antiocheia  
 on the Orontes 1188 to Ares in  
 Skythia 548<sub>0</sub> to Dionysos in Mytilene  
 1022 to Dionysos at Orchomenos in  
 Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> to (Dionysos) Πλειστωρος  
 at Apsinthos 270<sub>4</sub> to Dionysos Ωμάδιος  
 in Chios and Tenedos 667 f. to Palikoi  
 in Sicily 909<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Ἀταβύριος in  
 Rhodes (?) 924<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Ἀταβύριος in  
 Sicily (?) 924<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890<sub>6</sub>  
 891<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Λαφύστιος in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub>  
 to Zeus Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 904<sub>1</sub> (?)  
 to a Zeus-like deity Θυέστης at My-  
 kenai (?) 1022 (Ζάνες) 343<sub>0</sub>
- Human victim wrapped in skin of sacred  
 animal 924<sub>0</sub>
- Hunger of Erysichthon 683 f. of Herakles  
 683 of she-bear's son 679 683
- Hunt, A. S. 696<sub>0</sub>
- Hunting, inventor of 715<sub>4</sub> 1037
- Husband, dead, becomes Zeus Κτήσιος  
 1067
- Hutton, Miss C. A. 743<sub>5</sub>
- Hyde, W. W. 466<sub>3</sub>
- Hymn to Asklepios at Pergamon 954<sub>0</sub> to  
 Athena at Pergamon 954<sub>0</sub> to Dionysos  
 at Pergamon 954<sub>0</sub> to Zeus at Pergamon  
 954<sub>0</sub> f. to Zeus by Kleantes 854 ff. to  
 Zeus Δικταίος in Crete 931<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>0</sub> to  
 Zeus Ἐλευθέριος at Termessos (Ter-  
 messus Maior) (?) 974<sub>0</sub> to Orphic Zeus  
 1027 1028
- Hypaethral lightning-shrines of Rome 850  
 roof of Erechtheion 789<sub>7</sub> roof of Olym-  
 pion at Agrigentum 1227 trident-mark  
 at Athens 850
- Hypothymis 1162
- Ianus as parent of the triumphal arch  
 359 f. as *simulacrum* of the sky 354 f.  
 at entrance of Roman Forum 355 ff.
- Ibex 939<sub>0</sub>
- Ibis worshipped in Egypt 987<sub>0</sub>
- Ihm, M. 86<sub>3</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 328<sub>2</sub> 547<sub>0</sub> 619<sub>2</sub> 619<sub>4</sub> 1059
- Ilberg, J. 627<sub>3</sub> 1088
- Ilex-trees 399 f. 403<sub>1</sub> 946<sub>0</sub>
- Image hidden in bundle of wood 421<sub>3</sub> of  
 Mt Argaios 978<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> of Mt Kasion in  
 Syria (?) 983<sub>0</sub> See also Statue, Χόανον
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. 320<sub>0</sub> 363<sub>1</sub> 492<sub>0(0)</sub> 563<sub>1</sub>  
 566<sub>0</sub> 572<sub>2</sub> 572<sub>5</sub> 656 667<sub>4</sub> 676<sub>3</sub> 681 706<sub>2</sub>  
 981<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 1072 1095<sub>0</sub> 1143 1145<sub>0</sub> 1193<sub>10</sub>
- Immerwahr, W. 164<sub>6</sub> 1147 1149<sub>2(2)</sub>
- Immisch, O. 928<sub>0</sub>
- Imprecations by the Theoi Skleroi 972<sub>0</sub>
- Incense 974<sub>1</sub>
- Incense-burner 921<sub>0</sub>
- Incense-gathering 124
- Incest 680<sub>10</sub>
- Incubation 232 929<sub>0</sub> 982<sub>0</sub> (?) 1082
- Indigitamenta 13<sub>1</sub>
- Inghirami, F. 265<sub>4</sub> 709<sub>7</sub>
- Initiates of Demeter and Kore 132<sub>2</sub> of  
 Dionysos and Kore 120<sub>1</sub> of Eros 1167  
 of Sabazios 133<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Κάσιος in  
 Egypt 987<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Τελεσιουργός 1228  
 of Zeus Φίλιος 1186 sprinkled with  
 meal 190 tattooed 124<sub>4</sub> See also Mys-  
 teries
- Initiation, five stages of 1168 of Demo-  
 kritos 701<sub>0</sub> of Pythagoras 1024 to Zeus  
 Τελεσιουργός required of priests at  
 Miletos 1228
- Inspiration by eagle on sceptre 1134<sub>4</sub>
- Iris 774<sub>4</sub> 1224
- Iron, discovery of 715<sub>4</sub> 949<sub>5</sub> 1037
- 'Island-stones' 544 621 ff. 663<sub>1</sub>
- Ithyphallic Amen-Râ 772<sub>1</sub> Dionysos Ἀκρα-  
 τοφόρος 244<sub>4</sub> (?) Dionysos Φαλλήν 522<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 Hermes 384<sub>0</sub> 645<sub>4</sub> 1068 cp. 1091 1150<sub>9</sub>  
 Khem 772<sub>1</sub> Telesphoros 1089
- Ivory bull etc. from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub>  
 double axe from Pherai (?) 1221 double  
 axe from Sparta 640<sub>0</sub> *fibula* from  
 Pherai (?) 1221 ornaments for sword-  
 hilts 926<sub>0</sub> *πηχίς* at Berlin 1209<sub>2</sub> 1210<sub>2</sub>  
 shoulder of Pelops 224 throne at Ra-  
 venna 1205<sub>7</sub> 1205<sub>3</sub>



- Ivy as antidote to wine 250<sub>3</sub>  
 Ivy-berries 270<sub>3</sub>  
 Ivy-leaves 218<sub>0</sub> 263 540 1041 1128<sub>0</sub> 1204  
   as tattoo-mark 122<sub>0</sub> (?) of Apollon 246  
   used in libation 317<sub>1</sub>  
 Ivy-sprays 244<sub>4</sub> 1041  
 Ivy-wreath 199<sub>2</sub> 246<sub>1</sub> 247<sub>0</sub> 262 f. 265 388  
   390 909<sub>0</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub>
- Jackdaw as prophet of storm 519<sub>0</sub>  
 Jacobi, H. 1036  
 Jacobs, J. 671<sub>4</sub>  
 Jacobsthal, P. 615<sub>2</sub> 711<sub>1</sub> 713 764 771 779  
   781<sub>1</sub> 784  
 Jacoby, F. 695<sub>0</sub> 758<sub>0</sub>  
 Jahn, O. 46<sub>1</sub> 125<sub>2</sub> 131<sub>1</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> 212<sub>3</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 273<sub>3</sub>  
   346<sub>0</sub> 379<sub>3</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 504<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>4</sub> 699<sub>3</sub> 712<sub>4</sub> 713  
   793<sub>12</sub> 802 854<sub>3</sub> 865<sub>2</sub> 1154<sub>3</sub>  
 James, M. R. 325<sub>7</sub> 1212  
 Jameson, R. 788<sub>0</sub>  
 Jan, L. 343<sub>0</sub>  
 Janiform amulets 387<sub>4</sub> Argos 379 f. Boreas  
   380 devil worshipped by witches 326  
   Kronos 552 statues of the Slave Coast  
   378 statues representing twins (?) 378  
 Janiform deities of Celts 323 ff. 842 of Gaza  
   673 ff. of Illyrians (?) 340 f. of Kypros  
   673 of Lakedaimonioi 322 of Lithu-  
   anians 445<sub>1</sub> of Phrygians 322 of  
   Romans 326 ff. of Sikanoi (?) 322 of  
   Tenedos 654 ff. 673 significance of  
   378 ff.  
 Jars of Dioskouroi 436<sub>3</sub> 1062 ff. of Zeus in  
   *Iliad* 1067 f. of Zeus Κτήσιος 1054 ff.  
   1062 ff.  
 Jastrow, M. 128<sub>5</sub> 769<sub>1</sub>  
 Jay 248<sub>0</sub> (?) 523 f. 697<sub>0</sub> 1016  
 Jealousy, divine 503 1098<sub>5</sub>  
 Jebb, Sir R. C. 3<sub>6</sub> 465 699 699<sub>5</sub> 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Jeep, L. 608  
 Jenner, Mrs H. 1134<sub>4</sub>  
 Jeremias, A. 99<sub>1</sub> 127<sub>0</sub> 128<sub>2</sub> 480<sub>3</sub> 483 666<sub>1</sub>  
   1025 1108<sub>2</sub>  
 Jessen, O. 118<sub>3</sub> 119<sub>0</sub> 260<sub>0</sub> 406<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>1</sub> 567<sub>2</sub>  
   579<sub>0(13)</sub> 706<sub>7</sub> 838<sub>7</sub> 857<sub>6</sub> 895<sub>0</sub> 900<sub>1</sub> 918<sub>1</sub>  
   947<sub>0</sub> 1018<sub>3</sub> 1041 1093<sub>1</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub>  
 Jet 701 f. 701<sub>2</sub>  
 Jewelry often originates in magic 637  
 Jöst, W. 124<sub>0</sub>  
 Johns, C. H. W. 483 1110<sub>0</sub>  
 Johnston, J. B. 326<sub>1</sub>  
 Jolles 94<sub>2</sub>  
 Jones, H. Stuart 45<sub>1</sub> 382<sub>1</sub> 387<sub>4</sub> 392<sub>9</sub> 393<sub>2</sub>  
   398<sub>1</sub> 406<sub>0</sub>  
 Jonke, A. S. 487<sub>2</sub>  
 Jordan, H. 46<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 147<sub>2</sub> 147<sub>5</sub> 329<sub>0(1)</sub> 337<sub>4</sub>  
   355 355<sub>5</sub> 356<sub>2</sub> 358 363<sub>6</sub> 373<sub>4</sub> 400<sub>11</sub> 403<sub>0</sub>  
   472<sub>7</sub> 725<sub>0</sub> 726<sub>0</sub> 1083  
 Jouguet, P. 1228  
 Jowett, B. 1138<sub>3</sub>  
 Judas, A. 553<sub>0</sub>  
 Judeich, W. 21<sub>4</sub> 115<sub>3</sub> 567<sub>2</sub> 579<sub>0(1)</sub> 586<sub>2</sub> 586<sub>5</sub>  
   789<sub>4</sub> 789<sub>7</sub> 952<sub>0</sub> 1119<sub>0</sub> 1119<sub>1</sub> 1119<sub>4</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub>  
 Judgment of Eros 949<sub>5</sub> of Paris 949<sub>5</sub>  
 Jüthner, J. 1226
- Jullian, C. 108 108<sub>6</sub>  
 Jupiter-columns 57 ff. 840 1213 as Roman-  
   ised *Irminsül* 91 influence the com-  
   memorative columns of Rome and  
   Constantinople 100 ff. surmounted by  
   driving figure 75 surmounted by riding  
   figure 74 ff. surmounted by sitting or  
   standing figure 89 ff.  
*Jupitersäulen* See Jupiter-columns
- Kabbadias, P. 1076 f. 1117<sub>4</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub>  
 Kahrstedt, U. 594<sub>4</sub>  
 Kaibel, G. 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 1054 1056  
*Kálathos* of Agdistis 1229 of Apollon  
   493<sub>0(7)</sub> of Demeter (?) 564 of Hekate  
   714<sub>2</sub> of Zeus at Mylasa 577 597<sub>3</sub> sur-  
   mounted by crescent 714<sub>2</sub> See also  
   *Modius*  
 Kalinka, E. 874<sub>1</sub> 972<sub>1</sub>  
 Kalkmann, A. 265<sub>4</sub> 416<sub>6</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub>  
*Kanephóroi* 19<sub>0</sub>  
*Kántharos* 661 960<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub>  
*Kárnyx* 110<sub>8</sub>  
 Karo, G. 172<sub>0</sub> 173<sub>1</sub> 173<sub>5</sub> 516 518<sub>3</sub> 524<sub>9</sub>  
   527<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>3</sub> 623 623<sub>2</sub> 624<sub>0</sub> 624<sub>1</sub> 625 654<sub>5</sub>  
 Kastner, J. G. 868<sub>4</sub>  
 Kastriotis, P. 1088  
*Katabásion* 14 1075 f. 1088  
*Katabóthra* 998  
 Kaufmann, C. M. 73<sub>0</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> 603 606<sub>1</sub> 906<sub>1</sub>  
   1168<sub>4</sub> 1209<sub>6</sub>  
 Kausche, W. 1102<sub>7</sub>  
 Kawerau, G. 1148<sub>2</sub>  
 Kayser, C. L. 895<sub>1</sub>  
 Kazarow, G. 1225  
 Keil, B. 948<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 Keil, J. 1025 1217 1228 1229  
 Keil, K. (or C.) 807<sub>5(6)</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> 1058  
 Kekulé von Stradonitz, R. 739<sub>3</sub> 739<sub>4</sub>  
   1151<sub>8</sub>  
 Keller, G. 127<sub>6</sub> 136<sub>3</sub>  
 Keller, J. 89<sub>8</sub>  
 Keller, O. 230<sub>1</sub> 302<sub>2</sub> 413<sub>3</sub> 447<sub>7</sub> 464<sub>6</sub> 466<sub>3</sub>  
   519<sub>0</sub> 645<sub>4</sub> 665<sub>2</sub> 665<sub>3</sub> 667<sub>3</sub> 667<sub>4</sub> 676<sub>3</sub> 680<sub>1</sub>  
   691<sub>2</sub> 751<sub>2</sub> 998<sub>1</sub> 1079 1114<sub>0(6)</sub> 1131<sub>2</sub>  
 Kennett, R. H. 703<sub>2</sub> 1108<sub>2</sub> 1111<sub>1</sub>  
 Kerameus, A. Papadopoulos 138<sub>1</sub>  
 Keramopoulos, A. D. 231<sub>7</sub>  
*Keraunós* 11 See also Thunderbolt  
 Kern, O. 131<sub>5</sub> 238<sub>3</sub> 268<sub>3</sub> 663<sub>6</sub> 664<sub>3</sub> 666<sub>2</sub>  
   684<sub>3</sub> 957<sub>2</sub> 958<sub>0</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> 1019 f. 1023 1032  
   1077 1125<sub>1</sub>  
 Kershaw, Miss N. (Mrs H. M. Chadwick)  
   533<sub>2</sub>  
*Kesselwagen* See Caldron-chariots  
 Kessler, P. T. 1213 f.  
 Kestner, A. 1173<sub>2</sub>  
 Key as lightning-sign (?) 643<sub>7</sub> golden 991  
   incised on celt 643<sub>7</sub>  
 Keys of Ahriman 1054 of grief and glad-  
   ness 1160 of St Peter 1200<sub>3</sub>  
 Khell, J. 327<sub>10</sub>  
*Kibisis* 718  
 Kid on altar-top 154<sub>0</sub> Orphic votary as  
   121 217

- Kiepert, H. 46<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 361<sub>5</sub> 494<sub>9</sub>  
 Kiessling 494 f.  
 King as human Dionysos 271<sub>0</sub> as human  
 Jupiter 633 847 1059 as human Kro-  
 nos(?) 1156 as human Zeus 24 192  
 794 833 897<sub>0</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> 944<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> 1061  
 1065 1069 f. 1070 ff. 1073 f. 1076 1088 ff.  
 1121 ff. 1159 f. 1185 f. 1189 as weather-  
 maker 1159 bears name denoting Snake  
 1087 buried, appears as snake 1061  
 1087 buried, appears with snake in  
 attendance 1087 buried, gives oracles,  
 sends dreams, bestows health 1071  
 descended from Aiolos personates Zeus  
 1159 descended from Zeus 1074 divinity  
 of, among Semites 1108<sub>2</sub> divinity of,  
 transmitted to successor by means of  
 eagle-tipped sceptre 1132 ff. of Athens  
 reckoned divine 1121 ff. 1147 of Orcho-  
 menos in Boiotia reckoned divine  
 1149 f. of Persia reckoned divine 853  
 of Persia sacrifices at Pasargadai 974<sub>1</sub>  
 of Pontos carries wood for sacrifice to  
 Zeus Στράπιος 941<sub>1</sub> of Pontos resides at  
 Amaseia 975<sub>0</sub> of Sparta accompanied by  
 one of the Tyndaridai 436 of Sparta as  
 incarnation of one of the Dioskouroi(?)  
 436 440 of Sparta as priest of Zeus  
 Λακεδαιμῶν or Zeus Οὐράνιος 436 of  
 Sparta undergoes octennial probation  
 440<sub>2</sub> of Tegea reckoned divine(?) 1147  
 of Thespiai reckoned divine(?) 1150<sub>9</sub> of  
 Thessaly personates Zeus 1087 ff. 1122  
 priestly, at Aizanoi 964<sub>3</sub> f. priestly, at  
 Knossos 944<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> priestly, at Komana  
 in Kappadokia 965<sub>0</sub> priestly, at Ko-  
 mana in Pontos 965<sub>0</sub> priestly, at Nemi  
 394 ff. 403<sub>1</sub> priestly, at Pessinous 965<sub>0</sub>  
 priestly, at Sparta 436 priestly, buried  
 in sanctuary of goddess 944<sub>0</sub> priestly,  
 contest for position of 394 f. 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 490<sub>0(0)</sub> priestly, sacrificed for the com-  
 munity 303<sub>2</sub> specially favoured by  
 Zeus 1074  
 King, C. W. 512<sub>1</sub>  
 King, J. E. 1059  
 King, L. W. 765<sub>2</sub> 766<sub>0</sub>  
 Kingship, dual, at Carthage 444 dual, at  
 Rome 440 ff. dual, at Sparta 436 440  
 Kinkel, G. 957<sub>2</sub>  
 Kircher, A. 419  
 Kirchoff, A. 1115<sub>2</sub>  
 Kirchner, G. 627<sub>3</sub>  
 Kisa, A. 606<sub>1</sub> 1204<sub>2</sub> 1204<sub>3</sub> 1204<sub>5</sub> 1205  
 1205<sub>1</sub>  
 Kiškanû-tree 482 f. 1219  
 Kiste for severed genitals in cult of Kybele  
 298 f. 300 f.  
 Kithára 249<sub>2</sub> 449<sub>0</sub>  
 Kittel, R. 793<sub>4</sub> 833<sub>1</sub>  
 Klebs, E. 143<sub>2</sub> 321<sub>4</sub>  
 Kleidoûchos 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>  
 Klein, W. 261<sub>1</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub>  
 Knaack, G. 5<sub>2</sub> 472<sub>8</sub> 473<sub>1</sub> 473<sub>3</sub> 473<sub>5</sub> 475<sub>0</sub>  
 476<sub>12</sub> 479<sub>5</sub> 501<sub>2</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> 1033  
 Knife for gelding rams kept in sacred  
 oak 684 f. 848 hidden meaning of, in  
 Gnostic teaching 613 of Bios 866 868  
 sacrificial(?) 633<sub>2</sub> silver 354  
 Knight, Miss E. C. 418 420  
 Knots as protective amulets 192<sub>6</sub> 538<sub>5</sub> 538<sub>6</sub>  
 Knuckle-bones 1030  
 Köhler, H. K. E. 783<sub>7</sub>  
 Köhler, R. 346<sub>0</sub> 994<sub>1</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>  
 Köpp, F. 80<sub>2</sub>  
 Körber, K. 88<sub>0</sub> 89<sub>8</sub> 93<sub>3</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 98<sub>2</sub> 99<sub>1</sub> 99<sub>4</sub> 1213  
 Körte, A. 280 280<sub>1</sub> 281 322<sub>5</sub> 836 882<sub>0(23)</sub>  
 965<sub>0</sub>  
 Kohler, J. 1219  
 Kolbe, W. 18<sub>2</sub> 18<sub>3</sub> 897<sub>5</sub>  
 Koldewey, R. 128<sub>4</sub> 766<sub>1</sub> 910<sub>1</sub> 914<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>2</sub>  
 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Kondakof, N. 639<sub>1</sub>  
 Kônos 1030  
 Konstantinides, A. 138<sub>1</sub>  
 Kophiniotis, I. 32<sub>7</sub>  
 Koptó 158<sub>1</sub>  
 Kopp, J. 1037  
 Kopp, U. F. 480<sub>5</sub>  
 Kortleitner, F. X. 424<sub>0</sub> 1108<sub>2</sub> 1111<sub>1</sub>  
 Koskinomanteia 702<sub>4</sub>  
 Kóttabcs 1162<sub>3</sub>  
 Kouchakji, C. 1198  
 Kouchakji, F. 1198 1204<sub>1</sub>  
 Kouchakji Frères 1198<sub>0</sub> 1199<sub>0</sub>  
 Kouchakji, G. 1198  
 Kouchakji, H. 1198  
 Kouchakji, S. 1198  
 Koumanoudes, S. A. 1058 1095<sub>0</sub> 1115<sub>2</sub>  
 Kramer, G. 616<sub>1</sub>  
 Krappe, A. H. 1219  
 Kraus, F. X. 74<sub>4</sub>  
 Krause, J. H. 94<sub>2</sub>  
 Krauss, S. 1197<sub>3</sub>  
 Krek, G. 988 f.  
 Kretschmer, P. 268<sub>1</sub> 271 ff. 279 279<sub>0</sub> 279<sub>3</sub>  
 291<sub>0</sub> 292<sub>4</sub> 293<sub>1</sub> 293<sub>2</sub> 351 f. 385<sub>0</sub> 440<sub>4</sub>  
 570<sub>0</sub> 570<sub>2</sub> 583 ff. 585 f. 588<sub>0</sub> 600 600<sub>5</sub>  
 713 853<sub>2</sub> 946<sub>0</sub> 1072 1152 f. 1153<sub>1</sub> 1154<sub>5</sub>  
 Kreuzer 1103<sub>8</sub>  
 Kriobólion See Criobolium  
 Kroll, W. 129<sub>1</sub> 611<sub>4</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 1020  
 Krueger, G. 641<sub>2</sub>  
 Krumbacher, K. 135<sub>1</sub> 138<sub>1</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 1188<sub>10</sub>  
 Kruse, F. C. H. 1104<sub>2</sub>  
 Kteis 133<sub>0</sub> 268<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 302<sub>2</sub> 772<sub>1</sub>  
 Kubitschek, J. W. 696<sub>0</sub>  
 Kubitschek, W. 371<sub>0</sub> 587 950<sub>0</sub>  
 Kudurru 765<sub>2</sub> 766<sub>0</sub> 766<sub>1</sub>  
 Küentzle 430<sub>2</sub>  
 Kühner, R. 1068  
 Küster, E. 1060 1087 1111<sub>1</sub>  
 Kuhn, A. 37<sub>6</sub> 40<sub>3</sub> 344<sub>3</sub> 383<sub>7</sub> 482<sub>4</sub> 643  
 Kuhnert, E. 410<sub>0</sub> 593<sub>1</sub> 595<sub>0</sub> 718<sub>1</sub> 718<sub>2</sub> 718<sub>4</sub>  
 719<sub>1</sub> 721<sub>7</sub>  
 Kumanudis, S. A. See Koumanoudes  
 Kunz, G. F. 508<sub>0</sub> 510<sub>4</sub> 512<sub>1</sub> 701<sub>2</sub>  
 Kunze, F. 642<sub>3</sub>  
 Kurz, M. 905<sub>0</sub> 906<sub>0</sub> 1227  
 Kutsch, F. 1089



- Kyranides* 611  
*Kýrbeis* of Colchians 1095<sub>0</sub> of Solon 815<sub>1</sub>  
 1094<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Labarum*, derivation of 606 ff. 613 f. 846  
 in relation to double axe 601 ff.
- Lábrys* See *Axe*, double
- Labus, D. G. 811<sub>10</sub>
- Labyrinth See *Index I*
- Labyrinth-pattern on gem in Psychro  
 Cave 926<sub>0</sub>
- Ladder as amulet 131 as emblem of various  
 saints 134 ff. as tattoo-mark 121 122<sub>0</sub>  
 as trade-mark 139 f. associated with  
 pillar 127 f. Mithraic 129 of St August-  
 tine 140 of bronze 133 of Buddha 129<sub>3</sub>  
 of Jacob 127 f. 136 of Kosingas 130 of  
 Otos and Ephialtes 130 of soul's sal-  
 vation and road to heaven 136 ff. 1215  
 of Trygaios 909<sub>0</sub> of virtues 136 Orphic  
 121 124 f. 134 red 1215 Sabian 129 set  
 against spiral column 475 f. white 1215  
 See also *Soul-ladder*
- Ladenci, F. 1211
- Lagobolon* 157<sub>0</sub> 165<sub>0</sub> 297 299 f. 405<sub>2</sub> 1140<sub>3</sub>
- Lagrange, F. M. J. 516<sub>6</sub> 517<sub>3</sub> 518<sub>3</sub> 519<sub>1</sub>  
 521<sub>4</sub> 523<sub>4</sub> 1111<sub>0</sub>
- Laistner, L. 268<sub>2</sub> 988
- Laistner, M. L. W. 934<sub>0</sub>
- Lajard, F. 492<sub>0(0)</sub>
- La Marmora, Count A. de 540 f. 805<sub>2</sub>
- Lamb on chalice of Antioch 1199 1208 on  
 Christian *sarcophagus* 1050 sacrificed  
 to Ianus 377
- Lambropoulos, A. 741<sub>2</sub>
- Lamer 859<sub>5</sub> 859<sub>8</sub> 863<sub>1</sub> 864 866<sub>0</sub>
- Lámniſsa* 994<sub>2</sub>
- Lamp-lighting in cult of Hypsistos 881<sub>0(20)</sub>
- Lamps, Christian 895<sub>1</sub> Cretan 930<sub>0</sub> 935<sub>0</sub>  
 938<sub>0</sub> Delian 921<sub>0</sub> of Ge *Θέμυς* 268<sub>0</sub>  
 of Hypsistarioi 885<sub>0(28)</sub> of Hypsistos  
 881<sub>0(20)</sub> of Theos Hypsistos 879<sub>0(16)</sub>  
 889 perpetual 1148 Roman 712 903<sub>2</sub>  
 926<sub>0</sub> Thessalian 903<sub>2</sub>
- Lance of mistletoe 305<sub>0</sub>
- Lanciani, R. 147 361<sub>5</sub> 403<sub>1</sub> 820<sub>3</sub>
- Lanckoroński, K. 879<sub>0(16)</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> f.
- Lands, sacred, at Aizanoi 968<sub>0</sub>
- Lang, A. 450<sub>1</sub> 548<sub>1</sub>
- Langdon, S. 696<sub>0</sub>
- Lange, K. 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Langenhau, A. 392<sub>8</sub>
- Langlois, E. H. 868<sub>4</sub>
- Lanzone, R. 1035
- Lapis lazuli*, axe of 510<sub>5</sub> cylindrical bar  
 of 769<sub>1</sub> in Sumerian text 482 f.
- Lararium* 751<sub>1</sub>
- Larch-trees on bank of Padus, etc. 402<sub>0</sub>  
 on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> Phaethon's  
 sisters as 402<sub>0</sub> (?) 472<sub>9</sub> (?)
- Larfeld, W. 236<sub>1-3</sub>
- Lark 463<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Lárnax* from Miletos in Crete 49 f. 543  
 from Palaikastro 524 f. 529
- Larophorum* 751<sub>1</sub>
- Lasaulx, E. von 727<sub>3</sub>
- Lassen, C. 150<sub>2</sub> 559<sub>6</sub> 569<sub>4</sub>
- Lât* 150<sub>2</sub>
- Latham, R. G. 1033
- Lattermann, H. 1071
- Látyshev, V. V. 884<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Laws as voice of Zeus 1095<sub>0</sub> of Solon  
 1093<sub>1</sub> 1094<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Lawson, J. C. 4 56<sub>2</sub> 505<sub>5</sub> 506<sub>0</sub> 506<sub>1</sub> 641<sub>2</sub>  
 642<sub>0</sub> 829 990<sub>8</sub> 1163 f.
- Layard, A. H. 766<sub>0</sub> 769<sub>0</sub> 770<sub>0</sub>
- Lead, imprecatory tablets of 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 statuette of 926<sub>0</sub>
- Leaf, W. 470<sub>5</sub> 502<sub>2</sub> 1067 1100<sub>0</sub>
- Leake, W. M. 110<sub>7</sub> 350<sub>3</sub> 589<sub>0</sub> 901<sub>2</sub> 981<sub>0</sub>
- Leaping as magical means of securing  
 fertility, prosperity, and established  
 Right 931<sub>0</sub> 932<sub>0</sub>
- Leather, Mrs E. M. 703<sub>2</sub>
- Le Bas, P. 580<sub>4</sub> 582 588 833<sub>9</sub> 966<sub>0</sub>
- Lebègue, J. A. 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>
- Lebensbaum* 53<sub>2</sub>
- Lechat, H. 211<sub>2</sub> 597<sub>2</sub> 711<sub>2</sub> 711<sub>4</sub> 758<sub>0</sub>  
 881<sub>0(21)</sub>
- Leclercq, H. 604<sub>4</sub> 1173<sub>2</sub>
- Lectisternium* 443 1170 ff.
- Leemans, C. 1131<sub>2</sub>
- Leeuwen, J. van 676<sub>3</sub>
- Lefroy, Sir H. 512<sub>1</sub>
- Leg, golden, in English tale 224<sub>1</sub>
- Legs of couches 760<sub>2</sub> of thrones 760<sub>2</sub>
- Legerlotz, G. 344
- Legge, F. 307<sub>2</sub> 544<sub>3</sub> 610 611<sub>1</sub> 1053
- Légrand, A. 383<sub>7</sub>
- Légrand, E. 288<sub>5</sub> 480<sub>8</sub> 480<sub>9</sub> 995<sub>2</sub> 1003<sub>2</sub>
- Lehmann, H. 481<sub>4</sub>
- Lehmann-Haupt, C. F. 1089 1225 1226
- Lehrs, K. 1125<sub>1</sub>
- Lejay, P. 328<sub>4</sub>
- Lekanomanteía* 206 666<sub>2</sub>
- Leland, C. G. 420
- Lenormant, C. 287<sub>0</sub> 319 372<sub>4</sub> 592<sub>4</sub> 662  
 785<sub>2</sub>
- Lenormant, F. 131<sub>5</sub> 157<sub>0</sub> 238<sub>3</sub> 245<sub>5</sub> 510<sub>4</sub>  
 658 804<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 1084 1104<sub>2</sub>
- Lenses (?) 938<sub>0</sub>
- Lentils 1172<sub>4</sub>
- Leonardos, B. I. 1071 f.
- Leonhard, W. 560<sub>4</sub> 560<sub>5</sub>
- Lersch, L. 69<sub>5</sub>
- Lessing, J. 158<sub>2</sub>
- Lethaby, W. R. 405<sub>3</sub>
- Letters, Anglo-Saxon 51 cruciform, effaced  
 by Mohammedans 976<sub>0</sub> English 613  
 Etruscan 613<sub>2</sub> Faliscan 613<sub>2</sub> Greek 176  
 609<sub>1</sub> 613 853<sub>1</sub> 976<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> 1216  
 Latin 613 on vestments 1207<sub>0</sub> Phoe-  
 nician 613 Runic 1212 f. Sabaeen 613  
 Sabellian 613<sub>2</sub> Sicyonian 613<sub>2</sub> Venetic  
 613<sub>2</sub>
- Lewy, H. 251<sub>0</sub> 587<sub>7</sub> 715<sub>8</sub> 1110
- Libation as drink for soul of dead man  
 1123 1125 from first, second, and third  
*kratér* at banquet 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> poured  
 into holed vessel over grave 1056 1064

Libation (*cont.*)

poured on sacred pillar 193 poured on sacred stone 983<sub>0</sub> to Charites (?) 1124<sub>0</sub> to Dioskouroi 1063 to Hermes 1124<sub>0</sub> to Heroës 1123 to Zeus and Hera 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Ἰδαῖος in Phrygia 950<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and the Olympians 1123 to Zeus Σωτήρ 1124<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Σωτήρ or Τέλειος 1123 to (Zeus) Σωτήρ and Ὀλύμπιος 1124<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Σωτήρ, Herakles, and Dioskouroi 434<sub>3</sub> to Zeus *τερπικέραυνος* 1097<sub>0</sub>

Libation-table 920<sub>0</sub>(?) 926<sub>0</sub> 927<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>2</sub> 1216  
*Libri lintei* 377<sub>4</sub>

Lictors, Roman 1181<sub>0</sub> axes of 633 ff. 680 847 1221

Liebrecht, F. 343<sub>0</sub>

Light, glaive of 722<sub>1</sub> pillar of 44 54 66<sub>0</sub> 100 114 ff. 840 1211 f. 1217

Lightfoot, J. B. 307<sub>1</sub>

Lightning as an axe 505 ff. 685 as the *ἀγνάνις* of Zeus 808<sub>0</sub>(<sub>0</sub>) as a flame from the *aithér* 11 as a flash carried by nude male winged figure 84 ff. as a flash from the eye of a deity 501 ff. 642<sub>0</sub> as a flash from the eyes of Jupiter 505<sub>2</sub> as a flash from the jealous eye of Zeus 502 ff. 844 as a golden mattock (?) 806<sub>1</sub> as a lance 81 as the spear of Zeus 704 f. 848 as a sword 721 f. 848 as a weapon 505 ff. 600 844 as a whip 824 ff. as the whip of Zeus 851 averted by iris 1224 averted by smacking sounds 827 ball of 1187 caused by green winged horse 1003 1017 chases snakes 820 828<sub>12</sub> chthonian 641 805 805<sub>6</sub> death by, a kind of euthanasia 23 ff. 29 33 ff. death by, amounts to apotheosis 9 diurnal and nocturnal 11 granted to epic heroes 8 made of same substance as sun 774 men struck by, buried on the spot 23 men struck by, honoured 9 men struck by, imperishable 22 f. men struck by, not to be lifted 23<sub>2</sub> men struck by, not to have funeral rites 23<sub>2</sub> men struck by, treated as divine 23 (See also Lightning, death by) over Mts Parnes, Briletos, and Hymettos portends storm 898<sub>0</sub> personified 28 828 851 produces mistletoe etc. 642 f. represented by zigzags (?) 639 ff. son of 829 spiral 779 Zeus conceived as 28

Lightning and Thunder, daughter of 828

Lightnings worshipped at Bathos 827

Lightning-fork 764 ff. bipartite 385<sub>0</sub> 764 f. 849 f. duplicated 767 769 in Etruria 805 f. in Ionian art 769 f. 849 in Mesopotamian art 764 ff. 849 f. lotiform 769 ff. 849 on bull 767<sub>1</sub> on ox 766<sub>0</sub> on shrine 766<sub>0</sub> tripartite 764 ff. 849 f.

Lightning-lotos, Greek modifications of 776 ff. with central spike like dagger or arrow 784 f. with central spike spirally twisted 779 ff. with flame-lines 780 with petals stylised into rays 776

Lightning-lotos (*cont.*)

with petals transformed into flames 777 with sepals forming serpent-heads 781 with sepals transformed into fly 781 with sepals transformed into wings 777 with side spikes barbed 784 f. with tendrils 781

*Liknon*, golden, as cradle of Zeus 933<sub>0</sub> in rites of Diana *Nemorensis* (?) 149 154<sub>0</sub> 405<sub>2</sub> with fruit and phalloid gherkin 154<sub>0</sub> with loaves 1166<sub>1</sub> with *phallós* 405<sub>2</sub>

Lilies combined with double axes 524 f. 527 774 dance in field of 49<sub>1</sub> loved by Hera 515 offered to 'Minoan' goddess (Rhea?) 515 species of, called *ambrosia* 773<sub>0</sub> worn in hair 49<sub>1</sub> 515 525

Lily-wreath 740

Limbs, votive 943<sub>0</sub> 1077

Lime-tree See Linden-tree

Linde, S. 337<sub>4</sub> 355

Linden-tree turns its leaves at solstice 470<sub>0</sub> venerated in France 403<sub>0</sub>

Lindsay, W. M. 3<sub>2</sub> 330<sub>0</sub>

Linen 1202<sub>0</sub>

Linforth, I. M. 227<sub>2</sub>

Link, W. 836<sub>1</sub> 958<sub>0</sub>

Lion as amulet 387<sub>4</sub> as form of Dionysos or Zagreus 1030 holding down sphinxes 930<sub>0</sub> in bronze from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub> in folk-tale from Kypros 996 lunar 892<sub>4</sub> of axe-bearing god at Keramos 575 f. of 'Minoan' goddess 552<sub>1</sub> 1221 ridden by Astarte (?) 869<sub>0</sub> signifies Kastor 439 stabbed by four-winged Kronos 553 worshipped at Leonton polis 987<sub>0</sub>

Lions as gargoyles 114<sub>0</sub> cp. 930<sub>0</sub> flanking 'tree-of-life' 930<sub>0</sub> in folk-tale from Sicily 1008 f. 1016 of Apollon 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> of Artemis 457 of Artemis *Ἐφεσία* 406<sub>0</sub> f. of axe-bearing god at Keramos 575 (?) 599<sub>2</sub> (?) of Hittite god at Boghaz-Keui 599<sub>2</sub> (?) of Kybele 299 552<sub>1</sub> (?) 970<sub>0</sub> 1221 (?) of 'Minoan' god 552<sub>1</sub> (?) of Rhea 552<sub>1</sub> (?) 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 1221 (?) of Zeus Ὀρείος 869<sub>0</sub> on axe-heads 632<sub>6</sub> on foreposts of throne 810 votive, at Branchidai 920<sub>0</sub> votive, at Patara 921<sub>0</sub> votive, in Delos 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> votive, in Phoinike 868<sub>8</sub> votive, in Thera 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub>

Lionesses, two, attend Artemis at Delos 1227

Lion-god of Hittites 550 ff.

Lion-goddesses, three, as support of tripod 193

Lion-headed monster (Tiamat?) 769<sub>0</sub>

Lion-heads as gargoyles 930<sub>0</sub> cp. 114<sub>0</sub> on gold ring from Mykenai 515

Lion's head as *rhytón* 190<sub>0</sub> as shield-boss 938<sub>0</sub> on axles of chariot-wheels 831<sub>1</sub> on body of Phanes 1051 on coins of Gaza 674 f. on coins of Pherai 660 on lictor's axe 1221 on sacrificial axe 631 f. on snake 1022 over Zeus Σαβάζιος (?) 664<sub>1</sub>



- Lion-skin beneath feet of Hera at Argos  
515 on throne of Zeus *Αἰτναῖος* 909<sub>0</sub>  
on tree of Zeus *Φελχάνος* at Phaistos  
947<sub>0</sub> (?) worn by Argos, watcher of Io  
380 (?) worn by Herakles 1116 worn by  
two-headed Herakles (?) of Baris 446
- Lion-skins, two, on coin of Gaza 674
- Lion-tomb at Knidos 1145<sub>1(c)</sub>
- Lippert, P. D. 319
- Lippold, G. 478<sub>4</sub> 479<sub>1</sub> 479<sub>5</sub> 1046
- Lissauer, A. 617
- Littmann, E. 1227
- Liver, bronze, from Piacenza 338<sub>3</sub> 339<sub>0</sub>
- Lizard in folk-tale from Zakynthos 994 f.  
in relation to Asklepios 1087
- Lloyd, Miss M. E. H. 641<sub>2</sub> 1224
- Lloyd, W. Watkiss 435 1042 1136<sub>0</sub>
- Loadstone, discovery of 949<sub>5</sub>
- Loaf with wild beasts moulded upon it  
1140
- Loaves, clay 1187<sub>4</sub> in *Uknon* 1166<sub>1</sub> on  
chalice of Antioch 1199<sub>2</sub> (?) 1199<sub>4</sub> (?)
- Lobeck, C. A. 129<sub>1</sub> 294<sub>0</sub> 350<sub>4</sub> 971<sub>2</sub> f. 1019  
1030 1140<sub>5</sub> 1166<sub>1</sub> 1168<sub>3</sub>
- Lobster held sacred in Seriphos 665 on  
coins of Astakos 665<sub>3</sub>
- Lobster's claws as head-dress of Triton (?)  
665<sub>3</sub>
- Locusts on Mt Kasion in Syria 981<sub>1</sub>
- Löbbecke, A. 446<sub>2</sub> 681 975<sub>0</sub>
- Loescheke, G. 789 1143<sub>1</sub>
- Loewe, E. 1082
- Löwy, E. 1105<sub>4</sub> 1105<sub>6</sub>
- Lohner 1221
- Lolling, A. 21<sub>4</sub>
- Lolling, H. G. 895<sub>1</sub> 896<sub>0</sub>
- Longevity, Hyperborean 465 500
- Longfellow, H. W. 140
- Longpérier, A. de 545<sub>0</sub> 548<sub>0</sub> 685
- Lorentz, R. 31<sub>3</sub>
- Lorini, A. 377<sub>5</sub>
- Loth, J. 237<sub>0</sub>
- Lotos as symbol of reproduction, resur-  
rection, and rebirth 772<sub>1</sub> associated  
with sun in Egypt 772 773<sub>0</sub> associated  
with sun in India 774 (?) 774<sub>1</sub> (?) blue  
772<sub>1</sub> 774<sub>1</sub> rose 772<sub>1</sub> 774<sub>1</sub> surmounting  
Mt Argaios (?) 978<sub>0</sub> symbolism of 771 ff.  
850 white 772<sub>1</sub> See also Lightning-  
lotos
- Lotos-flower beneath seated Vishnu 367  
surmounting the head of divinity or  
divinised mortal 772<sub>1</sub> 773<sub>0</sub> 774<sub>0</sub>
- Lotos-flowers offered to Egyptian deities  
774<sub>0</sub> offered to 'Minoan' goddess  
(Rhea?) 515 rise from the mummy  
Osiris 773<sub>0</sub>
- Lotos-petals on chalice of Antioch 1199
- Lotos-seeds as rosary of Vishnu-devotee  
774<sub>1</sub>
- Lotos-tree as lucky tree 403<sub>0</sub> in myth  
486<sub>2</sub>
- Lotos-wreath of Antinoos 773<sub>0</sub> of Sarasvati  
774<sub>1</sub>
- Lots 206<sub>1</sub> (?)
- Love as representation of Death 309 1045  
1166 between man and God denied by  
Aristotle 1167 in relation to God 1167  
1167<sub>2</sub> 1168 in relation to Zeus 1167  
1176 f. 1197 of God as final stage of  
initiation 1168
- Love-feasts of early Christians 1173<sub>2</sub> of  
Zeus *Φῆλιος* 1173 1197
- Lowrie, W. 604<sub>4</sub> 1168<sub>4</sub>
- Lübker, F. 1045 1163<sub>4</sub>
- Lüdtke, W. 307<sub>1</sub>
- Lukas, F. 1020 1033
- Luschan, F. von 767<sub>0</sub> 769<sub>0</sub> 972<sub>1</sub>
- Lustration at Kaulonia 1042 (?) 'Minoan'  
628 (?)
- Luynes, Honoré d'Albert duc de 1042 1219
- Luzel, F. M. 1010<sub>1</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>
- Lydekker, R. 413<sub>3</sub> 413<sub>4</sub> 465<sub>7</sub> 523<sub>6</sub> 524<sub>5</sub> 692  
692<sub>7</sub>
- Lyell, A. H. 604<sub>6</sub> 605<sub>1</sub>
- Lynch, R. I. 395
- Lynx 572<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Lyre in cult of Zeus *Βροντῶν* 838 f. 852 of  
Amphion 1013 of Apollon 160<sub>0</sub> 256 263  
453<sub>3</sub> 459 838<sub>8</sub> (?) 1219 of Christ (as  
Orpheus) 1208 of Dionysos 244 838 of  
Satyr 262 f. tortoise-shell 245<sub>5</sub> 263 with  
seven strings 453<sub>3</sub> 520
- Lysons, S. 604<sub>6</sub>
- Maass, E. 70<sub>0</sub> 93<sub>3</sub> 94<sub>2</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 96<sub>2</sub> 100<sub>3</sub> 251<sub>2</sub>  
252<sub>1</sub> 346<sub>0</sub> 660<sub>1</sub> 1112<sub>6</sub> 1164<sub>0</sub> 1164<sub>2</sub> 1214
- Macalister, R. A. S. 844<sub>6</sub>
- Macchioro, V. 199<sub>2</sub>
- Macdonald, G. 320<sub>0</sub> 430<sub>0</sub> 430<sub>1</sub> 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 491<sub>0(6)</sub>  
592<sub>4</sub> 610<sub>9</sub> 635<sub>0</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> 794<sub>5</sub> 909<sub>0</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> 1126<sub>0</sub>  
1192<sub>9</sub> 1209<sub>5</sub> 1219
- Macdonell, A. A. 1035
- MacGregor, J. M. 169<sub>1</sub>
- Mackail, J. W. 1045
- Mackenzie, D. 535<sub>4</sub> 601<sub>3</sub> 639<sub>2</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 940<sub>0</sub>
- Mackenzie, D. A. 519<sub>0</sub> 538<sub>3</sub> 1219
- Macleay, A. J. 1173<sub>2</sub>
- Macurdy, Miss G. H. 459<sub>3</sub> 495
- Madden, F. W. 603 610<sub>9</sub> 1172<sub>0</sub>
- Maddox, H. E. 660<sub>1</sub>
- Madsen, A. A. 426<sub>4</sub>
- Maeander-pattern 960<sub>0</sub> 965<sub>0</sub>
- Maehly, J. 1087
- Maggiore, N. 1227
- Magic as origin of jewelry 637 in cult of  
Zeus *Δικταῖος* 932<sub>0</sub> in relation to will-  
power 1042 f. omitted by Homer 989  
traces of, in will of Zeus 261<sub>0</sub>
- Magical castle 672 dance 932<sub>0</sub> herbs 211<sub>2</sub>  
949<sub>5</sub> ring 989 f. 1001 f. rites for revival of  
dead 522 rites for revival of vege-  
tation 521 rod 1043 spell learnt from  
fish 672 use of divine titles 1114<sub>0</sub>
- Magician controls lightning, thunder,  
and rain 558<sub>0</sub> identifies himself with  
Kronos (?) 558<sub>0</sub> Zeus as 1147
- Magnus, L. A. 1012<sub>1</sub>
- Magpies 518<sub>3</sub> (?)
- Mahaffy, J. P. 805<sub>6</sub>

- Maier, A. 485<sub>5</sub>  
 Maionica, H. 1221  
 Mair, A. W. 1218  
 Maize 154<sub>0</sub>  
 Mallet, iron, in myth of Prokroustes 627  
   used to kill off aged and infirm 703<sub>2</sub>  
 Mallets of Iupiter (Thor) 620 of Sucaelus  
 620  
 Mallows 1154  
 Malten, L. 460<sub>2</sub> 788<sub>1</sub> 791  
 Manatt, J. I. 49<sub>1</sub> 539<sub>2</sub>  
 Mannhardt, W. 53<sub>2</sub> 210<sub>3</sub> 224<sub>1</sub> 268<sub>2</sub> 303<sub>2</sub>  
   496<sub>0</sub> 498<sub>2</sub> 868<sub>3</sub> 1096<sub>3</sub>  
 Mantle, cosmic 351<sub>1</sub>  
 Manumission of slaves 883<sub>0(27)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Maple-trees 949<sub>5</sub>  
*Mappa* 1195<sub>1</sub> 1195<sub>3</sub>  
 Maragliannis, G. 535<sub>8</sub> 536<sub>3</sub> 654<sub>5</sub>  
 Marcellus, Count de 450<sub>0</sub>  
 Marchant, E. C. 1138<sub>3</sub>  
 Mariani, L. 211<sub>2</sub>  
 Marindin, G. E. 238<sub>3</sub> 1170<sub>5</sub>  
 Marjoram 268<sub>0</sub>  
 Marriage first celebrated by Okeanos and  
   Tethys 1020 sacred (See *Hierôs gámos*)  
   with god or goddess of the Underworld  
   1164 ff.  
 Marriage-banquet of the dead 1164 1168  
 Marriage-test of Penelope 690 ff. 848  
 Marshall, F. H. 638<sub>7</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Marshall, J. H. 524  
 Martha, J. 1219  
 Martin, A. 728<sub>0</sub>  
 Martin, T. H. 434 640<sub>3</sub> 641<sub>3</sub> 722<sub>3</sub> 779 1104<sub>0</sub>  
 Mask, comic 1124<sub>0</sub> comic, as carapace of  
   crab 1221 Janiform 326 374 f. (?) 378  
   of Bes 674 of Demeter *Κιδάρια* 1136<sub>4</sub>  
   tragic 375  
 Masks of Ammon 808<sub>0(17)</sub> on handles of  
   *skýphos* 1204 tragic and comic, com-  
   bined 388 f. tragic and satyric, com-  
   bined with mask of Pan 389<sub>1</sub> two  
   bearded, hung back to back on pillar  
   381  
 Masner, K. 543<sub>1</sub>  
 Maspero, Sir G. 99<sub>1</sub> 127<sub>0</sub> 141<sub>2</sub> 158<sub>1</sub> 426<sub>4</sub>  
   510<sub>4</sub> 700<sub>0</sub> 1035 1038  
*Massēbhoth* 127<sub>7</sub>  
 Massmann, H. F. 868<sub>4</sub>  
*Mastaba* 1145<sub>1(a)</sub>  
*Mastós*, a breast-shaped cup used in  
   Kypros, Delos, Boiotia, Attike, etc.  
   346<sub>0</sub>  
 Matter, J. 626<sub>1</sub>  
 Mattingly, H. 1214  
 Mattock of Zeus 806<sub>1</sub>  
 Matz, F. 478<sub>4</sub> 838<sub>8</sub>  
 Mau, A. 145<sub>1</sub> 147<sub>7</sub> 158<sub>2</sub> 161<sub>3</sub> 547<sub>0</sub> 798  
 Maurenbrecher, B. 329<sub>0(6)</sub> 337<sub>4</sub>  
 Maurer, C. 1100<sub>1</sub>  
 Maurice, J. 604  
 Maybaum 873<sub>2</sub> 875<sub>1(1)</sub> 898<sub>5</sub> 899<sub>1</sub> 1073 1075  
 May-day 285<sub>0</sub> 948<sub>0(4)</sub> (?)  
 Mayer, M. 350 374<sub>3</sub> 450<sub>0</sub> 459<sub>3</sub> 476<sub>12</sub> 495<sub>5</sub>  
   515<sub>4</sub> 542<sub>1</sub> 543<sub>1</sub> 543<sub>2</sub> 549<sub>5</sub> 549<sub>7</sub> 550<sub>2</sub> 553<sub>2</sub>  
 Mayer, M. (*cont.*)  
   554<sub>2</sub> 555<sub>0</sub> 599 600 697<sub>5</sub> 712<sub>5</sub> 713 831<sub>0</sub>  
   846 1033 1087 1110  
 May-king 303<sub>2</sub>  
 Mayor, J. B. 1135<sub>4</sub>  
 Mayor, J. E. B. 158<sub>2</sub> 450<sub>0</sub> 986<sub>0</sub>  
 May-pole compared with Diana-pillar 149 f.  
 May-queen 303<sub>2</sub>  
 May-tree 303<sub>2</sub>  
 Maze 601  
 Mazzocchi, A. S. 1041  
 McClean, J. R. 110<sub>6</sub> 667<sub>3</sub>  
 McDaniel, W. B. 1215  
 McDowall, Miss K. A. 199<sub>2</sub>  
 McLean, N. 696<sub>0</sub> 1037 1038 1109<sub>0</sub>  
 Meade, C. F. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Meadows of Hera 1021 of Zeus 933<sub>0</sub>  
 Meal, ritual use of 18<sub>6</sub> 19<sub>0</sub> 20<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub>  
 Meat, abstinence from 922<sub>0</sub>  
 Megalithic art, axes in 685 ff. 848  
 Meineke, A. 816<sub>1</sub> 855<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>4</sub> 858<sub>1</sub> 858<sub>2</sub> 1226  
 Meinhardt, P. 727<sub>3</sub>  
 Meister, R. 18<sub>3</sub> 278<sub>2</sub> 341 350 350<sub>4</sub> 350<sub>6</sub>  
   723<sub>0</sub> 1082 1096<sub>1</sub>  
 Meisterhans, K. 1167<sub>7</sub>  
 Melber, J. 6<sub>6</sub>  
 Mélida y Alinari, J. R. 1211  
*Melikraton* 671 See also *Nephália*  
 Mély, F. de 611 611<sub>5</sub> 611<sub>6</sub> 612<sub>0</sub> 612<sub>1</sub>  
 Ménant, J. 546<sub>0</sub>  
 Mendel, G. 836<sub>10</sub>  
 Menestrier, C. F. 107<sub>0</sub>  
 Menetreius, C. 406<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>0</sub>  
 Mengarelli, R. 509<sub>2</sub>  
 Meringer, R. 110<sub>5</sub>  
 Merkel, R. 40  
 Merry, W. W. 988<sub>1</sub>  
 Messerschmidt, L. 635<sub>3</sub>  
 Mestorf, Fräulein J. 642<sub>4</sub>  
*Metæ* 423<sub>1</sub>  
 Meurer, M. 73<sub>1</sub> 521<sub>5</sub> 529<sub>3</sub> 594  
 Meursius (J. de Meurs) 940<sub>0</sub>  
 Meyer, E. 311<sub>9</sub> 311<sub>10</sub> 313<sub>1</sub> 456 f. 550<sub>5</sub> 552<sub>0</sub>  
   560<sub>4</sub> 620<sub>5</sub> 620<sub>6</sub> 691 789 1108<sub>2</sub>  
 Meyer, E. H. 37<sub>6</sub> 230<sub>1</sub> 615<sub>2</sub> 643<sub>7</sub> 721<sub>6</sub> 722<sub>1</sub>  
   789 844<sub>6</sub>  
 Meyer, G. 404<sub>2</sub> 484<sub>5</sub> 779<sub>9</sub>  
 Meyer, L. 22<sub>4</sub> 1098<sub>6</sub>  
 Meyer, R. M. 52<sub>7</sub> 88<sub>3</sub> 844<sub>6</sub>  
 Micali, G. 378<sub>1</sub>  
 Mice called *σμίνοιοι* 250<sub>2</sub>  
 Michaelis, A. 103<sub>0</sub> 107<sub>3</sub> 625<sub>5</sub> 792<sub>1</sub> 793<sub>12</sub>  
   802<sub>6</sub> 802<sub>9</sub> 802<sub>10</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub>  
 Michaelis, W. 1135<sub>4</sub>  
 Michon, E. 647<sub>4</sub> 658<sub>3</sub>  
 Middleton, J. H. 389<sub>1</sub> 1074  
 Migeon, G. 606<sub>3</sub>  
 Milani, L. A. 49<sub>1</sub> 141<sub>4</sub> 142<sub>1</sub> 142<sub>2</sub> 538<sub>7</sub> 621 f.  
   622<sub>3</sub> 623<sub>4</sub> 653 1225  
 Milchhöfer, A. 515<sub>4</sub> 539<sub>2</sub> 615<sub>2</sub> 897<sub>5</sub> 1170<sub>1</sub>  
 Milk as diet of newborn soul 41 f. 134 as  
   drink-offering to dead 1056 in Orphic  
   rites 121 217 in rites of Magoi 977<sub>0</sub> in  
   rites of Zeus *Στράτιος* 974<sub>1</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> of asces  
   463<sub>1</sub> of sheep, taboo on 987<sub>0</sub>



- Miller, Eliza B. 137<sub>0</sub>  
 Miller, J. 222<sub>3</sub>  
 Millet 1172<sub>4</sub>  
 Milliet, P. 731<sub>2</sub>  
 Millingen, J. 131 162<sub>9</sub> 273<sub>4</sub> 717<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> 1154<sub>1</sub>  
 1154<sub>5</sub>  
 Mime-performer 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Minervini, G. 131<sub>1</sub> 273<sub>3</sub> 379<sub>4</sub>  
 Minns, E. H. 293<sub>0</sub> 493<sub>0(7)</sub> 495<sub>5</sub> 510<sub>1-3</sub> 540<sub>4</sub>  
 632<sub>6</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 925<sub>0</sub> 1203 1204<sub>1</sub>  
 Mint 1166<sub>0</sub> aphrodisiac 1165<sub>1</sub> taboo on  
 987<sub>0</sub> See also *Heđfosmos*, Water-mint  
 Mirabella, V. 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Mirror, as toy of Dionysos 251<sub>2</sub> face of  
 Klytaimestra seen in 206<sub>2</sub> made by  
 Hephaistos 1030 of Kairos (?) 863<sub>1</sub> of  
 Venus 70<sub>1</sub> 609<sub>1</sub> showing whole world  
 1005 1016  
 Mirrors, Etruscan 160 f. 258<sub>1</sub> 431 f. 432<sub>2</sub>  
 560<sub>3</sub> 708 ff. 713 848 Roman 1205<sub>6</sub>  
 Mistletoe, Baldr stabbed with lance of  
 305<sub>0</sub> called *Donnerbesen* 642 on apple-  
 trees 420<sub>1</sub> on oak-tree 643  
 Mitre of high priest symbolises sky 386<sub>5</sub>  
 Models offered to gods and heroes 539<sub>2</sub>  
*Modius* dedicated to M. Modius Maximus  
 299 of Agathe Tyche 1128<sub>0</sub> of Agathos  
 Daimon 1128<sub>0</sub> of Diana *Nemorensis*  
 149 of god from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub> of  
 Isis (Isityche) 1129<sub>0</sub> of Pluto 802 of  
 Sarapis 1129<sub>0</sub> with oak-leaves and  
 acorns 802 See also *Kálathos*  
 Mogk, E. 110<sub>5</sub> 533<sub>2</sub> 844<sub>6</sub>  
 Mohl, J. 611<sub>6</sub>  
 Mohnike, G. C. F. 854<sub>9</sub>  
 Molinet, C. du 626<sub>1</sub>  
 Mommsen, A. 233 240<sub>2</sub> 486<sub>3</sub> 1089 1092<sub>3</sub>  
 1121<sub>0</sub> 1139  
 Mommsen, Th. 328<sub>3</sub> 364 440<sub>4</sub> 440<sub>5</sub> 619<sub>4</sub>  
 803<sub>2</sub> 1172<sub>0</sub> 1195<sub>0</sub>  
 Monier-Williams, Sir M. 660<sub>1</sub>  
 Monogram, Christian, at Chedworth 604 f.  
 Christian, at Frampton 604 Christian,  
 in relation to trophy-cross and double  
 axe 613 f. 846 Christian, on coins of  
 Constantine the Great 604 Christian,  
 on shields 602 Christian, on top of  
 pillar 606 Christian, within wreath as  
 standard of Constantine the Great  
 603  
*Monómatoi* (*Monómatoi*, *Monomátai*) 993<sub>2</sub>  
 Monotheism, general trend towards 889  
 Monseur, E. 504<sub>4</sub>  
 Monster, headless 305<sub>0</sub> three-bodied 805<sub>6</sub>  
 1225 wolf-headed 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Montelius, O. 529<sub>1</sub> 618<sub>1</sub> 636 637<sub>1</sub> 647<sub>4</sub>  
 687<sub>2</sub> 788<sub>1</sub> 1221  
 Montfaucon, B. de 319 626<sub>1</sub>  
 Montgomery, J. A. 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Month, sidereal or lunar, division of 236<sub>5</sub>  
 synodical, division of 236<sub>5</sub>  
 Months: 'Αγρίανιος 924<sub>0</sub> 948<sub>0(3)</sub> (?) 'Ανθεστη-  
 ριών 1139 'Ανθεστηριών 1 equated with  
*kalendae Martiae* 1139 'Απελλαίος 982<sub>0</sub>  
 Βοηδρομιών 1121<sub>0</sub> Βακίνθιος 948<sub>0(3)</sub> Γα-
- Months (*cont.*)  
 μηλιών 1142 Διονύσιος 930<sub>0</sub> 'Εκατομβαϊών  
 1091 f. 1139<sub>5</sub> 'Ελάφιος 554<sub>2</sub> 'Ελάφριος  
 599<sub>7</sub> 'Ελχάνιος 948<sub>0(3)</sub> 'Ελχάνιος (?)  
 947<sub>0(2)</sub> Κρόνιος 1091 Λώιος 901<sub>0</sub> Μαλο-  
 φόριος 489<sub>0(0)</sub> Μεταγεινιών 1121<sub>0</sub> Ξαν-  
 θικός 982<sub>0</sub> 'Ομολόγιος 901<sub>0</sub> 'Ομολώιος,  
 'Ομολῶος, 'Ομολούιος 900<sub>1</sub> Τύβι (*leg.* Τυβί  
*vel* Τύβι) 1127<sub>0</sub> 'Υπερβερεταῖος 495<sub>6</sub> 496<sub>0</sub>  
 'Υπερβέρετος 496<sub>0</sub> Φεβρουάριος 1142<sub>2</sub>  
 Moon as egg 1015<sub>7</sub> (?) 1035 as eye of Zeus  
 117 1028 golden, on breast of princess  
 1012<sub>1</sub>  
 Mooney, G. W. 824<sub>4</sub>  
 Moor, E. 150<sub>2</sub>  
 Mordtmann, A. D. 195<sub>1</sub>  
 Mordtmann, J. H. 270<sub>3</sub>  
 Morell, A. 357<sub>1</sub> 358<sub>0</sub>  
 Morey, C. R. 135<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>4</sub>  
 Morey, P. 79<sub>1</sub>  
 Morgan, M. J. de 766<sub>1</sub>  
 Morgan, T. 604  
 Morpurgo, Miss L. 392<sub>8</sub> 392<sub>9</sub> 393<sub>1</sub> 393<sub>2</sub>  
 398 ff. 398<sub>0</sub> 420<sub>1</sub>  
 Mortillet, A. de 686<sub>3</sub> 687<sub>1</sub>  
 Mosaic of sacred cistern on Mt Kynthos  
 919<sub>0</sub> 920<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>  
 Mosso, A. 520<sub>1</sub> 544<sub>3</sub> 643 646  
 Moth as soul 645<sub>4</sub> on bronze double axe  
 from Phaistos 643 ff. 847 on golden  
 disks and *plaques* from Mykenai 645  
 Moulds, stone, from Palaikastro 623 ff.  
 Moulton, J. H. 33<sub>4</sub> 50<sub>1</sub> 313<sub>1</sub> 1036  
 Mountain climbed by children in 'Expul-  
 sion' tales 1008 f. 1011 1016 cosmic,  
 two-peaked 888<sub>0(0)</sub> cults of Zeus on  
 354 868 ff. glass 1012<sub>1</sub> opening at mid-  
 day 1005  
 Mountain-god, recumbent 962<sub>2</sub>  
 Mountain-top worshipped by Samaritans  
 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Mourning-women 1065  
 Mouth, bad spirits may enter through  
 1162<sub>3</sub>  
 Movers, F. C. 675<sub>4</sub> 715<sub>4</sub> 1038 1110<sub>0</sub>  
 Mowat, R. 373<sub>5</sub>  
 Much, R. 52<sub>7</sub>  
 Müllenhoff, K. 52<sub>7</sub> 53<sub>3</sub> 844<sub>6</sub>  
 Müller, C. 22<sub>3</sub> 132<sub>0</sub> 270<sub>4</sub> 696<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>2</sub> 1023  
 Müller, C. O. See Müller, K. O.  
 Müller, F. Max 383<sub>7</sub> 1035  
 Müller, G. A. 80<sub>2</sub> 109<sub>1</sub>  
 Müller, H. D. 549<sub>6</sub> 1021 f.  
 Müller, K. O. 16<sub>1</sub> 102<sub>0</sub> 130 199<sub>2</sub> 228<sub>4</sub> 241<sub>3</sub>  
 327 384<sub>0</sub> 457 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 744<sub>3</sub> 1042 1045  
 1048 1151<sub>8</sub> 1151<sub>10</sub> 1191<sub>5</sub> 1197<sub>3</sub>  
 Müntz, E. 106<sub>2</sub>  
 Mulberry-trees 946<sub>0</sub>  
 Mule, hind foot of 757<sub>6</sub> must not enter  
 precinct of Elektryone 499<sub>5</sub>  
 Mules, victims torn asunder by 1008 1019  
 Multiple blades of double axe 624 654  
 breasts 410<sub>0</sub> ears 322 eyes 446<sub>1</sub> 892<sub>5</sub>  
 893<sub>0</sub> types of deities 322<sub>4</sub> 341<sub>0</sub> 367 893<sub>0</sub>  
 Muñoz, A. 863<sub>1</sub> 865<sub>2</sub> 866<sub>0</sub> 867<sub>0</sub> 867<sub>2</sub> 867<sub>3</sub>

- Munro, A. 1221  
*Murex* 1047  
 Murr, J. 772<sub>1</sub> 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Murray, A. S. 405<sub>3</sub> 746<sub>2</sub> 753<sub>1</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Murray, G. 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 133<sub>2</sub> 458 931<sub>0</sub> 1019 1096<sub>2</sub>  
 Murray, J. 901<sub>2</sub>  
 Murray, Miss M. A. 326 1218  
 Musician 882<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Myers, F. W. H. 482  
 Myres, J. L. 598<sub>4</sub> 599<sub>3</sub> 718<sub>1</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 944<sub>0</sub>  
 Myrtle, quickening qualities of 1165<sub>1</sub>  
   sacred to Aphrodite 710<sub>3</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub>  
 Myrtle-berries at marriage-banquet 1164  
 Myrtle-branch called *verbena* 1170<sub>8</sub>  
 Myrtle-leaves, Pythagoreans buried on 472  
 Myrtle-trees 710<sub>2</sub> (?) 946<sub>0</sub>  
 Myrtle-wreath, possible significance of 1165<sub>1</sub>  
 Mysteries at Agra 1139 at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1186 at Eleusis 132<sub>2</sub> 295<sub>2</sub> at Leibethra 1024 at Memphis 701<sub>0</sub> at Pelousion 987<sub>0</sub> at Pergamon 288<sub>0</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> f. at Pheneos 1136<sub>4</sub> in Crete 345 838 934<sub>0</sub> 987<sub>0</sub> in Samothrace 314<sub>2</sub> of Demeter *Κιδαρία* 1136<sub>4</sub> of Demeter and Kore 132<sub>2</sub> 295<sub>2</sub> 345<sub>6</sub> of Dionysos 124<sub>4</sub> 1030 of (Dionysos) *Βρόμιος* 882<sub>0(0)</sub> of Dionysos and Kore 120<sub>1</sub> of Eros 1167 f. of Glykon 1084 of Io (?) 961<sub>0</sub> of the Kabeiroi 314<sub>2</sub> 953<sub>3</sub> f. of Morges 934<sub>0</sub> of the Mother of the gods 310<sub>2</sub> of Sabazios 133<sub>0</sub> of the Vine 613 of Zeus in Crete 345 987<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Ίδαίος* in Crete 838 934<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Κάσιος* in Egypt 987<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Σαβάγιος* 288<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Φίλιος* 1186 personal names taboo in 1114<sub>0</sub> use of meal in 19<sub>0</sub> See also Initiates, Initiation  
 Mystic formulae: *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκεν* 345 *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἄττειως* 345<sub>6(1)</sub> *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν* 345<sub>6(2)</sub>  
 Naber, S. A. 1124<sub>0</sub>  
 Nail of Talos 645<sub>0</sub> sacred 57<sub>1</sub> 423<sub>3</sub> 533<sub>2</sub>  
*Natskoi* 1064  
 Names, assonance of, characteristic of divine twins 310 312 avoidance of 1<sub>7</sub> 1114<sub>0</sub> beginning with *Ἄμφι-* 1072 descriptive, of animals in Greece 1134<sub>9</sub> false, given by hero 989 999 of bird-tribes in Greece and Italy 1134<sub>9</sub> of children in 'Expulsion' tales are stellar 1014 of early kings denoting Snake 1087 of god borne by worshipper 839 of sacred animals given to towns in Egypt 987<sub>0</sub> taboo, concealed under allusive or euphemistic titles 1114<sub>0</sub> theophoric 953<sub>3</sub> 1158 well-omened, borne by priests 921<sub>0</sub> See also Appellative, Nursery-names, Place-names  
 Nativity, site of, occupied by grove of Tammuz (*Adonis*) 934<sub>1</sub>  
 Natorp, P. 33<sub>3</sub> 352<sub>2</sub>  
 Nauck, A. 253<sub>3</sub> 806<sub>1</sub> 1013<sub>2</sub>  
 Navel of Earth 187<sub>5</sub> of Vishnu 774<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 190 ff. 191<sub>10</sub> 841  
 Neale, J. M. 140 1197<sub>3</sub>  
*Nebris* 270<sub>3</sub>  
 Necklace 593  
 Nectar as drink of infant Zeus 928<sub>0</sub> as intoxicant of Kronos 1027  
 Neeb, E. 93<sub>3</sub> 98<sub>2</sub>  
 Need-fire 816 f.  
 Neergaard, C. 637<sub>1</sub>  
 Nehring, A. 1219  
 Neo-Attic reliefs 165<sub>0</sub> 1225  
*Neokóros* 629 967<sub>0</sub> 968<sub>0</sub> 1078 1225  
*Nephália* 1142<sub>3</sub>  
*Neter* 544<sub>3</sub>  
 Nettles 395  
 Neuhaeuser, J. 1125<sub>1</sub>  
 Neumann, K. J. 441<sub>2</sub>  
 Neustadt, E. 928<sub>0</sub>  
 Newberry, P. E. 545<sub>0</sub> 555<sub>0</sub> 767<sub>2</sub>  
 Newell, E. T. 761<sub>4</sub> 762<sub>2</sub>  
 Newman, W. L. 854<sub>9</sub> 855<sub>1</sub>  
 Newton, Sir C. T. 589 f. 598<sub>1</sub> 1157<sub>5</sub>  
 New Year's Day 931<sub>0</sub>  
 Nicole, G. 124<sub>1</sub> 315<sub>3</sub> 737  
 Nicole, J. 757<sub>8</sub>  
 Niemann, G. 112<sub>1</sub> 455<sub>1</sub> 879<sub>0(16)</sub> 971<sub>2</sub>  
 Niese, B. 436<sub>6</sub> 816<sub>0</sub>  
 Nightingale 693 460  
 Nikitsky, A. 816<sub>5</sub>  
 Nilsson, M. P. 17 18<sub>2-5</sub> 118<sub>3</sub> 158<sub>1</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 237<sub>0</sub> 242<sub>4</sub> 250<sub>2</sub> 410<sub>1</sub> 413<sub>3</sub> 413<sub>7</sub> 453<sub>3</sub> 455 f. 469<sub>5</sub> 789<sub>7</sub> 807<sub>2</sub> 904<sub>4</sub> 960<sub>0</sub> 1033 1054 1060 1061 1064 1075 1125<sub>1</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub> 1170<sub>3</sub> 1170<sub>5</sub>  
 Nino, A. de 1001<sub>1</sub>  
 Nipples inlaid with red copper 747<sub>1</sub> large 319<sub>1</sub>  
 Nissen, T. 307<sub>1</sub>  
 Noack, F. 900<sub>0</sub>  
 Nock, A. D. 124<sub>4</sub> 806<sub>1</sub> 881<sub>0(20)</sub> 1211  
 Nome, divisions of the Pythian 239<sub>0</sub>  
 Nopcsa, Baron 822  
*Notia* 507<sub>2</sub>  
*Noumenia* 1196<sub>3</sub>  
 Nudity necessary in capture of the bird Dikjeretto 1005  
*Nuraghi*-civilisation 142<sub>0</sub>  
 Nursery-names applied to gods and goddesses 292 f. 294<sub>0</sub> 295<sub>1</sub> (?)  
 Nurses of Dionysos 274 f. 276 347<sub>0</sub> 1022 1030 of Semele 1031 of Zagreus 1030 of Zeus 227 f.  
 Nuts 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Nyrop, C. 988 989<sub>5</sub> 1001<sub>3</sub>  
 Oak-branch 1077 (?) 1177 (?)  
 Oak-brides of Zeus burnt on Mt Kithairon 977<sub>0</sub>  
 Oak-deities of Akarnania 412 of Mt Algidus 404 of Allobroges 570<sub>0</sub> of Arkadia 412 of Ephesos 405 of Greece 405 ff. of



Oak-deities (*cont.*)

- Italy 400 ff. of Keltoi 570<sub>0</sub> of Make-  
donia (?) 412 of Miletos 409 f. of Nemi  
417 ff. 842 f. of Phrygia (?) 570<sub>0</sub> of  
Rome 400 ff. of Thebes in Boiotia 412  
of Thrace 411 f. of Mt Tifata 404 of  
Troizen 413 ff.
- Oak-leaves 110<sub>8</sub> 394 f. 398 ff. 417<sub>5</sub> 420  
763<sub>1</sub> 802 843 965<sub>0</sub> compared with ver-  
vain 395<sub>2</sub> 396<sub>0</sub>
- Oak-tree as effigy of Celtic Zeus 111<sub>0</sub> as  
headquarters of Aequian commander  
404<sub>4</sub> as trophy-stand 109 at Dodona  
677 693<sub>3</sub> at Eresburg (?) 1212 cp. 53 at  
Gortyna 946<sub>0</sub> (?) at Nemi 417 ff. at  
Phylake in Phthiotis 685 848 at Ro-  
move 92 f. called *barnstokk* ('child-  
tree') and *apaldr* ('apple-tree') 682  
called *λεύκη* 467<sub>4</sub> clothes hung on 414<sub>2</sub>  
cut down, decked as bride of Zeus, and  
called *Δαϊδάλη* 898<sub>6</sub> decked with fillets  
and tablets 683 decked with weapons  
and spoils of chase 412<sub>6</sub> displaced by  
beech 402 f. displaced by olive (?) 415 ff.  
evergreen 92 f. 403<sub>0</sub> 404 411 411<sub>6</sub> 417<sub>5</sub>  
591 923<sub>0</sub> gelding knife kept in 685 not  
personified by priest of Nemi 400 of  
Apollon 486<sub>5</sub> of Artemis 405 ff. of  
Aryan thunder-god 417<sub>5</sub> of Asklepios  
1087 of Bendis 411 f. of Diana 400 ff.  
of Iupiter *Caelius* 400<sub>11</sub> of Phylakos  
685 of Tyndaridai 437 439 of Volsung  
682 of Zeus *Βαγαίος* 570<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Φελχά-  
νος* (?) 946<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Κορυφαίος* 1218 (?)  
of Zeus *Νάιος* 413<sub>2</sub> snake reared in  
1087 snake twined round 1218 (?) with  
sacred pillar 152<sub>0</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> with sow 324 (?)
- Oak-trees, Heliades transformed into 472<sub>10</sub>  
in Crete 946<sub>0</sub> Kronos mutilated beneath  
448<sub>1</sub> 1027 of *Querquetulanae Virae*  
402<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Ἀσκραίος* 872<sub>0(5)</sub> of Zeus  
*Στρατίος* 976<sub>0</sub> on the Esquiline 401 on  
Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> on *sarcophagus*  
showing death of Hippolytos 417<sub>3</sub> on  
*simpulum* showing amours of Zeus  
228<sub>7</sub> stag-beetle lives in 782<sub>2</sub> venerated  
in Oise 403<sub>0</sub> within Porta Querquetu-  
laria 402<sub>0</sub> See also Holm-oak
- Oak windows, king of 722<sub>1</sub>
- Oak-wreath, jewelled 809<sub>3</sub> of Artemis (?)  
412 of Bendis 411 f. of Sex. Pompeius  
371<sub>1</sub> of Silvii 417<sub>5</sub> of Zeus 348 388  
1187<sub>4</sub> of Zeus *Νάιος* 763<sub>1</sub> on coins of  
Rhodes 470<sub>0</sub> (?) on coins of Skepsis  
951<sub>0</sub> on coins of Thessalonike 411<sub>6</sub>  
precedes bay-wreath as prize at Pythian  
games 486
- Oath by Apollon, Demeter, Zeus 730<sub>0</sub> by  
Apollon *Πατρώος*, Demeter, Zeus *Βασι-  
λεύς* 1135 by Apollon, Poseidon, Zeus  
233<sub>7</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> by Mt Argaios 978<sub>0</sub> by As-  
klepios 1086 by Dionysos under open  
sky 724<sub>0</sub> by Dios *Fidius* under open  
sky 724<sub>0</sub> by Herakles under open sky  
724<sub>0</sub> by Hestia, Zeus, ... Poseidon 916<sub>0</sub>

Oath (*cont.*)

- by sceptre 723<sub>0</sub> by Zeus colloquially  
clipped (*νή Δι, νηδι*) 727<sub>3(3)</sub> by Zeus in  
affirmations of private life 727<sub>3</sub> 728<sub>0</sub>  
849 by Zeus in affirmations of public  
life 728<sub>0</sub> ff. 849 by Zeus sometimes  
elliptical (*νή τὸν —, μὰ τὸν —*) 728<sub>0</sub> by  
Zeus taken over boar 728<sub>0</sub> by (Zeus)  
*Ἰκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, Ἐξακεστήρ* 1093<sub>1</sub> cp.  
1095<sub>0</sub> by Zeus *Ἵρκιος* taken over cut  
pieces of boar 726 f. by Zeus *Σωτήρ*  
955<sub>0</sub> by Zeus, Apollon, Artemis 730<sub>0</sub>  
871<sub>3(1)</sub> by Zeus, Apollon, Demeter 729<sub>0</sub>  
730<sub>0</sub> by Zeus, Apollon, Themis 730<sub>0</sub>  
by Zeus, Athena, Aphrodite 730<sub>0</sub> (i. 16)  
by Zeus, Athena, Apollon 730<sub>0</sub> cp.  
458<sub>4</sub> by Zeus, Demeter, Helios 730<sub>0</sub>  
by Zeus, Ge, Helios 729<sub>0</sub> cp. 884<sub>0(0)</sub>  
by Zeus, Poseidon, Demeter 730<sub>0</sub> of  
Demaratos 728<sub>0</sub> of Demosthenes by  
*Ἀσκληπίος* (not *Ἀσκληπιός*) 1086 of  
*dikastai* at Ardettos 730<sub>0</sub> of kings and  
people of Epeiros before Zeus *Ἄρειος*  
706 of Gortyna 723<sub>0</sub> of *heliastai* at  
Athens 730<sub>0</sub> of Hierapytna 723<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>  
of Itanos 929<sub>0</sub> of Lyttos 723<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> of  
Priansos 723<sub>0</sub> of Solon 1093<sub>1</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> of  
Winged Horse of the Plain 1006 1016  
1018 taken over boar 728<sub>0</sub> taken over  
cut pieces of boar 726 f. taken *καθ'*  
*ιερώων νεοκαύτων* 929<sub>0</sub>
- Oaths in relation to Zeus 727<sub>3</sub> ff.
- Oberhammer, E. 270<sub>0</sub> 495<sub>2</sub> 609<sub>5</sub> 610<sub>4</sub> 901<sub>1</sub>  
906<sub>1</sub>
- Oberlin, J. J. 394<sub>2</sub>
- Occhiaro 1001 f.
- Octopus 205<sub>1</sub>
- Odelberg, P. 878<sub>0(3)</sub>
- Oder, E. 693<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>2</sub> 697<sub>3</sub> 697<sub>5</sub> 751<sub>2</sub> 1122<sub>2</sub>  
1131<sub>2</sub>
- Ogre, one-eyed 988 ff. three-eyed 995 f.
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 157<sub>1</sub> 246<sub>1</sub> 539<sub>2</sub>  
598<sub>3</sub>
- Oil 974<sub>1</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> 1056 1058
- Oktaeteris* 241 ff. Apolline 241 ff. Delphic  
239 ff. Dionysiac 242 posterior to *trie-  
teris* 242 f.
- Olek, F. 464<sub>6</sub> 464<sub>9</sub> 775<sub>0</sub> 1103<sub>4</sub>
- Oldenberg, H. 774<sub>1</sub> 1035 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Oldfather 1041
- Oleander 891<sub>0</sub>
- Olive-branch 98 211<sub>2</sub> 527 1042 (?) 1077 (?)  
1170<sub>8</sub> 1177 (?)
- Olive-leaves, Pythagoreans buried on 472
- Olive-tree called Writen Olive at Troizen  
415 decked with votive tablets 903<sub>0</sub>  
Dionysos or Zagreus compared with  
1030 displaces oak (?) 415 ff. on gold  
ring from Mykenai 515<sub>1</sub> (?) on *sarco-  
phagus* from Hagia Triada 517 (?)  
resembles evergreen oak (?) 415<sub>2</sub> turns  
its leaves at solstice 470<sub>0</sub> See also  
Wild-olive
- Olive-trees at Epidauros Limera 1082 on  
Greek *sarcophagus* 417<sub>3</sub>

- Olive-wreath 165<sub>0</sub> 261 323<sub>1</sub> 902<sub>2</sub> 1029 1155  
See also Wild-olive
- Olrik, A. 57<sub>1</sub>
- Olshausen, O. 493<sub>2</sub>
- Ombria* 507<sub>2</sub>
- Omophagy 934<sub>0</sub> bovine 539 human 549 (?)  
667 f. 1022 See also Cannibalism
- Omphaloid stone with snake coiled round  
it 94<sub>3</sub> 186 cp. 882<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Omphalós* as centre of disk-shaped earth  
167 189 as mound of earth 187 as  
mound under which the navel-string  
of Zeus lay buried 191 841 as seat of  
Apollon 207<sub>0</sub> 1189<sub>3</sub> 1192<sub>5</sub> as tomb of  
Dionysos 219<sub>4</sub> associated with pillar  
166 ff. 187 841 in Aigina (?) 186 at  
Argos 173 at Athens (?) 184 at Branch-  
idai (?) 180 at Byzantium 167 ff. 841  
at Delphoi 169 ff. 841 1216 at Megara (?)  
186 of Ge 231 239 1216 on coins of  
Antiocheia on the Orontes 1192<sub>5</sub> on  
coins of Seleukeia Pieria 983<sub>0</sub> replica  
of Delphic 170<sub>3</sub> twined with snake  
882<sub>0(0)</sub> cp. 94<sub>3</sub> 186
- Onians, R. B. 1219
- Onions cause death of Diktys 986<sub>0</sub> grow  
with waning, wither with waxing moon  
986<sub>0</sub> f. in relation to Iupiter 260<sub>0</sub> taboo  
on 986<sub>0</sub> worshipped at Pelousion 987<sub>0</sub>
- Opus interrabile* 1203 ff.
- Oracle delivered by dead king 1071 de-  
livered by snake or snakes 1075 of  
Apollon 238<sub>0</sub> of Apollon at Delphoi  
163<sub>4</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 322<sub>7</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> of Apollon  
at Gryneia 489<sub>0(4)</sub> of Apollon Κλάριος  
at Klaros 489<sub>0(4)</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> cp. 1113<sub>0(2)</sub> of  
Apollon Κοροπαίος in Thessaly 871<sub>3(1)</sub>  
of Dionysos in Thrace 269 of Glykon  
at Abonon Teichos 1083 f. of Mars at  
Tiora Matiene 1133<sub>1</sub> 1230 of Nyx at  
Megara 257<sub>4</sub> of Pasiphaa at Thalamai  
31 of Zeus at Dodona 163<sub>4</sub> 214 ff. of  
Zeus at Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229 (?)  
of Zeus Κλάριος at Klaros 873<sub>2</sub> of Zeus  
Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος at Lebadeia  
1061 1073 ff. of Zeus Φίλιος at Antio-  
cheia on the Orontes 1186
- Orientation of Ianus' statue 358<sub>5</sub> of  
Iupiter's statue 46
- Ornithogonia* 463<sub>1</sub> 928<sub>0</sub>
- Orsi, P. 509<sub>4</sub> 770<sub>2</sub> 917<sub>0</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 935<sub>0</sub> 937<sub>0</sub>
- Orth, F. 1079
- Osborne, W. 635
- Ossorio, F. A. 1211
- Oswald, F. 473<sub>1</sub>
- Ott, L. 727<sub>3</sub>
- Otto, W. F. 363<sub>6</sub> 365<sub>1</sub> 1060
- Ouvré, H. 570<sub>2</sub>
- Overbeck, J. 16<sub>1</sub> 102<sub>0</sub> 125<sub>2</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 207<sub>0</sub> 327  
413<sub>2</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 592<sub>4</sub> 598<sub>1</sub> 625<sub>5</sub> 705<sub>9</sub> 708<sub>5</sub> 713  
713<sub>1</sub> 717<sub>2</sub> 740 746<sub>1</sub> 752 760 918<sub>0</sub> 1044  
1078 1143<sub>1</sub> 1178 1189<sub>0</sub> 1191<sub>5</sub>
- Owl called ἀσκάλαφος 1087 called ὤτρος 130<sub>4</sub>  
horned 130<sub>4</sub> 1036 f. of Minerva 95<sub>1</sub> on  
coins of Gaza 674<sub>1</sub> on coins of Per-
- Owl (*cont.*)  
gamon 955<sub>0</sub> on coins of Tyre 1036 f. on  
thunderbolt 955<sub>0</sub> torments Otos and  
Ephialtes 130<sub>4</sub>
- Ox as form of Zeus ('Great Ox') in Crete  
342<sub>0</sub> 345 354 bears lightning-fork 766<sub>0</sub>  
bears shrine with lightning-fork 766<sub>0</sub>  
in *formula* of Cretan mystics ('a Great  
Ox hath come upon my tongue') 345  
ridden by Themis 348<sub>5</sub> sacrificed to  
flies 782 sacrificed to Zeus 728<sub>0</sub> cp.  
950<sub>0</sub> tomb of, in Crete 342<sub>0</sub> 345 354  
worshipped at Memphis 987<sub>0</sub> See also  
Bull, Calf, Cow
- Oxen of bronze on Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes  
portend disaster by bellowing 924<sub>0</sub> on  
statuette of Artemis Ἐφεσία 407<sub>0</sub> sacri-  
ficed to Apollon 463<sub>1</sub> thigh-pieces of,  
burnt for Zeus 950<sub>0</sub> votive 930<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub>  
944<sub>0</sub>
- Oxé, A. 93<sub>3</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 98<sub>1</sub> 98<sub>3</sub> 99<sub>4</sub>
- Ox-head, filleted, on altar-top 154<sub>0</sub>
- Ox-hides 923<sub>0</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 989
- Ox-horn, golden, dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος  
982<sub>0</sub>
- Pace, B. 915<sub>0</sub> 1227
- Pagenstecher, R. 499<sub>0</sub>
- Pail 1060
- Pais, E. 365<sub>4</sub>
- Palace as name of temple 311 of brick at  
Tralleis 95
- Palládion* 8
- Palm-branch 99 163 246<sub>1</sub> 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 491<sub>0(0)</sub>  
1047 1077 (?) 1193 1202<sub>6</sub>
- Palm-branches 101<sub>1</sub> 573 cp. 964<sub>2</sub>
- Palm-tree at Delos 461<sub>0</sub> (?) at Delphoi  
461<sub>0</sub> in bronze at Delphoi 170<sub>2</sub> 262<sub>5</sub>  
of Zeus Σαάξιος (= Σαβάξιος) 284<sub>0</sub> (?)  
sacred, in Italy 159<sub>0</sub>
- Palm-trees on Christian *sarcophagus* 1050  
on *sarcophagus* of Hagia Triada 520<sub>5</sub> (?)  
521<sub>4</sub> (?) on wing of Ahriman 1054
- Panbabylonismus* 938<sub>0</sub>
- Panic grass 1172<sub>4</sub>
- Pankarpia* 1058
- Panofka, T. 165<sub>0</sub> 435 451<sub>1</sub> 706<sub>5</sub> 895<sub>1</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>  
1042 1080 1089
- Pan-pipes of Apollon 246 249<sub>2</sub> 249<sub>3</sub> of  
Attis 295 296<sub>4</sub> 299 cp. 664<sub>1</sub> of Charis  
held by Apollon 249<sub>2</sub> 249<sub>3</sub> of Pan 157<sub>0</sub>
- Panspermia* 1140<sub>3</sub>
- Pantheistic Zeus 1027 ff.
- Panther of Dionysos 261 270<sub>3</sub> 599<sub>2</sub> (?) of  
god with double axe at Keramos 575 (?)  
599<sub>2</sub> (?) of Zeus Λαβράνδος 599<sub>2</sub> (?) of  
Zeus Σάωτης 599<sub>2</sub> (?) with filleted  
double axe 572 (?) with head of double  
axe 599<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Panthers draw car of Dionysos 245<sub>0</sub> on  
either side of *kratér* 699<sub>4</sub>
- Pantheress 572<sub>2</sub> 838
- Panther-skin 380 854 1019<sub>2</sub>
- Pape, W. 350<sub>4</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 451<sub>1</sub> 873<sub>2</sub>
- Pappadakis, N. 903<sub>2</sub> 904<sub>0</sub>



- Paradise, various forms of Greek 465  
 Parasites invented by Zeus Φίλιος 1169  
*Páredros* of mother-goddess, at once her husband and her child 294 ff. 842  
 Pareti, L. 758<sub>0</sub>  
 Paribeni, R. 509<sub>2</sub> 516<sub>6</sub> 517<sub>3</sub> 518<sub>1</sub> 518<sub>3</sub> 520<sub>2-5</sub> 521 521<sub>3</sub> 521<sub>4</sub> 522 523<sub>3</sub> 524<sub>6</sub> 637  
 Paris, P. 404<sub>1</sub> 404<sub>3</sub> 686<sub>2</sub> 1158<sub>10</sub> 1211  
 Parker, C. A. 305<sub>0</sub>  
 Parrot 146  
 Parsnip 1042  
 Parsons, J. D. 607<sub>4</sub>  
 Pascal, C. 1170<sub>5</sub>  
 Pashley, R. 945<sub>2</sub>  
 Pasqui, A. 509<sub>3</sub> 636  
 Passow, A. 4 1164<sub>1</sub>  
 Paton, W. R. 234<sub>1</sub> 238<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> 872<sub>0(6)</sub>  
 Patsch, G. 485<sub>5</sub> 1195<sub>0</sub>  
 Pauli, C. 709<sub>7</sub> 709<sub>9</sub>  
 Peacock of Iuno 60<sub>0</sub> 67 with herm and butterfly 645<sub>4</sub>  
 Peacocks on Roman mirror 1205<sub>6</sub>  
 Pearson, A. C. 161<sub>2</sub> 466<sub>1</sub> 497<sub>2</sub> 676<sub>3</sub> 697<sub>2</sub> 799<sub>8</sub> 806<sub>1</sub> 854<sub>9</sub> 855<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>2-4</sub> 856<sub>8</sub> 856<sub>10</sub> 858<sub>3</sub> 858<sub>4</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> 1131<sub>2</sub> 1179<sub>6</sub>  
 Pearson, H. H. W. 482<sub>8</sub>  
 Pear-tree as lucky tree 403<sub>0</sub> sacred, at Autessiodurum 1215 f. wild, in folk-tale from Janina 678  
 Pectoral 594  
 Pedersen, H. 494  
 Pediment, crescent and star in 983<sub>0</sub> star in 980<sub>0</sub>  
 Pediments of Olympion at Agrigentum 911<sub>0</sub> of Parthenon at Athens 753 of fourth-century temple at Delphoi 267<sub>1</sub> of sixth-century temple at Delphoi 267<sub>1</sub>  
 Pedrusi, P. 327  
*Pedum* 308<sub>1</sub>  
 Peet, T. E. 142<sub>0</sub> 559<sub>2</sub>  
*Pélanos* 1097<sub>2</sub>  
*Pélekys*, a much-travelled word 587  
 Pennell, E. R. 421<sub>0</sub>  
 Penrose, F. C. 1229  
*Pentaeteris* 227 1121<sub>0</sub> 1179  
*Péplos* of Athena in eastern frieze of Parthenon 1136<sub>0</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub> 1137<sub>0</sub> of Athena worn by *basileüs* at Athens (?) 1136  
 Perdrizet, P. 270<sub>3</sub> 411<sub>6</sub> 628<sub>7</sub> 629 819<sub>0(5)</sub> 820<sub>3</sub> 863<sub>1</sub> 864<sub>0</sub> 866<sub>0</sub> 878<sub>0(9)</sub> 879<sub>0(15)</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 1229  
 Pernier, L. 520<sub>4</sub>  
 Perrot, G. 49<sub>1</sub> 515<sub>1</sub> 550<sub>5</sub> 551<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>5</sub> 620<sub>6</sub> 621 621<sub>2</sub> 622<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>6</sub> 805<sub>3</sub> 915<sub>0</sub>  
*Perséa*-tree 468  
*Persönliche Götter* 13<sub>1</sub> 851  
 Persson, P. 860<sub>4</sub>  
 Pervanoglu, P. 199<sub>2</sub> 1057  
 Pestle in rites of Pilumnus 643<sub>8</sub>  
*Pétasos* 383 386 388 713  
 Peter, R. 57<sub>3</sub> 470<sub>0</sub> 620<sub>1</sub> 620<sub>2</sub>  
 Petersen, C. 236<sub>1</sub> 344 642<sub>3</sub> 854<sub>9</sub> 855<sub>1</sub> 858<sub>3</sub> 1212  
 Petersen, E. 106<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 361<sub>5</sub> 516<sub>6</sub> 518<sub>3</sub> 520 f. 520<sub>5</sub> 522<sub>0</sub> 523<sub>1</sub> 524<sub>8</sub> 784<sub>2</sub> 793 f.  
 Petersen, E. (*cont.*)  
 794<sub>0</sub> 799<sub>10</sub> 879<sub>0(16)</sub> 972<sub>1</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> 1064 1136<sub>0</sub> 1181<sub>0</sub>  
 Petrie, Sir W. M. Flinders 141<sub>2</sub> 290<sub>0</sub> 325<sub>7</sub> 545<sub>0</sub> 617 622<sub>3</sub> 632<sub>6</sub> 799<sub>3</sub> 1218  
 Pettazzoni, R. 143<sub>2</sub> 143<sub>3</sub> 313 314<sub>2</sub> 315<sub>1</sub>  
 Peucerus, C. 702<sub>4</sub>  
 Pfister, F. 414<sub>1</sub> 414<sub>2</sub> 897<sub>0</sub>  
 Pfuhl, E. 741<sub>5</sub> 743<sub>4</sub> 817<sub>0</sub>  
*Phallós* affixed to column (?) 530<sub>0</sub> anthropomorphic 1089 f. covered with bay and ivy 244<sub>4</sub> dedicated to Theos "Γψι-στος (?) 879<sub>0(15)</sub> horns ending in 367<sub>1</sub> in *Uknon* 405<sub>2</sub> in relation to butterfly 645<sub>4</sub> in relation to snail 645<sub>4</sub> kept as relic 450<sub>1</sub> made of deer-skin 1022 made of wood 224<sub>1</sub> of Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> of Attis 970<sub>0</sub> of Dionysos Ἀκρατοφόρος 244<sub>4</sub> (?) of Dionysos Φαλλήν 522<sub>0</sub> of Gallos, king of Pessinus (?) 970<sub>0</sub> of herm 645<sub>4</sub> 1150<sub>9</sub> of Hermes 384<sub>0</sub> 1068 of Kibuka 450<sub>1</sub> of Kronos. 450<sub>1</sub> of Osiris 224<sub>1</sub> of Ouranos 450<sub>1</sub> of Phanes 1024 f. of Telesphoros 1089 f. of Zeus 450<sub>1</sub> on graves 1089 represented by pillar (?) 426<sub>4</sub> represented by thumb (?) 291<sub>2</sub> represented by trident (?) 791<sub>3</sub> swathed (?) 522<sub>0</sub> weighed 734<sub>3</sub> See also Genitals, Ithyphallic  
*Pharmakoi* 291<sub>2</sub> 924<sub>0</sub>  
 Philios, D. 895<sub>1</sub> 896<sub>0</sub>  
 Philpot, Mrs J. H. 88<sub>3</sub>  
 Phoenix as form of Rá 1035 on globe 373<sub>2</sub> on palm-tree 1050  
 Phoutrides, A. E. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Phylactery-bands 1200 (?)  
*Piaculum* 803<sub>2</sub>  
 Picard, C. 954<sub>0</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> 1216 1227  
 Pick, B. 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 493<sub>0(7)</sub> 1126<sub>0</sub> 1193<sub>4</sub> 1214  
 Pickard, J. 211<sub>2</sub>  
 Pictograph of double axe 613  
 Pierce, R. 1227  
 Piette, E. 189  
 Pig in parody of mystic *formula* 345<sub>5</sub> in rite of atonement 1097<sub>2</sub> nurtures Zeus on Mt Dikte 928<sub>0</sub> replaced by dog in pig-skin 1140<sub>5</sub> replaced by ham-shaped coin 1141<sub>0</sub> replaced by terra-cotta pig 1140<sub>5</sub> sacrificed to Iuno *Lucina* (?) 60<sub>0</sub> sacrificed to Zeus Βουλεύς 1105 sacrificed to Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 1105 sacrificed to Zeus Μειλίχιος 1105 ff. 1140<sub>2</sub> (?) 1157 snout of, in clay 896<sub>0</sub> worshipped at Praisos 782<sub>5</sub>  
 Pigeon, golden, on oak-tree at Dodona 677 on bronze tablet from Psychro Cave 927<sub>0</sub>  
 Pigeons on *sarcophagus* from Hagia Triada 518<sub>3</sub> (?)  
 Pighius (S. W. Pighe) 46<sub>0</sub>  
 Pigorini, L. 651<sub>1</sub> 652 652<sub>1</sub> 652<sub>3</sub>  
 Pig-skin, articles made of, must not be brought into precinct of Elektryone 499<sub>5</sub> dog dressed in 1140<sub>5</sub>  
*Pilion* (*pileum*) 307<sub>3</sub> 386 See also Cap, Phrygian

- Pillar as aniconic image of Arcadian god or goddess 814 f. of Esmun 1095<sub>0</sub> of 'Minoan' god 532 of 'Minoan' goddess 533 of Zeus Πάσιος 1095<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Πατρῶος 1095<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Στορπᾶος 815 1095<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Τριφύλιος 1095<sub>0</sub> as axis of spherical world 169 f. associated with ladder 127 f. 141 associated with *omphalós* 166 ff. marked with double axe 532 f. marking sunrise at winter solstice 1130<sub>7</sub> of early Germanic sky-god (*Irmingsúl*) 52 ff. of early Germanic sky-god Romanised as Jupiter-column 57 ff. of fire 115 115<sub>2</sub> of fire or light in legends of saints 115 ff. of glory 44 of light 44 54 66<sub>0</sub> 100 114 ff. 840 1211 f. 1217 sacred, belongs primarily to earth-goddess, secondarily to sky-god associated with her 533 surmounted by cock 1133<sub>1</sub> surmounted by hawk 1133<sub>1</sub> surmounted by horns 142<sub>1</sub> surmounted by pyramid 814 f. 1095<sub>0</sub> 1147 surmounted by woodpecker 1133<sub>1</sub> with two bearded masks hung back to back 381
- Pillars as divine effigies (?) 423<sub>3</sub> 843 in relation to double axe 528 ff. of Briareos 422 of Danaos 1144<sub>2</sub> of Dionysos 423 of Herakles 422 f. of Kronos 422 of Proteus 422 rayed, flanking Mt Argaios 980<sub>0</sub> supporting sky 56<sub>2</sub> 126 169 426 431 843 See also Diana-pillars, High-seat pillars, Sky-pillar
- Pillar-altars 161<sub>6</sub> 193
- Pillar-cult at Argos (?) 1144<sub>2</sub> at Delphoi 169 178 in France 1213 in Spain 1213 at Tarentum 29 45 131 161 166 559 at Tegea 814 f. in Thessaly 166<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Pillar-shrines 152<sub>0</sub> 153<sub>0</sub> 1213
- Pillet, A. 133<sub>3</sub>
- Pilos*, black 435 blue 386<sub>5</sub> covered with stars 386 of Attis 386 of Dioskouroi 313<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>4</sub> 313<sub>6</sub> 433 435 574 f. 1062 of Hephaistos 386<sub>5</sub> cp. 630 of Men 386 of Mithras 386 surmounted by star 433 white 435 worn by priest 386<sub>5</sub> 630
- Pinder, M. 577<sub>2</sub>
- Pine-cone 154<sub>0</sub> 298 951<sub>0</sub> 1054 1080 f.
- Pine-tree, eagle on 909<sub>0</sub> in grove of Diana *Nemorensis* (?) 146 147 ff. cp. 412 of Attis 303<sub>2</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> 969<sub>4</sub> 970<sub>0</sub> cp. 306<sub>5</sub> of Kybele 951<sub>0</sub> cp. 306<sub>5</sub> on gold ring from Mykenai 515<sub>1</sub> (?) on Mt Viarus 972<sub>2</sub> with effigy of Attis attached to it 303<sub>2</sub> with effigy of Osiris buried in it 303<sub>2</sub> with flutes and Phrygian cap 306<sub>5</sub> with timbrel and pipe 306<sub>5</sub>
- Pine-trees on Mt Aitne 909<sub>0</sub> on Mt Arbios 946<sub>0</sub> on Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923<sub>0</sub> on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> in Kolchis 411 sacred, near Amaseia 975<sub>0</sub> sacred, near Thebes in Boiotia 412
- Pine-wreath as prize at Isthmian games 490<sub>(5)</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> worn by Zeus 951<sub>0</sub>
- Pinks 775<sub>0</sub>
- Pinza, G. 147<sub>2</sub>
- Pipe 300 306<sub>5</sub>
- Piper, F. 868<sub>1</sub> 1049 f.
- Pithos*, burial in 1148
- Pithoi* in Psychro Cave 926<sub>0</sub>
- Pitrè, G. 1000 1008<sub>1</sub> 1012<sub>1</sub>
- Place-names in *-edos*, *-eda* 662 in *-nd-* 586 in *-yma*, *-ymos* 318 of 'Twin'-localities 318<sub>5</sub>
- Plague, ritual to avert 287<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub>
- Plane-tree at Athens 1118 at Delphoi 200<sub>(3)</sub> 201<sub>1</sub> at Magnesia ad Maeandrum 891<sub>0</sub> figure of Dionysos found in 891<sub>0</sub> in folk-tale from Janina 679
- Plane-trees, sacred, at Labranda 590 976<sub>0</sub>
- Planets, ladder of the seven (Sabian) 129 seven (Babylonian) 128<sub>5</sub>
- Platner, S. B. 46<sub>0</sub>
- Platt, A. 264<sub>2</sub>
- Plew, E. 660<sub>1</sub>
- Ploss, H. 960<sub>0</sub>
- Plough on altars of Zeus Βροντῶν 836 on altar of Zeus Δίος 281 on tombstones from Altyntash 836
- Plough-share 987<sub>1</sub>
- Plumptre, E. H. 1173<sub>2</sub>
- Plum-tree as lucky-tree 403<sub>0</sub>
- Plum-trees on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub>
- Plurality See Multiple
- Poerner, J. 928<sub>0</sub>
- Poirée, E. 612<sub>1</sub>
- Poland, F. 881<sub>(21)</sub> 925<sub>0</sub>
- Polenaar, B. J. 1173<sub>1</sub>
- Polites, N. G. 4 56<sub>2</sub> 192<sub>3</sub> 480<sub>7</sub> 641<sub>2</sub> 642<sub>0</sub> 828<sub>11</sub> 829<sub>1</sub> 988 990<sub>8</sub> 993<sub>2</sub>
- Polívka, G. 666<sub>3</sub> 988 995<sub>2</sub>
- Pomegranate held by priest of Attis 300 held by Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion 986<sub>0</sub> impregnates d. of Sangarios 969<sub>4</sub>
- Pomegranates, d. of Sangarios fed on 969<sub>4</sub> in garland of Attis 298
- Pomegranate-tree, eagle on 710 springs from severed member of Agdistis 969<sub>4</sub> the *Malum Punicum* at Rome 400<sub>11</sub>
- Pomegranate-trees near Arvi in Crete 946<sub>0</sub>
- Pomegranate-twigs held by priest of Attis 300 (?)
- Pomjalóvskij, I. V. 884<sub>(0)</sub>
- Pompilos* 448<sub>0</sub>
- Pomtow, H. 173 f. 231<sub>7</sub> 233<sub>3</sub> 243<sub>3</sub>
- Pontremoli, E. 1179<sub>7</sub>
- Pópana* 487<sub>(1)</sub>
- Poplar-tree, fruit-bearing, in mouth of Idaean Cave 230<sub>5</sub> 932<sub>1</sub>
- Poplar-trees beside Eridanos in land of Keltai 468 on Mt Arbios 946<sub>0</sub> sisters of Phaethon transformed into 495 See also Black-poplar, White-poplar
- Poplar-wreath 469 ff. of athletes 470 of Helios 469 of Heraklés 388<sub>3</sub> 469 of Hermes (?) 388<sub>3</sub> of Salií 470 of Teukros 472 of Trojan crews 472
- Poppo, E. F. 1140<sub>2</sub>
- Poppy held by emperor 571 (?)



- Poppies of Aphrodite 1165<sub>1</sub> of Bonus Eventus 1126<sub>0</sub> of Demeter 1165<sub>1</sub> of Isis 1165<sub>1</sub> of Rhea 515<sub>5</sub> 1165<sub>1</sub>
- Poppy-head in marriage rites 1164 cp. 1166<sub>3</sub>(?) of Dioskouroi 313<sub>6</sub>
- Poppy-heads in garland of Attis 298 in rites at Eleusis 1165<sub>1</sub> of Agathos Daimon 98<sub>0</sub> cp. 1126<sub>0</sub> of Rhea 515
- Poppy-stalks(?) held by female figure on 'Minoan' mould 624
- Poppysmós* 827<sub>4-6</sub>
- Poralla, P. 353<sub>3</sub> 436<sub>5</sub>
- Portraiture in Roman art of various periods 1206
- Posnansky, H. 933<sub>0</sub>
- Postgate, J. P. 40<sub>5</sub> 862<sub>5</sub>
- Postolakkas, A. 1058
- Pott, A. F. 344 1086
- Potter, J. 702<sub>3</sub>
- Pottier, E. 123<sub>0</sub> 713 1223
- Poulsen, F. 770<sub>2</sub> 1056 1058 1111<sub>1</sub>
- Powell, B. 916<sub>0</sub>
- Powell, F. York 533<sub>2</sub>
- Pradel, F. 666<sub>2</sub>
- Prætorius, J. 702<sub>4</sub>
- Praschniker, C. 499<sub>9</sub>
- Prayer whispered 1044
- Prayers personified (Litai) 1099<sub>2</sub> 1100<sub>0</sub> 1101
- 'Prayer-pellets' 944<sub>0</sub>
- Preller, L. 94<sub>2</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 355 383<sub>7</sub> 660<sub>1</sub> 721<sub>6</sub> 868<sub>6</sub> 1125<sub>1</sub>
- Prellwitz, W. 268<sub>2</sub> 494 570<sub>0</sub> 600<sub>4</sub> 779<sub>9</sub> 1077 1087 1098<sub>6</sub> 1110 1159<sub>1</sub>
- Premerstein, A. von 1025 1217 1228
- Preuss, K. T. 504<sub>3</sub>
- Price, I. M. 510<sub>4</sub>
- Priest assimilated to deity 630 honoured as a god 950<sub>0</sub> keeps in his house the statue of his god 741<sub>4</sub> 742<sub>5</sub> 743
- Priests' dedicate temple-columns in Asia Minor 580 named after their god 1073 wear *stróphion* or *stroppus* 1171<sub>1</sub>
- Priests and priestesses as axe-carriers 620 ff. with animal names 228<sub>4</sub> 693<sub>3</sub>
- Priesthood, annual tenure of 741<sub>4</sub> 743 916<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> 1133<sub>0</sub> life-tenure of 959<sub>0</sub> 967<sub>0</sub> 973<sub>1</sub> 976<sub>0</sub> 1225 of Athena 'Aléa held by boy 1147
- Priestly king at Tralleis dwells in brick palace 958<sub>0</sub> buried in precinct of deity 413 944<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub>
- Prince, Cretan, plays the part of Dionysos or Zagreus, the reborn Zeus(?) 522 Cretan, regarded as consort of Rhea(?) 522 524 Cretan, Zeus in the form of, slain by wild boar 522
- Prinz, H. 625<sub>3</sub> 630<sub>3</sub>
- Projection of Kouretes(?) 932<sub>0</sub> of rite of supplication(?) 1096<sub>2</sub>
- Prokesch-Osten, A. 590<sub>1</sub>
- Promiscuity, primitive 981<sub>1</sub>
- Prophylactics See *Apotrópaia*
- Prost, A. 71<sub>5</sub>
- Prostitution, religious 959<sub>0</sub> f.
- Prostropé* 1099<sub>1</sub>
- Prott, H. von 18<sub>6</sub> 890<sub>2</sub>
- Proverbs: βουδς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας | βέβηκεν 345 1218 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς 862 ἐφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἀμεινον 1166<sub>1</sub> Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται 940<sub>0</sub> ff. Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί 942<sub>0</sub> μωρότερος Μορύχου 1093<sub>0</sub> πλόκιον Γοργάδος 1148<sub>3</sub> Τενέδιος ἀνθρωπος, Τενέδιος ξυνηγόρος, Τενέδιος πέλεκυς 668 f. τρεῖς θεοὶ 1093<sub>1</sub> 1094<sub>0</sub>
- Pryce, T. Davies 473<sub>1</sub> 1205
- Prytaneion* 904<sub>1</sub> 1148<sub>9</sub>
- Psychostasia* 99<sub>1</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> by St Michael 138<sub>0</sub> in Babylonia 734<sub>3</sub> in Egypt 99<sub>1</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> in Greece 734<sub>3</sub> in Italy 99<sub>1</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> of Achilles and Hektor 734<sub>0</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> of Achilles and Memnon 733 ff. 734<sub>3</sub> of Eros 734<sub>3</sub> of *phalloi* 734<sub>3</sub>
- Puberty-rites 859 f.
- Puchstein, O. 359<sub>1</sub> 910<sub>1</sub> 914<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>2</sub> 917<sub>0</sub> 1180<sub>4</sub>
- Pughe, W. Owen 52<sub>4</sub>
- Pullan, R. F. 392<sub>8</sub>
- Punishment of mother in 'Expulsion' tales 1014 ff. 1019
- Puppets representing Death 868 representing Jupiter and other deities 1171 f.
- Puppies in rites of Diana *Nemorensis* 149
- Purification as first stage of initiation 1168 by figs 1103<sub>4</sub> by skin of animal sacrificed to Zeus Μελίχιος 1092 by thunder-stone 835 enjoined by Zeus at Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229 in rites of Zeus Φίλιος 1186 1197
- Purity, ceremonial 922<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub>
- Purse always full 1008 of Mercurius 70<sub>1</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> on chalice of Antioch 1199<sub>5</sub>(?)
- Purses on agonistic table 491<sub>0</sub>(*o*)
- Pursuit, ritual, at Tegea 164<sub>6</sub>
- Putto* as survival of Eros 1050
- Pyramid as form of deity 1144 as form of tomb 1145 as representation of mountain(?) 983<sub>0</sub> of Sandas 983<sub>0</sub> of Zeus at Sikyon 1144 ff. of Zeus Πάσιος 1095<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Πατρώος 1095<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Στροπῆος 815 1095<sub>0</sub> on pillar as form of deity 814 f. 1094<sub>0</sub> 1095<sub>0</sub> 1147
- Pyramides*, pointed cakes 1162
- Pyramids on tomb of Porsenna 1219 smooth-sided 1145<sub>1</sub>(*b*) smooth-sided, on plinths 1146<sub>0</sub>(*d*) stepped 1145<sub>1</sub>(*a*) stepped, on plinths 1145<sub>1</sub>(*c*)
- Pyre as type of sepulchral monument(?) 1145<sub>1</sub> of Herakles 23 903<sub>2</sub> of Kapaneus 23 of oaken images (δαίδαλα) 898<sub>6</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Στράτιος 974<sub>1</sub> 976<sub>0</sub> f. priestess at Dodona burnt on 217
- Quadriennial festival of Zeus Βασιλεύς and Hera Βασιλῆς 900<sub>0</sub> See also *Pentaeteris*
- Quandt, W. 238<sub>0</sub> 280<sub>1</sub> 565<sub>2</sub> 957<sub>2</sub>
- Quaranta, Com. 853<sub>5</sub>
- Quatremère de Quincy, A. C. 1219

- Queen of Athens receives *diphros* 1135 f.  
of Crete enclosed in wooden cow (?)  
924<sub>0</sub> of Egypt has horn of Ammon 773<sub>0</sub>
- Quests of children in 'Expulsion' tales  
1016 ff.
- Quilling, F. 98<sub>1-3</sub> 99<sub>1</sub> 99<sub>2</sub> 99<sub>4</sub> 1213 f.
- Quince on sceptre 763<sub>1</sub>
- Rabbit 1199 1205<sub>4</sub>
- Radcliffe, W. 676<sub>3</sub>
- Radermacher, L. 118<sub>2</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 290<sub>0</sub>
- Radet, G. 280 559<sub>6</sub> 561<sub>4</sub> 561<sub>5</sub> 562<sub>1</sub> 562<sub>2</sub>  
570<sub>2</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub>
- Radin, M. 121<sub>1</sub>
- Rafts 984<sub>4</sub>
- Rain as sweat of Kronos 558<sub>0</sub> as water  
through a sieve 2 at begetting of Dio-  
nyosos 275 blood-red 4 of ambrosia 275  
portended by spiders' webs 467 sent by  
Attis 292 sent by Dionysos 275 sent by  
Zeus 274 (?) 275 f. 894<sub>1</sub>
- Rain-charm at Krannon 831 ff.
- Raisins 671<sub>6</sub>
- Ram as *akrotérion* (?) 16<sub>1</sub> as centre of  
procreative power 306 685 black 471<sub>10</sub>  
golden 899<sub>1</sub> 904<sub>1</sub> on coin of Pagai  
488<sub>0(3)</sub> sacrificed to Ianus 377 sacrificed  
to Pelops 471<sub>10</sub> sacrificed to Zeus 1175  
signifies Idas 439 solar (?) 16<sub>1</sub>
- Ram's head beneath foot of Asklepios  
(? Zeus *'Ασκληπιός*) 1080 on bronze  
plaque from Rome 664<sub>1</sub> on licitor's axe  
1221 on throne-arms of Zeus 1082 on  
waist of Phanes 1051
- Ram's skin in folk-tale from Albania 999 f.  
in folk-tale from Psara 997
- Rams of Ba'al-hammân 1208<sub>2</sub>
- Rams' heads on altar of Erikepaios 1025  
on Lydian pendant 639
- Ramsay, W. 1194<sub>4</sub>
- Ramsay, Sir W. M. 277 278<sub>3</sub> 280 287<sub>0</sub>  
287<sub>1</sub> 288 288<sub>3</sub> 288<sub>5</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> 320<sub>0</sub> 408<sub>0</sub> 455<sub>1</sub>  
566<sub>3</sub> 567 567<sub>2</sub> 568<sub>7</sub> 569 569<sub>1</sub> 817<sub>2</sub> 835  
836<sub>2-4</sub> 836<sub>11</sub> 838<sub>8</sub> 883<sub>0(0)</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> 961<sub>0</sub>
- Rand, E. K. 1059
- Randall-MacIver, D. 1221
- Rangabé, R. 1119<sub>4</sub>
- Rapp, A. 94<sub>2</sub> 268<sub>3</sub> 548<sub>3</sub> 1033 1102<sub>6</sub>
- Rapp, E. 607 f.
- Rapson, E. J. 608<sub>4</sub> 791<sub>2</sub>
- Rasche, J. C. 444<sub>1</sub> 572<sub>2</sub> 635 1172<sub>0</sub> 1195<sub>1</sub>
- Raspberry-bushes 949<sub>5</sub>
- Rathbun, Miss M. J. 663<sub>3</sub>
- Ratti, N. 419 f.
- Ravaisson, F. F. 435
- Raven as bringer of rain 832 as prophet  
of fine weather 519<sub>0</sub> as prophet of  
storm 518<sub>4</sub> as prophet of weather 833<sub>0</sub>  
as telephany of sky-god (?) 519<sub>0</sub> of  
Apollon 160<sub>0</sub> 248 (?) 571 of Asklepios  
1084 (?) on hand of Apollon 248<sub>0</sub> (?)  
571 originally white 463<sub>1</sub> perched  
on double axe 518 (?) 520 (?) perched  
on wheel of car 832 turned black by  
Apollon 833<sub>0</sub>
- Ravens at Delphoi 180 at Krannon 832  
garrulous 524 of Zeus *'Ασκραίος* 872<sub>0(5)</sub> (?)  
on Mt Lepetymnos 832 on oak-trees  
872<sub>0(5)</sub> (?) on *omphalós* 186<sub>1</sub> (?) on  
wheels of car 832
- Rawlinson, Sir H. C. 482<sub>6</sub>
- Ray-fish 676
- Razor 630<sub>3</sub> 859 f. 861 f.
- Rebirth by means of *taurobolium* and  
*criobolium* 306 of Dionysos 234 of in-  
fants in Italy 1059 of Zeus 230 381  
823<sub>1</sub> 839
- Red bands binding bull on table-altar 517  
in funeral rites 522 522<sub>2</sub> ladder 1215  
leather strap round *fascēs* 635 River  
480<sub>0</sub> scarves 522
- Reduplication in language and art 654
- Reed with urn betokens water 285<sub>1</sub> 1050  
1083
- Reeds in Asopos 468 in folk-tale from  
Zakynthos 505 on basket of *Archigallus*  
299 on wing of Ahriman 1054
- Regalia* of folk-tale heroes 1016 of Persia  
281<sub>4</sub> of Troy 281<sub>4</sub>
- Rehm, A. 1220 1228
- Reichel, W. 587 646<sub>4</sub>
- Reichhold, K. 436<sub>1</sub> 731<sub>1</sub> 737<sub>4</sub> 852<sub>11</sub>
- Reimar, H. S. 34<sub>1</sub>
- Reinach, A. J. 110<sub>9</sub> 111<sub>0</sub> 516<sub>6</sub> 517<sub>3</sub> 518<sub>3</sub>  
520<sub>5</sub> 521<sub>4</sub> 523<sub>2</sub> 524<sub>6</sub> 560<sub>4</sub> 617<sub>6</sub> 620<sub>6</sub> 622<sub>2</sub>  
622<sub>3</sub> 947<sub>0</sub>
- Reinach, S. 70<sub>6</sub> 90<sub>1</sub> 93<sub>3</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 98<sub>1-3</sub> 99<sub>4</sub> 100  
105<sub>7</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 107<sub>0</sub> 109<sub>1</sub> 118<sub>4</sub> 136<sub>2</sub> 152<sub>0</sub> 160<sub>0</sub>  
165<sub>0</sub> 230<sub>1</sub> 261<sub>1</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 307<sub>1</sub> 349<sub>20</sub>  
355<sub>5</sub> 361<sub>5</sub> 445 f. 547<sub>0</sub> 550<sub>2</sub> 620<sub>1</sub> 636 639<sub>1</sub>  
680<sub>1</sub> 685 690<sub>1</sub> 726<sub>0</sub> 734<sub>0</sub> 739<sub>3</sub> 799<sub>10</sub>  
819<sub>0(5)</sub> 833<sub>9</sub> 865<sub>2</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 966<sub>0</sub>  
1089 1103 1110 1115<sub>1</sub> 1151<sub>8</sub> 1164<sub>2</sub>  
1173<sub>4</sub> 1181<sub>0</sub> 1214 1225 1229
- Reinach, T. 106<sub>2</sub> 107<sub>3</sub> 707<sub>2-5</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 975<sub>0</sub>
- Reindeer hardly to be identified with  
Cerynean hind 465 f. in Hercynian  
Forest 466
- Reisch, E. 160<sub>3</sub> 161<sub>2</sub> 211<sub>2</sub> 1078
- Relics 190 ff. (*ὀμφαλός* of Zeus, etc.) 221  
(bones and teeth of Python) 1015<sub>7</sub> (egg  
of Leda) 1203 (inner bowl of Antio-  
chene chalice)
- Religion, personal as well as civic 1176<sub>3</sub>
- Renan, E. 675<sub>4</sub> 868<sub>3</sub>
- Rendall, G. H. 1202<sub>0</sub>
- Rendering of Dionysos or Zagreus 218 f.  
234 239 1030 ff.
- Renz, C. 1200<sub>3</sub>
- Resurrection, Attis as emblem of 309  
eagle as emblem of 1209<sub>6</sub> Hadrian  
erects image of Zeus (Iupiter) on site  
of 984<sub>1</sub> of Christ 941<sub>0</sub> of dead ensured  
by magic rites of revival 522 of Dio-  
nyosos or Zagreus 234 1032 of Zeus as  
Zagreus 934<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub>
- Resurrection-rite (?) 1191<sub>2</sub>
- Reusch 32<sub>5</sub>
- Reuvsens, C. J. C. 141<sub>2</sub>
- Rey, E. G. 431<sub>1</sub>



- Rhodium, J. 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Rhomaios, K. A. 815<sub>2</sub> 1222  
*Rhombos* 1030  
 Rhôys, Sir J. 326 450<sub>0</sub>  
*Rhytôn* See Vases  
 Richards, G. C. 628<sub>6</sub>  
 Richardson, Miss H. 1216  
 Richardson, R. B. 916<sub>0</sub>  
 Richmond, O. L. 147<sub>2</sub>  
 Richter, E. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Richter, Miss G. M. A. 748<sub>0</sub> 754 f. 754<sub>3</sub>  
 754<sub>4</sub> 1202<sub>5</sub>  
 Richter, O. 147<sub>2</sub> 356<sub>1</sub> 363<sub>6</sub> 365<sub>1</sub> 373<sub>4</sub> 472<sub>7</sub>  
 1083  
 Ridder, A. de 734<sub>0</sub> 745<sub>2</sub> 900<sub>0</sub>  
 Riddle by Simonides of Keos 659<sub>1</sub>  
 Rider-god 312<sub>5</sub> cp. 270<sub>3</sub> 561 ff. 664<sub>1</sub>  
 Ridgeway, Sir W. 164<sub>6</sub> 166<sub>1</sub> 193<sub>1</sub> 340<sub>3</sub> 341  
 450<sub>1</sub> 465 466 498<sub>1</sub> 637<sub>4</sub> 655<sub>1</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> 1179<sub>6</sub>  
 Riegl, A. 529<sub>1</sub> 788<sub>1</sub>  
 Riegler, R. 692<sub>9</sub>  
 Riese, A. 57<sub>3</sub> 71<sub>6</sub> 82 89<sub>6</sub> 394<sub>2</sub>  
 Riess, E. 667<sub>4</sub> 702<sub>3</sub> 827<sub>7</sub>  
 Riffer, V. 291<sub>2</sub>  
 Righetti, P. 382<sub>1</sub>  
 Ring changing colour at misfortune 1008  
 given by Zeus to Prometheus 990  
 magical, in folk-tales of Kyklops 989 f.  
 1001 f. of Attis 297 of Wodan 62<sub>1</sub> 990  
*Rites de passage* 359<sub>6</sub>  
 River-god as boar 320<sub>0</sub> (Kapros) as wolf  
 320<sub>0</sub> (Lykos) recumbent 285<sub>1</sub> (Mai-  
 andros) 319<sub>7</sub> 320<sub>0</sub> (Kapros, Lykos)  
 408<sub>0</sub> (Maiandros, Marsyas) 1083 (Tiber)  
 seated (?) 408<sub>0</sub> (Orgas, Therma(s? -ios?))  
 standing 260<sub>0</sub> (Morsynos)  
 Rivers invoked 728<sub>0</sub>  
 Road of Apollon 499 f. of the Birds 38 462  
 497 of Zeus 36 f. 52 464 840 843 See  
 also Amber routes and Index I Milky  
 Way  
 Robbins, F. E. 206<sub>1</sub>  
 Robert, C. 45<sub>1</sub> 94<sub>2</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 261<sub>1</sub> 262<sub>0</sub> 384<sub>0</sub> 476<sub>12</sub>  
 591<sub>1</sub> 626<sub>3</sub> 627<sub>0</sub> 706<sub>5</sub> 721<sub>6</sub> 789 868<sub>6</sub> 923<sub>0</sub>  
 1045 1125<sub>1</sub> 1143<sub>1</sub> 1151<sub>7</sub> 1222  
 Roberts, E. S. 240<sub>3</sub> 1096<sub>1</sub>  
 Robert-Tornow, W. 1142<sub>4</sub>  
 Robinson, E. 473<sub>1</sub> 473<sub>3-5</sub> 473<sub>7</sub> 475<sub>5</sub>  
 Robinson, E. S. G. 470<sub>0</sub>  
 Robinson, J. Armitage 133<sub>3</sub> 133<sub>4</sub>  
 Robiou, F. 1170<sub>5</sub>  
 Rocco, S. 641<sub>2</sub>  
 Rochette, R. 207<sub>0</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 287<sub>0</sub> 1042 1145<sub>1</sub>  
 Rock, women slide down, to obtain children  
 1114  
 Rock-cut habitations on Mt Argaios 978<sub>0</sub>  
 Rod of Hades 166<sub>4</sub>  
 Rods of Roman lictor charged with virtue  
 of sacred axe 635 847 used for divi-  
 nation 635  
 Rodenwaldt, G. 145<sub>1</sub> 147 836<sub>10</sub> 836<sub>11</sub>  
 Roeder, G. 626<sub>0</sub>  
 Roehl, H. 1096<sub>1</sub> 1096<sub>2</sub>  
 Rohde, E. 23<sub>4</sub> 43<sub>4</sub> 117<sub>6</sub> 118<sub>3</sub> 222<sub>3</sub> 223<sub>4</sub> 232<sub>2</sub>  
 238<sub>3</sub> 271<sub>2</sub> 348<sub>2</sub> 1020 1125<sub>1</sub>  
 Rohden, P. von 442<sub>1</sub>  
 Rolland, E. 37 52<sub>4</sub> 479, 480<sub>4-6</sub>  
 Rolls on chalice of Antioch 1199 f.  
 Ronzevalle, S. 814<sub>3</sub> 887<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Roof of Iupiter *Capitolinus* with hole  
 above Terminus 724<sub>0</sub>  
 Rope, golden 1211  
 Rosa, P. 356  
 Rosary, beads of, sticking if owner is dead  
 1011  
 Roscher, W. H. 37<sub>2</sub> 70<sub>0</sub> 167 172<sub>0</sub> 173<sub>1</sub> 173<sub>5</sub>  
 180 191<sub>10</sub> 236<sub>5</sub> 238<sub>0</sub> 238<sub>2</sub> 242<sub>3</sub> 322<sub>3</sub> 327  
 349<sub>18</sub> 353<sub>6</sub> 365<sub>1</sub> 371 373<sub>4</sub> 377<sub>2</sub> 383 394<sub>3</sub>  
 502<sub>1</sub> 691<sub>9</sub> 691<sub>10</sub> 721<sub>6</sub> 1039 1142<sub>4</sub> 1216  
 Roscoe, J. 450<sub>1</sub>  
 Rose held by Aphrodite 1043 on coins of  
 Rhodes 469<sub>7</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> surmounted by radi-  
 ate solar disk 924<sub>0</sub>  
 Rose, H. J. 1229  
 Rosenberg 440<sub>4</sub>  
 Rosette on Mt Argaios 980<sub>0</sub>  
 Rosettes on chalice of Antioch 1200 1204  
 on fresco from Knossos 529 on *kán-*  
*tharos* from Tiflis 1204 on sheath of  
 Artemis 'Εφεστία 407<sub>0</sub> on *terra sigillata*  
 1205<sub>4</sub>  
 Ross, L. 877<sub>0(0)</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 996<sub>1</sub>  
 Ross, M. 242<sub>6</sub>  
 Roszbach, O. 46<sub>1</sub> 392<sub>8</sub> 392<sub>9</sub> 393<sub>6</sub> 514<sub>2</sub> 863<sub>1</sub>  
 978<sub>0</sub>  
 Rossi, G. B. de 426<sub>2</sub> 427<sub>2</sub> 546<sub>0</sub>  
 Rossignol, C. 285<sub>0</sub>  
 Rostovtzeff, M. See Rostowzew, M.  
 Rostowzew, M. 143<sub>4</sub> 146<sub>0</sub> 146<sub>1-4</sub> 146<sub>7</sub> 152<sub>0</sub>  
 157<sub>0</sub> 158<sub>2</sub> 160<sub>0</sub> 187<sub>4</sub> 925<sub>0</sub>  
 Rott, H. 594  
 Rougé, J. de 625<sub>7</sub>  
 Rouse, W. H. D. 111<sub>0</sub> 513<sub>1</sub> 539<sub>2</sub> 600<sub>3</sub> 646<sub>2</sub>  
 999<sub>1</sub> 1140<sub>5</sub>  
 Roussel, P. 920<sub>0</sub> 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub> 985<sub>0</sub> 1217  
 Royds, T. F. 519<sub>0</sub>  
*Rta* 1095<sub>0</sub>  
 Rubensohn, O. 922<sub>0</sub> 1227  
 Ruelle, C. E. 612<sub>1</sub>  
 Ruge, W. 617<sub>3</sub> 971<sub>2</sub> 972<sub>1</sub>  
 Ruggiero, E. de 86<sub>3</sub> 725<sub>0</sub>  
 Sabbath 456  
 Sacken, E. von 618<sub>3</sub> 647<sub>3</sub> 751<sub>1</sub> 751<sub>5</sub>  
 Sacrifice, human (See Human sacrifice)  
 of bull to Zeus Στράτιος 975<sub>0</sub> of chariot  
 with white horses to Poseidon 975<sub>0</sub> of  
 deer 926<sub>0</sub> of dogs 926<sub>0</sub> of first-born to  
 Moloch 1108<sub>2</sub> of fox and hedgehog  
 964<sub>3</sub> of goat to Zeus 'Ασκραῖος at Hali-  
 karnassos 872<sub>0(5)</sub> of ox to placate flies  
 782 of oxen 926<sub>0</sub> of pig to Zeus Βουλεύς  
 1105 of pig to Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 1105 of  
 pig to Zeus Μειλίχιος 1105 ff. of sheep  
 926<sub>0</sub> of singed victim to (Zeus) Μηλί-  
 χιος 1156 of swine 926<sub>0</sub> of white ox to  
 Zeus Κτήσιος 1065 1067 of white victims  
 to Zeus 'Ακραῖος 871<sub>3(1)</sub> of wild goats  
 926<sub>0</sub> to Zeus Στράτιος on mountain-  
 tops 974<sub>1</sub> ff.

- Sadowski, J. N. von 493<sub>2</sub>  
 Saglio, E. 154<sub>0</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 1125<sub>1</sub> 1203<sub>4</sub>  
 Sailing, inventor of 715<sub>4</sub> 1037  
 Saintyves, P. 963<sub>0</sub>  
 Sakellarios, A. 995<sub>2</sub>  
 Salač, A. 907<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 985<sub>0</sub> 986<sub>0</sub> 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Salinas, A. 812<sub>1</sub>  
 Sallet, A. von 493<sub>0(7)</sub>  
 Salmasius, C. 701  
 Salzmann, A. 615<sub>1</sub> 615<sub>2</sub>  
 Samter, E. 642<sub>3</sub> 643<sub>8</sub> 1090  
 Sanctis, G. de 600<sub>3</sub>  
 Sandal with thunderbolt 1227  
 Sandals, winged 718  
 Sandys, Sir J. E. 328<sub>3</sub> 471<sub>7</sub> 547<sub>0</sub> 782<sub>3</sub> 1092<sub>8</sub>  
 1099<sub>1</sub> 1170<sub>7</sub> 1188<sub>10</sub>  
 Sarasin, P. 779  
*Sarcophagi*, Christian 1050 Cretan 516 ff.  
 524 f. Cypriote 717 f. Greek 417 521<sub>5</sub>  
 Roman 417 478 1205<sub>7</sub> from Golgoi  
 717 f. from Hagia Triada 516 ff. from  
 Klazomenai 521<sub>5</sub> from Ostia 478 f.  
 Sarnow, E. 627<sub>4</sub>  
 Sartorius von Waltershausen, W. 903<sub>1</sub>  
 Sauer, B. 615<sub>2</sub> 865<sub>2</sub>  
 Saulcy, F. de 887<sub>0(31)</sub>  
 Sauppe, H. 857<sub>1</sub> 857<sub>5</sub>  
 Saussure, F. de 616<sub>1</sub>  
 Savelsberg, J. 273<sub>2</sub>  
 Savignoni, L. 509<sub>1</sub> 799<sub>1</sub> 799<sub>2</sub> 799<sub>4</sub>  
 Savin-tree 981<sub>1</sub>  
 Sayce, A. H. 278<sub>2</sub> 779<sub>2</sub> 1150<sub>7</sub> 1228  
 Scale-pattern 71  
 Scales held by Aequitas 99<sub>1</sub> by Aphrodite  
 734<sub>3</sub> by Bios 865 f. by Eris 734<sub>3</sub> by  
 Eros 734<sub>3</sub> by Fata 862<sub>10</sub> by Hermes  
 733 734<sub>0</sub> 734<sub>3</sub> by Iupiter 734<sub>3</sub> by Iustitia  
 99<sub>1</sub> by Kairos 860 ff. by Moneta 99<sub>1</sub> by  
 Nemesis 860 f. by Venus *Verticordia*  
 98 f. 99<sub>1</sub> 100 by Virgo 734<sub>3</sub> by Zeus  
 734<sub>3</sub>  
 Scaliger, J. J. 855<sub>1</sub> 858<sub>3</sub>  
 Scallop-shell, symbol of Mother-goddess  
 302 symbol of Poseidon 795  
 Scape-goat, human 904<sub>1</sub>  
 Sceptre as conventionalised branch with  
 golden apples 763<sub>1</sub> carried by eagle  
 towards emperor 1134<sub>0</sub> carried by eagle  
 with wreath 1133<sub>1</sub> eagle-tipped, trans-  
 mits divinity of king to successor  
 1132 ff. filleted 144 gold, from Taren-  
 tum 763<sub>1</sub> knobbed, set upright on  
 throne 545<sub>0</sub> lotiform 786 ff. oath by  
 723<sub>0</sub> of Agamemnon 1132 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>  
 of Ahriman 1053 of Asklepios 1079  
 of Atreus 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> of Diana *Nemor-*  
*ensis* 148 of Dionysos 1026 of Egyptian  
 gods 1131<sub>2</sub> of Erikepaios 1026 of Hera  
 1178 of Hermes 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> of Iupiter  
 812 of Kronos 1026 of Nyx 1026 of Ou-  
 ranos 1026 of Pelops 956<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>  
 of Phanes 1026 1051 of Thracian god-  
 dess 820 (?) of Thyestes 1132<sub>4</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> of  
 woodpecker 697<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 547<sub>2</sub> 956<sub>2</sub>  
 1026 1030 1058 1122 1131 1132 1188
- Sceptre (*cont.*)  
 originally belonged to king as weather-  
 maker 1132 ff. shouldered by eagle 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 surmounted by corn-ears 99 surmounted  
 by cuckoo 893<sub>2</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> surmounted by  
 dove 409<sub>0</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub> 1134<sub>4</sub> (?) 1134<sub>5</sub> sur-  
 mounted by eagle 318 1132 ff. 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 1134<sub>4</sub> 1159 with eagle and dolphin as  
 emblems of earth, air, and sea (?)  
 1133<sub>1</sub> with snake coiled about it 1080  
 worshipped at Chaironeia 547<sub>2</sub> 1132  
 Schaal, H. 1225  
 Schaefer, J. O. 290<sub>0</sub> 578<sub>3</sub> 578<sub>4</sub> 579<sub>0</sub> 580<sub>10</sub>  
 581<sub>0</sub> 581<sub>1</sub> 586 592<sub>5</sub> 599<sub>3</sub> 958<sub>0</sub> 959<sub>0</sub> 960<sub>0</sub>  
 Schanz, M. 335<sub>6</sub> 336<sub>3</sub> 336<sub>4</sub> 1122<sub>4</sub> 1170<sub>7</sub>  
 1211  
 Scheffel, H. 1227  
 Scheffer, J. 46<sub>0</sub>  
 Scheffelowitz, I. 538<sub>5</sub>  
 Scheil, F. V. 128<sub>2</sub>  
 Schenck, L. 1089  
 Scherer, W. 844<sub>6</sub>  
 Schlemm, Fräulein J. 635<sub>12</sub> 792<sub>2</sub> 833<sub>1</sub>  
 Schliemann, H. 515<sub>1</sub> 538<sub>5</sub> 538<sub>6</sub> 645<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>2</sub>  
 1150  
 Schmid, W. 33<sub>5</sub> 127<sub>2</sub> 127<sub>4</sub> 1157<sub>7</sub>  
 Schmidt, A. 241 242<sub>3</sub> 242<sub>4</sub>  
 Schmidt, B. 4 504<sub>3</sub> 506 506<sub>0</sub> 642<sub>0</sub> 666<sub>3</sub> 705<sub>5</sub>  
 990<sub>8</sub> 993<sub>2</sub> 994<sub>1</sub> 994<sub>2</sub> 1112<sub>7</sub> 1164<sub>2</sub>  
 Schmidt, H. 222<sub>2</sub>  
 Schmidt, J. 613<sub>2</sub> 691<sub>5</sub> 803  
 Schmidt, M. 118<sub>3</sub> 271<sub>0</sub> 413<sub>1</sub> 665<sub>0</sub> 1142<sub>2</sub>  
 1149<sub>2(1)</sub>  
 Schmidt, M. C. P. 775<sub>0</sub>  
 Schmitt-Blank 32<sub>7</sub>  
 Schneider, O. 1122<sub>3</sub>  
 Schneider, R. von 866<sub>0</sub>  
 Schneider, S. 268<sub>4</sub>  
 Schneidewin, F. W. 130<sub>4</sub> 296<sub>4</sub> 723<sub>0</sub>  
 Schnittger, B. 636<sub>2</sub> 637  
 Schober, A. 499<sub>9</sub>  
 Schöffner, V. von 817<sub>0</sub>  
 Schöll, A. 1151<sub>8</sub> 1151<sub>10</sub>  
 Schöll, R. 757<sub>8</sub> 1157<sub>5</sub>  
 Schoemann, G. F. 242<sub>4</sub> 316 1093<sub>1</sub>  
 Schrader, O. 50<sub>1</sub> 123<sub>0</sub> 396<sub>0</sub> 464<sub>10</sub> 466<sub>3</sub> 466<sub>4</sub>  
 494 494<sub>0</sub> 635<sub>7</sub> 637<sub>4</sub> 727<sub>3</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 1159 1164<sub>2</sub>  
 1226  
 Schrammen, J. 1180  
 Schreiber, T. 145<sub>1</sub> 150<sub>3</sub> 152<sub>0</sub> 157<sub>0</sub> 410<sub>1</sub>  
 578<sub>2</sub>  
 Schremmer, B. 602<sub>1</sub> 608 ff.  
 Schroeder, B. 954<sub>0</sub>  
 Schroeder, O. 444<sub>6</sub> 459<sub>3</sub> 494  
 Schubart, H. C. 1132<sub>6</sub>  
 Schubert, R. 559<sub>6</sub>  
 Schubring, J. 873<sub>0(11)</sub> 910<sub>1</sub>  
 Schuchhardt, C. 49<sub>1</sub> 515<sub>1</sub> 515<sub>4</sub>  
 Schürer, E. 876<sub>1</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 888<sub>0(32)</sub>  
 Schulten, A. 554<sub>3</sub>  
 Schultz, A. 131<sub>5</sub>  
 Schultz, H. 612<sub>0</sub>  
 Schultz, W. 659<sub>1</sub>  
 Schulze, W. 481<sub>5</sub> 724<sub>0</sub>  
 Schuster, P. R. 1020



- Schwabe, E. 1099<sub>1</sub>  
 Schwabe, J. F. H. 854<sub>9</sub>  
 Schwartz, E. 28<sub>8</sub> 33<sub>2</sub> 238<sub>1</sub> 1054 1123<sub>1</sub>  
 Schwartz, F. L. W. 447 451 501 f. 502<sub>1</sub>  
 505<sub>2</sub> 722<sub>1</sub>  
 Schweitzer 629 f.  
 Schwenck, K. 168<sub>1</sub> 346<sub>0</sub>  
 Schwendemann, K. 1216  
 Schwenn 928<sub>0</sub>  
 Scimitar worshipped by Scythians as form  
 of Ares 547<sub>3</sub> 680  
 Scott, J. A. 697<sub>7</sub>  
 Scourge See Whip  
 Scythe of Death 868 of Time 867 f.  
 Sea as androgynous primeval power 558<sub>0</sub>  
 as girdle of Zeus 1028 as name of  
 Milky Way 482<sub>2</sub> as tear of Kronos 557<sub>1</sub>  
 Crimson 1012<sub>1</sub>  
 'Sea' of Poseidon on Akropolis at Athens  
 793 cp. 581  
 Seager, R. B. 526 f. 538<sub>2</sub> 654<sub>5</sub>  
 Sea-monster 798  
 Seasons, three 59 four 59 on Jupiter-  
 columns 58 ff. 87 89 94 (?) See also  
 Index I Horae, Horai  
 Seat, golden, in folk-tale from Brittany  
 1011 1016  
 Sébillot, P. 88<sub>3</sub> 396<sub>0</sub> 703 f. 793 988  
 Secchi, G. 947<sub>0</sub>  
*Secespita* 630 f.  
 Séchan, L. 627<sub>4</sub>  
 Seeck, O. 611<sub>7</sub>  
 Seed as food for dead 1058 of Osiris  
 482<sub>0</sub> of Ouranos 1029 of Zeus 969<sub>4</sub>  
 1029  
*Seleucides aves* 981<sub>1</sub>  
 Seligmann, S. 125<sub>2</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 302<sub>2</sub> 396<sub>0</sub> 504<sub>3</sub>  
 504<sub>6</sub> 667<sub>4</sub> 702<sub>1</sub>  
 Séligsohn, M. 888<sub>0(0)</sub>  
*Sélinon*-wreath as prize at Nemean games  
 490<sub>0(5)</sub>  
 Seltman, C. T. 366<sub>3</sub> 657<sub>2</sub> 657<sub>3</sub> 709<sub>2</sub> 741  
 757 761 f. 780 f. 830<sub>1</sub> 871<sub>3(4)</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub>  
 1216 1223 1224  
 Seltman, E. J. 275<sub>8</sub> 432<sub>3</sub> 667<sub>3</sub> 1225  
 Semicircles sacred to Dioskouroi 434  
 Semitelos 1115<sub>2</sub>  
 Serradifalco, D. lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca  
 di 910<sub>1</sub> 914<sub>0</sub> 915<sub>0</sub> 917<sub>0</sub>  
 Service-tree as lucky tree 403<sub>0</sub>  
 Sesame 1140<sub>4</sub> 1164  
 Sestini, D. 446 572<sub>2</sub>  
 Seta, A. della 129<sub>3</sub> 1222  
 Settegast, F. 988  
 Seure, G. 817 f. 818<sub>2</sub> 819<sub>2</sub> 821 821<sub>2</sub> 822  
 851 1229  
 Seven as a number connected with Apollon  
 236<sub>5</sub> as a number connected with Zeus  
 238<sub>0</sub> days, sacrifices lasting 287<sub>2</sub> Muses  
 237<sub>0</sub> stars surrounding Zeus *Κρηταγενής*  
 238<sub>0</sub>  
 Seven-months' child, Apollon a 237<sub>0</sub>  
 Dionysos a 237<sub>0</sub>  
 Seventh day of the month, sacrifices to  
 Apollon on 237<sub>0</sub>
- Shape-shifting of Dionysos 1030 of Peri-  
 klymenos 1134<sub>6</sub> of prince in folk-tale  
 from Zakynthos 666<sub>3</sub> of Zagreus 861<sub>5</sub>  
 1030  
 Sharpley, H. 15<sub>1</sub>  
 Shaving 30 See also Razor  
 Sheaf, animal bound in 498<sub>2</sub> ceremonial,  
 on coins 296<sub>0</sub> (?) egg and bread bound  
 in 498<sub>2</sub> man bound in 498<sub>2</sub> cp. 1220  
 Sheep cooked in its skin 1001 sacrificed to  
 Apollon 463<sub>1</sub> sacrificed to Zeus *Μει-  
 λιχίος* 1138<sub>2</sub> 1140 slung over cow's back  
 152<sub>0</sub>  
 Sheep's head on altar-top 154<sub>0</sub>  
 Sheep's milk, taboo on 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Sheep-skin 374 (?) 989 1000 1002  
 Shell-trumpet invented by Aigokeros 933<sub>0</sub>  
 938<sub>0</sub>  
 Shield borne by Zeus 712 descending from  
 sky 516 fringed with snakes 712  
 Shields, Amazonian 308<sub>1</sub> 309<sub>0</sub> Argive  
 1146<sub>0</sub> bronze, from Idaean Cave 933<sub>0</sub>  
 miniature, from Palaikastro 930<sub>0</sub>  
 Shield-boss 930<sub>0</sub>  
 Shield-signs 947<sub>0</sub>  
 Ship, cosmic 44<sub>2</sub> in bronze, from Idaean  
 Cave 938<sub>0</sub> of marble dedicated to Zeus  
*Κάσιος* 906<sub>3</sub> of stone dedicated to Ar-  
 temis *Βολοσία* 906<sub>3</sub>  
 Ship's name 876<sub>0</sub> 987<sub>0</sub>  
 Shirts turning black at failure of owners  
 1005  
 Shoulder, ivory, of Pelops 224  
 Shrines at Gournia 538 at Knossos 535 ff.  
 of buried bull 539 f. See also Temple  
 Sickle made by Gaia of grey adamant  
 447<sub>8</sub> of cursing (*τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον*)  
 882<sub>0(23)</sub> of Demeter 448<sub>0</sub> of Kronos  
 447<sub>8</sub> 448<sub>0</sub> 555<sub>0</sub> of Perseus 721<sub>7</sub> of  
 Saturnus 550 of Zeus 448<sub>0</sub> See also  
*Hárpe*  
 Sickle-sword See *Hárpe*  
 Sidgwick, A. 345<sub>5</sub>  
 Sieve used for divination 702<sub>2</sub> 702<sub>4</sub>  
 Sieveking, J. 361<sub>5</sub>  
 Sikes, E. E. 19<sub>0</sub> 353<sub>1</sub> 499<sub>2</sub> 503<sub>2</sub> 716<sub>5</sub>  
 1113<sub>0(2)</sub>  
 Silence of Eleusinian mystics 295<sub>2</sub> of  
 Pythagoreans 7<sub>1</sub> 1211  
 Silver *alábastron* 272<sub>5</sub> appropriate to Zeus  
 503<sub>0</sub> armlets 998 axe-haft 989 book-  
 covers 1197 bowl from Idalion 553  
 bowl of Augustan age 1205<sub>5</sub> bowls  
 dedicated to Zeus *Κάσιος* 982<sub>0</sub> *bratteae*  
 from Stony Stratford 285<sub>0</sub> *bratteae*  
 from Vichy 285<sub>0</sub> bull of Tešub 910<sub>1</sub>  
 chalices 1197 crosses 926<sub>0</sub> 1197 cup  
 dedicated by Minos 923<sub>0</sub> egg containing  
 twin Moliones 1015 hand of Nuada  
 224<sub>1</sub> images of Glykon 1083 incense-  
 burner 921<sub>0</sub> knife of Zeus 354 *mastói*  
 and *mastia* 346<sub>0</sub> open-work 1203 ff.  
 pillar beyond Babylon 422<sub>12</sub> River  
 (= Milky Way) 480<sub>0</sub> 'shrines of Diana'  
 made at Ephesos 285<sub>0</sub> *skýphos* from

- Silver (*cont.*)  
 Bosco Reale 1209 star in folk-tale from Brittany 1010 f. 1014 statuette from Vichy 285<sub>0</sub> statuettes from Mâcon 746<sub>2</sub> 755  
 Silver-gilt bowl from Kourion in Kypros 553 statuettes of Zeus 755 ff.  
 Simpson, W. 1095<sub>0</sub> 1171<sub>3</sub>  
 Simrock, K. 396<sub>0</sub> 868<sub>2</sub> 1212  
 Sinews of bears 450<sub>0</sub> of Hippolytos 416 of Jacob 451<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 449<sub>0</sub> 450<sub>0</sub>  
 Single combat 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Sinker, R. 291<sub>2</sub>  
 Siret, L. 509<sub>5</sub> 649<sub>2</sub>  
 Sittig, E. 716<sub>7</sub> 869<sub>0</sub> 873<sub>2</sub> 875<sub>1(1)</sub> 901<sub>0</sub> 1158<sub>3</sub>  
 Sittl, C. (or K.) 102<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>2</sub> 504<sub>6</sub> 751<sub>3</sub> 752<sub>5</sub> 827<sub>5</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 1099<sub>1</sub> 1133<sub>1</sub>  
 Six, J. 161<sub>3</sub>  
 Six, J. P. 674<sub>1</sub> 675  
 Sixt, G. 75<sub>2</sub>  
 Skeuomorphic conception of thunderbolt 784 f. 850  
*Skhent* 98<sub>0</sub>  
 Skias, A. N. 1060 1115 ff. 1116<sub>2</sub> 1117<sub>3</sub> 1117<sub>4</sub> 1118<sub>4</sub> 1119<sub>3</sub> 1119<sub>4</sub> 1139<sub>5</sub>  
 Skin of sacred animal wrapped round human victim 924<sub>0</sub>  
 Skins of victims sacrificed to Zeus 'Ακραῖος sold 871<sub>3(1)</sub>  
 Skinner, J. 128<sub>1</sub> 451<sub>1</sub> 1037 1100<sub>0</sub> 1111<sub>1</sub>  
 Sky as arch 160 422 as caldron 204<sub>2</sub> as flat disk resting on pillar (?) 157 f. as gateway 160 178 as half of cosmic egg 1020 1023 as hat 386 1219 as head and face of Zeus 1028 as Janiform god 422 as wavy line (?) 49<sub>1</sub> composed of light and dark hemispheres 432 divine, develops into sky-god 840 images fallen from 963<sub>0</sub> imitated by *thólos*-tomb 1150 made of bronze (copper) 358 463 made of frozen air 358<sub>6</sub> made of glass 358<sub>6</sub> made of iron 126 needing visible support 54 ff. of a twin character (Night and Day, Sun and Moon, Morning- and Evening-Star) 435 producing Twins of different aspect 435 f. resting on pillar 45 ff. 47 ff. 50 ff. 57 ff. 166 ff. 840 resting on two pillars 426 431 resting on four pillars 126 141 f. 141<sub>1</sub> 354 358 827 842 resting on side-supports 160 178 178<sub>7</sub> 432 resting on tree 56 88 166 split into Twins 422 supports of, personified 422 ff. 843 symbolised by Hephaistos' cap 386<sub>5</sub> symbolised by high priest's mitre 386<sub>5</sub> talismans and relics fallen from 963<sub>0</sub> twins as children of 434 f. 843  
 Sky-father in relation to earth-mother 677  
 Sky-ladder in relation to Milky Way 476  
 Sky-pillar in Egypt 126 141 in Germanic area 50 ff. 88 in Greece 166 ff. in Italy 45 ff. 166 f. in 'Minoan' area 47 ff. in Sardinia 140 ff. 154 157 in relation to Milky Way 476 in relation to pyramids etc. 1146<sub>0</sub>  
 Sky-pillars, Dioskouroi as 160 431 f. 980<sub>0</sub>  
 Slaves, emancipation of 729<sub>0</sub>  
 Sleep, annual, of Dionysos (?) 660<sub>0</sub> on tripod confers oracular powers 209<sub>2</sub> with eyes open, in Albanian folk-tale 999 See also Incubation  
 Slime as primal element 1022 1023  
 Sling-bullets as thunderbolts 812 ff. 850  
 Smith, A. H. 177<sub>0</sub> 469<sub>2</sub> 475<sub>7</sub> 593<sub>1</sub> 594 598<sub>1</sub> 860<sub>5</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 903<sub>0</sub> 1135<sub>5</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub>  
 Smith, C. Roach 1172<sub>0</sub>  
 Smith, Sir C. H. 17 435<sub>5</sub> 633<sub>2</sub>  
 Smith, G. Elliot 504<sub>4</sub>  
 Smith, P. 1079  
 Smith, R. M. 589  
 Smith, S. 483 510<sub>5</sub> 1219  
 Smith, V. A. 608<sub>4</sub>  
 Smith, W. Robertson 161<sub>6</sub> 426 426<sub>4</sub> 569<sub>4</sub> 1038  
 Snail with *phallós* and butterfly 645<sub>4</sub>  
 Snails on chalice of Antioch 1199  
 Snake as soul of buried hero 1060 1063 1087 1111 f. 1148 1151 ff. 1174 attacks the hart Eikthyrnir 305<sub>0</sub> attacks the solar wheel 305<sub>0</sub> bearded and crested 1060 1061 1128<sub>0</sub> beside Eridanos 479 chthonian 1107 1107<sub>3</sub> coiled on couch 1128<sub>0</sub> coiled round Ahriman 1053 coiled round bay-trunk 196 coiled round *cornu copiae* 1128<sub>0</sub> coiled round omphaloid stone 94<sub>3</sub> coiled round *omphalós* 882<sub>0(0)</sub> coiled round Phanes 1051 coiled round sceptre 1080 coiled round staff 1071 f. 1082 drawn by mules 1082 euphemistic names of 1153<sub>1</sub> golden 1083 grave of, at Alexandria 1127<sub>0</sub> guards plant on Mt Argaios 977<sub>1</sub> 980<sub>0</sub> guides Antinoe 1083 hawk-headed (Kneph) 1127<sub>0</sub> horned 1030 human-headed (Glykon) 1084 in goose's egg 1083 in oak-tree 1087 1218 (?) in tomb 1057 in tree of life 138<sub>0</sub> kept in Erechtheion at Athens 1148 lion-headed (Khnemu) 1084 of Agathos Daimon 98<sub>0</sub> 1127<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> of Amphiaros 1071 f. of Asklepios 1075 1077 1079 1082 ff. 1111 f. of Demeter 1111 of Dioskouroi 1063 of Erechtheus 1148 of Graeco-Libyan Zeus 1111 of Hesperides 1021 of Oidipous 1151 ff. of Thraco-Phrygian Zeus 1111 of Zeus at Dion in Macedonia 1111 of Zeus Ζβελσοῦρδος 819 820 of Zeus Κρήσιος 1061 1112 of Zeus Μελχιος 1107 ff. of Zeus Σαβάξιος 283<sub>0</sub> 284<sub>0</sub> 285<sub>0</sub> of Zeus Φίλιος 1174 on ship 1082 1083 oracle delivered by 1075 pattern derived from 1058 ridden by Aristodama 1082 slain by Menestratos 1151 swallows Iason 222<sub>2</sub> 1217 with heads of god, bull, lion 1022 Zeus transformed into 941<sub>0</sub>  
 Snakes as fringe of shield 712 beneath feet of Nanna 305<sub>0</sub> chased by lightning 820 828<sub>12</sub> coiled round *kratér* 1218 flanking egg 1062 forming arch, on



- Snakes (*cont.*)  
 bronze plaque from Rome 664<sub>1</sub> in  
 bronze from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub> in  
 willow-tree 829 of Apatē 854 of Artemis  
 457 of Athena 1111 of *caducei* 1068  
 of Dioskouroi 1062 of Gorgon 930<sub>0</sub>  
 of Hermes 1111 of Iuno (?) 61<sub>0</sub> of  
 'Minoan' goddess 538 930<sub>0</sub> 1221 of  
 Trophonios (Trephonios) 1074 f. oracle  
 delivered by 1075 reared by Melampous  
 1087 three, as support of Plataean  
 tripod 193 ff. three, on Attic relief 1175  
 four, on 'Dipylon' *amphora* 1056 two-  
 headed (?), on gem from Mykenai 1221  
 Snake-goddess in shrine at Gournia 538  
 in shrine at Knossos 930<sub>0</sub> on gem from  
 Mykenai 1221  
 Snake-heads of terra cotta in shrine at  
 Gournia 538  
 Snake-worship among Semites 1111<sub>1</sub>  
 Snow conceived as feathers 66<sub>0</sub> sent by  
 Dionysos 275  
 Sobernheim, M. 886<sub>0(0)</sub>  
 Sogliano, A. 160<sub>0</sub>  
 'Soldiers,' Mithraic, tattooed 123<sub>0</sub>  
 Solmsen, F. 18<sub>1-4</sub> 279<sub>0</sub> 339<sub>0</sub> 340<sub>1</sub> 384<sub>0</sub> 481<sub>4</sub>  
 570<sub>0</sub> 691 873<sub>2</sub> 918<sub>1</sub> 932<sub>1</sub> 1149  
 Solstice, certain trees turn their leaves at  
 470<sub>0</sub> studied by Meton 1130<sub>7</sub> winter,  
 observed at Itanos 1130<sub>7</sub>  
 Soltau, W. 440<sub>4</sub>  
 Son conceived as rebirth of his own father  
 294 611<sub>2</sub> See also Father  
*Sondergötter* 13<sub>1</sub> 807<sub>3(1)</sub> 828 f. 851 1072  
 Sonne, W. 582  
 Sonny, A. 522<sub>2</sub>  
 Sorb-trees on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub> See  
 also Service-tree  
 Sorlin-Dorigny, A. 763<sub>1</sub>  
 Soul as bird 1132 (See also Soul-bird)  
 as butterfly 645<sub>4</sub> 1047 as Eros 1039 ff.  
 as moth 645 645<sub>4</sub> as *quasi*-bird (Eros)  
 1045 as *quasi*-butterfly (Psyche) 1045  
 as small winged figure 1039 1045 1057  
 as snake 1087 1111 f. 1148 (?) 1174  
 as wind 1039 issues from the mouth  
 1039 resides in the head 290<sub>0</sub> 291<sub>0</sub>  
 Soul-bird 524 524<sub>6</sub> (?) 697<sub>0</sub>  
 Soul-ladder 124 ff. 133 1146<sub>0</sub>  
 Soul-path 36 ff. 114 117 ff. 124 166 840  
 Sow beneath oak (?) -tree 324 in contest of  
 Kalchas and Mopsos 489<sub>0(4)</sub>  
 Spano, G. 359  
 Sparrow-hawk 523 (?)  
 Spear, oath by 13<sub>1</sub> 547<sub>2</sub> of Achilles 799  
 1184<sub>3</sub> of Hera 705<sub>1</sub> of Iupiter 711 f. of  
 Kaineus 547<sub>2</sub> of Kastor 799 of Mars  
 547<sub>2</sub> of Parthenopaios 13<sub>1</sub> 547<sub>2</sub> of Zeus  
 15<sub>0</sub> 547<sub>2</sub> 704 ff. of Ziu 76 two-pronged  
 798 ff. worshipped (See Spear-worship)  
 Spear-butt, forked 799  
 Spear-head, double-pointed 799 on coin of  
 Tarentum 763<sub>1</sub>  
 Spear-worship in early times 1132<sub>6</sub> in  
 Greece 547<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub> in Italy 547<sub>2</sub>  
*Speleum* 835<sub>8</sub> 838 f.  
 Sphinxes as decoration on footstools in  
 temple of Zeus Δικταῖος 931<sub>0</sub> held down  
 by lion, on shield from Palaikastro  
 930<sub>0</sub> in bronze, from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub>  
 Spiders' webs on wild olive at Olympia  
 467 portend rain 467  
 Spiers, R. Phené 150<sub>2</sub> 965<sub>0</sub>  
 Spinning 65 66<sub>0</sub> 1029  
 Spiral relief of *columna cochlis* 107  
 Spits 423<sub>3</sub> 1030  
 'Split' quadrupeds and birds 189<sub>3</sub>  
 Spoon, speaking, in folk-tale from Epeiros  
 672  
 Spratt, T. A. B. 945<sub>2</sub> 971<sub>2</sub>  
 Sprengel, C. 396<sub>0</sub>  
 Spring, boiling, at Tyana 569<sub>4</sub> Dirke flung  
 into, at Thebes in Boiotia 1013 inter-  
 mittent, at Bathos 827<sub>2</sub> sacred, on Mt  
 Ithome 890<sub>6</sub> sacred, at Lebena 1082  
 sacred, at Palmyra 885<sub>0(29)</sub> Semele  
 brought up from, at Lerna 1022  
 Springs, subterranean, at Athens 1118 f.  
 volcanic (Palikoi) 909<sub>0</sub> See also Foun-  
 tain, Water, Well  
 Spring, the, marriage of sky-god with  
 earth-goddess in 521  
 Squirrels 95  
 Stade, B. 115<sub>2</sub>  
 Stählin, F. 438<sub>2</sub> 1220 1226 1227  
 Staes, B. 183<sub>1-4</sub> 184<sub>1</sub> 511<sub>1</sub> 515<sub>1</sub> 1060  
 Staff, golden 989 iron 995  
 Stag as tattoo-mark 122<sub>0</sub> in fresco from  
 Pompeii 149 of Artemis 411 453<sub>3</sub> of  
 Zeus 575 cp. 575<sub>1</sub> 575<sub>6</sub> (?) 1220 on Mt  
 Argaios 978<sub>0</sub> (?) on coins of Abdera 411  
 on coins of Euromos 575 575<sub>1</sub> 1220 on  
 coins of Kaulonia 1040 1042  
 Stag's head attached to Diana-pillar 146  
 cp. 154<sub>0</sub>  
 Stag's horn inscribed 1220  
 Stags, foreparts of, on sheath of Artemis  
 'Ἐφεσία 406<sub>0</sub> f. of Artemis 'Ἐφεσία  
 406<sub>0</sub> ff. of St Mochua 214<sub>0</sub> on crown of  
 Nemesis 146  
 Stag-beetle 782<sub>2</sub>  
 Stag-horns attached to Diana-pillar 154<sub>0</sub>  
 cp. 146 worn by rustic singers at Syra-  
 cuse 1140  
 Stalactite pillars of Psychro Cave full of  
 votive bronzes 530 ff. 926<sub>0</sub> 927<sub>0</sub>  
 Stamatakes, P. 514  
*Stambha* 150<sub>2</sub>  
 Standard, boar as 108 wheel as 108  
 Star above Mt Argaios 980<sub>0</sub> as tattoo-  
 mark 122<sub>0</sub> daughter born with 1008 f.  
 1010 f. 1014 in pediment 980<sub>0</sub> cp. 983<sub>0</sub>  
 of the Nativity 1200<sub>2</sub> (?) of Venus  
*Caelestis* 68<sub>2</sub> on coin of Maximinus  
 1196<sub>0</sub> on coins of Seleukeia Pieria  
 982<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> pours out lightning 34 silver  
 1010 f. 1014 with eight rays 630 with  
 six rays 1200<sub>2</sub> (?)  
 Stars above Mt Argaios 980<sub>0</sub> above deities  
 at Malthayiah 770<sub>0</sub> above Dioscuric

## Stars (cont.)

- amphorae* 1064 above Dioscuric caps 313<sub>2</sub> 313<sub>4</sub> 313<sub>6</sub> 574 f. 1062 above Dioskouroi 442 above imperial twins 443 above Romulus and Remus 443 f. 1014 above wolf 443 444<sub>1</sub> as golden tresses of Zeus 1028 as lamps hung by cords 158<sub>1</sub> at ends of diadem 1189 come down at night on Mt Olympos in Macedonia 905<sub>0</sub> congenital 1013<sub>1</sub> golden 1010 f. 1014 morning- and evening-, worshipped in Arabia 428 f. of children in 'Expulsion' tales 1014 of Zethos and Amphion 1014 on bronze plaque from Rome 664<sub>1</sub> shepherded by Attis 296 sons born with 1010 f. 1014
- 'Star,' stone called 270<sub>5</sub>
- Stark, J. B. 80<sub>1</sub>
- Stark, K. B. 380<sub>4</sub> 380<sub>5</sub> 445<sub>2</sub> 675<sub>4</sub>
- Statue, evolution of 149 fallen from Zeus 963<sub>0</sub> first, set up by Assyrians 694<sub>0</sub> linked to ground by means of fillets 408<sub>0</sub> 409<sub>0</sub> 574 of Attalos iii, equestrian, in gold 955<sub>0</sub> of Dionysos discovered in a broken plane-tree 891<sub>0</sub> of Hera *Kιθαρωπία* a lopped tree-trunk or bough 899<sub>0</sub> of one god dedicated to another 958<sub>0</sub> of the Virgin discovered on a tree 891<sub>0</sub> of the Virgin miraculously transported 891<sub>0</sub> of Zeus *Ἰθωμάρας* discovered in a burnt wood 891<sub>0</sub> on column 45 ff. 57 ff. 93 ff. 100 ff. 428 f. 955<sub>0</sub> struck by lightning 9 f.
- Steering-paddle 1185
- Stein, H. 227<sub>7</sub> 311<sub>9</sub>
- Stengel, P. 18<sub>6</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> 1058
- Step, E. 470<sub>5</sub>
- Stepháne* 654<sub>10</sub>
- Stephani, L. 147<sub>1</sub> 201<sub>1</sub> 232<sub>0</sub> 252<sub>1</sub> 261<sub>1</sub> 262<sub>5</sub> 262<sub>8</sub> 265<sub>4</sub> 302<sub>2</sub> 315<sub>3</sub> 380<sub>5</sub> 410<sub>0</sub> 460<sub>2</sub> 462<sub>0</sub> 464<sub>6</sub> 540 645<sub>4</sub> 658 660<sub>1</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> 1045 1075 1204
- Stephanus, H. 664<sub>3</sub> 862<sub>2</sub> 1039
- Stephens, G. 305<sub>0</sub>
- Sterrett, J. R. S. 857<sub>6</sub>
- Stevens, E. T. 511<sub>1</sub> 512<sub>1</sub>
- Stevens, G. P. 597<sub>2</sub>
- Stevenson, S. W. 443<sub>2</sub> 1172<sub>0</sub>
- Stiller, H. 1179<sub>7</sub>
- Stokes, G. T. 885<sub>0(28)</sub> 1186<sub>2</sub>
- Stokes, J. L. 615<sub>2</sub>
- Stoll, H. W. 115<sub>2</sub> 118<sub>4</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 260<sub>0</sub> 352<sub>2</sub> 445<sub>5</sub> 445<sub>6</sub> 1018<sub>3</sub> 1044 1088 1114<sub>0(4)</sub>
- Stolz, F. 1096<sub>1</sub> 1173<sub>1</sub>
- Stone, persons turned into 1004 1005 1007 1009 1011 1016 1018 sacred, as altar with hollow for libations 983<sub>0</sub> sacred, in distyle temple 981<sub>0</sub> sacred, in shrine 982<sub>0</sub> sacred, in tetrastyle temple 983<sub>0</sub> white 989
- Stones, precious 281<sub>4</sub> 603 thumb-shaped, found in Crete known as *Idaei dactyli* 932<sub>1</sub>
- Storax as substitute for white-incense 492<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Storax-trees at Eleuthernai 492<sub>0(0)</sub> compared with poplar-trees 492<sub>0(0)</sub> surmounted by birds 493<sub>0(0)</sub> worshipped at Selge 492<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Storax-wreath 492<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Storks, land of 998 men transformed into 998 transformed into men 998 998<sub>1</sub>
- Storms portended by ravens, crows, and jackdaws 518<sub>4</sub> 519<sub>0</sub> worshipped at Bathos 827
- Strack, H. 195<sub>1</sub>
- Stranger viewed as a god on his travels 1096
- Straub, A. 127<sub>6</sub> 136<sub>3</sub>
- Streber, F. 706<sub>5</sub> 1042
- Stróbilos* 1030
- Strong, Mrs A. 93<sub>3</sub> 94<sub>3</sub> 96<sub>3</sub> 98<sub>1-3</sub> 99<sub>4</sub> 103<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>0</sub> 106<sub>1</sub> 355<sub>5</sub> 361<sub>5</sub> 1181<sub>0</sub> 1225
- Stróphion* as priestly head-band 1171<sub>1</sub>
- Stroppus* 1170
- Strube, C. 261<sub>1</sub> 315<sub>2</sub>
- Struppi* 1170 f.
- Struve, J. T. 1152<sub>5</sub>
- Strzygowski, J. 107<sub>3</sub> 863<sub>1</sub> 1210<sub>2</sub>
- Stuart-Glennie, J. S. 990<sub>7</sub>
- Studniczka, F. 99<sub>1</sub> 113<sub>0</sub> 201<sub>1</sub> 515<sub>2</sub>
- Subgrundarium* 1059
- Sudhaus, S. 1044
- Sulphur 23
- Sun as disk 724<sub>0</sub>(?) as disk hung by cords 158<sub>1</sub> as egg 1035 as eye of Wodan 62<sub>1</sub>(?) as eye of Zeus 117 1028 as golden child 1035 as golden ring 990 as radiate crown 81 as wheel 81 109<sub>1</sub> 624(?) 724<sub>0</sub>(?) 725<sub>0</sub>(?) 990 associated with lotos in Egypt 772 associated with lotos in India 774 golden, on breast of prince 1012<sub>1</sub> in diurnal hemisphere is called Apollon, in nocturnal hemisphere is called Dionysos 257 in relation to Milky Way 40<sub>3</sub> made of same substance as lightning 774 seen before sunrise 949<sub>5</sub>
- Sun-dial 920<sub>0</sub>
- Sun-god identified with emperor 321 f.
- Sun-worship 618(?) See also Index I Apollon, Helios, Sol
- Supka, G. 712<sub>3</sub>
- Supplication, gesture of 1175
- Surrogates for animal sacrifice 1140
- Susemihl, F. 1020 1023
- Svoronos, J. N. 45<sub>1</sub> 56<sub>2</sub> 167<sub>4</sub> 182 183<sub>4</sub> 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 550<sub>3</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> 946<sub>0</sub> 1078 1082 1105<sub>4</sub> 1105<sub>6</sub> 1107<sub>5</sub> 1116<sub>2</sub> 1136<sub>4</sub> 1173<sub>4</sub> 1211 1223
- Swainson, C. 523<sub>6</sub> 1131<sub>2</sub>
- Swallow, Philomela transformed into 693 thunderbolt with wings of 781
- Swallows sing of Apollon 460
- Swan, Eros clings to 1045 Kyknos, king of Liguria, transformed into 477 ff. of Mars(?) 51<sub>1</sub> on wing of Ahriman 1054 ridden by Apollon 460<sub>2</sub> Zeus transformed into 941<sub>0</sub>



- Swans at Delphoi 180 bring Apollon to (from) land of Hyperboreans 459 ff. 477 chariot drawn by 459 f. 460<sub>2</sub> on the Eridanos 477 solar 648<sub>2</sub> 698
- Swans' heads on axe-pendants 648 f. on helmet of Zeus 713 on Lycian coins 698
- Swathing-bands of Zeus 929<sub>0</sub>
- Sweat of Herakles 469<sub>1</sub> of Kronos 558<sub>0</sub> of solar rays 499 of Solomon's pillars 428
- Swindler, Miss M. H. 160<sub>3</sub> 458<sub>1</sub> 459
- Swine of Molpadia and Parthenos 670 f. See also Pig, Sow
- Sword left in tree 680 682 f. of Aigeus 627<sub>6</sub> of Apollon 570 f. of Ares 1225 of Attila 548<sub>0</sub> of Damokles 703 of Demeter 716<sub>5</sub> of Fin 683 of Ge *Θέμις* 268<sub>0</sub> of Kabeiros 953<sub>3</sub> of Kinyras 680 848 of light 722<sub>1</sub> of Mars 548<sub>0</sub> 682<sub>6</sub> of Orestes 680 848 of Perseus 721<sub>7</sub> of St Peter 1199<sub>5</sub> (?) of Poseidon 789 of Sandas 571 of Zeus 591 705 712 ff. 848 of Ziu 77
- Sword-worship of Alani 548<sub>0</sub> of Bituriges 548<sub>0</sub> (?) of Scythians 547<sub>3</sub> 548<sub>0</sub>
- Sybel, L. von 1050 1168<sub>4</sub>
- Sykophántes*, discussion as to origin of the term 291<sub>2</sub> 1103
- Symbol drawn from ritual usage lives long 868 evolved from fetish through attribute 617 814
- Symbolism applied to Litai 1100<sub>0</sub>
- Syncretism as conceived by Celsus 889<sub>0(0)</sub> of Attis with Adonis, Osiris, Dionysos, etc. 294 ff. of cave-gods 839 of Greek and oriental elements in Zeus *Μειλίχιος* 1110<sub>6</sub> 1111<sub>0</sub> of Jewish and Greek cults 884<sub>0(0)</sub> of Jewish and Persian beliefs 885<sub>0(28)</sub> of Pontic, Greek, and Iranian elements in Zeus *Στράτιος* 976<sub>0</sub> f. of Zeus with Poseidon 796 ff. 850 of Zeus with Poseidon and Ares 1225 solar 252 ff.
- Synoikismós* 1123
- Sýrinx* See Pan-pipes
- Szanto, E. 1095<sub>0</sub>
- Table, agonistic, at Ankyra 491<sub>0(0)</sub> agonistic, at Delphoi 490<sub>0(5)</sub> agonistic, at Philippopolis in Thrace 490<sub>0(5)</sub> agonistic, at Tralleis 491<sub>0(0)</sub> as altar (See Table-altar) invoked 728<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 1141<sub>8</sub> of Zeus *Ξένιος* 1169<sub>5</sub> of Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1169<sub>4</sub> of Zeus *Φίλιος* 1169 f. placed above sacred pillar 193<sub>2</sub> 1216 sacred, of Greek church 1119<sub>3</sub>
- Tables of bronze 921<sub>0</sub> of marble 921<sub>0</sub>
- Table-altar at Chaironeia 547<sub>2</sub> in relief from Megara 1117<sub>7</sub> on Roman tombstone 60<sub>0</sub> on *sarcophagus* from Hagia Triada 517
- Table-altars in Psychro Cave 926<sub>0</sub>
- Taboo on celery 987<sub>0</sub> on flute-playing 670 on food fallen upon floor 1129 on garlic 987<sub>0</sub> on *hedýsμος* 987<sub>0</sub> on iron 1165<sub>1</sub> on mint 987<sub>0</sub> on onions 986<sub>0</sub> on
- Taboo (*cont.*)  
personal names 1114<sub>0</sub> on sheep's milk 987<sub>0</sub> on swine 671 on thunder 827 f. on twins and their mother 1014 on women 985<sub>0</sub> on woollen clothing 985<sub>0</sub>
- Tabula Iliaca* 45<sub>1</sub> 1068 1212
- Talbot, H. Fox 480<sub>3</sub>
- Talisman, snake (soul of ancestral king) as 1148
- Talismans and relics fallen from sky 963<sub>0</sub>
- Tamarisk compared with *herba Sabina* (*βράθυ*) 981<sub>1</sub> flourishes on the Maian-dros 467 f.
- Tannery, P. 1020
- Taramelli, A. 141<sub>4</sub> 142 142<sub>2</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 935<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub>
- Tascher, R. de 251<sub>2</sub>
- Tattooing as military mark 123<sub>0</sub> as ritual sign 123<sub>0</sub> in bronze age 122<sub>0</sub> in iron age 123<sub>0</sub> in neolithic times 122<sub>0</sub> 1215 (?) in palaeolithic times 122<sub>0</sub> of Thracians 121 123<sub>0</sub> 1214 f. of various other races (Agathyrsi, Aithiopes, Assyrioi, Britanni, Geloni, Getai, Harii, Iapodes, Illyrioi, Kylikranes, Mossynoikoi, Picti, Sarmatai, Scoti) 123<sub>0</sub>
- Tauropolium* (*tauropolium*) 306<sub>4</sub> 306<sub>5</sub>
- Tchihatcheff, P. de 977<sub>1</sub>
- Tears of Apollon (amber) 484 of Heliades (amber) 484 499<sub>4</sub> of Hera (vervain) 395<sub>2</sub> of Kronos (sea) 557<sub>1</sub> of *meleagrídes* (amber) 497
- Teeth of sheep 806
- Temme, J. D. H. 93<sub>1</sub>
- Temple called palace (*ἀνάκτορον*) 311 dipteral, of Zeus *Ἰόλυμπος* at Athens 1229 double, of Zeus and Athena at Pergamon 955<sub>0</sub> (?) elliptical, of Zeus *Λαβράνιος* at Amathous 598 f. heptastyle, of Zeus *Ἰόλυμπος* at Agrigentum 911<sub>0</sub> cp. 1227 hypaethral, of Erechtheus at Athens 789<sub>7</sub> 850 hypaethral, of Zeus *Ἰόλυμπος* at Agrigentum 1227 octostyle, of Zeus at Aizanoi 965<sub>0</sub> octostyle, (of Zeus?) at Tralleis 961<sub>0</sub> octostyle, of Zeus *Ἰόλυμπος* at Athens 1229 pseudo-dipteral, of Zeus at Aizanoi 965<sub>0</sub> pseudo-peripteral, of Zeus *Ἰόλυμπος* at Agrigentum 911<sub>0</sub> round, at Prousa ad Olympum 964<sub>2</sub> the oldest surviving, of Zeus (the Olympieion at Syracuse) 915<sub>2</sub>
- Temple-estates at Aizanoi 968<sub>0</sub>
- Ten as a typical plurality 1210
- Tent with cosmic roof 178<sub>7</sub>
- Tepekozis* 992<sub>2</sub>
- Téras* 31
- Terebinth-trees on Mt Ide in Phrygia 949<sub>5</sub>
- Testicles of bull in *taurobolium* 306<sub>4</sub> of Dionysos 1021 of goat 133<sub>0</sub> of Kibuka 450<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 133<sub>0</sub> personified as Vires 306<sub>4</sub>
- Tet*-pillar 141<sub>2</sub>
- Tetraktýs* 178<sub>1</sub>

- Tettau, W. J. A. von 93<sub>1</sub>  
 Texier, C. 966<sub>0</sub>  
 Thalheim, T. 579<sub>0(16)</sub>  
 Theogonies of Akousilaos 315<sub>4</sub> of Hesiod 315 1039 of Pherekydes of Syros 315 f. Orphic 1019 ff. Orphic (earliest) 316 422<sub>5</sub> 1020 ff. 1039 1050 f. Orphic (Hieronymos and Hellanikos) 349 422<sub>5</sub> 1022 ff. 1039 1051 Orphic (Rhapsodies) 316 448<sub>1</sub> 933<sub>0</sub> 1024 ff. 1039 1051  
*Theologeion* 734<sub>3</sub>  
*Theophilés* 1168  
 Theriomorphic conceptions of Arcadian goddesses 691 f. (?) of Asklepios 1082 ff. of Oidipous 1151 ff. of soul 645 1047 1087 1111 f. 1132 1174 of thunder and lightning 828 of Zeus Κτήσιος 1061 of Zeus Μειλίχιος 1107 1112 1173 of Zeus Σάωτης 1151(?) of Zeus Φίλιος 1173  
*Thiasos* of Agathos Daimon 925<sub>0</sub> 1129<sub>0</sub> of Aphrodite 1157<sub>3</sub> of Athena 925<sub>0</sub> of Dionysos 925<sub>0</sub> 1157<sub>3</sub> of δροιοφόροι 411<sub>6</sub> of Hermes 1157<sub>3</sub> τῶν Κισάων 246<sub>1</sub> of πυροφόροι 411<sub>6</sub> Σεβαστιανός 879<sub>0(0)</sub> 884<sub>0(0)</sub> of Theos Hypsistos 885<sub>0(0)</sub> of Zeus Ἀταβύριος 1157<sub>3</sub> of Zeus Λαβράυνδος 585<sub>3</sub> of Zeus Μειλίχιος (Μιλίχιος) 1108 1157<sub>3</sub> of Zeus Ὑψιστος 882<sub>0(0)</sub> See also Index I Agathodaimonistai, Agathodaimonistai, Aphrodisiastai Syroi, Athanaistai, Dionysiastai, Dionysiastai Eurythemidioi, Diosatabyriastai, Diosmilichiastai, Hermaizontes  
 Thiele, G. 430<sub>2</sub> 862 1025  
 Thiersch, F. 1133<sub>0</sub> 1148<sub>2</sub>  
 Thiersch, H. 895<sub>0</sub> 937<sub>0</sub>  
 Thigh, golden, of Pythagoras 223 ff.  
 Thigh-pieces 950<sub>0</sub> 1188  
 Thistle 775<sub>0</sub>  
*Thólos*-tombs of Asklepios at Trikke(?) 1088 of Minyas at Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150 of Trophonios at Lebadeia(?) 1074 1076 1088  
 Thomopoulos, I. 404<sub>2</sub> 560<sub>1</sub>  
 Thompson, D'Arcy W. 275<sub>3</sub> 519<sub>0</sub> 524<sub>3</sub> 676<sub>3</sub> 691<sub>2</sub> 692 751<sub>2</sub> 781<sub>1</sub> 998<sub>1</sub> 1087 1131<sub>2</sub> 1132<sub>1</sub>  
 Thompson, H. B. 791<sub>3</sub>  
 Thompson, M. S. 494<sub>2</sub> 1088  
 Thompson, R. Campbell 482 f. 1219  
 Thoms, W. J. 703<sub>2</sub>  
 Thomson, J. A. K. 458<sub>5</sub> 691 f.  
 Thorns 1166<sub>1</sub>(?)  
 Thorn-trees venerated in Oise 403<sub>0</sub>  
 Thraemer, E. 199<sub>2</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 955<sub>0</sub> 1076 f. 1078 1086 f. 1088 1090  
 Threatening of barren tree 681 f.  
 Three as a perfect number 1123<sub>7</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> as a typical plurality 893<sub>0</sub> gods of the name Zeus (Iupiter) distinguished 941<sub>0</sub> sacred trees on 'Minoan' gem 938<sub>0</sub>  
 Three-bodied monster 805<sub>6</sub> 1225  
 Three-eyed *xóanon* of Zeus at Argos 892<sub>5</sub> 1144<sub>2</sub>  
 Throne, golden 1016 of Agathos Daimon 1125<sub>1</sub> of Ananke 129<sub>1</sub> of Asklepios 1079 of Pelops 956<sub>2</sub> of Satan 955<sub>0</sub> of Wodan 62<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 94<sub>2</sub> 735 737 838 1082 1122 1131 of Zeus Μειλίχιος (=emperor) 1092<sub>8</sub> rock-cut 838 956<sub>2</sub> 962<sub>2</sub> with kneeling Giants on foreposts 812 with lions on foreposts 810 with sphinxes and rams' heads on arms 1082 1105  
 Throne-cult 893<sub>2</sub>  
 Throne-legs 760<sub>2</sub>  
*Thronismós* (*Thrónosis*) 120<sub>3</sub> 940<sub>0</sub> cp. 838  
 Thulin, C. O. 338<sub>3</sub> 339<sub>0</sub> 641<sub>3</sub> 725<sub>0</sub> 805 827<sub>6</sub>  
 Thumb, A. 413<sub>1</sub> 723<sub>0</sub> 1069 f. 1096<sub>1</sub>  
 Thunder as chariot of Zeus 830 as horse of Zeus 830 as inarticulate sound proceeding from Zeus 851 as music 839<sub>6</sub> as sound caused by chariot of Zeus 830 ff. 851 as sound uttered by Zeus 829 as voice of God 829 chthonian 641 805<sub>6</sub> 829 838 common on Phrygian uplands 835 granted to epic heroes 8 in relation to Zeus 827 ff. made by green winged horse 1003 1017 made by heavy bronze hammers (*mallei Ioviales*) 620 mimetic 838 f. 852 934<sub>0</sub> 938<sub>0</sub> personified 28 828 851  
 Thunders worshipped at Bathos 827 worshipped by Orphists 141<sub>1</sub> 827  
 Thunderbolt as boy with torch(?) 784<sub>2</sub> as lotos-bud *plus* lotos-bud 776 cp. 746<sub>2</sub> as lotos-flower 771 cp. 774 as lotos-flower *plus* lotos-bud 776 as lotos-flower *plus* lotos-flower 776 as scourge 824 ff. as small male figure 784 bound with fillet and resting on stool 809 850 cp. 810 from the blue 6<sub>5</sub> from the eyes of Zeus 503 gradual elimination of 722 ff. 848 held by Zeus Ὀρκίος in either hand 722 726 f. 848 f. made of gold 809 810 modifications in shape of 764 ff. 849 f. of Zeus 722 ff. of Zeus in relation to fork(?) of Hades 798 ff. 850 of Zeus in relation to trident of Poseidon 786 ff. 850 of Ziu 75<sub>1</sub>(?) 76 on coins of Olympia 780 f. on sandal 1227 resting on stool 809 810 850 resting on tripod 816<sub>4</sub> serpentiform 781 set upright on throne 810 851 shaped like fly 781 spiral 751 849 'star-flung' 119<sub>1</sub> tridentiform 789 twisted 819<sub>0(5)</sub> winged 777 779 1187<sub>4</sub> winged, with human bust attached 1054 with barbed prongs 784 f. with wings furled 781 with wings half-closed 781 with wings spread 780 f. worshipped at Diokaisareia in Kilikia 810 worshipped at Seleukeia Pieria 809  
 Thunder-drum(?) of Ziu 83  
 Thunder-flowers 774<sub>4</sub> 775<sub>0</sub> 850  
 Thunder-stone used in purification 835  
 Thunderstorm as repetition of Titanomachy 827<sub>7</sub> evoked by divine king 8  
 Thunder-truffles 775<sub>0</sub>  
*Thymiatérion* 407<sub>0</sub> 630



- Thýrsos* 154<sub>0</sub> 261 ff. 461<sub>0</sub> 1128<sub>0</sub> surmounted by eagle 1178
- Tiara 386
- Tiger as form of Dionysos or Zagreus 1030 in folk-tale from Kypros 996
- Tigers, *kratér* flanked by 699<sub>4</sub>(?)
- Tillyard, E. M. W. 299<sub>5</sub>
- Tillyard, H. J. W. 322<sub>6</sub>
- Timbrel 262 299 300 306<sub>5</sub> 852 eating food from, significance of 345<sub>6</sub> made of bull's hide 345<sub>6</sub> made of wolf's skin 345<sub>6</sub> See also *Týmpanon*
- Titanomachy 827<sub>7</sub>
- Titmouse 463<sub>1</sub>
- Tocilescu, G. G. 112<sub>1</sub>
- Tod, M. N. 101<sub>1</sub>
- Toelken, E. H. 321
- Töpffer, J. 130<sub>2</sub> 251<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> 817<sub>0</sub> 1092<sub>3</sub> 1103<sub>4</sub> 1123
- Toeppen, M. 92<sub>3</sub>
- Tolstoi, J. 639<sub>1</sub>
- Tomaschek, W. 251<sub>0</sub> 270<sub>4</sub> 276<sub>7</sub> 276<sub>9</sub> 276<sub>10</sub> 277<sub>1</sub> 458<sub>1</sub> 822
- Tomassetti, G. 419 f. 420<sub>1</sub>
- Tomb of Apollon 221 225 of Dionysos 218 ff. 231 239 841 of the Great Ox called Zeus 342<sub>0</sub> 345 354 of Píkos ó *καὶ Ζεὺς* 342<sub>0</sub> 694<sub>0</sub> 695<sub>0</sub> 697<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> of Zan 341<sub>6</sub> 345 354 940<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>0</sub> 945<sub>0</sub> of Zeus 219 341<sub>6</sub> 354 940<sub>0</sub> ff.
- Tomb-chapel 521
- Tombstones, Danish, marked with Thor's hammer 547<sub>0</sub> Gallic, dedicated *sub ascia* 547<sub>0</sub> Phrygian, dedicated to Zeus *Βροντῶν* 836 Roman, with duplicated Attis 308 Termessian, protected by Zeus *Σολυμεύς* 973<sub>1</sub>
- Tongs 660<sub>0</sub> 667 1054
- Tops 1030
- Torch between corn-ears 1158<sub>6</sub> bound to Diana-pillar 153<sub>0</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> cp. 152<sub>0</sub> bound to horns of wild bull 1015 of Artemis 412 882<sub>0(0)</sub> 1214(?) of Dionysos 882<sub>0(0)</sub>(?) of Eros 309 of Etruscan demon 803 of Hekate 714<sub>2</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub>(?) of Helios 478 of Iuno 59 of Persephone 882<sub>0(0)</sub>(?) of Thracian goddess 820(?) thrust into solar wheel 990
- Torches bound to Diana-pillar 152<sub>0</sub> in rites of Mountain-mother 934<sub>0</sub> in rites of Sarapis 1158 of Apaté 854 of Artemis 187<sub>4</sub>(?) 488<sub>0(3)</sub>(?) of Demeter 488<sub>0(3)</sub>(?) of Hekate 146<sub>3</sub>(?) 187<sub>4</sub>(?) of Kore 1117<sub>7</sub> of Maenad 265 on altar of Mater deum and Attis 306<sub>5</sub>
- Torch-bearing females 146 maiden 187<sub>4</sub> 1229
- Torch-holders 930<sub>0</sub>
- Torii* 431<sub>3</sub>
- Torp, A. 279<sub>0</sub> 570<sub>0</sub>
- Torques* 377
- Torr, C. 923<sub>0</sub>
- Tortoise beneath foot of Aphrodite *Ὀὐρανία* 68<sub>1</sub> beneath foot of Venus 68<sub>1</sub> in hand of Zeus 895<sub>1</sub>
- Totemahl* See Hero-feast
- Tournaire, A. 195<sub>1</sub>
- Toutain, J. 371 554<sub>3</sub> 555<sub>0</sub> 712<sub>1</sub> 925<sub>1</sub> 926<sub>0</sub> 929<sub>0</sub>
- Tower of Kronos 36 52 of Zan 178 spiral 128 1146<sub>0</sub> stepped 128 1146<sub>0</sub>
- Toy, C. H. 1039
- Toys of Dionysos or Zagreus 1030
- Tozer, H. F. 905<sub>0</sub> 923<sub>0</sub> 977<sub>1</sub> f.
- Traquair, R. 1214
- 'Travelling clairvoyance' 206<sub>0</sub>(?)
- Tree as *graffito* on chalice of Antioch(?) 1200<sub>3</sub> as token of earth-goddess 677 848 barren, threatened 681 f. belongs primarily to earth-goddess, secondarily to sky-god associated with her 533 conventionalised into pillar 157<sub>1</sub> decked as maiden, mourned, and burnt in rites of Persephone 303<sub>2</sub> identified with goddess (Diana) 403<sub>1</sub> loved by C. Pasiensis Crispus 403<sub>1</sub> Music- 1012<sub>1</sub> sacred, associated with double axe 643 sacred, associated with double axe and bird 692 sacred, at Austa, felled by St Walarius 92<sub>2</sub> sacred, at Divlit near Koloë 975<sub>0</sub> sacred, at Romove 92<sub>3</sub> sacred, attacked by men with double axes 680 f. sacred, on bronze tablet from Psychro Cave 927<sub>0</sub> sacred, sheds blood 684 sacred, with female image in branches 680 f. Singing- 1012<sub>1</sub> supporting earth 56<sub>2</sub> supporting sky 56 166 three brothers spend night in 997
- Trees as life-tokens 1165<sub>1</sub> list of lucky 403<sub>0</sub> sacred, beside altar of Zeus *Στρατίος* 975<sub>0</sub> f. sacred, three on gem from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub>
- 'Tree-of-life' flanked by lions 930<sub>0</sub> with serpent in it 138<sub>0</sub>
- Tree-spirit regularly female, as being a vegetable form of the earth-mother 303<sub>2</sub> with male consort to represent the sky-father 303<sub>2</sub>
- Tree-trunk as effigy of Iupiter 109 as handle of double axe 517 f. 520 f. 528
- Tree-worship in Oise 403<sub>0</sub>
- Tresp, A. 1056
- Trevor-Battye, A. 939<sub>0</sub> 939<sub>1</sub> 945<sub>2</sub> 946<sub>0</sub>
- Triad of sacred trees 927<sub>0</sub>(?) 938<sub>0</sub> of Zeuses 878<sub>0(3)</sub>(?) 1093<sub>1</sub>
- Trident assimilated to thunderbolt 797 combined with double axe 577 cp. 532<sub>1</sub> convertible into bident 1225 four-pronged 788<sub>0</sub> lotiform 786 ff. of Apollon 570 f. of Civa 790 f. of Iupiter *Iutor* 850 of Nereus 788<sub>0</sub> of Poseidon as fish-spear 786 790 f. 850 of Poseidon as lightning-fork 31<sub>8</sub> 789 ff. 850 of Poseidon as symbol of rule over third part of world(?) 786 of Poseidon in relation to thunderbolt of Zeus 786 ff. 850 of Zeus 577 with dolphin coiled about it 981<sub>0</sub> 1071
- Tridents, iron, worshipped in India 790 792

- Trident-mark of Poseidon on Akropolis at Athens 789 792 ff.  
 Trieber, C. 696<sub>0</sub>  
*Trieteris*, Cretan (?) 934<sub>0</sub> Delphic 242 Dionysiac 242 f. prior to *oktaeteris* 242 f.  
*Trimmatos* 995<sub>2</sub> 996  
 Triplication of Greek oaths 730<sub>0</sub>  
 Tripod as celestial seat 204 as seat of Apollon 201 ff. as seat of the *Pythia* 206<sub>2</sub> 209<sub>2</sub> 213 841 as seat of Themis 205 f. 1217 as tomb of Apollon 221 225 Cirrhaean 214<sub>1</sub> composed of three lyres 660<sub>0</sub> dance round, at Delphoi 460 dedicated on pillar 199 Delphic 193 ff. 841 Delphic, containing divinatory pebbles 221 Delphic, containing Python's bones and teeth 221 Delphic, covered with Python's skin 221 Delphic, identified with Titanic caldron 1031 evolution of columnar 193 ff. 1216 in relation to Zeus 1216 made of plaster in shrine at Knossos 535 made of plastered earthenware in shrine at Gournia 538 of Dionysos 231 oracular, at Delphoi 677 Plataean 170<sub>2</sub> 193 ff. 1216 sacred, brought from Delphoi to Athens 816 f. stolen, wrapped in cloaks, and sent yearly by Boeotians to Delphoi 216 surmounted by thunderbolt 816<sub>4</sub> winged 205<sub>1</sub> with central stem 193 ff. with golden effigies of Asklepios, Hygieia, Telesphoros 1078  
 Tripods, votive, from Palaikastro 930<sub>0</sub>  
 Tripod-carrying 216<sub>4</sub> 816 f.  
*Trisula* 790 790<sub>2</sub> 790<sub>3</sub>  
 Triton-shells 528 See also Shell-trumpet  
 Triumphal arch See Arch, triumphal  
 Triumphant general as embodiment of sky-god 361  
 Trophy 108 ff. as image of Zeus 109 111<sub>0</sub> as prototype of La Turbie 109 ff. as prototype of the monument at Adamklissi 109 ff. from spoils of 'Marathon' at Delphoi 1137<sub>2</sub> of Gallic arms 110<sub>8</sub> 112<sub>0</sub> on coins of Licinius and his son 1195<sub>2</sub>  
 Trophy-cross See Trophy-stand  
 Trophy-stand 572<sub>10</sub> 601 f. 613  
 Tsountas, Ch. 49<sub>1</sub> 123<sub>0</sub> 539<sub>2</sub> 621<sub>2</sub> 622<sub>2</sub> 1061  
 Tuchmann, J. 702<sub>3</sub>  
 Tucker, T. G. 1072  
 Tümpel, K. 260<sub>0</sub> 691<sub>5</sub> 892<sub>4</sub> 957<sub>2</sub> 1102<sub>4</sub> 1148<sub>6</sub> 1150<sub>5</sub>  
 Türk 451<sub>1</sub> 500<sub>9</sub> 500<sub>11</sub>  
 Tunny in relation to Poseidon 786  
 Turnips in relation to Zeus (?) 260<sub>0</sub>  
 Turtle, the Snapping, and Slingsby 1151  
*Tutulus* 1170<sub>8</sub>  
 Twins as children of the sky 434 f. at Delos 452 bearded and beardless 451 in Africa 378 434 f. 1064 in relation to Zeus 422 ff. 843 in Roman historical tradition 440 ff. list of mythical 317 843 male and female 451 843 names of 1072 (?) produced from twofold sky 422  
 Twins (*cont.*)  
 843 represented by Janiform statues (?)  
 378 strong and weak, in Indo-European *saga* 447 451 f. 843  
 Tylor, E. B. 37 f. 88<sub>3</sub> 293<sub>1</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> 702<sub>2</sub> 829<sub>3</sub>  
*Týmpanon* in bronze from Idaean Cave 938<sub>0</sub> 939<sub>0</sub> of Agdistis 1229 See also Timbrel  
 Tyrwhitt, R. St J. 1173<sub>2</sub>  
*Tzitzinaina* 1003 f. 1016 1018  
 Ullmann, C. 885<sub>0(28)</sub>  
 Ulrichs, H. N. 875<sub>1(1)</sub> 876<sub>1(1)</sub> 898<sub>5</sub> 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub>  
 Umbilical cord buried in modern Greece etc. 191 f. See also *Omphalós*  
 Underworld conceived as feet of Zeus 1028 entrance to, at Eridu 483 exit from, on Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899<sub>1</sub> exit from, at Lerna 1022 Leuke carried off to 468 f. Parmenides' visit to 43<sub>1</sub> (?) Timarchos' visit to 1024 white-poplar on border of 471  
 Unger, F. W. 106<sub>2</sub> 107<sub>3</sub>  
 Unger, G. F. 242<sub>4</sub> 315<sub>2</sub>  
 Unger, R. 970<sub>0</sub>  
 Unshod feet 922<sub>0</sub>  
 Ure, P. N. 699<sub>5</sub>  
 Urlich, K. L. von 405<sub>3</sub> 598<sub>1</sub>  
 Urn, agonistic 490<sub>0(5)</sub> 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 562 964<sub>2</sub> of river-god 478 1083 upset 478 with reed symbolises water 1050 1083  
 Urquhart, D. 905<sub>0</sub>  
 Ursinus, Fulvius 856<sub>3</sub> 857<sub>5</sub>  
 Usener, H. 12<sub>3</sub> 13<sub>1</sub> 23 31 32<sub>7</sub> 92<sub>3</sub> 93<sub>2</sub> 189 280 344 363<sub>6</sub> 397<sub>0</sub> 445 445<sub>1</sub> 451<sub>1</sub> 488<sub>0(0)</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> 751<sub>2</sub> 779 789 793 793<sub>10</sub> 805 807<sub>3(1)</sub> 807<sub>5(6)</sub> 810 827<sub>1</sub> 851 855<sub>1</sub> 858<sub>1</sub> 892<sub>4</sub> 1013 1071 f. 1074 1122<sub>3</sub> 1122<sub>8</sub> 1142<sub>11</sub> 1160  
*Ushabti* 1218  
 Vaillant, J. F. 429<sub>5</sub>  
 Valckenaer, L. C. 294<sub>0</sub> 895<sub>1</sub>  
 Vaniček, A. 1037 1098<sub>6</sub>  
 Vases: *amphorae* of Dioskouroi 1062 ff. anthropoid 1056 'Apulian' 45 203<sub>0</sub> 244<sub>4</sub> 245<sub>5</sub> 246<sub>0</sub> 416 f. 777 780<sub>1</sub> 852 ff. 1019<sub>2</sub> 1124<sub>0</sub> 1159<sub>1</sub> 'Arretine' mould 473 ff. Attico-Ionian 712 f. 716 black-figured 123<sub>0</sub> 212<sub>3</sub> 379 381 435 627<sub>6</sub> 645<sub>4</sub> 661 710<sub>1</sub> 745<sub>0</sub> 753<sub>3</sub> 776 776<sub>3</sub> 785 788<sub>0</sub> 794<sub>0</sub> 799 896<sub>0</sub> 903<sub>2</sub> 929<sub>0</sub> black ware with reliefs 720 1129<sub>0</sub> 'Caeretan' *hydriai* 770 'Campanian' 45 734<sub>3</sub> 'Chalcidian' 731 771 Corinthian 896<sub>0</sub> 'Dareios'-vase 852 ff. 'Dipylon' 1056 1064 Early 'Minoan' 934<sub>0</sub> 'François'-vase 451<sub>1</sub> 831<sub>1(3)</sub> 'Geometric' with incised inscriptions 1226 Ionian 123<sub>0</sub> 770 f. 788<sub>0</sub> 849 'Kamares'-ware 926<sub>0</sub> (See also Middle 'Minoan' ii) Late 'Minoan' 190<sub>0</sub> Late 'Minoan' i 527 637<sub>6</sub> 654<sub>5</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> (?) 'Laconian' iv 745<sub>0</sub> 757 *loutrophoroi* 1056 1058 'Lucanian' 203<sub>0</sub> 721<sub>7</sub> 'Megarian' 903<sub>2</sub> Melian 453<sub>3</sub>



Vases (*cont.*)

- Middle 'Minoan' i 934<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> Middle 'Minoan' ii 926<sub>0</sub> 934<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> Middle 'Minoan' iii 934<sub>0</sub> 943<sub>0</sub> 'Mycenaean' from Kypros 538 f. native ware from Apulia 541 ff. neolithic 934<sub>0</sub> of bronze 921<sub>0</sub> *píthoi* 1056 *próthesis*-vases 1056 ff. Ptolemaic (blue porcelain) 157<sub>0</sub> 1216 red-figured 122<sub>0</sub> 197<sub>1</sub> 202<sub>1</sub> 205<sub>1</sub> 206<sub>1</sub> 206<sub>2</sub> 212<sub>0</sub> 212<sub>4</sub> 244<sub>4</sub> 245<sub>0</sub> 245<sub>5</sub> 246<sub>0</sub> 248<sub>0</sub> 258 261 ff. 379 f. 435 460<sub>2</sub> 627 627<sub>6</sub> 661 718 731 ff. 745<sub>0</sub> 753<sub>3</sub> 776<sub>3</sub> 777 777<sub>2</sub> 785<sub>3</sub> 800 804<sub>0</sub> 831<sub>1(3)</sub> 896<sub>0</sub> 902<sub>2</sub> 1017<sub>4</sub> 1044 1077 1140<sub>5</sub> 1154 1155<sub>9</sub> 1155<sub>10</sub> 1167 1223 1225 relation between obverse and reverse designs 261<sub>3</sub> relief-ware from Athens 1129<sub>0</sub> relief-ware from Capua 720 relief-ware from Egypt 157<sub>0</sub> 1216 relief-ware from Karia 615 relief-ware from Nola 718 ff. relief-ware from Pergamon 157<sub>0</sub> relief-ware from Rhodes 614 f. *rhytá* 1216 *rhytón* 190<sub>0</sub> (lioness) 347<sub>0</sub> (goat) 1060 (goat) 1075 (bull) Tanagra-ware 123<sub>0</sub> *terra sigillata* 718 ff. 720 1205 Trojan 1056 with white ground 121<sub>3</sub>
- Vegetation animated by souls of the dead 1172 vernal rites to revive 521
- Veils over face of giant 994
- Venables, E. 602<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>4</sub> 607
- Verbena*, 'vervain' 397<sub>0</sub> 398<sub>0</sub>
- Verbenae*, 'sacred plants' 1170
- Verrall, A. W. 237<sub>0</sub> 345<sub>5</sub>
- Versace, F. 1071
- Vervain 395<sub>2</sub> called *Διὸς ἡλακάτη* 396<sub>0</sub> 397<sub>0</sub> 775<sub>0</sub> compared with oak 395<sub>2</sub> 396<sub>0</sub> described by Dioskorides 395<sub>2</sub> described by Pliny 395<sub>2</sub> used to sweep Jupiter's table 395<sub>2</sub> 397<sub>0</sub>
- Viergötterstein* 57 ff. 89 93 ff.
- Vigfusson, G. 533<sub>2</sub>
- Vigouroux, F. 426<sub>5</sub> 427<sub>2</sub>
- Vine, golden 281<sub>4</sub> 1184<sub>3</sub> 1217 in myth of Ganymedes 281<sub>4</sub> in myth of Priamos 281<sub>4</sub> in myth of Telephos 281<sub>4</sub> 1184<sub>3</sub> in myth of Tithonos 281<sub>4</sub> in relief of Asdoules 270<sub>3</sub> lucky 403<sub>0</sub> of Rhea (?) 515 on altars of Zeus *Βροντῶν* 836 on gold ring from Mykenai 515 (?) on tombstones from Altyntash 836 white 612 with double stem 1199 1205
- Vines gradually stylised 1205 on Christian *sarcophagi* 1050
- Vine-branch of Dionysos 1133<sub>1</sub>
- Vine-leaves on columns as Syrian *motif* 73<sub>0</sub> on Jupiter-columns 71 on *skýphos* of open-work silver 1204
- Vine-scroll in Catacomb of Praetextatus 1206 on Roman mirror 1205<sub>6</sub> on *terra sigillata* 1205<sub>4</sub>
- Vine-staff of Zeus *Αἰρναῖος* 909<sub>0</sub>
- Vine-tendrils on *skýphos* of open-work lead 1204
- Vine-wood used for face of Dionysos *Βακχεύς* 1093<sub>0</sub>
- Vine-wreath of Hera at Argos 515 on 'Apulian' vase 1124<sub>0</sub> on Rhodian coins (?) 470<sub>0</sub>
- Vinet, E. 868<sub>4</sub>
- Vintage in relief of Asdoules 270<sub>3</sub> of Erotes 1050 on 'Arretine' ware 476<sub>1</sub>
- Violets in myth of Attis 970<sub>0</sub> in rites of Attis 303<sub>2</sub>
- Virginity of *Pythía* 209<sub>3</sub> pleasing to Artemis 1029
- Vischer, W. 814<sub>0</sub>
- Visconti, C. L. 147<sub>5</sub> 297<sub>1</sub> 297<sub>3</sub> 297<sub>5</sub> 298<sub>3</sub> 299<sub>3</sub> 400<sub>11</sub>
- Visconti, E. Q. 301<sub>2</sub> 388<sub>8</sub> 802
- Visick, C. H. C. 648<sub>1</sub>
- Visser, M. W. de 147<sub>1</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 981<sub>0</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>
- Vitet, E. 379<sub>3</sub> 380<sub>0</sub> 380<sub>1</sub> 380<sub>2</sub>
- Vogüé, C. J. M. de 885<sub>0(29)</sub> 886<sub>0(10)</sub>
- Voigt, F. A. 238<sub>3</sub> 268<sub>3</sub>
- Voigt, J. 93<sub>1</sub>
- Vollgraff, C. W. 173<sub>4</sub> 243<sub>3</sub> 455<sub>6</sub> 477<sub>0</sub> 599 1218 1226
- Vopel, H. 606<sub>1</sub>
- Voretzsch, H. 723<sub>0</sub> 946<sub>0</sub>
- Voss, I. 665<sub>0</sub>
- Votive offerings affixed to pillar 143 146 149 152<sub>0</sub> 153<sub>0</sub> 154<sub>0</sub> 157<sub>0</sub> hung from bough 157<sub>1</sub> hung on wall 1077 lying on altar 154<sub>0</sub> magnify the god 46<sub>3</sub> repeat the pattern of local *chose sacrée* 198 f.
- Vowels used in incantation 612<sub>1</sub>
- Vürtheim, J. 232<sub>4</sub> 1075
- Vulture in myth of Melampous 684 in myth of Periphas 1122
- Vultures in myth of Romulus and Remus 440<sub>5</sub>
- Wace, A. J. B. 101<sub>1</sub> 142<sub>1</sub> 494<sub>2</sub> 758<sub>0</sub> 1088 1214 1221
- Wachsmuth, C. 855<sub>1</sub> 856<sub>2</sub> 857<sub>5</sub> 858<sub>4</sub>
- Wackermann, G. 1170<sub>5</sub>
- Wada, T. 431<sub>3</sub>
- Waddington, W. H. 580<sub>4</sub> 707<sub>2-5</sub> 975<sub>0</sub>
- Waele, F. J. M. de 1222
- Wagener, A. 285<sub>0</sub>
- Wagler, P. 93<sub>1</sub> 110<sub>9</sub> 411<sub>1</sub>
- Wagner, E. 77<sub>0</sub> 79<sub>2</sub> 80<sub>2</sub>
- Wagner, J. M. 152<sub>0</sub>
- Wagner, R. 272<sub>5</sub>
- Waites, Miss M. C. 1159<sub>1</sub>
- Walde, A. 340<sub>2</sub> 341<sub>0</sub> 404<sub>2</sub> 421<sub>8</sub> 631<sub>0</sub> 631<sub>1</sub> 724<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> 1173<sub>1</sub>
- Waldmann, F. 493<sub>2</sub>
- Waldstein, Sir C. See Walston, Sir C.
- Waller, J. G. 136<sub>4</sub>
- Wallis, G. H. 392<sub>3</sub> 392<sub>9</sub> 393<sub>6</sub>
- Walnut called 'acorn of Jupiter' (*iuglans*) 775<sub>0</sub>
- Walnut-trees venerated in Oise 403<sub>0</sub>
- Walston (Waldstein), Sir C. 893<sub>2</sub> 1136<sub>0</sub>
- Walters, H. B. 157<sub>0</sub> 367<sub>1</sub> 461<sub>0</sub> 473<sub>1</sub> 475<sub>5</sub> 476<sub>1</sub> 542<sub>2</sub> 543<sub>1</sub> 649<sub>4</sub> 712<sub>2</sub> 713<sub>1</sub> 746<sub>2</sub> 752<sub>6</sub> 753<sub>1</sub> 786 f. 831<sub>1(3)</sub> 831<sub>1</sub>
- Wand, golden, in folk-tales 990 992 994<sub>4</sub>
- Ward, W. H. 161<sub>6</sub> 546<sub>0</sub> 765<sub>1</sub> 767<sub>1</sub>

- Waser, O. 99<sub>1</sub> 309<sub>3</sub> 315<sub>3</sub> 504<sub>4</sub> 641<sub>2</sub> 642<sub>0</sub>  
645<sub>4</sub> 803 1025 1045 f. 1050 1087 1160<sub>5</sub>
- Water as gift to the dead 977<sub>0</sub> 1056 1058  
as primal element 1021 1022 as seminal  
fluid of deity 306<sub>4</sub> Dancing 1008 f.  
1010 f. 1016 healing 115 in Indian  
cosmogony 1035 f. 1039 of immortality  
1004 of life 1005 1012<sub>1</sub> salt, appears  
far inland at Athens, Mantinea, and  
Mylasa 581 salt, changes its nature  
581 salt, in relation to Zeus 581 ff. 616<sub>1</sub>  
symbolised by reed and urn 1050 1083
- Water-divinities 393 f. (?) 399 (?) See also  
River-god
- Waterhouse, C. O. 124<sub>2</sub>
- Water-mint, aphrodisiac properties of  
1165<sub>1</sub> 1166<sub>0</sub> at Greek weddings 1164
- Water-snake 833<sub>0</sub> See also Index I Hydra
- Watkins, W. A. 1205
- Waxen man in charm to secure wealth  
1127<sub>0</sub>
- Weapon-worship 544 ff. 548<sub>1</sub> 1132<sub>6</sub>
- Weather in relation to Zeus 1 ff. 840
- Weather-forecasts 482
- Weaving in Chinese myth 66<sub>0</sub> 479<sub>10</sub> in  
relation to Athena 66<sub>0</sub> 1029 in relation  
to Minerva 66<sub>0</sub>
- Weber, Sir H. 657
- Weber, O. 482<sub>7</sub>
- Weber, S. 1050
- Weber, W. 986<sub>0</sub>
- Wedd, N. 1178<sub>3</sub>
- Week, days of the 69 ff.
- Weicker, G. 721<sub>1</sub> 782<sub>1</sub> 1150<sub>2</sub>
- Weil, H. 12 243<sub>3</sub>
- Weil, R. 759<sub>1</sub>
- Weinreich, O. 1085 1228
- Weizsäcker, P. 437<sub>6</sub> 625<sub>5</sub> 1123
- Welcker, F. G. 160<sub>3</sub> 164<sub>6</sub> 315<sub>1</sub> 315<sub>2</sub> 350<sub>4</sub>  
383<sub>7</sub> 498 693<sub>1</sub> 697<sub>2</sub> 706<sub>5</sub> 786 800 802  
802<sub>7</sub> 868<sub>6</sub> 877<sub>0(0)</sub> 878<sub>0(3)</sub> 954<sub>0</sub> 1069 1072  
1087 1131<sub>2</sub>
- Well, holy, associated with holy tree 88  
in garden of Zeus 1119 of St Michael  
115 See also Fountain, Spring, Water
- Wellmann, M. 230<sub>1</sub> 447<sub>7</sub> 782<sub>1</sub> 1122<sub>3</sub>
- Wells, J. 311<sub>9</sub> 436<sub>8</sub> 455<sub>1</sub>
- Weltenmantel 1137<sub>0</sub>
- Welter, G. 1229 f.
- Wendling, E. 76<sub>1</sub>
- Weniger, L. 238<sub>1</sub> 242<sub>6</sub> 262<sub>8</sub> 466 928<sub>0</sub> 1151<sub>7</sub>
- Wentzel, G. 160<sub>3</sub> 872<sub>0(5)</sub> 1122<sub>2</sub>
- Were-wolves 414<sub>2</sub>
- Wernicke, K. 102<sub>0</sub> 115<sub>2</sub> 160<sub>3</sub> 212<sub>3</sub> 241<sub>3</sub> 264<sub>2</sub>  
264<sub>3</sub> 380<sub>2</sub> 410<sub>1</sub> 453 484<sub>5</sub> 486<sub>3</sub> 501 630<sub>2</sub>  
692<sub>1</sub> 744<sub>3</sub> 752 753<sub>2</sub> 786<sub>0</sub> 878<sub>0(5)</sub> 1070  
1088 1098<sub>6</sub> 1100<sub>1</sub> 1125<sub>1</sub>
- Wessely, C. 410<sub>0</sub>
- West, E. W. 1036
- Whatmough, J. 331<sub>0</sub> 342<sub>0</sub> 444<sub>9</sub> 1220  
1226
- Wheat mixed with honey to make *pyra-*  
*mides* 1162 mixed with honey and  
sesame to make *élaḗphos* 1140<sub>4</sub> offered  
to Apollon *Ἐνέτωρ* 223<sub>3</sub>
- Wheaten flour 1140<sub>4</sub> See also Meal
- Wheaten straw used in sacrifice by women  
of Thrace and Paionia 500 f. wrapped  
round Hyperborean offerings 497 498<sub>2</sub>
- Wheel as Corallian standard 108 as solar  
emblem in bronze and iron ages 109<sub>1</sub>  
magical 1030 of Fortuna 57<sub>6</sub> of Jupiter  
57<sub>6</sub> of Kairos 863<sub>1</sub> of Mars 57<sub>6</sub> of  
Nemesis 1095<sub>0</sub> of personification of the  
Course 479 of Phaethon's car 473 of  
Ziu 77 f. solar 109<sub>1</sub> 473 624 (?) 990
- Wheels of bronze dedicated to Semo  
Sancus (Sangus) 724<sub>0</sub> winged 866
- Wheeler, J. R. 597<sub>2</sub>
- Whip, Coreyraean, at Dodona 826 of  
*Archigallus* 300 f. of Eros 1048 of  
Kairos 863<sub>1</sub> of Zeus 260<sub>0</sub> 824 ff. 851  
strung with knuckle-bones 300
- Whisper of worshipper heroified or deified  
as Psithyros 1044
- White garments worn in precinct on  
Mt Kynthos 922<sub>0</sub> ladder in dream of  
Brother Leo 1215 ox sacrificed to Zeus  
*Κρήσιος* 1065 1067 stone in folk-tale of  
Kyklops 989 victims sacrificed to Zeus  
*Ἀκραῖος* 871<sub>3(1)</sub>
- White, H. G. Evelyn 1154<sub>4</sub> 1211 f.
- Whitehouse, O. C. 426<sub>5</sub>
- White-poplar as substitute for storax  
492<sub>0(0)</sub> brought by Herakles from  
Acheron 469 brought by Herakles  
from Thesprotia 467 843 grows beside  
Acheron 467 ff. in land of Chalybes  
472 in Elysian fields 469 in story of  
Astraios 230 names of, in Greek, Latin,  
and English 471<sub>1</sub> sacred to Hades 471  
sacred to Helios 469 470<sub>0</sub> sacred to  
Herakles 469 symbolism of 469<sub>1</sub> 471  
the finest tree in modern Greece 470  
turns its leaves at solstice 470<sub>0</sub> used  
at Olympia for sacrifice to Pelops 471  
used at Olympia for sacrifice to Zeus  
467 cp. 471 wreath of, in rites of  
chthonian Dionysos 471 wreath of,  
worn by victors at Athens and in Kos  
470 wreath of, worn by victors in  
Rhodes 469
- Whittaker, E. T. 1017<sub>4</sub>
- Wick, F. C. 124<sub>4</sub>
- Wickhoff, F. 1050 1181<sub>0</sub>
- Wide, S. 123<sub>0</sub> 413<sub>3</sub> 692 693<sub>3</sub> 891<sub>0</sub> 1069  
1102<sub>0</sub> 1218
- Wiedemann, A. 544<sub>3</sub>
- Wiedemann, O. 570<sub>0</sub>
- Wiegand, T. 757<sub>1</sub>
- Wiener, L. 79<sub>1</sub>
- Wieseler, F. 23<sub>7</sub> 102<sub>0</sub> 124<sub>1</sub> 161<sub>2</sub> 195<sub>1</sub> 197<sub>1</sub>  
221<sub>5</sub> 372<sub>3</sub> 372<sub>4</sub> 476<sub>12</sub> 478<sub>3</sub> 478<sub>4</sub> 491<sub>0(0)</sub>  
717<sub>2</sub> 744<sub>3</sub> 802<sub>8</sub> 802<sub>10</sub>
- Wieten, J. H. 118<sub>2</sub> 118<sub>3</sub> 119<sub>0</sub> 119<sub>1</sub> 120<sub>3</sub>
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 249<sub>2</sub>  
296<sub>4</sub> 385<sub>0</sub> 451<sub>1</sub> 453 455 ff. 476<sub>12</sub> 496<sub>0</sub>  
627<sub>1</sub> 641<sub>2</sub> 854<sub>9</sub> 856<sub>2</sub> 856<sub>3</sub> 857<sub>1</sub> 857<sub>2</sub> 857<sub>4</sub>  
857<sub>5</sub> 858<sub>1-3</sub> 873<sub>0(11)</sub> 878<sub>0(8)</sub> 899<sub>1</sub>
- Wilcken, U. 987<sub>0</sub>



- Wild Hunt compared with myth of Phae-  
thon 483 f. compared with Platonic  
myth 63<sub>0</sub> led by Wodan 62<sub>1</sub> 69
- Wild-olive a southern plant 466 501 in  
land of Hyperboreoi (?) 466 at Olympia  
466 f. on the Saronic Gulf 466 at  
Troizen 466 in myth of Herakles 466 f.  
501 in myth of Hippolytos 415 f.  
wreath of, worn by Antiochos iv Epi-  
phanes 1189 wreath of, worn by victors  
at Olympia 490<sub>(5)</sub>
- Wilhelm, A. 115<sub>3</sub> 411 561<sub>9</sub> 646<sub>4</sub> 880<sub>(19)</sub>  
900<sub>0</sub>
- Wilisch, E. 721<sub>1</sub>
- Wilkinson, Sir J. G. 622<sub>3</sub>
- Williams, Blanche E. 538<sub>2</sub>
- Willow-tree at Gortyna 946<sub>0</sub> at Phaistos  
946<sub>0</sub> 947<sub>0</sub> fruit-bearing, in mouth of  
Idaean Cave 932<sub>1</sub> in folk-song from  
Epeiros 829 turns its leaves at solstice  
470<sub>0</sub>
- Willow-trees in woods of Persephone  
472
- Will-power in relation to magic 1042 f.
- Willson, St J. B. Wynne 503<sub>2</sub>
- Wilpert, J. 1207
- Wilson, C. T. R. 779
- Wilson, Sir C. W. 888<sub>(0)</sub>
- Winckelmann, J. J. 319 405<sub>3</sub> 798<sub>2</sub> 838<sub>8</sub>
- Wind, primeval 1039
- Winds worshipped by Orphists 141<sub>1</sub> 827  
See also Index I Venti
- Wind-egg laid by Nyx 1039
- Window in eastern sky 62<sub>1</sub>
- Windows in temple of Zeus at Labranda  
590
- Wine as offering to the dead 1056 as  
offering to Iupiter *Dapalis* 1172<sub>4</sub> as  
recent invention 670 offerings without  
1097<sub>2</sub> poured on pyre of Zeus *Στράτιος*  
974<sub>1</sub> 977<sub>0</sub> unmixed, drunk in name of  
Agathos Daimon 1125 1129<sub>0</sub>
- Wine-jar as boat of Eros 1047
- Winged cap of Hermes 388 718 of Mer-  
curius 70<sub>1</sub> (?) of Perseus 718
- Wings, archaistic 862 black 1020 1050  
deities with four 544 552 f. deities with  
six 552 golden 1020 1050 hung up like  
weapons 719 of Ahriman 1053 f. of  
Boreas 380 of Chronos 1022 of Dionysos  
388 of Eros 1020 1039 ff. of Kairos  
859 ff. 863<sub>1</sub> (?) of Kalais 444 of Kronos  
552 f. of Nyx 1020 1050 of Phanes 1051  
of Psyche 1050 of words 1039 of Zetes  
444 of Zeus 1028 on cap or hat 70<sub>1</sub> (?)  
388 718 on head 388 on shoulders and  
heels of axe-bearing sky-god (?) 544  
See also *Caduceus*, Sandals, Thunder-  
bolt, Wheels and Index I Gorgones,  
Harpyiai, Iris, Nike, Pegasos, etc.
- Winnefeld, H. 739<sub>3</sub> 739<sub>4</sub>
- Wissowa, G. 13<sub>1</sub> 30<sub>2</sub> 46<sub>0</sub> 99<sub>3</sub> 99<sub>4</sub> 100<sub>1</sub> 328<sub>5</sub>  
339<sub>5</sub> 339<sub>6</sub> 352<sub>2</sub> 353<sub>6</sub> 365<sub>1</sub> 404<sub>1</sub> 554<sub>3</sub> 555<sub>0</sub>  
643<sub>8</sub> 724<sub>0</sub> 726<sub>0</sub> 805<sub>8</sub> 808<sub>(17)</sub> 1059 1170<sub>5</sub>  
1172<sub>0</sub> 1173<sub>1</sub> 1226
- Witches cause death of two Jewish  
maidens (?) 880<sub>(19)</sub> hold 'Sabbaths'  
on the four cross-quarter days 326  
of southern France worship Janiform  
devil 326 organisation of, in western  
Europe 326<sub>2</sub> 1218
- Witte, J. de 69<sub>5</sub> 287<sub>0</sub> 733<sub>3</sub> 734<sub>0</sub> 785<sub>2</sub> 1042  
*Wochengötterstein* 69 ff. 89 1213
- Wölfflin, H. 359<sub>1</sub>
- Woeste, F. 643<sub>7</sub>
- Wolf as emblem of river Lykos 572<sub>2</sub> (?)  
bites feet of dancers 138<sub>0</sub> called *δαός*  
in Phrygia 312<sub>5</sub> statue of, at Romè 46  
suckles Romulus and Remus 46 443 f.  
1016 worshipped as *Δαός* (?) 312<sub>5</sub> wor-  
shipped as *Λυκ(άβας?) Σώζων* 312<sub>5</sub> wor-  
shipped at Lykon polis 987<sub>0</sub>
- Wolves on Mt Parnassos 901<sub>2</sub> 902<sub>0</sub> on Mt  
Pelion 870<sub>0</sub> See also Were-wolves
- Wolf, F. A. 353<sub>1</sub>
- Wolf, J. W. 482<sub>5</sub>
- Wolf's head on belt-hooks 432<sub>3</sub> on sacri-  
ficial axe 632
- Wolf-serpents Hati and Sköll 305<sub>0</sub>
- Wolters, P. 122<sub>0</sub> 199<sub>2</sub> 212<sub>0</sub> 393<sub>2</sub> 469<sub>2</sub> 538<sub>5</sub>  
862<sub>0</sub> 865<sub>2</sub>
- Women excluded from cult of Theos  
Megas, Zeus *Κάσιος*, and Tachnepsis  
985<sub>0</sub> excluded from Mithraic rites 1053  
excluded from race founded by Am-  
phissos in honour of Dryope 486 slide  
down rock to obtain children 1114
- Wood for sacrifice to Pelops obtained  
from 'woodman' of Zeus 471 for sacri-  
fice to Zeus *Στράτιος* carried by kings  
of Pontos 974<sub>1</sub>
- Wood, J. T. 592 594
- Woodcock 1087
- Woodpecker as form of Cretan Zeus 524  
as god in Italy 696<sub>0</sub> as king in Italy  
696<sub>0</sub> black 518<sub>3</sub> (?) compared with  
hoopoe 692 1131<sub>2</sub> compared with jay  
523 f. in Mesopotamia 696<sub>0</sub> in north  
Africa 697<sub>0</sub> names of 692<sub>0</sub> 693<sub>3</sub> 696<sub>0</sub>  
697<sub>0</sub> on pillar 1133<sub>1</sub> 1230 tends Ro-  
mulus and Remus 1016 See further  
Index I Picus, Pikos who is also Zeus
- Woodward, A. M. 496<sub>0</sub>
- Woodwork from Kasion in Egypt 984<sub>4</sub>
- Wool, bosom of Attis covered with 970<sub>0</sub>  
white, prophylactic wreathing with  
1056 1058
- Woolen clothing, taboo on 985<sub>0</sub> effigies of  
Lares 1171<sub>2</sub> feet of the gods 1171<sub>2</sub>
- Woolley, C. L. 1197<sub>8</sub> 1198<sub>0</sub>
- Words conceived as having wings 1039
- World conceived as Zeus 1028 f. created  
by Phanes and re-created by Zeus 1033  
egg-shaped and originally an egg 1033  
1035 figured by Egyptians as circle of  
air and fire with hawk-headed snake  
(Kneph) across it 1127<sub>0</sub> worshipped by  
Orphists 141<sub>1</sub> 827
- World-empires, relation of four 696<sub>0</sub>
- World-pillar See Sky-pillar

- World-tree in Eridu 483(?) in France, Germany, etc. 88<sub>3</sub> at Rome 365<sub>4</sub>(?)
- Worsaae, J. J. A. 618<sub>1</sub>
- Worshippers akin to their god (Zeus Παρρῶος) 950<sub>0</sub>
- Wreath of bay 244 266 388 390 597<sub>3</sub> 714<sub>2</sub> 751<sub>2</sub> 756<sub>1</sub> 924<sub>0</sub> 1187<sub>4</sub> 1192 f. 1223 of corn 370 of fir 949<sub>5</sub> of flowers 405 407<sub>0</sub> of ivy 388 390 909<sub>0</sub> of lilies 740 of oak 348 388 411<sub>6</sub> 412 417<sub>5</sub> 763<sub>1</sub> 951<sub>0</sub> 1187<sub>4</sub> of olive 323<sub>1</sub> 1029 of pine 951<sub>0</sub> of poplar 388<sub>8</sub> of *selinon*(?) 1187<sub>0</sub> of thorns(?) and acorns 1166<sub>1</sub> of vine-shoots 515 of white-poplar 469 ff. of wild-olive 490<sub>0(5)</sub>
- Wroth, W. 16<sub>1</sub> 491<sub>0(0)</sub> 491<sub>0(6)</sub> 572<sub>5</sub> 662 706<sub>1</sub> 742<sub>7</sub> 809<sub>7</sub> 961<sub>0</sub> 978<sub>0</sub> 983<sub>0</sub> 1042 1079 1089
- Wünsch, R. 504<sub>3</sub> 512 512<sub>2</sub> 540
- Wulff, O. 627<sub>3</sub> 627<sub>4</sub>
- Wundt, W. 504 f. 1039 1087
- Xanthoudides, S. A. 623<sub>4</sub> 637 931<sub>0</sub>
- Xenelaḥía* 1101<sub>3</sub>
- Xóanon* 1196<sub>2</sub> made of lucky tree stripped of its bark 1172<sub>2</sub> of Zeus Φίλιος at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1196
- Year, Celtic, from May to November 326<sub>4</sub> (*éviavrós*) formerly of eight years' (*ἔτη*) duration 241<sub>2</sub> Zeus nurtured in Dicaeae Cave for a 928<sub>0</sub> See also Priest-
- Year (*cont.*)
- hood, annual tenure of and Index I
- New Year's Day
- Yellow in Ophite diagram 611<sub>2</sub> stuff(?), prophylactic wreathing with 1056 1058
- Yoke as symbol of Ianus *Quirinus*(?) 364<sub>1</sub> rite of passing under 359<sub>6</sub> 364
- Yorke, V. W. 827<sub>2</sub>
- Zakóros* 921<sub>0</sub> 922<sub>0</sub>
- Zander, C. M. 329<sub>0(5)</sub> 337<sub>4</sub>
- Zangemeister, C. 813<sub>2</sub>
- Zeller, E. 855<sub>2</sub> 1023 1024
- Ziebarth, E. 727<sub>3</sub> 729<sub>0</sub> 730<sub>0</sub> 881<sub>0(21)</sub> 882<sub>0(0)</sub>
- Ziehen, J. 1088
- Ziehen, L. 18<sub>6</sub> 1066
- Zielinski, T. 453
- Zigzags 639 641 847
- Zikkurat* 128 142<sub>2</sub>
- Zimmermann, A. 1159<sub>1</sub>
- Zimmern, H. 510<sub>5</sub>
- Zingerle, J. 94<sub>3</sub>
- Zinzow, A. 1045
- Zodiac 1051 1053
- Zoekler, O. 607<sub>4</sub>
- Zoega, G. 160<sub>0</sub> 164<sub>2</sub>
- Zoistic conception of burning sky 11 f. of day-light sky 840 of sky 1 of thunder-bolt 11 ff. 807 814
- Zoögony, Egyptian 1023 See also Anthropogony, Cosmogony, Theogonies
- Zvetaieff, J. 118<sub>3</sub>





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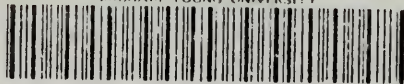




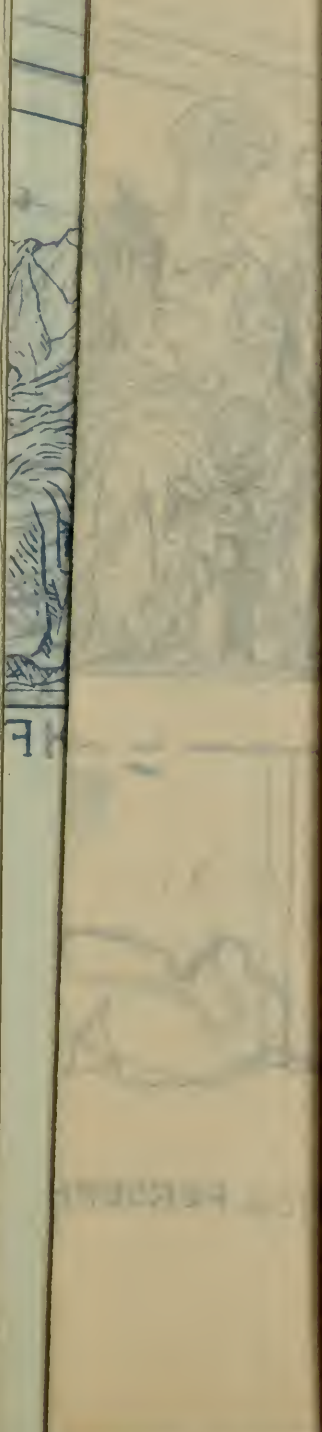
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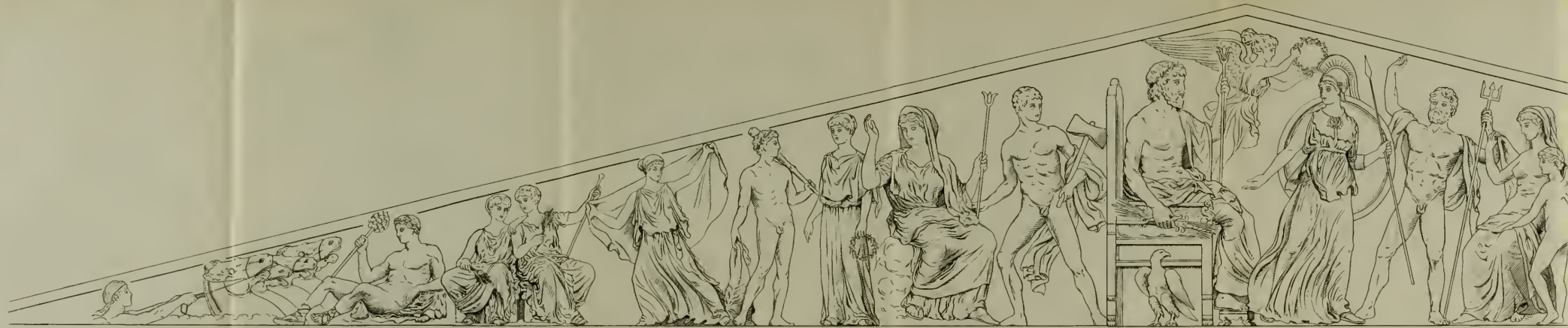
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