

THE CULTS
OF
THE GREEK STATES

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



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THE CULTS

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BY

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PREFACE

THE present work, however faulty and defective it may be in method or statement, need not be prefaced by any apology for the subject with which it deals. A compendious account of Greek cults, that should analyze and estimate the record left by Greek literature and monuments of the popular and public religion, has long been a desideratum in English and even to a certain extent in German scholarship. Until quite recent years the importance of Greek religion has been contemptuously ignored by English scholars. The cause of this neglect was perhaps the confusion of Greek mythology—that apparently bizarre and hopeless thing—with Greek religion; the effect of it is still apparent in nearly every edition of a Greek play that is put forth. Fortunately, this apathy concerning one of the most interesting parts of ancient life is now passing away; and since this book, the work of many years of broken labour, was begun, a new interest, stimulating to fruitful research, in Greek ritual and myth is being displayed in many quarters, especially at Cambridge.

The comparative study of religion has received signal aid from the science of anthropology, to which

England has contributed so much; we have been supplied—not indeed with ‘a key to all the mythologies,’ but with one that unlocks many of the mysteries of myth and reveals some strange secrets of early life and thought. The influence of such a work as the late Professor Robertson Smith’s *Religion of the Semites* has been and will be very powerful in this line of research; I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to it, as well as to the valuable treatise recently published by Mr. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*; nor can the interest and importance of Mr. Lang’s pioneer-work in this field be ignored. My own book has, however, a different aim from any of these; I have tried to disentangle myth from religion, only dealing with the former so far as it seems to illustrate or reveal the latter, and have aimed at giving a complete account of the names and ideas that were attached, and of the ceremonies that were consecrated, by the Greek states to their chief divinities.

In these two volumes that are now appearing I have proceeded from the account of the Zeus-cult to the examination of the worships of Hera, Athena, Artemis, and Aphrodite, and of certain subordinate personages associated with them. This order seemed a reasonable one to adopt, because it is natural to study the cults of Zeus and Hera side by side, and because it is convenient to group the other goddesses with Hera in order to appreciate their traits of affinity and points of contrast.

Partly to avoid the awkward accumulation of citations at the foot of each page, partly to bring the literary

evidence before the eyes of the student in a sifted and methodical form, I have appended to the account of each cult a table of 'Schriftquellen' or references to inscriptions and classical authors. Though these considerably swell the bulk of the work I am encouraged to think that the labour will not have been wasted. It is vain to hope that these citations include all that is relevant and that my research has been nowhere at fault, for, apart from other difficulties, nearly every month brings to light fresh inscriptions that may modify one's views on important points; the utmost I can hope is that the chief data hitherto available are collected here, and that I have been able to exclude what is irrelevant.

As regards the archaeological chapters, I have tried to enumerate all the cult-monuments, so far as anything definite is known about them; this is not so difficult a task, as these are comparatively few. In the chapters on the ideal types of each divinity my task has been mainly one of selection; I have tried to confine myself for the most part to those of which my studies in the various museums and collections of Europe have given me personal knowledge.

It has been my object to restrict myself as far as possible to the statement of the facts, and not to wander too far into the region of hypothesis and controversy. One's work thus incurs the risk of a dryness and coldness of tone; and the risk is all the greater because, while Greek mythology was passionate and picturesque, Greek religion was, on the whole, sober and sane. An emotional exposition of it may be of

great value for the purposes of literature; but for the purposes of science it is best to exhibit the facts, as far as possible, in a dry light.

In the earliest days of my studies in this field, I was bred in the strictest sect of German mythologists; but some time before I contemplated writing on the subject I had come to distrust the method and point of view that were then and are even now prevalent in German scholarship; and I regret that hostile criticism of much German work should take so prominent a place in my book. I regret this all the more because I owe a personal debt of gratitude, which I warmly acknowledge, to the German universities, that were the first to recognize the importance of this subject and that open their doors so hospitably to the foreign student.

My best thanks are due to the Directors of various museums who have readily aided me in procuring many of the plates, and still more to the many personal friends who have kindly assisted me in the revision of the proof-sheets, especially to Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen, to Mr. Macan of University College, Oxford, to Mr. Warde Fowler of Lincoln College, and to Mr. Pogson Smith of St. John's College.

I regret that these two volumes should have appeared without an index, which it was thought convenient to reserve till the end of the third volume. I hope that the rather ample table of contents may to some extent atone for this defect.

I may add one word in conclusion on the English

spelling of Greek names. Objections can easily be raised against the over-precise as well as against the over-lax system; I have compromised between the two by adopting for the less familiar names a spelling as consonant as possible with the Greek, while for those that are of more common occurrence I have tried to keep the usual English form.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD,
December, 1895.

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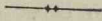
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THE CULTS OF THE GREEK STATES



INTRODUCTION.

THE history of Greek religion, so much neglected in our country, is often mistaken for a discussion concerning its origins. The main scope of the present work is not the question of origin, but a survey of the most important texts and monuments that express the actual religious conceptions of the various Greek communities at different historical epochs. Such a study evidently concerns the student of the literature no less than the student of the archaeology of Greece, although the subject has been hitherto approached rather from the archaeological side. The question of origins may be put aside, although it may be true that one does not fully and perfectly know the present character of a fact unless one also knows the embryology of it. Yet this dictum expresses more the ideal of knowledge than a practical method of working. In dealing with so complicated a phenomenon as the religion of a people, it is surely advisable to consider separately and first the actual facts, the actual beliefs in the age of which we have history, rather than the prehistoric germ from which they arose. Again, this is the only aspect of the problem that directly concerns the student of the Greek world pure and simple, for the other line of inquiry, touching the birth of the nation's religion, can never be followed out within the limits of that nation's literature and

monuments. And there are especial difficulties attaching to such an inquiry, for the origin is probably much more remote than is commonly supposed, and the inquirer is generally dealing with an age of which there is no direct evidence. To reconstruct the primitive thought requires all the aid that can be supplied by philology, anthropology, and the comparative study of religions, and so far the reconstruction is neither solid nor final. Great results were expected when first philology, with new methods and new material, was applied to the explanation of Greek myths and divine personages. The result has been meagre and disappointing, and this is perhaps due to three causes.

First, the philologist was working under the influence of the newly discovered Sanskrit language, and his point of departure for theological deductions was the Vedic literature, which was considered to be primitive, and to give the key to the myths and mythic religion of Greeks, Teutons, and Slavs^a. But the Vedic religion is already comparatively advanced, and gives but little clue to the origins and development of the religions of the other Aryan peoples.

Secondly, the philology of many of the interpreters of Greek myth and religion has been often unscientific, the earliest of them belonging to that period when the phonetic laws of vowel changes were not sufficiently understood, and when it was only an affair of consonants, and the later of them merely skirmishing on the ground in amateur fashion^b.

^a Vide Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, vol. I. p. 32.

^b Apart from the etymological discoveries about the name of Zeus, the chief contributions of philology to our knowledge of the origins of Greek religious personages have been supposed to be the identification of 'Ἐπειός with Sanskrit Saranyú-s, and Hermes or Hermeias with Sārameyás; these were first publicly put forward by Kuhn (*Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, &c. 2nd ed. pp. 6-8), and have been widely accepted. They are condemned however by more recent philology; the original form in Greek

of Saranyús would have been σεπειός, which would have become σεπειός and then ἔπειός: 'Ἐπειός unaccountably lacks the rough breathing, and contains an unaccountable long ι, which never in Greek takes the place of ει. And the word Saranyús has the appearance of being a word of specifically Sanskrit derivation, which has not come down from the 'Ursprache.' Nor is there any foundation in Greek and Sanskrit mythology for the identification; for the story of Saranyús taking the form of a mare is not in the Rigveda, and may be a mere aetiological invention of the

Thirdly, the philologists have mainly devoted themselves to maintain the view that the myths are allegorical accounts of physical phenomena, and the mythic figures are the personification of the elements and the powers of nature. It is often supposed that this process of interpretation is a new discovery of German science of the last generation; but in reality it is as old as the sixth century B.C.^a, and was rife in the fifth-century philosophy, in the poetry of Euripides and the younger comedy, and is a constant theme of the later philosophies and the early patristic literature. Of course the modern writers^b have dealt far more seriously and fruitfully with the theme, and by a comparison of the various groups of national myths, many luminous suggestions have been made of the way in which natural phenomena may be worked up into legends of personages. But as applied to the origins of Greek religion and the explanation of its development, the theory has produced only inconsequence and confusion; and it leaves little room for foreign influences, for the possibility that a deity might have been borrowed as a fully formed concrete person, having among his new worshippers no physical connotation whatever. The assumption explicit or implicit of writers of this school is generally this, that each Greek divinity represents some department or force in nature^c, and the formula

commentator, and the myth which has been supposed to correspond, about DemeterErinyes being pursued by Kronos in the form of a horse, has nothing to do with the Erinyes proper. The theory that Sārameyá-s is to be identified with 'Epeúeías founders on the first vowel: the Greek equivalent should be 'Hpeúei-os. For the views expressed in this note, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Professor Macdonell.

^a Vide Schol. Ven. II. 20. 67; Theagenes sees in the Homeric battle of the gods the warfare in the elements, and the opposition of certain moral ideas.

^b In such works as Kuhn's *Die Herabkunft des Feuers, &c.*, and in Schwarz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie*, in spite of mistaken etymology and interpretation,

much valuable material has been gathered and sifted, though valuable more for the general history of folklore and ritual than for the study of Greek religion. Of still greater scientific value is Mannhardt's *Wald- und Feldkulte*.

^c Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, I. p. 324, says 'Aus Naturgöttern . . . sind alle . . . persönlichen Götter hervorgegangen: the object of the history of Greek religion is, according to him, to discover the nature-origin of the divinity and to trace it out in the myths. The principle is accepted by Maury in his *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, though his work is chiefly occupied with a statement of the historical facts. The method and subject-matter of Preller's *Griechische*

which they often put forward, or at least appear to take for granted, is that the deity is a personification of that sphere or department. But it is doubtful whether this formula is ever of any avail for explaining the origins of any religion; whether 'the personification of a natural phenomenon' is a phrase appropriate to the process which gives birth to the earliest religious conceptions of a primitive race^a. The words suggest the belief that, for instance, the primitive ancestor of the Greek was aware of certain natural phenomena as such, and then by a voluntary effort gave them a personal and human form in his imagination. Something like this undoubtedly happened in the case of the personification of the mountain. Ordinarily when walking up Olympos the Greek knew well enough that he was not treading on the bones and flesh of a living being, and he was under no illusion; then for purposes of his own he chose to personify it, knowing well that the natural phenomenon was one thing, the person another. But this was at quite the latest epoch of Greek religion, and exhibits probably a relatively late mental tendency or power. It is doubtful if the primitive mind could personify things thus, for it probably lacked this sense of the limits of personality, or the border-line between the sentient and the non-sentient, or the distinction between human natural or supernatural phenomena. The aboriginal Greek may have regarded the mountain, or the sky, or the stone as sentient^b, possessed with power to help him or to hurt him; and may have tried to appease it with certain rites, without believing in a definite and clearly conceived person who lived in the sky or in the mountain. The superstitious man in Theophrastus seems to have held this view about the sacred stones which he daily

Mythologie is based on the same idea. Perhaps the best exposition of the historical facts of certain parts of Greek religion that has yet appeared, free from any theory about origins, is to be found in K. O. Müller's *Hellenische Stämme*.

^a Schwarz, in his *Der Ursprung der Mythologie*, takes a more correct view

than many writers of his school, when he says 'für unsere älteste Zeit existirt der Begriff einer sogenannten Symbolik . . . noch gar nicht,' &c., p. 12.

^b Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12. p. 233 Dind. ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία τέχνης ὄρη θεοῦ ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ δένδρα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀσήμους λίθους.

anointed with oil. A distinct stage would be that at which the man personifies the object, as the early Greek may have personified the Sun or the Moon, or as the late Greek personified Olympus: it is proper to this view that the definite person is supposed to be in or about the object, and has no action or life independent of it^a. A third stage is that to which Greek religion, as we first know it, had attained: the object of worship is a personal divinity who may happen to reside in a certain sphere of nature and administer the laws of that sphere, but has a real complicated existence independent of it and not wholly to be explained in reference to the laws of it. Now those who have followed the physical interpretation of Greek divinities are rarely explicit as regards these distinctions. We are told that the etymological proof is complete that the various branches of the Aryan family worshipped the sky-god, because the various ethnic names of the chief god contain a root which means 'bright' or 'sky' (*div* or *dyu*)^b. But the question of great importance concerning the original idea still remains; does philology prove that the primitive Aryan tribes worshipped the sky as such—as an animated thing, a fetish; or on the other hand as a personal being anthropomorphic and clearly defined, but with power and functions limited to the sky; or lastly as a personal god who lived in the sky, and was therefore called the sky-god (just as all the divinities living in the heavens might be called *Οὐρανῶνες*), but as one who could be detached from his element and exercise moral or physical influences elsewhere?

It would seem that we must have some sort of answer to these questions, before we can say that we have found the primitive Aryan idea of divinity, even though we may be sure that that idea was physical or derived immediately from the physical world. But the mere presence of the root 'div' in the various names of the chief god does not tell us at all

^a Oceanos and Gaea are instances of such crude personifications.

^b Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. p. 135. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. p. 115. Prof. Max Müller's view in the *Science of Language*, 2.

p. 491, appears to be that the original root *dyu* was applied first to God in a spiritual sense and then to the sky; but that the two meanings had become fused in the divinity before the separation of the races.

in what sense the sky was worshipped. Otto Gruppe—a desperate sceptic in regard to other systems than his own—maintains that it does not even prove that the sky was worshipped in any sense whatever by all the tribes, but that the root may have originally signified 'bright' and could serve equally well to form the word meaning sky and the word meaning God^a.

Now the name of Zeus is the only name in the whole of the Greek Pantheon upon which philology has anything certain to say, and what it says does not seem to amount to so much as was at first supposed. All attempts to explain the other Greek names of divinities, with the possible exception of Semele and Dionysos, have been unsuccessful. Demeter was undoubtedly regarded by the Greeks at certain times as an earth goddess, and $\Delta\eta$ is a dialect-form of $\Gamma\eta$, so that 'mother-earth' would seem to be a translation for Demeter in accord with etymology and ancient religious belief; but modern philology^b pronounces this to be an impossible compound, and we have no right to say that the name Demeter means mother-earth. And if we do not know the meaning of Demeter, the case seems desperate with such names as Apollo, Artemis and Athene.

Deprived then of the aid of etymology, the writers of this sect have tried to fix the original meaning of the god or goddess by an analysis of the various myths attaching to the personage. And the result is disheartening enough, and might discredit the physical theory. The whole realm of nature has been ransacked; sun, moon and stars, storm-cloud, lightning, the blue sky, the dawn, the evening, have each in turn been taken as the substance of this or that divinity, and very recently a French writer M. Ploix in an extraordinarily wrong book has proved that every Greek and Latin deity is the twilight. What is most remarkable is that the storm-cloud and the blue sky are sometimes found to be of equal use in explaining all the myths and all the cult of the same personage.

^a *Die Griechischen Kulte und Mythen*, pp. 119-120.

^b Ahrens, *Dor. Dial.* p. 80.

If we believe that in the background of all the various Greek religious personages, who in the clear light of Greek religion appeared as ethical ideal figures, there is a physical phenomenon, it may be useful to go on trying to find it. But though serious arguments may be urged for this belief, there are two errors that are often committed in the investigation. In the first place the distinction is often ignored between the primitive idea and the ideas that were in the mind of the Greek worshipper of this or that historical epoch: for instance the writer often fails to note that Athene, who originally may have been the air, or the storm-cloud, or the twilight, was certainly never one of these things, or a personification of one, for the Athenian who sacrificed to her in any age of which we have distinct record^a. The other is a serious error in logic: it is often argued that because a certain divinity was originally merely an elementary power, therefore all the legends and all the attributes of that divinity can and should be explained in reference to that element of which the god or goddess is the expression. To what quaint results this method of reasoning leads we can best gather from Roscher's article in his *Ausführliches Lexikon* on Athene. Athene, according to him, was the thunder-cloud and her origin and career are thus explained: she is called Athene Salpinx, not because, as a goddess very inventive in the arts, she invented the trumpet, but because the thunder is loud and the trumpet is loud and a poet might call the thunder trumpet-voiced. By a parity of reasoning she becomes a goddess of war because the thunder is warlike, and she invented the ship and the chariot, because the thunder-cloud is often regarded as a ship and as a chariot. She also becomes a goddess of peace and the arts of life, owing to a very curious metaphor. The cloud was described as a woollen fleece; and wool was spun; therefore Athene appeared as a spinning-goddess. Now spinning implies a certain degree of intellect, therefore the spinning-goddess becomes the goddess of wisdom, social, political or any other kind; and her whole character is thus

^a Aristoph. *Pax* 410, 411 ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν (τοῖς θεοῖς) θύομεν, τούτοισι δὲ (Σελήνη καὶ Ἥλιος) οἱ βάρβαροι θύουσι.

deduced. One cannot help feeling the unreality of this, which seems the *reductio ad absurdum* of the physical-allegorical theory^a. To preserve oneself from this, one may maintain that, even if we allow that a physical fact formed the background of the personal idea, the intellectual or moral concepts could be brought into it without any dependence on that fact, as the goddess might become the pre-eminent divinity of a progressive race that would connect with her name the various stages of their progress. Granted this, it must then be allowed not only that the question of origins stands apart from the question about the later historical facts, but that the discovery of the origin will often throw but little light on these.

The great merit of the writers of this school is that they were the first who attempted by scientific method to bring some order into the chaos of mythology. But the more recent study of anthropology has contributed much more to the explanation of mythology and some part of religion; its pretensions are fewer, its hypotheses more stable and real, and its range of comparison wider. In the explanation of Greek religion by means of anthropological ideas and methods, English research has taken the lead; although there are many valuable suggestions tending to the same point of view in Mannhardt's *Wald- und Feldkulte*; and the article on Dionysos in Roscher's *Lexikon* is an important contribution to this inquiry. Taking Mr. Lang's treatise on *Myth Ritual and Religion* or Mr. Fraser's *Golden Bough* as instances of recent anthropological work bearing on Greek religion, one sees that they deal less with the question of origins, or with the primitive thing or the primitive thought out of which and by which the Godhead was evolved, than with the question of survivals, the inquiry how far a certain part of the ritual and mythology of the more developed nations can be explained

^a As an instance of the confusion which might be introduced into the interpretation of classical texts, by the application of the solar theory of myths, we might take Paley's absurd interpretation of Sophocles' phrase in the *Trachiniae* (line 831) *Κενταύρου φοβία*

νεφέλα, a poetical description of the shirt of Nessus which wrapt Heracles in a cloud of deadly smoke. Paley explains it as though Sophocles were unconsciously repeating the language of a lost solar myth.

by means of the ritual and mythology of savage or primitive society. The assumption is that primitive man spontaneously ascribes to his divinities much of his own social habits and modes of thought, and that mythology is not merely highly figurative conversation about the weather, but like ritual itself is often a reflexion of by-gone society and institutions. It is ritual that is chiefly the conservative part of religion. And in ritual the older and cruder ideas are often held as in petrification, so that the study of it is often as it were the study of unconscious matter, in so far as it deals with facts of worship of which the worshipper does not know the meaning and which frequently are out of accord with the highest religious consciousness of the community. The anthropologist does not pretend to do more than supply us with a new key for the interpretation of certain parts of mythology and ritual, but the results of this new science have been already of the greatest value for the student of Greek cults and much more may be hoped from it; it has done much to explain the strange contradiction that often exists between the ritualistic act and the more ideal view about the divinity, and the study of a very important chapter in the history of Greek religion, the chapter on sacrifice, depends almost wholly on its aid.

The account of the historical period of Greek religion must deal equally with the literature and the monuments; it is from the combined testimony of both that we learn what the religion was in reality to the people themselves, what were its processes of organic growth, what were its transitions from lower to higher forms. Both are records, but of unequal value. The literature takes precedence of the monuments because its testimony begins at an earlier date.

The poems of Homer testify to a highly developed structure of religious thought, showing us clear-cut personal forms of divinities with ethical and spiritual attributes. But the contemporary art, standing alone, would suggest that the Greeks had hardly arrived at the anthropomorphic stage of religion at all, but were still on the lowest level of fetishism. This of course only means that poetry attained a power of spiritual expression at a far earlier date than did painting or

sculpture. But when Greek art was developed it became a truer record of the national and popular belief than the literature. For the painter and still more the sculptor was usually the servant of the state, executing state-commissions; he could not then break away from tradition, but must embody in his work the popular view about the divinity, however much he might refine and idealize. On the other hand the poet or the philosophic writer was far more free. He could express the aspirations of the few, could put forth religious conceptions such as are found in Pindar and Euripides reaching far beyond the range of the popular view. But the history of any religion is equally concerned with testimony such as this; for it has to deal with the twofold question, what was the average meaning of the religion for the nation, and what ideal expression did it occasionally receive. And the latter question must often be discussed before we can sufficiently answer the former. For instance, it is not impossible, as may afterwards be shown, that the later popular view about Ourania Aphrodite was coloured by the Platonic interpretation of the title.

But the art and the literature were not mere records of the religion; they were forces that directly or indirectly assisted its growth. It is a saying partially true that Greek theology took its shape from Homer^a. His poems were doubtless a great moment in that development from a stage of religious thought, at which the divinities were amorphous, vague in outline and character, lacking ethical quality, to the stage of clear and vivid anthropomorphism, of which the personal forms are plastic and precise. We need not regard Homer as a religious reformer, consciously setting himself to refine away the monstrous and primitive elements of the religion. The result is still the same; as the fruit of his poetic work and imagination the people inherited a higher and clearer religious view. The Greek epic poetry is probably

^a Herodotus in a well-known passage somewhat exaggerates their influence when he says of Hesiod and Homer οὔτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην

Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπαννυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες 2. 53.

the first national expression of the belief that the gods were concerned with the general interests of men; and to such a belief it was necessary that the gods themselves should assume a human aspect, in order that they should act in human affairs. We may believe that not only Greek poetry but Greek music played a part in this characterization of the divinities, this fixing of the types, as a particular mode of music, expressive of a certain ethical idea, became appropriate to a particular worship^a. It was long before Greek art could exert such an influence; and the national mind must have become habituated to conceive of the divinities in clear human outlines before the national art could so express them. But when it had attained freedom and sufficient mastery over form, it probably reacted on the religious conception with a power greater and more immediate than any that the literature could exercise. It is here a question about the sculpture and painting that filled the temples and sacred places, and it is clear at once that no other product of the Greek imagination could be so public or so popular as these; if these then in any way transformed or refined Greek religion, the people in general would be reached by the change, and would be the less inclined to challenge it or view it with suspicion, because the sculptor and the painter in any public commission worked always within the lines of the popular creed. I may afterwards note some special instances in which their work can be proved to have ameliorated or in some way modified the current religion; it is enough to say here that their refining influence appears in their choice of subject-matter, and as a result of a certain tendency of style. It appears in the former, inasmuch as the gross and barbarous elements in the myths and lower folklore intrude themselves but rarely even into vase-painting, the lowest of all the Greek arts of design, and scarcely at all into monumental sculpture and painting. These dealt

^a Athen. 14. 626 *παρὰ μόνους Ἀρκάσιον οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμον τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἤρωας καὶ*

θεοὺς ὑμνοῦσι. The νόμος ὄρθιος was proper to Athena and Ares, Plut. *de Mus.* c. 29 and 33.

with the highest forms of the Olympian religion, which were free from obscenity and almost free from superstitious and obscure mysticism. Also the mere formal development of style, though guided perhaps by an artistic rather than a conscious religious instinct, yet reacted on the religious feeling. The long continued schooling throughout the archaic and transitional periods had won for the perfected Greek sculpture of the fifth century its two primary qualities, its disciplined and ideal treatment of forms and its earnestness of ethical expression, the two qualities connoted by the Greek term *σεμνότης*. Such a style, avoiding mere naturalism and emotional exaggeration, was supremely fitted for the creation of religious types; and working upon these, it made the personages of the Greek polytheism more human and more real for the imagination, more ideal in form and ethical content. And it was truly said of the masterpiece of Pheidias, that it added something to the received religion, and that no man could conceive of Zeus otherwise than as this sculptor showed him.

Taking then the monuments and the literature both as records and as formative influences in Greek religion, I wish to note the chief facts in the worship of each divinity, to distinguish when possible between the earlier and later stages, to mention the leading local cults and to give the general Pan-hellenic conception when such exists, taking account only of such myths as throw light on the religious idea, and finally to describe the main characteristic representations of each divinity in the monuments.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANICONIC AGE.

THE Homeric poems, as has been said, present us with a group of divinities not at all regarded as personifications of the various forces and spheres of nature, but as real personages humanly conceived with distinct form and independent action. We have no clear trace in the literature legend and cults of Greece of that earlier stage which is often supposed to precede polytheism in the cycle of religious development, a stage of polydaemonism when the objects of worship are vague companies of 'numina' nameless and formless. There is no evidence of this, as regards Greek religion, in the statement of Herodotus that the Pelasgians attached no names to their divinities, for Herodotus is in the first place defending an unscientific thesis that most of the Greek divinities derived their names from Egypt, and may be only referring to the primitive custom of avoiding the name of the divinity in ritual^a. Nor are Hesiod's lines, that speak of the thirty thousand daemones of Zeus, the 'watchers of mortal men,' any proof that Greek religion had passed through that earlier stage; for Hesiod is often perfectly free in the creation of such unseen moral agencies, or if there is some popular belief underlying this conception, it is that which was attached to hero-worship; but however old this may be it cannot be proved to be prior in the history of Greek religion to the higher cult. At the very threshold, then, of Greek history, the religion is already clearly anthropomorphic; the ordinary Greek of the Homeric period did not imagine his God

^a Herod. 2. 52 vide Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, sub init.

under the form of a beast but under the form of a man^a. He did not, however, as yet represent him in this form either in marble or wood, as a general rule. It is important to note that we have no express reference in Homer to any statue or idol in human shape, excepting the allusion to the idol of Athene Polias in Troy^b. As to the reality of this there can be no doubt, for Homer tells us how the women bore the peplos in procession to the citadel to lay it on the knees of the goddess. She must, therefore, have been represented as seated, and with lower parts of human shape, and if the words in line 311, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, refer to the image itself, then the head also was of human semblance. We note also that temple-building, another sign of the anthropomorphic conception, is abundantly proved to have been known to Homer's age by Homeric passages. We hear of this very temple of Athene on the acropolis of Troy, fitted with doors and bolts, and the λάϊνος οὐδός of Apollo at Delphi. But on the whole the poems of Homer supply us with sufficient evidence that the worship of his age was still aniconic; and of this we have abundant positive evidence from other sources. Bötticher in his *Baumcultus*^c has collected the proofs, that among the objects which had no human semblance, but served as ἀγάλματα, or emblems of the divinity, the tree takes a very prominent place in many nations' ritual. But we find in the earliest period of Greek religion of which we have any record that it is never the tree itself which is worshipped, simply in its own right, but the tree is regarded as the shrine of the divinity that houses within it; thus we may explain the epithets ἔνδενδρος of Zeus¹, and the legend of Helene Dendritis². Nor is it the tree as such that is the ἄγαλμα, but the stock or carved trunk, that is, the tree artificially wrought upon in some rude way. The ἄγαλμα of Aphrodite dedicated by Pelops was wrought out of a fresh verdant myrtle tree⁷. At Samos a board was the emblem of Hera⁵: two wooden stocks joined together by a cross-piece was the sign of the Twin-brethren at Sparta¹⁷, and a wooden column encircled with ivy

^a Vide Note at the end of the chapter.

^b Il. 6. 300.

^c Vide especially the chapter entitled *Umriss des Hellenischen Baumcultus*.

was consecrated to Dionysus at Thebes¹⁶. But more commonly the sacred aniconic object is the stone, sometimes in its natural state, untouched by any art, as the *λίθος ἀργός* of the Thespian Eros¹²; but still more usually it is the wrought stone that fulfils the religious purpose. Thus Apollon Agnieus was represented by a cone-shaped column²¹, and Pausanias speaks of an Artemis Patroa 'fashioned like a pillar'¹⁰. And from the fragment of the Phoronis mentioned by Clemens¹⁶, we learn that the ancient emblem of Hera at Argos was a tall column. Other instances will be noted later.

Now it is important to see that the view prevalent in the earliest historic period of Greece about these Aniconic objects is more advanced than the view of primitive fetishism; for they seem never, except in a few isolated instances, to have been revered by the Greeks as objects of independent efficacy, of nameless divine power, producing, if properly dealt with, miraculous effect. This may have been their aboriginal character, but they came to be adopted by the higher polytheism, and, when it was no longer understood why the stone in itself should be sacred, legends are invented attaching it to this or that divinity of the local cult²⁰. Thus the Omphalos at Delphi becomes the stone of Hestia, and another sacred stone was holy because it was that which Saturn swallowed. Lastly, these objects are usually not regarded as the actual divinity but as the sign of his presence; although in the Arcadian worship of Zeus *Καπνώτας*, which will be noticed below, the stone appears to have been named as if it were the god himself.

NOTE.

The statement in the text would have to be modified if we supposed that the epithet *βοῶπις* of Hera and *γλαυκῶπις* of Athene meant in Homer 'cow-faced' and 'owl-faced,' and that the goddesses were ever conceived by him as having the face of a cow or the face of an owl. Now, certainly *βοῶπις* ought to mean cow-faced, rather than ox-eyed, on the analogy of *ταυρωπός*, an epithet of wine in *Ion* (fr. 9, Bergk), and of Dionysos *Orphic. Hymn* 29. 4, and ὄψ more usually means face than eye in Homer. A cow-faced Hera may have been a form indigenous in Greece or imported from Egypt, and need not be explained by any reference to a worship of the moon. But Schliemann's archaeological evidence is inconclusive: he gives on Plates A, B, C, D of Mycenae and Tiryns reproductions of terra-cotta figures and cows-heads, and he thinks he has found females with cows-horns protruding at the side of their breasts, and he calls these images of Hera *βοῶπις*; but, as the writer of the article on Hera in Roscher's *Lexicon* remarks, these terra-cotta figures may simply denote offerings taking the place of real cow-sacrifices (cf. images of little pigs to Demeter); and the horns at the sides of the female images are merely crude representations of arms. And Homer also applies the epithet to mortals, to a handmaid of Helen (*Il.* 3. 144), to Phylomedusa wife of Areithoos (*Od.* 7. 10), and to one of the Nymphs of Thetis (cf. the name of the Oceanid in Hesiod, *Theog.* 355 Πλουτὼ *βοῶπις*). Now there is no reason why it should not mean the same in all these cases. But in what possible not uncomplimentary sense could women be called cow-faced? Either this original meaning had been forgotten, and Homer applies it to Hera mechanically from mere tradition, and thence it becomes a term of meaningless praise for mortal women because properly an epithet of a goddess, or it means for Homer ox-eyed, with large lustrous eyes. In either case then Homer does not consciously conceive of Hera as cow-faced. *Γλαυκῶπις* stands on a different footing, for it need only mean 'bright-faced,' and Schliemann's 'owl-eyed' or 'owl-faced' idols at Hissarlik are not owl-faced at all.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER I.

- ¹ Zeus: Hesych. s. v. ἔνδενδρος' παρὰ Ῥοδίου Ζεὺς, Διώνυσος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.
- ² Paus. 3. 22, 12 in Laconia τὸ δένδρον ἔτι ἐκείνην σέβουσι τὴν μυρσίνην, καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ὀνομάζουσι Σώτειραν.
- ³ Id. 3. 19, 10: the Rhodian women (Ἐρινύσιν εἰκασμένοι) διαλαβοῦσαι δὴ τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπάγχουσιν ἐπὶ δένδρον: cf. Theocr. 18. 48 σέβου μ', Ἑλένας φυτόν εἶμι.
- ⁴ Festus, p. 37 Delubrum dicebant fustem delibratum, hoc est, decorticatum, quem pro deo venerabantur.

- ⁵ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 40 P. καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαμίας Ἑρας ἄγαλμα πρότερον μὲν ἦν σάνις, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἄρχοντος ἀνθρωποειδὲς ἐγένετο.
- ⁶ Paus. 9. 40, 11 θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δί φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἡφαιστον.
- ⁷ *Id.* 5. 13, 7 διαβάντι δὲ τὸν Ἑρμον πόταμον ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμωφ πεποιήμενον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας.
- ⁸ *Id.* 1. 27, 1, at Athens, Ἑρμῆς ξύλον ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνας οὐ σύνοπτον.
- ⁹ Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 8. 1 γεωργοὶ Διόνυσον τιμῶσι, πῆξαντες ἐν ὄρχατῳ αὐτοφυῆς πρέμνον.
- ¹⁰ Paus. 2. 9, 6 μετὰ τὸ Ἀράτον ἠρώφον ἔστι Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾶ, πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἣ δὲ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένη.
- ¹¹ *Id.* 9. 24, 3 ἐν Ἰγῆτῳ ναός ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους . . . ὄντος οὐχὶ ἀγάλματος σὺν τέχνῃ, λίθου δὲ ἀργοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.
- ¹² *Id.* 9. 27, 1 θεῶν δὲ οἱ Θεσπιεῖς τιμῶσιν Ἑρωτα μάλιστα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ σφισιν ἄγαλμα παλαιότατόν ἐστιν ἀργὸς λίθος.
- ¹³ *Id.* 9. 38, 1, at Orchomenos in Boeotia, τὰς μὲν δὴ πέτρας (ἀγάλματα Χαρίτων) σέβουσι τε μάλιστα καὶ τῷ Ἑτεοκλεί αὐτὰς πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φασίν.
- ¹⁴ *Id.* 2. 31, 4 τὸν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ λίθον καλούμενον δὲ ἱερὸν εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐφ' οὗ ποτὲ ἄνδρες Τροϊζηνίων ἑνέα Ὀρέστην ἐκάθησαν.
- ¹⁵ Tertullian, *Apoloq.* 16 Quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica et Ceres Raria quae sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno prostant.
- ¹⁶ Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* p. 418 P. πρὶν γοῦν ἀκριβωθῆναι τὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων σχέσεις κίονας ἰστάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔσεβον . . . γράφει γοῦν ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα ποιήσας,
- Καλλιθὴ κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης
Ἡρῆς Ἀργείης ἠ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι
πρώτη ἐκόσμησεν περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης.
- ιδ. : Εὐρυπίδης ἐν Ἀντιόπῃ φησὶν
- ἔνδον δὲ θαλάμοις βουκόλων
κομῶντα κισσῷ στυλὸν Εὐίου θεοῦ.
- ¹⁷ Plutarch, *De Frat. Amor.* ad init. τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκοῦρων ἀφιδρύματα οἱ Σπαρτιάται δόκανα καλοῦσιν ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα δυσι πλαγίοις ἐπεζευγμένα.

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¹⁸ Athen. p. 614 (quoting from the *Delias* of Semos) ἔρχεται . . . εἰς Δῆλον . . . ἦλθε καὶ εἰς τὸ Δητῶν . . . ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸ (τὸ ἄγαλμα) ξύλινον ἄμορφον παραδόξως ἐγέλασεν.

¹⁹ Paus. 10. 24, ὁ λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὀσημέραι καταχέουσι, καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἐκάστην ἔρια ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά.

²⁰ Damasc. *vita Isid.* (*Bibl. Graec. Script. Didot* p. 137) τῶν βαπτύλων ἄλλον ἄλλω ἀνακείσθαι θεῶ Κρόνῳ Διὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

²¹ Harpocrat. s. v. Ἄγνιᾶς. Ἄγνιεύς δὲ ἐστὶ κίων εἰς ὃξὺ λήγων, ὃν ἰστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν· ἰδίους δὲ εἶναί φασιν αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ICONIC AGE.

IT is important for the history of Greek cult to consider the question when the object first became iconic, or when the process of art had advanced so far as to make idolatry possible. The wooden εἰκῶν is at least as early as Homer's period; and while a certain artistic record begins from the latter half of the seventh century, the works of Daedalus belong to the prehistoric age, and may roughly be assigned to the ninth century. But according to tradition, the wooden idols attributed to Daedalus were not the most primitive in form. We may go then still further back for the beginnings of iconism in Greek worship.

The uncouth human-shaped idols found on the ruins of Troy and Mycenae give us no clue for the present question, since we do not know their date even approximately, and we do not know whether in the remotest degree they were Greek in origin; the most developed is almost certainly Babylonian. The iconic impulse probably came from the East, for from the tenth century onwards the fame of the carved idols of Egypt and Assyria must have been spreading through the Greek world; the impulse may have come thence, but not the prevalent form, as I have elsewhere tried to show^a, though certain special types can be traced to an Oriental model.

Much of the idol-work of Egypt and Assyria was theriomorphic—whereas the earliest image under which the Greek divinity proper was figured was the image of man. The instances to the contrary that may be quoted are of insufficient

^a *Archaeol. Review*, November 1888, p. 167.

weight to disprove this^a, for we know nothing certain about any monument that showed Hera as cow-headed, or Athene as owl-eyed; the bull-headed Dionysos-Zagreus is comparatively late—or is at all events not the earliest conception of Dionysos. We have a doubtful record in Pausanias of a horse-headed Demeter at Phigaleia, the existence of this strangely-shaped idol being only attested by vague popular tradition^b; and lastly a more certain account of the idol of Eurynome near Phigaleia, a mysterious goddess who was probably a primitive form of Artemis, and who was represented half-woman, half-fish. If we assume this to be a genuinely Hellenic divinity, this representation is the only real exception to the principle just mentioned.

At the earliest stage of iconism, of which literature or monuments have left record, we find the form of the god darkly emerging from the inorganic block, the λίθος ξέστος, but the features of this embryo form are human.

It concerns the history of the people's religion to know in what way the image was regarded. Was it regarded merely as a symbol bringing home to the senses the invisible and remote divinity? Probably this was never the popular view, nor was it the original. We may believe that for the early and uncultivated Greek, as for all less advanced peoples, 'the nature and power of the divinity were there in the image^c.' It is hard indeed to find any passage that establishes the exact identity of the deity and the image in ancient belief, but many show the view that the statue was in the most intimate sense the shrine or the εἶδος of the divinity, and often animated by its presence. The statue of Hera turned aside when the blood of the Sybarites was shed at her altar^d; and Iphigenia in Euripides' play declares that the idol of Artemis showed the same aversion when the

^a Lenormant, *Antiquités de la Troade*, p. 21-23. Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 288. Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer*, 2. pp. 174-175.

^b The view of Milchhöfer (*Anfänge d. Kunst in Griechenl.* pp. 60-62), that this Demeter is identical with a horse-headed

Gorgon that appears on early vases, will be discussed in the chapter on Demeter.

^c De La Saussay's *Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 1. p. 54.

^d Athenae. p. 521.

matricide Orestes drew near^a, and when the suppliants were dragged away to slaughter from the feet of the Palladion^b of Siris, the goddess closed her eyes. The practice of chaining statues to prevent them abandoning their votaries illustrates the same conception.

On the other hand, Greek literature is not wanting in passages that protest against the prevailing image-worship. The unreasonableness of prayer offered to idols was noted by Heraclitus¹. Antisthenes of the Socratic School² declared that the image could teach nothing of the true nature of God, and Zeno³ went so far as to deny the propriety of statues and temples alike. Even Menander⁴ seriously combats the belief that the divinity can be propitiated by image or sacrifice. Thus the great idea expressed by the Hebrew prophets and by the teaching of the earliest Christian Church had revealed itself also to the more advanced among the Greeks. But here it remained the idea of a few thinkers, and it developed no tendency towards iconoclasm in Greek religion. Down to the last days of paganism the image retained its hold over the people's mind, and expressed for them more immediately than could be expressed in any other way all that they felt and believed about the nature of the divinity.

^a *Iph. Taur.* 1165.

^b Strabo, p. 264.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER II.

¹ Heraclitus, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 44 P. (Bywater, *Frag.* 176).
τοῖσιν ἀγάλμασι-τουτέοισιν εὔχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις τοῖς δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 714 P. ὁ Σωκρατικός Ἀντισθένης . . . οὐδενὶ εἰοικέναι φησὶ (τὸν θεόν) διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνας δύναται. Cf. *ib.* quotation from Xenophanes :

εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος
οὐ τι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίος οὐδὲ νόημα.

³ *Ib.* 691 P. λέγει καὶ Ζήνων . . . ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας βιβλίῳ μήτε ναοὺς δεῖν ποιεῖν μήτε ἀγάλματα.

⁴ *Ib.* 720 P. :

εἴ τις δὲ θυσίαν προσφέρων, ὦ Πάμφιλε,
ταύρων τι πλῆθος ἢ ῥίφων . . .

εὖνουν νομίζει τὸν θεὸν καθεστάναι
πεπλάνητ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ φρένας κούφας ἔχει.

CHAPTER III.

CRONOS.

IT is generally believed that the worship of Zeus was primeval among the Hellenes, their ancestors bringing it from a common Aryan centre, and that in the popular religion no organized system of divinities existed prior to the Olympian. Stated thus, this belief is reasonable, and yet we must take notice of cults that were perhaps pre-Hellenic, or at least belonged to an earlier period than the developed 'Olympian' religion and survived long in certain localities by the side of this. We have to account for the prevalent legends concerning Cronos with his Titan dynasty and the Titanomachia which overthrew them. The question of origins must here be glanced at, for on the answers will depend whether we shall consider Cronos as a real personage in tradition and worship. Welcker^a, who maintains that Zeus is the starting-point of Greek religion, explains away Cronos very ingeniously: he arose from a misunderstanding of an epithet of Zeus—*Κρονίδης* or *Κρονίων*: this meant originally the Son of Time, a figurative way of naming the 'Eternal' or 'the Ancient of Days.' At a pre-Homeric period this was misinterpreted and understood as a son of Cronos, a mere *nominis umbra*. This theory, though accepted by some later writers, was born of false philology, a misleading theological bias, and an ignorance of what is really primitive in ancient religion. It is strange, as Mr. Lang has pointed out, that to this shadow should attach the most concrete and carnal myths in the whole of Greek mythology—myths that speak

^a *Griechische Götterlehre*, I, p. 140.

of a savage stage of thought, while the conception of the Eternal or the Ancient of Days belongs to a high range of metaphysic and religion. But the fatal obstacle is that *Κρόνος* is thus made equivalent to *Χρόνος*,—an impossible philological equation. The Greeks for the most part kept clear of the pitfall^a into which Welcker and later writers have fallen, nor was the personification of time ever popular or ever received into the religion.

Another explanation of Cronos is also based on false philology. He has been regarded^b as identical with Helios, or as a kind of double of Zeus-Helios, and his name has been derived from *κραίνω* in the sense of 'ripen.' But the laws of vowel-change forbid the derivation, and *κραίνω* is not used in the sense of 'ripen,' nor is there any proof at all that in the early religion he is identical with Helios^c, or is the double of Zeus. There is yet another theory that saves the primitive Greek religious world from the presence of Cronos—the theory maintained by Böttiger in his *Kunst-Mythologie*^d, that Cronos is simply the Phoenician god Moloch, the devourer of infants, who gradually fades away westward before the light of the rising Hellenic religion. Now the Greeks themselves must have found a strong likeness between the rites or character of Cronos and Moloch, for they identified the two gods. But they also identified Cronos with other Semitic, and even, as it seems, with Celtic divinities^{10-13, 15}. And there is no proof or probable evidence that the Phoenicians brought this religion to Elis, where the god was worshipped on Mount Cronion, or to Athens, where we hear of a temple of Rhea and Cronos and the feast of Cronia; and it is merely begging the question to say that

^a Aristotle, *de Mundo*, γ Κρόνου δὲ παῖς καὶ χρόνον λέγεται, seems to have been the first who brought the two words together. Eurip. *Heracl.* 900 shows an uncertain reading.

^b Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, p. 71: in his later article on Kronos in Roscher's *Lexikon* he regards this derivation as doubtful.

^c His connexion with Helios is only attested by late and doubtful evidence; vide Ref. 8 a. Such legends as the swallowing of the stone and the frequent consecration of meteoric stones to him cannot be made to support any solar theory about him.

^d Vol. 1, pp. 221-222.

because the rites were sometimes savage and bloody, therefore they were not indigenous in Greece. Besides, how did Zeus come to be considered the son of Moloch, and how did Moloch turn into an apparently mild divinity to whom was consecrated a festival that seems to have been a harvest-feast where masters and slaves rejoiced together? At least the theory that Cronos was Phœnician leaves much to be explained. Whether originally native or originally borrowed, the legend and character of Cronos have a flavour of very old religion. The Hesiodic theogony shows a certain speculative system, but it reflects many genuine and primitive ideas; for instance, Cronos and Zeus, who are the heads of their dynasties, are both the youngest sons; and this must be more than the caprice of the poet; it is probably a reminiscence of 'Jüngstenrecht,' a practice that had vanished from Greek institutions, and seems alien to the moral sense of Homer, who holds strongly that the Erinyes supports the eldest son, and that therefore Poseidon must yield to Zeus the eldest-born. Again, we have the legends of Cronos savouring of human sacrifice and savage morality, and we have no right at once to conclude that these are Oriental or foreign, since human sacrifice was an institution of the early Greeks, as of most Aryan tribes, and traces of it survived down to a late period of Greek history. Then we find him as a scarcely remembered harvest-god, from whom the Attic feast of Κρόνια^a, a harvest-feast held in July^b, is named; lastly, we have the story of his overthrow by Zeus, and scant honour is paid him in historic Greece. These facts would be unique and inexplicable if Κρόνος were an abstraction, a mere personification. They can be best explained if we suppose him to be one of the figures of a lost and defeated religion; if the myth of the Titanomachy, which has absolutely no meaning as a nature-

^a Buttmann (*Mythologus*, ii. p. 54) supposes that the Cronia was not originally a feast consecrated to Cronos, but that the god in some way grew out of the feast; but the Scholiast on Demosthenes says that the feast was in honour of Cronos and Rhea, and we

have no other evidence, nor any other probable explanation of the name of the feast.

^b There is no sufficient reason for Mommsen's view that the Cronia was originally a spring-festival (*Heortologie*, p. 79).

myth, that is, as a myth of thunder and lightning and earthquakes and volcanoes^a, is regarded as a vague record of the struggle of religions in the Greek world. This is undoubtedly part of the meaning of such myths as those concerning the sufferings of Dionysos, the hostility and the reconciliation of Apollo and Asclepios, the contest between Apollo and Heracles for the Delphic tripod, and the strange legend of the wrestling-match between Zeus and Cronos at Olympia^b. One chief argument in favour of this view about the Titanomachy can be drawn from the myths concerning Themis, Prometheus and Briareus-Aegaeon. In the actual contest between the powers of Cronos and Zeus, these take a part favourable to the Olympians; and each of these personages was still honoured with cults in later periods of Greek history; Themis at Delphi, where her worship and oracular power preceded Apollo's, Prometheus at Athens, and Aegaeon at Euboea^c. Now the myth that accounted for the disappearance of an older religion would naturally account for the survival in cult of some of the older cycle of deities by conceiving them as having acted against their own order, and as friends of the new dynasty. And when one traces the application of the word Titan, one finds the word as vague as the ethnic name 'Pelasgoi,' and as the one denotes nothing more than the pre-historic people,

^a The part played by Briareus-Aegaeon is inconsistent with Preller's interpretation of the Titanomachy as a contest between the benign and destructive forces of nature, a light and storm-struggle; and many of the Titanic names are derived from roots denoting light or brightness.

^b Vide Ref. 1: this explanation of the legend has already been given by Prof. Robert in the new edition of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie*, I. p. 55, note 2, sub fin. The view put forward in the text is more or less the same as was propounded by Leontiew in *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1851, 'De Jovis apud Graecos cultu': and is not inconsistent with the

supposition that sometimes the Titan-name is only an older cult-name of an Olympian deity: vide M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*.

^c Solinus, II, 16 Titanas in ea (Euboea) antiquissime regnasse ostendunt ritus religionum. Briareo enim rem divinam Carystii faciunt, sicut Aegaeoni Chalcidenses: nam omnis fere Euboea Titanum fuit regnum. Dr. Mayer supposes Briareus-Aegaeon to be an older cult-title of Poseidon: but it appears more probable that Poseidon took the title occasionally of this older Euboean sea-giant: vide Callimach. *Frag.* 106.

the other may be taken as a vague term for the pre-historic god^a.

Lastly, the slaves have certain privileges at the feast of Cronos: now the analogy of the pre-Hellenic Paliki-worship in Sicily and the privileges of the slaves that this cult guaranteed them, may explain this. The dispossessed god becomes often the god of slaves, or at least the slave, being frequently the aboriginal man, claims and is allowed his protection^b. The violence of the struggle between Zeus and Cronos may then be the religious counterpart of the struggles between the men of the religion of Zeus and the men of the older cults. Then Zeus having succeeded to Cronos' supremacy becomes his son, perhaps by the same sort of fiction as that which made Dionysos, the Thrakian-Phrygian god, the son of Zeus, or Asclepios the son of Apollo. This hypothesis in no way disturbs the cardinal belief of Aryan philology, that all the Aryan tribes worshipped a sky-god of cognate name to Zeus; for the evidence only seems to make probable the prehistoric existence in Greece of the worship of a leading god called Cronos. That the worshippers were primitive Greeks or Aryans we need not say. What sort of god he was we may partly gather from the legends; the stories about him swallowing his children, and mutilating his father Ouranos, whatever their cosmic meaning or physical symbolism may be, arose certainly from very low depths of the mythopoeic fancy, and Mr. Lang aptly compares certain Maori stories about the separation of Heaven and Earth^c. As regards the ceremonies connected with his worship we know very little indeed. We are told that at Olympia¹ certain priests called Basilae sacrificed once a year to Cronos on the hill named after him at the spring equinox. At Athens

^a Dr. Mayer's view that Titan is the singular name of a 'Haupt-gottheit' appears to lack support: the name is found rather as an appellative of many divine persons.

^b Athenaëus, p. 639, quotes similar instances of the privileges of slaves at other festivals: at the Hermaea in

Crete, at the feast of Poseidon at Troezen, and the Thessalian festival of Zeus called Peloria. The explanation suggested in the text would not so naturally apply to these.

^c *Custom and Myth*, p. 45, 'The myth of Cronos.'

a sacrificial cake was offered to him in the spring, on the fifteenth of Elaphebolion, but the feast of Cronia fell in the middle of the summer, and was regarded by Philochorus as a harvest-festival of ancient institution at which masters and slaves feasted together^{2, 18}. The Roman poet, Accius, may be exaggerating when he speaks of the wide-spread prevalence of this festival in Greece; we hear of it only at Athens, Rhodes⁶, and Thebes⁵, and at the last city of a musical contest that accompanied it. At Rhodes, if the Rhodian month Metageitnion corresponded to the Attic, it was a summer-festival, and it was about the same time of the year that offerings were made to Cronos at Cyrene⁷ according to Macrobius, when the worshippers crowned themselves with fresh figs and honoured Cronos as another Aristaeus, as the god who taught men the use of honey and fruits. So far all this appears to be harmless ritual proper to a divinity of vegetation, such as the later Dionysos, and the sickle, the ancient emblem of Cronos, would thus be most naturally explained. The darker aspect of the worship, the practice of human sacrifice, is scarcely attested by any trustworthy record concerning any Greek community except Rhodes; but is an inference legitimately drawn from legend and from indirect evidence. The Greek authors of the earlier period who mention it regard it as a barbaric institution^{10-13, 15}; but if there were no ancient tradition connecting it with the Hellenic or Hellenized god, it would be impossible to explain why he should be so constantly identified with a Semitic and Celtic god to whom the cruel sacrifice was paid. And we have a detailed account given by Plutarch and Diodorus of the Carthaginian offering of children to Moloch, who was often regarded as Cronos^a. The bronze idol stood with his arms extended and his hands sloping downwards, so that the infant placed upon them slipped off and fell into a pit full of fire that was placed beneath, and its wails were drowned with the noise of drums. This ghastly rite certainly travelled to Crete, where the

^a E. g. by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I. 38, Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, 7. 19: vide Ref. 14.

myth of the brazen giant, Talus, who clasped strangers to his breast and sprang with them into a pit of fire, attests the worship of the Semitic god^a. Now the only recorded worship of Cronos, in any Greek community, where human life was devoted, was the Rhodian, and the ritual of this bore no resemblance to the Phoenician if we may trust Porphyry⁶: a criminal who had been condemned to death was led outside the gates at the feast of Cronia and having been stupefied with wine was sacrificed by the shrine of Artemis Aristobule^b. There is no reason to suppose that there was here any borrowing from Semitic religion. The statement of Philo that Cronos offered his only-begotten son as a burnt-sacrifice to his father¹⁷ can hardly be taken as a record of a genuinely Hellenic religious idea, but we find the tradition of child-sacrifice in the Cretan story about the Curetes¹⁶, and, as the Cretan myth of the child-Zeus and the mother Rhea points to Phrygia, so we find both in Crete and Phrygia traces of the worship of Cronos under the name Acrisius²³, and in the latter country also vivid reminiscence of human sacrifice in the stories concerning Lityerses the harvest-god. Possibly the sacrifice of Pelops is a Phrygian myth of the same origin^c.

If Cronos was originally a divinity of vegetation, as seems most probable, a primitive people might have frequently consecrated the human victim to him as to other deities of the same nature, and the fairly numerous examples of the belief that the horse was the embodiment of the corn-spirit might possibly explain the stories of his transformation into a horse, and the Illyrian custom of sacrificing this animal to the god^d.

As an earth divinity we might also expect to find him connected with the lower world and with the rites paid to the

^a Vide Mayer, Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 1505.

^b Mayer, *ib.* p. 1509, gives a wrong account of this ritual, confusing it with the Cyprian sacrifice to Agraulos.

^c The association of Pelops with Cronos is doubtful; when Pindar, *Ol.* 3. 41, calls Pelops 'Κρόνιος,' he need

not mean the 'son,' as Mayer supposes, but only 'the descendant' of Cronos. Both Pelops and Cronos appear on coins of Himera, but there is no proved connexion between them there; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 127.

^d Ref. 21: Fraser, *Golden Bough*, vol. 2, pp. 24-26.

dead; and the legend of his ruling over the isles of the blest and the departed heroes may be derived from this connexion of ideas. But it did not receive any expression in cult, so far as we know; we are told by Pausanias that the worshipper who descended into the grave of Trophonius at Lebadea, first made sacrifice to Cronos as to other divinities, but the context does not make the reason clear⁴. The attempt made to associate the worship of the dead at Athens and the Feast of Pitchers in the Anthesteria with an ancient cult of Cronos has been unsuccessful^a; nor is there much better evidence for the conception of Cronos as a dream-god, who slept a prophetic sleep below the earth; the only direct record of any such cult of him is the line of Lycophron, a doubtful authority, who speaks of 'the altar of the prophetic Cronos' at Aulis²⁴. A glimpse of the early chthonian character of the god is perhaps afforded us by the record of his sepulchres in Sicily, where the idea of the entombed divinity appears to have prevailed⁹. We find the same conception in the worship of Dionysos; it may arise from the singular ritual of the god, who is slain in sacrifice, or from a natural belief about the god of vegetation who dies with the fall of the year. Such a divinity does Cronos appear to have been, when we review the scanty facts concerning his cult which have been put together, and which on the whole are all we can glean at present after rejecting much that is late and spurious in the record.

Much remains still to be explained. The worship of Cronos must have been far more widely diffused throughout the primitive land of Greece than the records attest; else we could hardly explain how the affiliation of the primeval Aryan Zeus to this strange dispossessed god came to be an idea so widely prevalent among the Hellenic people before the time of Homer. Where and how this fusion took place has never been satisfactorily discussed. Some of the facts might justify the hypothesis that the figure of Cronos was originally Phrygian-Cretan; and that the idea of the affiliation of Zeus and

^a Vide Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 20 note and 22, 80; and Mayer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, pp. 1517-1518.

of the fall of Cronos arose in that island and spread thence over Greece; at Athens, at least where the worship of Cronos is recorded, the prehistoric connexion with Crete is attested by many legends and cults, and recent discoveries prove the same of Olympia. The wide prevalence of the worship in Sicily⁹ may be partly accounted for by the confusion of Cronos with the Carthaginian god.

It seems then that at the outset of the history of Greek religion we must note, as an historic fact, the traces of earlier cults than those of the recognized Olympian cycle; some of which survive and take a subordinate place in Hellenic religion.

The representation of Cronos on monuments is not a question of great interest for Greek archaeology proper; for the monuments are mostly late that deal with him^a, and there is no orderly development of his type, and his form possesses no spiritual or ethical interest at all, having been handled by no great sculptor. He appears to have been sometimes depicted as white-haired or bald, and a dark and sombre character, with traits partly of Zeus, partly of Hades, often attaches to him on reliefs and vases. The veil about his head and the sickle or pruning-hook in his hand are the attributes by which we can generally discover him. Neither the cults nor the monuments recognize that aspect of him familiar in poetry, as the god of the golden age.

^a The most interesting example of earlier representations is the fifth century coin of Himera: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 127; Roscher, *Lexikon*, p. 1553, fig. 5.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER III.

¹ Elis, at Olympia: Paus. 6. 20, 1 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους (τοῦ Κρονίου) τῇ κορυφῇ θύουσιν οἱ Βασίλει καλούμενοι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ ἰσημερίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἤρι Ἐλαφίῳ μὲν παρὰ Ἡλείοις. Ib. 8. 2, 2 ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ὁ Ὀλυμπικός, ἐπανάγουσι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἀνωτέρω τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, Κρόνον καὶ Δία αὐτόθι παλαίσαι λέγοντες.

² Athens: Paus. 1. 18, 7 (in the peribolos of the temple of Zeus Olympius) ἔστιν ἀρχαία . . . Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ ῥέας. Demosth. κ. Τιμοκρ. p. 708 δωδεκάτῃ (τοῦ Ἐκατομβαιῶνος μηνός) . . . καὶ ταῦτ' ὄντων Κρονίων καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀφειμένης τῆς βουλῆς. Vide R. 20.

³ Delphi: Paus. 10. 24, 6 ἔτι δὲ καὶ δόξα ἐς αὐτὸν δοθῆναι Κρόνῳ τὸν λίθον ἀντὶ παιδός. Cf. R. 19, ch. 1.

⁴ Lebadea: Paus. 9. 39, 3 θύει ὁ κατιῶν (into the cave of Trophonius) Ἀπόλλωνί τε καὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησιν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἥρᾳ τε ἡνίοχῃ.

⁵ Thebes: pseudo-Plutarch, *Vita Hom.* (Westermann, p. 23) οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πλέων εἰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὰ Κρόνια ἀγὼν δ' οὗτος ἀγεται παρ' αὐτοῖς μουσικός.

⁶ Rhodes: Porph. *de Abst.* 2. 54 ἐθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ μὲν Μεταγεινιῶνι ἕκτη ἰσταμένου ἀνθρώπου τῷ Κρόνῳ· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κράτησαν ἔθος μετεβλήθη· ἓνα γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθέντων μεχρὶ μὲν τῶν Κρονίων συνέχον, ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς προαγαγόντες τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἕξω πυλῶν . . . οἶνον ποτίσαντες ἔσφαττον.

⁷ Cyrene: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 7, 25 Cyrenenses etiam, cum rem divinam ei (Saturno) faciunt, ficis recentibus coronantur placentasque mutuo missitant mellis et fructuum repertorem Saturnum aestimantes.

⁸ Alexandria: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 7, 14-15 tyrannide Ptolemaeorum pressi (Aegyptii) hos quoque deos (Saturnum et Serapim) in cultum Alexandrinorum more, apud quos praecipue colebantur, coacti sunt. Cf. Athenae. 110 b (ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος) ὄν καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀφιερῶντες προτιθέασιν ἐσθίειν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ.

^{8a} Inscription at Beyrouth of (?) third century A.D. Κρόνου Ἡλίου βωμός, *Rev. Arch.* 1872, p. 253: cf. *Et. Mag.* 426. 16 κοινός ἐστι βωμός ἀμφοῖν (Ἡλίου καὶ Κρόνου) ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

⁹ Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 3. 17, 44 Saturnum vulgo maxime ad Occidentem colunt. Philochorus, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 184 Κρόνον δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι Σικελίᾳ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τετάφθαι: cf. Arnob. *Adv. Gent.* 4. 25 Patrocles Thurius . . . qui tumulos memorat reliquiasque Saturnias tellure in Siculâ contineri. Diod. Sic. 3. 61 δυναστεύσαι δὲ φασὶ τὸν Κρόνον κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, κατὰ τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν νεύοντα μέρη πολλοῦς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κρόνια προσ-αγορεύεσθαι. Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* p. 378 Ἐ τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦντας ἰσγορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ Περσεφόνην· ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεν-νᾶσθαι πάντα.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. 13. 86 Ἀμίλκας δὲ . . . κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος τῷ μὲν Κρόνῳ παῖδα σφαγιάσας.

¹¹ Plutarch, *De Superst.* 171 τί δὲ Καρχηδονίοις οὐκ ἐλυσίτελεῖ μήτε τιῶν θεῶν μήτε δαιμόνων νομίζειν ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ ἔθνον;

¹² Soph. *Frag.* 132 (corr. Scaliger):

νόμος γάρ ἐστι τοῖσι βαρβάροις Κρόνῳ
θηηπολείν βρότειον ἀρχῆθεν γένος.

¹³ Plato, *Min.* 315 C Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ θύουσιν [ἀνθρώπους] ὡς ὅσιον ὄν καὶ νόμιμον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα ἔθιμοι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν υἱεῖς τῷ Κρόνῳ.

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. 20. 14 ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν Κρόνου χαλκοῦς, ἐκτετακῶς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας, ἐγκεκλιμένας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παίδων ἀποκυλίσσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἰς τι χάσμα πλήρες πυρός.

¹⁵ Dion. Hal. 1. 38 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιούς [Ῥωμαίους], ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέως ἢ πόλις διέμεινε, καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς ἐς τὸδε χρόνον γίνεταί καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν, ἀνδρο-φόνους.

¹⁶ *Frag. Hist. Graec.*: Istros, frag. 47 Ἴστρος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσίων φησι τοὺς Κούρητας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας.

¹⁷ Philo Bybl. fr. 2. § 24 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* 3. p. 569) τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μονογενῆ υἱὸν Κρόνος Οὐρανῷ τῷ πατρὶ ὀλοκαυτοῖ.

¹⁸ Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 10, 22 Philochorus Saturno et Opi primum in Attica stauisse aram Cecropem dicit . . . instituisseque ut patres familiarum et frugibus et fructibus iam coactis passim cum servis vescerentur; *Ib.* 1. 7, 37, quotation from L. Accius:

Maxima pars Graium Saturno et maxime Athenae
Conficiunt sacra quae Cronia esse iterantur ab illis,

Eumque diem celebrant: per agros urbesque fere omnes
Exercent epulis laeti famulosque procurant
Quisque suos.

¹⁹ Schol. Demosth. p. 113. 10 έορτή άγομένη Κρόνῳ καὶ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν.

²⁰ *C. I. Gr.* 523, *C. I. A.* 3. 77 Έλαφηβολιώωνς εἰ Κρόνῳ πόπανον δωδεκά-
όμφαλον.

²¹ Schol. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 12 Saturno cum suos filios devoraret, pro
Neptuno equum oblatum devorandum tradunt, unde Illyrico quotannis
ritu sacrorum equum solere aquis immergere. Cf. Paus. 8. 8, 2.

²² Phylarchus, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* frag. 34 (Io. Lyd. *De Mens.* p. 116,
Bekker) ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν [Κρόνον] ἱερῷ, ὡς φησι Φύλαρχος καὶ Μέανδρος,
οὔτε γυνή οὔτε κύων οὔτε μῦα εἰσῆι.

²³ Ἀκρισίας Hesych. ὁ Κρόνος παρὰ τοῖς Φρυξίν: cf. *Et. Mag.* s. v.
ἄλλοι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν Κρόνον εἰρησθαι, ὅτι πρῶτος θεῶν εἰς κρίσιν ἐπέβαλε.
Et. Mag. Ἀρκέσιον ἄντρον τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἰδης . . . φασὶν ὑπὸ Κουρήτων
ὀνομασθῆναι ὅτι τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ καταδνεῖσιν ἐπήρκεσεν
οὔτω Ξενίων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κρήτης.

²⁴ Lycophron 203 οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ βωμὸν τοῦ προμάντιος Κρόνου.

²⁵ Diod. Sic. 1. 97 Μελάμποδά φασι μετενεγκεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου . . . τὰ περὶ
Κρόνον μυθολογούμενα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Τιτανομαχίας καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ
πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν.

²⁶ Hesiod, Ἔργα 5. 111 οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλευεν
ᾧστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.

²⁷ Philodemus, περὶ εὐσεβ. (Gompertz, p. 51 G.) καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Κρόνου ζωῆς
εὐδαιμονεστάτης οὔσης, ὡς ἔγραψαν Ἡσίοδος καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμεωνίδα ποιήσας.

²⁸ Hom. *Il.* 15. 224 μάλα γάρ τε μάχης ἐπίθοντο καὶ ἄλλοι οὔπερ ἐνέρτεροὶ
εἶσι θεοὶ Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἔοντες.

CHAPTER IV.

ZEUS.

THE study of the cults of Zeus is perhaps the most interesting chapter of the history of Greek religion, for it includes the two extremes of religious thought, the most primitive ideas side by side with the most advanced; and nearly all the departments of nature and human life were penetrated with this worship. Although the figures of Apollo, Athene, Dionysos, and Prometheus are of more importance in the history of external civilization and of the special arts of Greece, yet no character in Greek religion has such wealth of ethical content, or counts so much for the development of moral ideas, as the character of Zeus. At times he seems to overshadow the separate growths of polytheism; and at times in expressing the nature of Zeus the religious utterance became monotheistic.

The study of this as of the other Hellenic cults must consist in great part of an examination of the cult-titles, which must be carefully distinguished from mere poetical appellatives, and which on the whole are our most direct evidence of the ideas embodied in the state-religion. And the importance of the title in the worship was of the greatest; for public prayer and sacrifice were never made to God in the abstract, but to a particular divinity usually designated by some term that showed what sort of help the worshipper needed and expected; unless he addressed the deity by the right title, the help might be withheld; and a great part of the function of the oracles in Greece was to instruct the worshipper to what deity under what particular name he should pray.

We cannot begin an account of this worship by noting the

locality or tribe in Greece whence it originated and was diffused ; Crete, Arcadia, and Dodona are important centres of the primitive worship, and different places may have contributed different elements to the story of Zeus, but the personage and the cult are aboriginal and common to all the Hellenic tribes.

As we have seen, it is hard to fix the root-meaning, the original exact import, of the name, but we can distinguish the more primitive from the more advanced stages of the cult, if we accept the most probable hypothesis that the physical aspect of the god is the earlier, and that the savage character which is preserved in cults and myths is prior to the more moral and spiritual. The Cretan cult of Zeus *Κρηταγενής* or *Δικταίος*¹⁻⁹, claims the first notice, for in Crete the religion of Zeus appears in a peculiar and embarrassing form, and the strange legend of the land maintained that Zeus was born there and died there : ' Here lies great Zeus, whom men call God,' says an epigram ascribed to Pythagoras⁶. Böttiger, in his *Kunst-Mythologie*, gives an excessive weight to this legend, and draws from it a theory worthy of Euhemerus or Diodorus Siculus, in which Crete is maintained to be the cradle of his worship. It is impossible to prove and difficult to believe this ; the value of the Cretan legend is that it illustrates very primitive ideas, though it may have little value for the history of the purely Hellenic religion of Zeus. A student of Greek history has to receive evidence from Crete with much suspicion ; not for the reason that the Cretans were always liars, but because their cults and legends were often confused with influences from Phoenicia and Asia Minor. There are three chief points in the Zeus-legend in Crete ; the savage quality belonging to that part of the legend which concerns Cronos and the swallowing of the stone : the Pyrrhic war-dance of the Curetes explained as a ruse to conceal the birth of Zeus : the prominence of the Earth-Mother and child, and the birth and death of the latter. It is this third point that most concerns us here. Have we here, as some have thought, the germ of the Zeus worship that grew and spread over the Hellenic world ? or is

this at all an integral part of the Hellenic Zeus-worship? Probably not; the child-Zeus who dies, the son of Rhea, attended by the orgiastic rout of the Curetes, is probably not the Hellenic Zeus at all, but rather the Dionysos Atys of Phrygia—the child of the earth^a, whose birth and death may typify the rise and fall of the year, and whose image, like that of Dionysos, was hung on a tree for sacrificial purposes^b. This is Welcker's theory^c, based on many arguments and analogies: the Greeks from the mainland who came to the island found the child-god and his mother the chief figures in the native worship: the child was really Atys, akin to Dionysos, but the new-comers named him Zeus. We can find additional support for this view in certain features of the Cretan legend concerning the infant's nurture; the goat that suckled him is especially associated elsewhere with the Dionysiac cult, and another Cretan legend, if we may trust the evidence of Cretan coins^d, regarded the cow as his nurse, and the bull-form of Dionysos was recognized in certain Greek cults. Stranger still is the Cretan story recorded by Athenaeus, that it was a sow that gave nourishment to the new-born god: 'wherefore all the Cretans consider this animal especially sacred, and will not taste of its flesh; and the men of Praesos perform sacred rites with the sow, making her the first-offering at the sacrifice'¹¹. Now the pig is nowhere else found in the ritual of Zeus, but was a sacred animal in the cult and legend of Attis-Adonis, Cybele, and the Aphrodite of Asia Minor, her counterpart; and we may believe that it came into Crete from the same cycle, and was there attached to the child-god called Zeus. Lastly, we may note that Sardis also⁸ had the legend of the birth of Zeus, and claimed to be the nurse of Bacchus; and the same story gave rise to the late worship of Zeus Γοβαῖος at Tralles¹³.

At least the Cretan legend has little to do with the mature

^a Possibly 'the bald Zeus' at Argos^{6a} may also have been an image of the god of the decaying year.

^b This at least is the explanation I should suggest for the story in Hyginus, that Amalthea to save the infant

from Cronos hung it on a tree: *fab.* 139.

^c *Griechische Götterlehre*, 2, p. 218, &c.

^d *Eph. Arch.* 1893, Πίν. 1. 16-25; *vide text*, p. 8.

and omnipotent god of Hellas, and received but slight recognition in Greek cult. It was reflected on the Arcadian Mount Lycaeum, where the myth of the birth of Zeus at Cretea, a place on the mountain, may be due to the desire of the Arcadian priesthood to contest the pretensions of the Cretan or to a mistaken⁹ etymology. Also at Aegium in Achaea we find the legend of the goat that suckled Zeus, the name of the city itself being probably sufficient reason for localizing the Cretan story there. And we may believe that the mysterious child Sosipolis at Olympia^a, who changed into a snake and terrified the invading Arcadian army, and was worshipped in the temple of Eileithyia with offerings of honey-cake, was the child Zeus-Dionysos; for elsewhere Zeus bore this very title of the 'Saviour of the City,' and the image of the child in the Olympian temple bore the horn of Amalthea in its hand, and moreover we have clear proof of the early connexion between Crete and Olympia^b.

We can better study the very early and primitive phase of the Zeus-worship at Dodona and in Arcadia. The Dodonaean¹³ is graphically described in Homer's lines: 'King Zeus, Pelasgian God of Dodona, thou that dwellest afar, Lord of the wintry Dodona, and around thee dwell the Selli, the interpreters of thy will, who wash not the feet and who couch on the earth.' This is the 'Pelasgic' or prehistoric Zeus, and his priests, who seem to have been called Tomouri from Mount Tomarus on which the temple stood, evidently retained the tradition of a primitive fashion of life. It is noteworthy that one form of divination^c at Dodona

^a Paus. 6. 20, 2-3; 25, 4.

^b The view expressed in the text agrees with Prof. Robert's view in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1893, p. 37, who points out that Pindar appears to know of a local 'Idean cave' on the hill at Olympia, and that the snake form is attributed to Zeus in a Cretan story.

^c The only attested methods of divination at Dodona were the interpretation of the sounds in the leaves, of the bubbling of the stream that flowed by

the oak, and the drawing of lots from a pitcher; the 'Dodonaean caldron' had nothing to do with divination, and there is no proof that doves played any part in it either; when Sophocles speaks of the 'two doves' through which the oak spake to Heracles, he may be preserving a vague tradition of a talking dove, which dimly appears in Herodotus and Strabo; but it is clear that the dove had ceased to talk in historical times (*vide* note on p. 39, and ¹³ εἰρημῶ).

preserved the lingering traces of tree-worship, and illustrated the conception of Zeus *ἔνδεδροπος*, the god who lives in the tree and speaks in the rustling of the leaves; also that the aspect of Zeus in this worship, so far as the evidence testifies, was a physical aspect. In the fertile valley below this mountain of Tomarus prayers and sacrifices were offered to Zeus *Náios*, the god of the fertilizing rain and dew^{13t, u}. And in the verses of the priestesses at Dodona, the idea of the eternity of Zeus was expressed as a physical idea and associated with the perpetual fruitfulness of the earth. 'Zeus is and was and will be; hail, great Zeus. The earth sends forth fruits, wherefore call on the name of mother earth^{13k}.'

Nowhere else was Zeus regarded, as here he seems to have been, as the husband of the earth-mother, for the name does not properly belong to Hera. The Dodonean earth-goddess must surely be Dione, whose worship Strabo was probably right in regarding as attached to that of Zeus in a post-Homeric period; for there is no reference either in Homer or Hesiod to her Dodonean power nor to her priestesses^a. And if, as the hymn seems to show, she was a local form of the earth-goddess, she would have a natural affinity to Aphrodite, and also to Bacchus, who comes to be afterwards associated with her.

It was only at Dodona that Zeus was prominently an oracular god. We hear indeed from Strabo that there had been an oracle of Zeus at Olympia, and the Iamidæ, a noble family of soothsayers, were famous there in Pindar's time¹⁶; and Trophonius the prophet, whose cave at Lebadeia became the seat of an oracle after his death, was identified with Zeus²⁰. But these are obscure or doubtful

^a There is no proof that these priestesses, who seem to have become at a later time more prominent than the priests, were ever called Peleïades or Doves in any historical period. Herodotus merely tries to explain away the miraculous by supposing that the so-called 'doves' were once women;

Strabo suggests that the name denoted 'old women' in the Molossian dialect¹⁹¹; Pausanias takes it for granted that the Peleïades were priestesses, but it is clear from his own statements that this was not a name used for them at Dodona at any period of which he had knowledge^{13k}.

instances. It was, however, always preeminently Zeus who sent signs and omens. The Ὀσσα, the voice in the air, is his messenger¹⁵, and the sacred titles Εὐφήμιος, which was attached to him in Lesbos¹⁸, and Φήμιος¹⁷ in Erythrae, must have alluded to the idea, just as φήμη or 'rumour' itself was sometimes personified. And this power and function of Zeus are also marked by the title of πανομφαίος, the god who hears all voices and speaks through signs, the title given him in the *Iliad*^{14b} and in the fine epigram of Simonides^{14a}, who dedicated a spear to Zeus of this name, probably because he had received some favourable sign for the battle. The god of omens was worshipped as σημαλέος on Mount Parnes²¹, and we have record of the title τεράστιος¹⁹. But Dodona was the only famous place in Greece where Zeus spoke through a temple-oracle. Its fame paled before the fame of Delphi; but it enjoyed high and enduring repute among the North-western Greeks. The Dodonean Zeus was celebrated in a Pindaric ode; and we find Demosthenes referring to its utterance for political guidance, and the worship of Dione existed at Athens at least as early as the fifth century. The inscriptions discovered in the recent excavations at Dodona^a throw an interesting light on the functions of the Greek oracle and on the confidential relations between the Greek and his divinity. The most important is that which contains the question of the Corcyraean state, weary of intestine strife and asking by what ritual or sacrifices they may attain concord and good government^b. But usually the subjects of consultation were smaller matters, questions relating to health, doubts concerning the legitimacy of a child, or the desirableness of letting a house^c. Of spiritual prayer or questioning we have unfortunately no instance, and we have as yet only one example of the divinity's answer, which is free of ambiguity, and short

^a Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, Paris, 1878; Pl. 34-39. Pomtow, in *Jahrb. für klass. Philol.* (Fleckeisen) 1883, pp. 305-360. Collitz, *Dialect-inschriften*, 1557-1598.

^b It was probably, as Pomtow suggests,

the priests who dictated the peculiar form in which the question was put, a form easier than any other for them to answer.

^c E. g. Collitz, 1581, 1586, 1590.

and ^a sensible ^{13r-t, v-x}. The oracle revived in later times through its connexion with Dione and the encouragement given to it by Pyrrhus, and the festival of the *Naiā* was celebrated with theatrical performances at least as late as the second century B.C.

The strangest, and, in some respects, most savage, was the Arcadian worship of Zeus on Mount Lycaeum ²²,—a worship that belonged to the pre-historic period, and continued at least till the time of Pausanias without losing its dark and repellent aspect. In the first place, Zeus appears in it conspicuously as an elemental or physical power, namely, as a god who sends the rain; in times of drought the priest ascended the mountain and foretold and produced the rain by certain rites, the lofty summit from which the whole of the Peloponnese is visible serving as an excellent observatory ^{22c}. But it was chiefly as a god who demanded and received human sacrifice that Zeus Lyceius was known and dreaded. The king Lycaon offered a human child on the altar; and Pausanias seems to darkly hint at the survival of such a practice when he declares that he would rather not speak of the details of the sacrifice. The rite probably accounts for the myth that Lycaon set human food before Zeus when feasting him unawares at his table; and also the myth that Lycaon himself was changed to a wolf was the counterpart of the belief that attached to the cult—namely, that some one among those present at the rite always suffered transformation into a wolf, and could only recover his human shape at the end of nine years by abstaining during the interval from human flesh. The man who entered the precincts of the altar died within a year, and inside them no man or animal cast a shadow ^{22b, g-n}. There is much that is mysterious in all this. The theory of Prof. Robertson Smith ^b is probable, that we have here to do with the cult of a wolf-clan, and that Zeus *Λύκειος* is the god of this clan. Lycaon, who sacrifices his son and who is transformed into a wolf, may darkly figure the god himself. The human sacrifice is a noteworthy fact of very rare occur-

^a *Ib.* 1587.

compare 'Religion of the Semites,' p.

^b Article on Sacrifice, *Encyc. Brit.*, 209.

rence in the worship of Zeus; we seem to have a tradition of it in the cult of Zeus Ithomatas, to whom Aristomenes offered five hundred prisoners of war²⁴, and the tradition, and perhaps even the practice, survived in the Athamantid family at Alus and in the worship of Zeus Phyxios there²⁵, and the legend recorded by Lycophron may be genuine, that a certain Molpis offered himself to Zeus Ombrios, the rain-god, in time of drought^{32e}. Finally we have an allusion to the practice in the legend of Meidias and Zeus Idaeus preserved by Plutarch^a.

The rite of human sacrifice on Mount Lycaeum, and at Alus, whatever its original significance may have been, seems to have become connected with a sense of sin and the necessity for expiation, that is, with the germ of a moral idea^b. We might perhaps be able to say how far this conception of Zeus Lycaeus, as a god who demanded atonement for sin, advanced to any spiritual expression, if the ode of Alcman that commemorated this worship had been preserved. As it is, the records that survive of this Arcadian cult testify only to its physical and undeveloped character, and the cult appears to have remained always without an image.

It is necessary to collect other evidence that proves the physical or elemental quality of Zeus; and it is enough for this purpose to notice some of the epithets attaching to him in the different cults of which the physical sense is obvious, without following the various localities in any order. In reviewing these it is to be remarked that scarcely any testify to Zeus as being a mere personification of the bright sky. We find indeed the epithets Οὐράνιος and αἰθριος; but these need only denote the god who lives in the heavens or the upper air; the personal sky pure and simple is Ouranos rather than Zeus. It has been supposed that the term Ὀλύμπιος had some such reference, as though the word had nothing to do with any mountain, but contained the root λαμπ, and

^a *Moral.* 306 f. Parall. 5.

^b The Zeus of Mount Lycaeum might be regarded as φύξιος, the god of the exile who flees on account of bloodshed,

but he is not expressly called so as Immerwahr (*Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, p. 23) wrongly supposes.

signified the 'shining' one^a. The accuracy of this derivation is doubtful; but if we accept the derivation we need not at once allow that Zeus Olympius means Zeus 'of the shining sky,' for the word may have originally denoted the snow-mountain, and the divinity may have taken his name from the special locality in this as in countless other instances^b.

The meaning of the epithet ἀμάριος, an important cult-term of Zeus and Athene at Aegium in Achaia, ought not to be doubtful^c. It would be an Aeolic and Doric form for ἡμέριος, and would denote the divinity of the broad daylight^c, and may be illustrated by the epithet Παναμέριος attaching to Zeus at Stratonicea, where as a divinity of the light he was associated with Hecate by contrast²⁸. It is possible that a like sense belongs to the word by which Zeus was designated at Lepreum in Elis, Λευκαῖος²²°, the 'white god,' which Pausanias seems to explain by reference to an ancient plague of leprosy; a myth that may have arisen from the people's etymology of a name that had almost died out among them. But it is far more probable that the Zeus Λευκαῖος, whom the Lepreatae only faintly remembered in the time of Pausanias, was really Zeus Lycaeus, the national god of the Arcadian

^a This theory appears first in the treatise *De Mundo*, p. 400 B, where Ὀλυμπος is derived from ὀλολαμπής.

^b For further discussion of the question *vide* p. 63.

^c An inscription of the Achaean league²⁷ contains the oath of federation sworn by the Achaeans and men of Orchomenus in the name of Zeus Amarios and Athena Amaria. And Strabo speaks of the temple in Aegium as τὸ Ἀμάριον, the meeting-place of the representatives of the Achaean cities. But Polybius mentions a temple of Zeus Ὀμάριος (ὀμόριος is a mis-reading), erected by the men of Croton, Sybaris, and Caulon, in imitation of the Achaeans, for deliberation in common, and again of the Ὀμάριον, in which the inscription containing the terms of the amnesty brought about by Aratus between the rival parties

in Megalopolis was deposited. Collitz seems to consider that Ὀμάριος, which was evidently understood as meaning—and might by derivation really mean—the god of the confederacy, explains Ἀμάριος; but neither of the two words could be a dialect-variant of the other. There can be no doubt that Ἀμάριος is the original and orthodox title, as it is vouched for by the inscription and is preserved almost correctly by Strabo, and it could more easily be corrupted into ὀμάριος than the reverse could happen; for this ancient title of the sky-god would probably lose its clear sense, and as the temple was used for political meetings of the confederacy, the political title ὀμάριος might have come into vogue and partly displaced it, though the older term retained its place in the official documents.

community, to which they claimed to have originally belonged.

Very rarely was Zeus brought into any connexion with the lights of heaven, and he had little or nothing to do with the sun. We have, indeed, an epigram of a probably late period in the *Anthology* on the death of Thales²³, in which we find the invocation of Zeus-Helios, but it may be merely an instance either of later pantheistic theory or of the *θεοκρασία*, the confusion of divinities, common to the Alexandrine and later period. In Crete, where the Phoenician element was strong, this confusion may have begun earlier, and given birth to such cult-titles as Zeus Talaios or Tallaios^{156 t}, a solar god, if Hesychius' interpretation of Talos as Helios is correct. Whether some peculiar local syncretism or foreign influences led to the double-worship of Zeus-Helios in Amorgos²⁹, certified by an early inscription, is uncertain. Here and there Zeus may have attracted a myth or absorbed a cult that belonged to Helios, but in the main religion of the people his figure is entirely distinct, and solar mythology may endeavour to explain Apollo, Heracles and others, but must relinquish Zeus. Nor has his divinity anything to do with star-worship, which scarcely finds any place at all in Greek religion. The name Zeus *Ἀστέριος* at Gortys³⁰, if the cult actually existed, belongs probably to the Phoenician worship in which the Minotaur figures^a.

The phenomena in the physical world which Zeus had under his especial care were the rain, the wind, and the thunder. *Ὀμβριος, Νάϊος, Ἰέτιος, Οὔριος, Εὐάνεμος, Ἰκμαῖος* are cult-names that denote the giver of rain, wind and dew, *Ἀστραπαῖος, Βροντῶν, Κεραύνιος*, the thunderer, and to these may be added a host of poetical epithets³³⁻³⁹. Probably in every city of Greece men prayed to Zeus for rain in times of long drought, and the official Athenian prayer has been preserved: 'Rain, rain, dear Zeus, on the corn-land of the Athenians and their pastures'^{33 b}. The myth associates the institution of the cult of Zeus Panhellenios with the blessing of rain, when

^a Prof. Robertson Smith regards Zeus *Astarte*; *Religion of the Semites*, p. 292. *Ἀστέριος* as the male counterpart of

Acacus, at the petition of all Greece instigated by the Delphic oracle, ascended the mountain of Aegina and prayed for the whole nation; and the name and cult of Zeus Apheresios³⁶, the pourer-forth, became also, perhaps erroneously, connected with this beneficent function. It has been seen that the Zeus Naios of Dodona was a god of the fertilizing rain and dew, and there was justification in Greek cult for the poetical personification of the dew-goddess in Alcman's verse³⁷ as 'the daughter of the sky-god and the moon.' So also Zeus 'Ικμαῖος was worshipped in Ceos as the god who sent the moist Etesian winds at the prayer of Aristaeus³⁵.

The most quaint of all these titles that refer to the physical functions of the supreme divinity is that of 'Απόμνιος, under which he was worshipped at Elis⁶³. Zeus, as the god who sends wind and heat, is the lord of flies. The Elean legend said that Heracles, when sacrificing at Olympia, was much troubled by these insects, and was taught to sacrifice to Zeus 'Απόμνιος, who thereupon sent the flies away across the Alpheus. And the Eleans continued to sacrifice in the name of this god. A similar ritual occurred in the worship of Apollo at Leucas, and a hero called Myiagros, 'the fly-catcher,' in Arcadia. It is curious to note that it is not against the plague of flies in general that these precautions were taken; these were merely preliminary sacrifices offered to secure the worshipper from being troubled in his devotions at the main sacrifice, to which swarms of flies were likely to be attracted by the savour of the flesh. It only illustrates the great care taken to avert anything offensive or distracting at the divine service.

The thunder-god was worshipped as Κεραύνιος in Olympia and Κεραυνοβόλος in Tegea, as 'Αστραπαῖος in Antandros, and probably every spot struck by lightning was consecrated by the same rite to him. An interesting worship, showing probably a very primitive view, is that of Zeus Κέρανος³⁹ at Mantinea, in which Zeus appears, not as the god who directs the phenomenon, but as the phenomenon itself: the thunder is regarded as personal, and in this, as in other cases, we find traces of a very undeveloped stage of belief in Arcadia, a land where men offered prayers directly to the winds and the

thunder, the elements themselves being viewed as sentient and divine. The same primitive thought appears in the worship of Zeus *Καραιβάτης* at Olympia^{39 1}. The descending Zeus is the Zeus that descends in the rain or lightning, and we may compare the Latin phrase 'Iovem elicere,' which was used for the process in Etruscan magic of 'procuring' lightning. This naive belief that the god himself came down in the lightning or the meteor is illustrated by the story which Pausanias found in the neighbourhood of Gythium about a sacred stone, a *λίθος ἀργός*, on which Orestes sat and was cured of his madness, and which the country people called Zeus *Καππώτας*^{39 p}, interpreting the title as the 'stayer,' as if from *καταπαύω*; but there is much to be said for the view that the term means 'the falling god,' from the root that appears in *πρωτόμαι*^a. We are here touching on a stratum of thought infinitely older than the Homeric, and these instances have nothing to do with that later occasional tendency to identify the deity with the object, as, for instance, Dionysos with the wine, Ares with the battle, Hephaestus with the fire, which is merely intentional metaphor^b; nor again with that later pantheistic conception expressed in Euripides, and more prominent in Stoicism, which regards Zeus and the other personal divinities as mere equivalents for the impersonal nature, the *αἰθήρ* or the whole cosmos.

Though such primitive and naive thought is preserved in a few cults, yet most of them, so far as they dealt with the physical functions of Zeus, represented him as he is represented in Homer, as a personal divinity having power over the whole realm of nature, not as a personification or a minister of a special department.

In Homer, indeed, there commonly appears the theory that the three realms of nature are ruled by the three brothers according to a sort of constitution, to which Poseidon appeals, and Homer might seem to reconcile polytheism with the

^a Vide Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 21.

^b Cf. *Il.* 2. 381, 426; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 863 P. ὡς τὸν σίδηρον Ἄρην

προσαγορεύουσιν Ἕλληνας, καὶ τὸν οἶνον Διόνυσον . . . κατὰ τινα ἀναφορὰν.

supremacy of a chief god in the same way as the poet quoted by Plutarch^a:

Zeὺς γὰρ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα φροντίζει βροτῶν
τὰ μικρὰ δ' ἄλλοις δαίμοσιν παρέις ἐᾷ.

But even in Homer, Zeus can control the sea; and in the cults, which still better attest the popular belief, Zeus could absorb the most diverse functions in the physical world. The fortunate mariner could offer up thanksgiving either to Poseidon or to Zeus Ἀποβατήριος^{40 b} or Σωτήρ; an inscription at Athens mentions a society of Σωτηριασταί devoted to the worship of Zeus the saviour of sailors, to Heracles Hegemon and the Dioscuri, and in another Attic inscription we have an account of the sailors' festival of the Διυσωτήρια which was celebrated with trireme-races^{40 a}. The man who wanted a wind could pray to the various wind-gods or to Zeus Οὔριος or Εὐάνεμος^{38 a, b}. Prayers and thanksgiving for crops could be made equally to Demeter or Zeus under the title of Γεωργός, which was given him at Athens⁴⁶, or Καρποδότης⁴², as he was styled in Phrygia^b. In fact, in the Greek theory concerning the physical world and the powers that ruled it we find beneath the bewildering mass of cults and legends a certain vague tendency that makes for monotheism, a certain fusion of persons in one, namely, Zeus. This tendency is genuine and expressed in popular cult, and is to be distinguished from the later philosophic movement. Thus Zeus could be identified with Poseidon as Zeὺς ἐνάλιος^{40 e}, and in Caria as Ζηνο-Ποσειδῶν⁴¹; he could be identified also with Hades, not only in the poetry of Homer and Euripides, but by the worshipper at Corinth or Lebadeia⁵⁹⁻⁶¹. The oracular Zeus-Trophonios⁶⁰ was probably the nourishing earth-god, akin to Zeus Γεωργός in Attica, and, as the earth-god, gave oracles through dreams^c. Perhaps the term Σκοτίας, 'the dark one,' applied to Zeus who was

^a *De Aud. Poet.* 24 C.

^b The cult of Zeus Nemeios in Locris^{156 w} may have been instituted in honour of the 'pastoral god' who was called elsewhere Νόμος or Νεμήϊος⁴⁸; or it may have been directly borrowed

from Nemea and Argos.

^c This view of Trophonius, which has Strabo's support, seems more probable than Preller's, who regards Trophonius as a local hero who was given the title of Zeus 'to swell his style.'

worshipped in the dark oak-grove at Caryae in Laconia, was meant to designate the king of the lower world, and Zeus *Xθόνιος* was worshipped at Corinth as the counterpart of Pluto, and the Zeus Eubouleus of Paros and Cyrene and Amorgos is an euphemistic name for Hades⁵⁵. As the functions of a god of the lower world and of a deity of vegetation and fertility were sometimes attached to Zeus^a, we are prepared to find him at times identified with Dionysos; and the worship at Acraephia of 'Zeus the god of the vintage'⁴⁵, and the ritual of Zeus Didymaeus⁶², in which those who made the libation were crowned with ivy, mark his association with the wine-god, which was also strikingly illustrated by a well-known monumental representation of Zeus Philius. Other monumental evidence, which will be noticed later on, is still more explicit as regards this trinity in which Zeus is partly fused with his brothers.

Zeus becomes the supreme but never the sole god in the physical universe. The question arises whether he is ever regarded as the creator, either of the world, or of men, or of both? He is called by Homer *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, and in a remarkable passage in the *Odyssey*, a complaint is uttered against Zeus that he does not compassionate men 'whenever he bringeth them to birth^b'; but neither cult nor popular legend, nor the systematized mythology of Hesiod and writers of his school, bear out this view. In fact, Greek religion and religious myth, apart from Orphic teaching, have very little to say about creation, either on a large or small scale; and the statement is often inconsistent and singularly scanty, when one compares it even with savage mythologies, which sometimes offer very quaint and explicit explanations of the origin of things. In Greek theology the universe was not the work of a pre-existing divinity, but rather the divinities were themselves evolved out of the universe, or out of some physical

^a We have, for instance, clear allusions to worships that acknowledged him as the god of the olive-tree and fig-tree, as a god of cattle and corn-growing⁴²⁻⁴⁴,⁴⁷,⁴⁹; we have the cult-titles *ἐνδεδῆρος* and *ἄσκραϊός*, the latter attested for the

worship at Halicarnassus and being explained by the word *ἄσκρα*, which meant, according to Hesychius, a barren oak-tree.

^b *Od.* 20. 201.

element wrought upon by some physical impulse. Thus in Homer, in spite of Zeus Πατήρ, it is Okeanos who is the physical source of all things, gods and men included^a; in Hesiod it is Chaos, and men and gods sprung from the same source. Yet in his strange myth of the five ages, the third and fourth are the creation of Zeus; on the other hand, men existed before Zeus attained the power. Again, it was not Zeus, but Prometheus or Hephaestus, who created Pandora, the mother of women; and it was Prometheus who, in later legend, was reported to have made men out of clay. Zeus indeed might be the creator or progenitor of a certain tribe of men, but this was a special distinction; and other tribes preferred the theory that they grew out of the earth or the trees or the rocks, or that they existed before the moon was made. Therefore the invocation of Ζεῦ πάτερ expresses rather a moral or spiritual idea than any real theological belief concerning physical or human origins.

Nor did Greek philosophy or poetry contribute much to the conception of a personal god as creator of the world. In the philosophers, the theory about the creative principle is usually pantheistic or impersonal. What Plutarch tells us of Thales^b agrees with some of the utterances of Democritus^c and later Stoicism^d: the deity or creative power is immanent in matter. It is true that the belief that God created man in his own image is ascribed to the Pythagorean school by Clemens^e, but the same authority also declares that this school regarded the deity, not as external to the world, but as immanent in it^f. The Socrates of Xenophon speaks of a personal creator, but physical speculation played little part in Socrates' teaching; and it is difficult to say that the Platonic θεός is clearly conceived as a personal creative being.

Looking at Greek poetry we see that, where it touches on this theme, it is predominantly pantheistic. Very rarely

^a *Il.* 14. 246: Hes. Ἔργ. 108 ὡς ἄμύθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι.

^b Euseb. *Praef. Ev.* 14. 16.

^c Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1. 120.

^d *Ib.* 1. 37; cf. 2. 45. In Cleanthes' hymn (Mullach, *Frag. Phil. Graec.* 1.

p. 150) Zeus is rather the φύσεως ἀρχηγός than its creator, though he is conceived as the source of human life.

^e *Strom.* 5, p. 662 P.

^f *Protrepf.*, p. 62 P.

was Zeus regarded as the creator of the world, the 'noble craftsman,' as Pindar calls him once^a; and that fragment of Sophocles^b, which maintains monotheism and a divine origin of the physical world and goes on to protest against ordinary Greek belief, is of questionable origin.

The doctrine of Euripides, when it is not atheistic, is usually pantheistic; for him Zeus is commonly the *αἰθήρ* or *ἀνάγκη* or the inner spirit of man. And the tendency which this poet encouraged and which became dominant in the theologic theory of Stoicism, to resolve the divinities into physical phenomena evidently made against the development of a belief in a monotheistic personal first cause. It is interesting to see that in this matter there was little variance between the mythology of Greece and its philosophy and poetry^c.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the physical character of Zeus and the epithets that designate this. A large class of these that remain to be noticed are the titles that attest his worship on the mountain-tops⁶⁶⁻⁸². Though we hear also of the temple of Hermes on the top of Cyllene, the highest mountain in Arcadia, and of Apollo on the hill of Phigaleia, and of other divinities whose shrines sometimes crowned the acropoleis, it is only the supreme god of Greece who was habitually worshipped on the high places. The chief cult of Messene was that of Zeus Ithomas⁶⁶. In Euboea Zeus took his name from the Kenean mount where, according to a legend, Heracles had founded his worship^{67a}; in Boeotia from Mount Laphystos⁶³, unless we suppose that in this case the mountain took its name from the god, Zeus being here regarded as the ravening god of winter^d. On Mount Pelion Zeus, who was there honoured with an altar, was known as Zeus Ἀκραῖος^e, a title which sometimes refers to the cult either on the mountain-top or on the acropolis of the city⁸³. As we hear that

^a Pind. *Frag.* 29.

^b Clem. *Protr.* p. 63 P.

^c *Orest.* 884; *Frag.* 935; *Frag. Peirithous*, 596; *Frag.* 1007: cf. Aesch. *Frag. Heliades*, 65 a.

^d λαφύστιος: from λαφύσσω (root

λάπ), to devour.

^e Not ἀκραῖος, as is read in a fragment of Dicaearchus, Müller, *Frag. Hist.* 2. 262; inscriptions found in the neighbourhood prove ἀκραῖος.

Aeacus ascended the mountain of Aegina to pray for rain, and the Arcadian priest the Lycaean mount for the same purpose^{83b}, and the worship on Mount Pelion appears to have had the same intention, it is probable that this consecration of the mountain-tops to Zeus expressed the primitive belief in his physical or elemental character, as the god who sent down rain or thunder from the heights, and who was therefore called ἀφέσιος (according to the popular interpretation of the name) in the cult on the mountain between Megara and Corinth. The title ὕπατος was originally given to denote the deity who was worshipped in high places, but it probably came to acquire the same moral significance as the cognate term ὕψιστος, both being cult-designations of the most High God^{87, 88}.

In this list the only epithet that is difficult to interpret is Ὀλύμπιος. We find the worship of Zeus Olympius at Athens^a, Chalcis, Megara, Olympia, Sparta, Corinth, Syracuse, Naxos, and Miletus⁸⁹. The theory that the name expresses the 'shining' god is hardly credible. We cannot avoid connecting the word with the Thessalian Mount Olympus, and we must suppose that it spread from that region over the Greek world, either through the diffusion of cult or through some prevalent poetic influence. Unfortunately we have scarcely any direct historical record of a Zeus-cult on that mountain; as probable evidence of it we can only point to the city at its foot, called Δίον, that took its name from the god. Still it is natural to believe that there was in very early times an actual worship of Zeus Olympius in North Thessaly; for the foundation of this cult at Athens was connected with the legend of the Thessalian Deukalion, and Olympia, which took its name from the worship that at an early time was planted there, had a close legendary association with Thessaly^b. But, as we can gather from the poems of Homer, the

^a The worship at Athens was ancient, being connected in legend with Deukalion, but it only rose into prominence in Hadrian's time, who built the vast Olympieion, and dedicated the colossal

chryselephantine statue and appointed an official to take charge of it called the φαιδόντης Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐν ἄστει^{19a}.

^b Vide Preller-Robert, 1, p. 121, note 3.

name had spread much further than the actual cult, and the reason of this is probably the early celebrity of the Thesalian-Aeolic poetry. We may believe that the name of Zeus Olympius was familiar in the local religious hymn, for the origin of this branch of poetic composition was placed in North Greece, and we hear of a cult of the Muses upon Olympus. But we must attribute most to the early heroic and epic lay which, arising in these regions, was the germ of the great Ionic epic; it is probable that from its first beginnings down to the time of Homer the name Olympius was attached in this poetry as a permanent epithet to Zeus, who had long been associated either by cult or by the poetic imagination of the people with the great mountain whose snowy summit appeared to the people to be the proper home of the god. Even in the Homeric epic the term has come to lose its precise local significance; and passing into the sense of 'celestial' it comes later to be applied to Aphrodite and Hera, and even to Gaea as the divine mother of the gods.

A higher class of cult-names are those which have a social or political significance. In Greek religion, as in others of the Aryan races, we may distinguish the cult of the higher divinities from the political or gentile cult of the dead ancestor or eponymous hero, a religion not noticed in Homer but probably of ancient establishment in Greece. These are perhaps two originally distinct systems, or perhaps originally the one arose from the other; what concerns us here is to note where the two touch. This would happen, for instance, where Zeus was regarded as the mythic ancestor of the tribe and designated as Zeus ^aΠατρῶος⁹⁰. This is the strict sense of the word, and in this sense, according to Plato, the title was not in vogue among the Athenians, who traced their descent to Apollo Πατρῶος. But the Heracleidae sacrificed to Zeus Patroos as their ancestor^{90b}. And according to a fragment of the *Niobe* of Aeschylus quoted above, the family of Tantalos worshipped Zeus under this title on Mount Ida^{90c}, and inscriptions prove the existence of the cult of

^a The rarer title Πάτριος is found in Father, and occurs in late Roman and Diodorus Siculus, denoting Zeus the Carian inscriptions^{91a}.

Zeus Πατρώϊος at Tegea and Chios^{90c,d}. From the same point of view we may explain the titles of Zeus Agamemnon and Zeus Lacedaemon at Sparta, often misunderstood⁹³⁻⁹⁴. These are ancestral or heroic cults given an Olympian colour; the hero is deified under the name of Zeus^a. Secondly, πατρῶϊος has a more general sense, being applied to the divinities that protect the family right, the honour due to parents. 'Reverence Zeus, the Father-God,' says Strepsiades in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes appealing to his son with a verse from some tragedy; and the words of Epictetus express the Greek belief, 'all fathers are sacred to Zeus, the Father-God, and all brothers to Zeus, the God of the family'^{90f}. The name ὀμόγμιος can be taken together with a large group of cognate titles, all of which reveal that the supreme god was supposed to foster the marriage union, the birth of children, the sanctity of the hearth, the life of the family and the clan^{95-96, 98-103}. He is τέλειος not only in the more general sense as the god who brings all things to the right accomplishment, the god to whom under this title Clytemnestra prays for the accomplishment of her hopes⁹⁶; but specially in the sense of the marriage god, γαμήλιος or γενέθλιος⁹⁸—a title which was common to him and associated him with other divinities, and which probably came to him originally from his marriage with Hera that was recognized in ancient cult and legend. In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, Apollo reproaches the Erinyes that they 'dishonour and bring to naught the pledges of Zeus and Hera the marriage-goddess'; and the same poet speaks of the first libation at a feast as offered to Zeus the god of timely marriage and to Hera^{96c,e}. Plutarch says, 'those who marry are supposed to need five divinities, Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia, Aphrodite and Peitho, and Artemis above all'; and in this, as in a parallel passage of Dio Chrysostom, we discern the universal activity attributed to Zeus, who on occasion could assume the special functions of nearly all the lower divinities⁹⁸. Thus, for instance,

^a Wide's opinion that Agamemnon was the name of an aboriginal god whom Zeus displaced is scarcely plausible, as

the evidence for the existence of the cult in Laconia is very late; *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 12.

it is the Erinyes who specially punish wrong done to parents and execute the father's curse; but Zeus Genethlios, the god of the birthright, could assume this function also^a.

The most common title that denoted the whole family life which Zeus protected was Ζεὺς Ἐρκεῖος, whose worship we find on the Acropolis of Athens, at Olympia and at Argos, and whose altar stood in the middle of the courtyard of the house⁹⁹. His name could be used as an equivalent for the family-tie, by a process not uncommon in Greek religious speech, whereby the divinity with its epithet comes to have the value of a mere abstraction, or the personification of an abstraction^{99g}. Thus in Sophocles' *Antigone*, Creon avers he will slay Antigone 'though she were nearer to him in blood than "τοῦ παντὸς ἡμῶν Ζητὸς ἔρκειον," the whole circle of kindred that God protects.' No religion sanctioned more strongly than the Greek the duties of child to parent and parent to child. Unnatural vice and the exposure of children are spoken of as sins against Zeus, the god of birth and the god of kinship, though this deep feeling may have been late in developing. A passage in Euripides preserved by Stobaeus declares that 'he who honours his parents is beloved by the gods in this world and the next'; and the compiler quotes a striking and similar passage from Perictione, the female philosopher of the Pythagorean school, concerning the sanctity of the duties to parents which were enforced by penalties in the other world. The parent must be honoured more than the statue of the god, according to Plato, who asserts that Nemesis accuses before the divine judge those who neglect such duties. And the religious character of the family is again well illustrated by a line of Euripides, who calls the sons the protectors or avengers of the household

^a The title *λεχέτης*, by which Zeus was known at Aliphera in Arcadia⁹⁷, would belong to this group, if it could be supposed to denote the god who aided women in travail; but this is very improbable, as Zeus was never supposed to assume the functions of Artemis *λοχεία*. The myth of the

birth of Athena was prevalent in the neighbourhood of Aliphera, and the name must be understood as a naive popular designation of Zeus 'in child-bed,' and is an instance of what is very rare in Greek religious terminology, a cult-title arising directly from a myth.

gods and graves. We discover here an idea that is closely akin to that which dominates the ancient family-system of the Hindoos, namely, that a man must beget children to maintain the ancestral worship¹⁰¹.

As the family was a unit of the *φρατρία* at Athens, so at Athens was Zeus Herkeios coupled with Zeus Phratrios. 'Zeus of the household, Zeus of the clan is mine,' says a speaker in a comedy of Cratinus the younger, having just returned to his relations after a long war. It was from the altar of Zeus *Φράτριος* that the *φράτερες* brought their vote, when they were present at an adoption to give it sanction. And the part that Zeus *Φράτριος* played in the ancestral worship at Athens can be illustrated from more than one Attic inscription¹⁰². In all matters in which the phrateres adjudicated, the oath must be taken at the altar of Zeus *Φράτριος*, and a fine of a hundred drachmae to this god was incurred by any one who wrongfully introduced a person into the association; at the great clan-festival of the Apaturia sacrifice was offered to Zeus under this title and to Athena. The same appellative occurs in Crete in a peculiar dialect-form, *δράτριος*, according to the most probable interpretation of this word^{102 b}.

Not only was he the guardian of kinship, but also the protector of the family property, and worshipped as Zeus *Κτήσιος*¹⁰³. Originally this term, like that of Zeus *Πλούσιος*, denoted the god who gives men the possession of wealth; and the image of Zeus *Κτήσιος* stood in the store-rooms of houses, and his symbol was commonly an urn containing a mixture called *ἀμβροσία*^{103 i}, compounded of water, honey, and various fruits. But the name passed naturally, as many of the other cult-names passed, into a more extended use; and we hear of the client of *Isaeos* going to the Peiraeus to sacrifice to *Ζεὺς Κτήσιος*, to whose worship he was especially devoted, and praying that he would grant health and the attainment of good things to the Athenian people^{103 c}. This worship was especially Attic; we find the similar cults of Zeus *Πλούσιος* in Sparta¹⁰³, and Zeus *Ὀλβιος* in Cilicia¹⁰⁵. The god who protected property was worshipped also as *Ὀριος*, the Hellenic counterpart of the Latin *Terminus*; and Plato lays it down

as the first law of Zeus the boundary-god, that one's neighbour's landmark should not be removed¹⁰⁶.

These are the leading titles of the god of the family; there are others that designate him as the god of the political community. *Zeὺς Κλάριος* is he who sanctified the original allotment of land among the clans or divisions of the people. The high ground at Tegea was sacred to him, and there seems to have been the same cult at Argos, according to a passage in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, unless the poet is using the title there in the wider sense, designating the god as the dispenser of all fortune^{106 b}.

A higher name in the civic religion is that of Zeus Πολιεύς¹⁰⁷, which must be carefully distinguished from Πατρῶος, as it connotes not the bond of kinship but the union of the state^a. The statue and altar of Zeus Πολιεύς stood on the Acropolis at Athens, and one of the strangest tales of ritual is told by Pausanias concerning it: stalks of barley and wheat were placed on the altar, and an ox which was kept in readiness approached and ate some of the offering; whereupon it was slain by a priest who was called 'the murderer of the ox,' and who immediately threw down the axe and then fled as though the guilt of homicide were on him; the people pretended not to know who the slayer was, but arrested the axe and brought it to judgement. The story as told by Pausanias is very incomplete, and he wisely refrains from offering an explanation of what he certainly did not understand. A far more valuable and detailed account of the ritualistic act and legend is preserved by Porphyry, who seems to give us a verbatim extract from Theophrastus^{107 c}. A certain Sopatros, a stranger in the land of Attica, was sacrificing harmless cereal offerings to the gods on the occasion of a general festival, when one of his oxen devoured some of the corn and trampled the rest under foot; the sacrificer in anger smote and slew him, and then, smitten

^a A later cult expressing the political union of the state is that of Zeus Pandemos, which is attested by one Attic inscription¹³⁴, and which existed

in the Imperial period at the Phrygian city of Synnada (*Overb. Kunst-Mythol.* 1, p. 222, Münzt. 3. 20, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 569).



with remorse, fled into exile to Crete, after burying the ox. A dearth fell upon the land, and the Delphic oracle declared to the men of Attica that the Cretan exile would cause the trouble to cease, 'but they must punish the murderer and raise up the dead, and it would be better for them if at the very same sacrifice in which it died they all tasted the flesh of the dead and refrained not.' It was discovered that Sopatros had done the deed, and an embassy was sent to him. Wishing to free himself from the burden of conscience, he volunteered to return, stating that it was necessary to slay an ox again, and offering to be himself the slayer, on condition that they should make him a citizen and should all take part in the murder. The citizens agreed and instituted the ritual of the *βουφόνια*, 'the murder of the ox,' which continued till a late period to be the chief act in the Diipoleia, the festival of Zeus Polieus. Maidens called water-carriers were appointed to bring water to sharpen the axe and the knife; one man handed the axe to another, who then smote that one of the oxen among those which were driven round the altar that tasted the cereal offerings laid upon it; another ministrant cut the throat of the fallen victim, and the others flayed it and all partook of the flesh. The next act in this strange drama was to stuff the hide with grass, and sowing it together to fashion the semblance of a live ox and to yoke it to the plough. A trial was at once instituted, and the various agents in the crime were charged with ox-murder. Each thrust the blame upon the other, until the guilt was at last allowed to rest on the axe, which was then solemnly tried and condemned and cast into the sea. Thus the bidding of the oracle was fulfilled; as many as possible had taken part in the murder; all had tasted the flesh, the murderous axe was punished and the dead was raised to life. The search after an explanation of this mysterious practice leads far back into the domain of primitive ideas that form the background of ritual. Whatever may be the final explanation, the story and the ritual reveal this at least, that the Zeus of Attica was originally a god of agriculture, and that the community of citizens was supposed to have been brought about and main-

tained by eating the ox by way of sacrament; and we may conclude that the animal was regarded as of kin to the worshipper and the god. The special deity of an ox-clan becomes the god of the whole state; the ox-man, Βούτης, the mythic ancestor of the Βουτάδαι, the priests of Athena Polias and Poseidon-Erechtheus, bequeaths his name also to the priest of Zeus Polieus^{107 e}, and Athene herself promised precedence to the Diipolia among the sacrifices on the Acropolis out of gratitude to Zeus who voted the land to her. Another instance that may here be quoted of the religious-political significance of the ox in Attic worship is afforded by two late Attic inscriptions, showing that the Zeus ἐν Παλλαδίῳ, the god who sat in the judgement-hall of Pallas, where cases of involuntary homicide were tried, was served by a priest who was called Βουζύγης, 'the yoker of the ox,' a name derived from the mythical first tiller of the soil^a.

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Ἀγοραῖος is an epithet that belonged to Zeus in common with many other divinities whose statues stood in the market-place¹¹³. Under this title we must not regard Zeus usually as the god of trade, as was Hermes Ἀγοραῖος, though we have one instance of the honesty of a bargain being guaranteed by an oath taken in his name^{113 h}; but as the god who presided over assemblies and trials: it was he who, according to

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These titles all refer to the peaceful life of the city. As a war-god pure and simple Zeus scarcely appears at all, a fact which is somewhat remarkable, since the supreme god of a warlike people tends naturally to assume such functions, as the history of Odin shows; and we may regard this as a proof of the civilized quality of the religion of Zeus. It is only in the semi-Hellenic cult of Caria that Zeus appears preeminently as a warlike god, as Zeus Stratios, 'the god of hosts,' and as Zeus Labrandeus, armed with the double-headed axe, whose worship penetrated into Attica and was organized by a thiasos in the Peiraeus in the third century^{115, 136 x, y}. Another appellative of the same divinity was *Χρυσάωρ*, the god of the golden sword or axe, whose cult was of great celebrity at the Carian Stratonicea. The worship of Zeus *Στράτιος* spread to Bithynia, and in a late period to Athens; but the latter city had admitted the worship of the Carian Zeus as early as the beginning of the fifth century, if Herodotus' statement is to be believed that it was specially observed by the family of Isagoras. Also in the ancient period and in the backward regions of Hellas proper we may suppose that Zeus had been worshipped directly as a god of war. The Eleans preserved the tradition, if not the altar, of Zeus *Αρειος*, to whom Oinomaos offered prayers before his deadly race, which may be regarded as a peculiar ritual of human sacrifice^{117a}. And the Epirote kings at their accession took the constitutional oath with their people at the altar of Zeus *Αρειός*^{117b}. In Laconia a military sense may have belonged to the titles *Αγήτωρ* and *Κοσμήτας*, which were attached to Zeus^{119, 120}. Zeus *Αγήτωρ* was the leader of the host, to whom the king sacrificed, and from whose altar, if the signs were favourable, he carried fire away with him to the enemy's frontier; the second title is more doubtful, as it

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may denote the god 'who arrays the ranks,' or in a more general sense the power that orders the world. The worships of Zeus Sthenios near Troezen¹²¹ and of Zeus Strategos at Amastus in Paphlagonia^{116 a}, of Zeus *Ομαγύριος*, the gatherer of the host, at Aegium¹²⁶, belonged to the same class, and it is probable that the Zeus Charmon¹²⁴ who was honoured with a temple near Mantinea was the god 'who rejoiced in battle,' especially as it stood near the grave of Epaminondas, and as *χάρμη* refers always to the delight of battle^a. But generally and essentially for the religion of the developed Greek people he is not a war-god nor supreme with the mere physical supremacy of strength; he is rather the god of victory and victorious peace, after his triumph over the Titans and Giants, the god who has *Νίκη* for his constant ministrant and who dispenses victory and holds the balance of the battle. In this respect Zeus *Νικηφόρος*^b and Athene *Νίκη* stand alone among the Olympians; the trophy itself was the sacred aniconic representation of Zeus Tropaeus, a name which occurred in the worship at Sparta and Salamis^{122 a, 123}.

The Homeric poems in which Zeus decides the fate of the combat, but sits aloof, present the actual view of Greek religion. No title so fully and feelingly describes the functions of Zeus, the Helper of men, as Zeus Soter¹²⁸, which includes others such as *ἀλεξίκακος*, *ἀποτρόπαιος*, *ἀπήμιος*, 'the warder-off of evil'; and just as Zeus *Ἀποβατήριος* was 'the god who brings the ship to land,' to whom Alexander offered thanksgiving on disembarking in Asia, so Zeus *Σωτήρ* was worshipped by the sailors of the Peiraeus^{128 b} as the god who could save in shipwreck as well as in war. The watchword of the Greeks at the battle of Cynaxa was 'Zeus the Saviour'^{128 a}; and in most localities the cult commemorated some deliverance from the perils of war. It was this divinity who inspired the Greeks at Plataea with the hopes of victory;

^a The epithet is usually explained with less probability, as designating the god 'who gives joy,' through the harvest or at the feast; for instance by Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, p. 30.

^b Zeus *Νικηφόρος*, however, does not appear as a cult-name. The earliest literary statement of the connexion of Nike with Zeus is Bacchylides' fragment¹²⁷. In Himerius *Or.* 19. 5 she is 'the daughter of great Zeus.'

to whom the Cyreans offered sacrifice at the close of their great march, and to whom the Mantineans the citizens of Megalopolis and the Messenians raised shrines of thanksgiving for the freedom which Epaminondas' victories had brought them. The festival with which the Sicyonians honoured the memory of Aratus was inaugurated by the priest of Zeus Soter, and we have records of his cult at Argos, Troezen, Aegium, Pharsalus, Pergamon, and Rhodes, in Ambracia, Aetolia and Lesbos; but the Athenian monuments and ritual of this as of most other worships are best known to us. His temple stood in the Peiraeus and survived when most of the other buildings there had been destroyed; and the ephēbi, who were specially under his care, rowed trireme-races in his honour at the festival of the Diisoteria. In the city itself, where he was worshipped in company with Athena Soteira, we hear of no temple but an altar and a statue only, near to which inscriptions commemorating Athenian successes appear to have been set up. Oxen were sacrificed in large numbers at the festival of the Diisoteria^a, and the altar was decked with great pomp; and the priest of Zeus Soter, in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, speaks of the numerous sacrifices habitually made by private citizens. It was perhaps through the ceremony of the Greek banquet that the title acquired a wider significance, as the *Zeὺς Σωτήρ* was the god to whom the third libation was offered at the close of the feast, and he was regarded at this moment as the god who dispensed all good things, as the *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* of the life of man; so that we may thus understand the epithet with which Aeschylus described the prosperous life of Agamemnon as 'that which poured the third libation,' the life, that is, that was specially guarded by Zeus the Saviour.

Many of the titles above-mentioned and the functions that they connote belonged to other divinities as well. But his worship has a political significance higher than any other, for he alone regarded the unity of Greece, and his cult was preeminently Hellenic and not merely local or tribal. As *Zeὺς Ὀμαγύριος* he gathered the hosts against Troy¹². As *Ἐλευθέριος* he saved Greece from Persia and was worshipped at

^a Mommsen's *Heortologie*, p. 453.

Plataea after the battle, and a striking epigram of Simonides preserves the memory of this cult :

‘Having driven out the Persians, they raised an altar to Zeus, the free man’s god, a fair token of freedom for Hellas.’

After the victory the Greeks purified the land, bringing fresh fire from the hearth of the Delphic shrine; and then raised the altar and a temple near the monuments of those that had fallen; at the same time the games called Eleutheria were instituted, which were still being held every fifth year in Pausanias’ time, and in which the chief contest was a race of armed men round the altar^{131b}. At Athens also we hear of a statue to Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος*, which in all probability took its name from the same great event as the Plataean cult, and not, as Hyperides explained, from the enfranchisement of slaves^{131e}. It stood, according to Pausanias, in the Cerameicus, near the Stoa Basileios, and near to it monuments were set up, such as the shield of the brave Athenian who had fallen in the battle against the Gauls at Thermopylae, and that important inscription recently found containing the terms of the second maritime confederacy of Athens, organized, as the decree declares, to free Greece from Sparta. The cult-title of Eleutherios appears to have become identified at Athens with that of Soter. The worship was found in other parts of Greece also, in Samos^{131e}, and, according to Hesychius^{131e}, at Syracuse Tarentum and *ἐν Καρίαις*, or, as the Scholiast on Plato reads, *ἐν Καρία*; it is probable that the right reading is *ἐν Καρύαις*, and that the place referred to is Caryae, the town in the north of Laconia; an inscription of early date attests the existence of the cult on Laconian territory.

We are informed by Diodorus Siculus about the occasion of the institution of this cult at Syracuse^{131a}; it was after the overthrow of the tyranny of Thrasybulus in 466 B. C. that a colossal statue was raised to Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* and yearly games founded in his honour. We have numismatic evidence of this cult in other Sicilian cities, Aetna, Agyrium, and Alaesa, that regained their freedom through the victories of Timoleon^a.

^a Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 104, 109, 110.

A cognate worship was that of Zeus Hellenios or Panhellenios in Aegina¹³², an ancient cult which was originally perhaps special to the Aeacidae or to the Hellenes in a narrower sense; but its significance grew with the extension of the Hellenic name. The pan-Hellenic character of the cult was already expressed in the story that Aeacus ascended the Aeginetan mountain to pray to this god in behalf of the whole of Greece for rain; but it was the Persian invasion that enhanced the value of this cult-title. The Athenian ambassadors declared at Sparta, according to Herodotus, that they had remained true to the Hellenic cause out of reverence to Zeus Hellenios. A temple was raised to him in Athens by Hadrian, and we find the head of this god with an inscription on fourth-century coins of Syracuse. But the worship was unfortunately rare in the Greek world; it expressed an ideal, recognized partially by the religion of the nation, but never attained by its politics.

A review of the evidence proves that in Greek religion, though in certain localities more frequent prayer may have been addressed to local god or hero, Zeus possessed a political importance such as belonged to no other Hellenic divinity. The Cretan, the Messenian, the Arcadian, were each national and confederate worships, and the history of Messene and Arcadia was reflected in the cults and monuments of Zeus Ithomatas and Lycaeus. In Argos Zeus Nemeios was joined in worship with Hera Argeia, and the Nemea was partly an Argive military festival^{136 w}. In Sparta he received a title from the land itself and its ancient king, and it was the king's prerogative to sacrifice to Zeus Lacedaemon and Zeus Ouranios; as a king-god he was revered in Lebadea, Erythrae and Paros¹³⁷. His name is of constant occurrence in oaths of alliance, and the kings of Epiros swore by him to observe the laws. The Carian worship of the war-god, the deity of daylight, becomes under Hellenic influences a political and national cult of Zeus. At Prynnessos in Phrygia, according to a late inscription found by Prof. Ramsay, Zeus was honoured as ἀρχηγέτης, the leader of the colony^{109 c}. We may note in conclusion that no other Greek deity possessed

so long a list of cult-names derived from names of peoples and towns¹³⁶. The Boeotian cult of Zeus *Ἵομολῶιος*, the god 'who held the people in accord,' expressed the faith of Hellas¹³³.

We have lastly to review the most important class of cults and titles that were consecrated and attached to Zeus as a god of the moral and spiritual life; and it is in reference to these that we can best consider how far the state-religion was in harmony with the ethical and religious feeling of the great writers and thinkers of Greece. It has been assumed that the physical and elemental character of Zeus was the earlier, for though the most civilized Greek communities recognized this character, yet in its most primitive form it appears among the more backward races and in the earliest cults, and the assumption is in accord with analogies offered by other lines of human development. But this progress in the divine idea from the physical to the moral significance was remotely anterior to the period at which Greek history begins. We may note a trace of it in the worship of Zeus *Μειλίχιος* at Athens and elsewhere¹³⁸.

The interpretation of the name *Μειλίχιος* is important for the right understanding of the religious idea. It certainly did not originally signify the 'kindly' god; for we gather from Plutarch and Hesychius that it was synonymous with *μαιμάκτης*^{138a}, which designates the angry or troubled Zeus. Sacrifice was offered to Zeus Meilichios at the beginning of winter, in Maimacterion, which according to Harpocration took its name from Zeus *Μαιμάκτης*, and again in the latter part of Anthesterion at the festival of Diasia, the great feast of Zeus held outside the city, which Thucydides calls a feast of Zeus Meilichios, and which, according to the Scholiast on Lucian, was kept with a certain degree of gloom. We gather also that the rites were piacular, that is, were regarded as atonement for sin. The sacrifices in Locris to the *θεοὶ Μειλίχιοι*, among whom we may include Zeus, were performed in the night, and all the flesh of the victim slain must be consumed before the morning; if the victim bears away with

it the sins of the people, the meaning of the rule that it must not be exposed to the light of day becomes obvious. And we gather from Xenophon that the same feeling dictated the ritual at Athens, where the swine that were offered had to be wholly consumed by the fire. We are told also by Eustathius that a ram was offered to Zeus Meilichios at the end of Maimacterion^a, and his skin was used for the purification of the city, whose offences by some ceremonious means were cast out and passed over into certain unclean objects that were then taken away to the cross-roads. This skin was the 'fleece of God,' which was employed for similar rites of purification at Eleusis and in the procession of the Scirophoria, being placed under the feet of those whose guilt was to be taken away. We need not see in this any survival of actual human sacrifice, or any hint of the idea that the man's life was really due for which the 'mild god' accepted the substitution of the ram. We may explain the ceremony naturally if we suppose that the guilty or unclean person stood on the skin of the sacred animal in order to place himself in nearer contact with the god whose favour he wished to regain. From all this it seems clear that the title *Μειλίχιος* must either have signified 'the god who must be appeased,' and therefore alluded directly to the wrath of God, or that the angry deity was styled thus by a sort of euphemism, just as Hades was termed Eubouleus and the Furies the Eumenides. This latter view becomes the more probable, when we see that in this worship Zeus is clearly regarded as a god of the lower world. The powers below were specially concerned with the ritual for the purification of sin, and the swine is the piacular animal proper to them, and except in the rites of Meilichios and, according to Apollonius Rhodius, of Zeus *Ἰκέσιος* and perhaps of Zeus *Φίλιος*, is nowhere found in the worship of the Hellenic Zeus. We have also evidence from certain monuments that the serpent, the emblem of the earth and the dark places below, was the sign of Zeus Meilichios; and the nightly rites at Locris illustrate the gloomy significance of

^a From the evidence of a mutilated Attic inscription it would appear that another state-sacrifice was offered to Zeus Meilichios in Thargelion.

this epithet. It is for this reason that we find this god associated with Hekate, the goddess to whom the cross-roads were sacred.

This sombre character of Zeus was probably derived, in Attica at least, from his functions as a deity of vegetation. We hear of Zeus Γεωργός in Athenian worship, and cereal offerings were made to him in Maimacterion, the month of Zeus Μειλίχιος. We may gather also from the obscure and probably corrupt passage in Thucydides about the Diasia, that by the side of the animal sacrifice oblations of the fruits of the country were allowed. Possibly, then, Zeus Maimactes or Meilichios was first conceived rather as a physical god of vegetation, who grew sombre in the winter months, and who must be appeased in order that the season of fertility may return. But the passage from the physical to the moral conception was here easy, and probably very early. For the changes in nature and the sky have always been supposed to correspond in the earlier and even later stages of religious belief to the varying moods of the divinity, and the varying conduct of man; and the sacrifices to obtain the season of growth and fertility might take the form of piacular offerings for sin. It is not improbable that in the earliest period of this cult the special sin for which supplication must be made to Zeus Meilichios was the sin of kindred slaughter, conceived as an offence against the gods at a time when ordinary homicide was only a trespass against men. Thus it was for the shedding of kindred blood that Theseus underwent purification at the altar of this god^{138 a}. And it was to atone for civic slaughter that the Argives dedicated a statue of which Polycleitos was the sculptor to Zeus Meilichios^{138 b}. The very ancient existence of the cult in Greece is suggested by the legend of Theseus and proved by the aniconic emblem of Zeus Meilichios in the form of a pyramid at Sicyon^{138 b}.

As regards his relation to human sin, the conception of Zeus is twofold: on the one hand he is *παλαμναῖος, τιμωρός*, the god of vengeance and retribution, the god who punishes human guilt even in the second and third generation¹³⁹⁻¹⁴¹; on the other, a larger class of epithets¹⁴¹⁻¹⁴³ designate him as

the god of the suppliant, to whom those stricken with guilt can appeal. Ζεὺς ἰκτῆρ, ἰκέσιος, φύξιος^a, is he who helps the suppliant and to whom the criminal flees; προστρόπαιος, to whom the suppliant turns; καθάρσιος, the god who purifies. It is interesting to note that in actual Greek cult the latter class of epithets were far more in vogue than the former, the 'retributive' class. We have no inscriptions and no state records of the worship of the god of vengeance and retribution; it is only in Cyprus, and only on the authority of Clemens¹³⁹, that the cult of Zeus Τιμωρός is attested. Naturally the public religion aimed rather at averting than invoking the divine anger; and we hear of the worship of Φύξιος at Argos and in Thessaly, and of Καθάρσιος in Olympia and Athens. The oath taken by certain public functionaries of the latter city, according to the Solonian formula which Pollux gives, was sworn in the name of the god of supplication, cleansing, and healing. The name of Zeus Ἰκέσιος occurs in a very early Spartan inscription, and the titles of Zeus Paian at Rhodes¹⁴⁵ and Ἀποτρόπαιος¹⁴⁴, the averter of ill, at Erythrae express the same idea of the deity. The full account of these functions of Zeus touches on the earliest conception of crime, the earliest conscience of the race, and the prevalence of these cults in Greece proves the profundity of the moral thought concerning murder and sacrilegious sin. Examining certain legends we might conclude that it was the shedding of kindred blood which was the aboriginal sin for which the worship of Zeus Ἰκέσιος, the god of supplication, was established, this sin and perjury constituting perhaps the first conceptions of sacrilege. The first murderer in Greek legend was Ixion, and his crime was the treacherous murder of a kinsman; visited with madness by the Erinyes, he was also the first suppliant who appealed to Zeus Ἰκέσιος, and probably it was in relation to him that Zeus is called by Pherecydes ἰκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστωρ, the god of the suppliant and the guilty outcast. The offence of the Danaides who slew their husbands was the same in kind, and here also the legend regarded Zeus as the

^a Φύξιος appears to have possessed an ambiguous sense, designating sometimes the god who protects, sometimes the god who punishes the exile.

originator of the rites of purification. The divine punishment for this sin was madness, and the divine ministers who carry out the will of Zeus Τιμωρός and Παλαμναίος were the Erinyes, the powers who themselves came into being through the outrage committed by a son upon his father, who pursued Orestes and Amphion for their act of matricide, and who were so closely interwoven with the tradition of kindred slaughter in the house of Laios. And perhaps the first need of purification arose from the same sort of acts, whether voluntary or involuntary, as the legends of Theseus, Belleophon, and Athamas and others illustrate^a. Here then we have the expression in religious myth and ritual of the striking fact in early Greek clan-usage and law, namely, that the shedding of kindred blood was originally an offence of an entirely different kind from the slaying of an alien, probably because the god himself was considered in the former case as akin to the slayer and the slain. In early Greek society it is clear that to kill an alien was a secular matter which only concerned the kin of the slain, the avengers of blood, who might pursue the slayer or accept a weregilt; it was no sin, unless the alien had been a suppliant or under the protection of the stranger's god. But the slayer of his kinsman was a sinner under the ban of God; the legends do not seem to show that his fellow-kinsmen would at once punish him with death^b, but that he must be outcast from the community and that Zeus and the Erinyes must deal with

^a The story in the Athamantid family of the sacrificial slaughter of the king and the king's son is probably in its origin no legend of mere kindred slaughter, but may have arisen from very early ideas concerning the sacrifice of the god or the divine representative; but another legend given by Apollodorus (1. 9, 2) speaks of the mad Athamas being driven from Boeotia for slaying Ino's son Learchus, and appealing to Zeus to know where he is to dwell. The same author (2. 3, 1) narrates that Belleophon fled from Corinth because he had involuntarily slain his

own brother. Of the typical instances that Ovid gives (*Fast.* 2. 39) of purification for sin, all but one are concerned with the slaughter of kinsmen, and this may be said of nearly all those collected by Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 967-969.

^b Telepolemos, who slew his kinsman, was threatened with death by the other members of his family (*Il.* 2. 665); but by a Boeotian law which, according to Plutarch, prevailed in the mythical period, the shedder of kindred blood 'must leave Boeotia and become a suppliant and a stranger.'

his guilt. But the god of vengeance himself provided the mode of escape through purification and sacrifice of sin. The legends tell us little concerning the nature of these rites, but speak only of the outcast wandering until some compassionate stranger receives him into his home and cleanses him. But the ritual of the historic period had probably been handed down from very ancient times, and we are supplied with some information about this, chiefly from the account in Apollonius Rhodius of the cleansing of Jason and Medea¹⁴². The usual piacular victim was a young pig, which was held over the head of the guilty, as we see Apollo holding it over Orestes in a vase-painting that represents his purification^a. And the blood of the slaughtered animal was then poured over his hands, with invocation of Zeus *Καθάριος*. In some accounts bathing in the water of a river or the sea appears to have been a necessary part of the ceremony^b. The latter practice is easily explained, as physical and moral purity are scarcely distinguished in ancient ritual; but it is not so easy to understand the pouring blood over the hands. We know that the pig was specially sacred to the lower deities, who no less than Zeus were outraged by wrongful homicide, and to whom Zeus Meilichios and for the occasion probably Zeus *Καθάριος* were akin, and we may suppose that the blood of this animal, like the fleece of the sacred ram in the lustral ceremonies at Athens, was supposed to bring the guilty into nearer contact with the estranged divinity and had power to win him reconciliation. The chief benefit to the purified person was the recovery of his right of fellowship with men, and, while in the legends he is represented usually as continuing to live in his new home, in the later period he could return to his native land under certain conditions, if the relatives of the slain consented.

It is easy to imagine how vitally this religious usage in the Zeus cult might influence the growth of moral ideas of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Another signal act of sacrilege was perjury, the guilt of which was matter of cognizance for the gods of the lower

^a *Arch. Zeit.*, 1861, Taf. 137 and 138.

^b Athenae. 410 a. and b. Cf. *Iph. Taur.* 1193.

world and the Erinyes, but especially also for Zeus, whose name occurs in nearly all the formulae of the state oath. The statue of Zeus Ὀρκίος stood in the council-hall of Olympia holding in each hand a thunderbolt, the most terrifying in aspect of all the statues of Zeus that Pausanias knew of^{147 a}. The strength of this belief in the religious character of the oath is shown by passages in Homer which speak of the punishment of the oath-breaker after death^a, and by the lines in Hesiod's *Theogony* where the oath is already personified as a child of the lower world, born to be 'the scourge of men'; while in Sophocles he is spoken of as the all-seeing child of Zeus^{147 c}. No doubt the oath was never a real concrete divinity either in early or late periods; originally an abstract idea of a quality or function of the divine nature, it becomes personal because of the strength of the belief, and is partially separated from the divinity. The ceremony of the oath-taking at Olympia is strikingly described by Pausanias^b, and reminded him of the account in the *Iliad* where Agamemnon takes the oath over the boar, an animal sacred to the lower gods, which is then slain and cast into the sea^c. The freethinkers of Greek literature scarcely deviate from the popular religious thought as regards the sanctity of oaths. Even Euripides, to whom loose morality in this respect has been wrongly attributed, strongly maintains in a striking fragment that the gods admit no excuse for perjury: 'Thinkest thou the gods are inclined to pardon, when by false swearing a man would escape death or bonds or violence . . . ? Then either they are less wise than mortal men, or they set fair specious pleas before justice^d.'

But we must not suppose that, at any period of Greek thought of which we have record, the sphere of sin against the gods was

^a *Il.* 3. 279; 19. 260.

^b 5. 24, 10-11.

^c Probably the animal consecrated by this ceremony was under a special taboo, and his carcase could not be disposed of in the ordinary way; or possibly the act was 'mimetic,' and expressed an imprecation that the perjured man might

thus be destroyed from off the earth.

^d *Frag.* 1030. Such sentiments as those expressed in *Hippolytus*, 610, and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 394, must not be regarded as Euripides' own; they are merely dramatic sophistries uttered by certain characters under stress of circumstances.

limited to perjury or kindred murder. Both as regards retribution and expiation the sphere of Zeus in Hesiod and Homer is as wide as human life. He is *πανόπτης*, 'the all-seer,' in a moral rather than a physical sense, and the term recalls the frequent utterances of the poets concerning the all-seeing eye of *Δίκη* or Justice. The latter is the special ministrant, companion, and emanation of Zeus, although associated with the nether divinities also. And where she is given a parentage, being originally only an abstract idea, it is Zeus who is her father; and it is with the weapon of Zeus that she overthrows the unjust¹⁴⁸.

With *Δίκη* Themis is closely connected, and as *Δίκη* proceeded from Zeus, so Themis herself, who was originally an independent deity with a worship and oracle at Delphi, was absorbed by Zeus, when she had become a name significant of right in general. Thus in Aeschylus we hear of the Themis or right of Zeus *Κλάριος*, the god of allotments, and in Pindar of the Themis of Zeus *Ξένιος*, the god of hospitality. And Hesiod speaks of the *δαίμονες*, the army of spirits who are the watchers of Zeus over the whole life of man; and elsewhere in Greek literature there are not wanting hints of the profound idea that a moral law, sanctioned by Zeus, prevails even in the animal world¹⁴⁸. Even in its application to blood-guiltiness we see that the divine idea expands. Not merely the shedder of kindred blood has offended against Zeus, and is under the ban of the Erinyes: the latter dwelt on the rock of the Areopagus, where any case of murder could be tried; and the homicide who was acquitted by this court had to offer sacrifice to the Eumenides, as though they had yet to be pacified, or as a thank-offering to them for letting him go. And according to the law of Solon, the judges at Athens must swear by Zeus, 'the god of the suppliant, the god of purification, and the healer of guilt^{142 d.}' As the political community expanded, all bloodshed, if the victim had any rights at all within the city, became a political offence, as well as a sin which needed purification^a. There is

^a This extension of the idea of sin in regard to bloodshed is at least as early as the time of Arctinus, who described the purification of Achilles from the blood of Thersites; this may be an advance on the religious view of

a curious passage in Antiphon, that has almost a modern tone, on the sacredness of human life. The murderer pollutes any sacrifice in which he partakes, and his presence exposes others also to divine wrath, a belief on which the orator attempts to establish an indirect proof of innocence^a. Murder might still be sacrilege, even if the victim was not of the same state, and Zeus Φύξιος became the god to whom any man would appeal who wished to clear himself of the guilt of any bloodshed, as Pausanias, the Spartan king, made sacrifice to him to atone for the death of the maiden whom he had involuntarily slain. Only, the older and narrower idea survived in the enactment of Attic law that the kinsmen might decide whether to prosecute or to forgive the involuntary homicide^b, and even Aeschylus^c seems to suppose that the Eumenides pursue, not any murderer, but only the slayer of his kin.

Still wider is the conception of Zeus 'Ικέσιος in its fullest development. Not the blood-guilty only, but the man who fears any evil from his fellows could put himself under his protection; and the reverence claimed for Zeus 'Ικέσιος is the text of the drama of Aeschylus: 'We must needs respect the jealousy of Zeus, the suppliant's god; for the fear of him is deepest among mortal men^{143 c}.' Here, as in other cases already noted, the god with his epithet seems to have been used almost as an abstraction to denote a certain right or duty; and seems to have had a separate existence in and for each person who claimed his aid. 'Thou hast escaped the god of my supplication,' says Polyxena to Odysseus in the *Hecuba* of Euripides. To no other function or attribute of Greek divinity does the conception of divine grace so naturally attach, and every altar could shelter the suppliant;

Homer. But it is too much to say that the latter poet knows nothing even of purification for the murder of kinsmen, as he makes clear mention of piacular sacrifices for sin in general, a far more advanced idea (*Il.* 9. 495); and there is probably an allusion to the rites of Zeus Καθάριστος, which are certainly older than Homer, in the passage which mentions the man who had

slain his cousin and who went as a suppliant to Peleus and Thetis (*Il.* 16. 574). In any case his silence would be no argument, as none of the actual personages in his epic commit this sin.

^a Pp. 686 and 749; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 337.

^b Dem. πρὸς Μακάργ. p. 1069.

^c *Eum.* 605.

so that the classification given by Pollux^{140 a} of the divine titles almost resolves itself into the distinction between *θεοὶ παλαμναῖοι* and *ἰκέσιοι*, the gods of vengeance and of supplication. Down to the end of paganism many shrines possessed the right of sanctuary, a right which often clashed with the secular law^a. The legend of Ajax and Cassandra, the story about the Hera at Sybaris who closed her eyes when the suppliants were dragged away from her altar, illustrate the prevalent feeling of classical times. This broad conception of Zeus *Ἰκέσιος* appears also in the Homeric account of the *Λιταί*^b, the personal powers of prayer, whom the poet calls the daughters of Zeus, and who plead for men against Ate, and who appeal to Zeus against those who neglect them. And this early spiritual idea which we find in the *Iliad* gave rise to an actual worship of Zeus *Λιταῖος*^c, which the coins of the Bithynian Nicaea attest, and receives beautiful expression in the drama of Sophocles: 'nay, but as mercy shares the judgement-seat of Zeus to judge every act of man, let mercy be found with thee too, my father.' The suppliants' fillets are called by Aeschylus 'the emblems of the god of mercy'¹⁴⁸.

A narrower, but cognate, conception is that of Zeus Xenios, who was worshipped throughout the Greek world¹⁴⁹. This worship is rooted in very ancient moral ideas; the sanctity of the stranger-guest, who as early as Homer and probably much earlier was placed under the protection of Zeus, was almost as great as the sanctity of the kinsman's life, and to slay him was a religious sin, for which, according to one legend, Heracles was sold into slavery to Omphale^d. Originally the god of hospitality—for in primitive society the stranger must be the guest of some one—he becomes the god to whom

the slavery of Apollo to Admetus for the slaughter of the Cyclopes, and that of Cadmus to Ares for causing the death of the 'Sparti,' the descendants of the god; and we may believe that these legends arose from the occasional practice of the kinsmen accepting the slavery of the homicide as an atonement for the bloodshed.

^a Tac. *Ann.* 3. 60-63.

^b *Il.* 9. 498.

^c *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1878, p. 509.

^d *Frag. Hist. Graec.* Pherecydes, 34: λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ξενοκτονίᾳ προσέταξεν Ἑρμῇ λαβόντα τὸν Ἡρακλῆα πωλῆσαι δίκην τοῦ φόνου. To explain this curious story of the hero being sold into slavery, we may note two other instances in legend:

any stranger is consecrated. According to Plutarch, the honours paid to Zeus Xenios were many and great^{149 a}; we have record or epigraphical proof of his worship at Sparta, where he was associated with Athena Xenia, at Rhodes, where a religious association existed called the *Διὸς ξενιασταί*, the worshippers of Zeus Xenios, and at Athens, where, as we gather from an inscription, the metics and resident merchants formed a company for the purpose of this cult. As a city could confer *ξενία*, the privileges of a public guest, upon any favoured stranger, so we read that Apollonius of Tyana was made the guest of Zeus by the public vote of the Spartans^{149 c}. Greek literature, early and late, is full of evidence of the deep religious feeling attaching to this cult. Charondas, the Sicilian legislator, insists on the duty of receiving the stranger reverently, 'because the worship of Zeus Xenios is common to all nations, and he takes note of those who welcome and those who maltreat the stranger^{149 h}.' 'The stranger,' Plato says in the *Laws*^{149 g}, 'being destitute of comrades and kinsmen, has more claim on the pity of gods and men: the power that is strong to avenge is therefore the more zealous to help him.'

Akin to this worship was that of Zeus Philios¹⁵¹, the god of friendship, who was honoured at Megalopolis, Epidauros and Athens, where an association was founded in his name, and his priest enjoyed a special seat in the theatre. Sometimes this title only designated the god of the friendly banquet, and an inscription shows that the *μέτοικοι* at Athens observed this cult. And thus we can understand why he was invoked by the parasite of Diodorus, and how he came to be partially identified with Bacchus at Megalopolis in a work of the sculptor Polycleitus the younger. But the term had a deeper meaning, for Zeus Philios is essentially the god who fosters friendship, and to whom friends appeal; and this conception is enlarged by Dio Chrysostom, who sees in the great Pheidian statue the Zeus Philios who would plant love and abolish enmity among the whole human race. The cult does not appear to have been ancient; the first mention of it occurs in a fragment of Pherecrates. A term almost synonymous is

ἔταιρεῖος¹⁵², denoting 'the god of good comradeship'; sometimes with allusion to the banquet, as we find in a fragment of Diphilus. But in Crete the cult may well have had a political or military significance; and the festival of ἔταιρῶδεια, which was celebrated at Magnesia in North Greece and in Macedon, was associated with the name of Jason, who sacrificed to this god before setting sail in the Argo with his comrades.

In certain parts of the popular religion of Zeus, so far as it has been examined, we can detect a high morality that strikingly contrasts with the character of many of the Greek myths; though, of course, the same ideas that are expressed in cults are expressed in those myths that explain the cult. On the other hand, it is interesting to see that in certain cases the comparatively crude morality of the cults contrasted in turn with the deeper views of the poets and philosophic writers who thought and spoke freely concerning the relations of the gods to men. This is specially true of the doctrine of retribution, of which the simplest and least moral form in Greek popular belief is that even innocent excess of prosperity is of itself an evil thing, awakening the jealousy of the gods. Behind this is perhaps the cruder idea that the divinity is not the friend but the enemy of man, an idea that is dimly expressed in the primitive Hesiodic story of Prometheus' favour and Zeus' disfavour to man. But it appears conspicuously in the childlike doctrine of Nemesis that lived long in the Greek mind; and the legend of Bellerophon's fall and melancholy wanderings, given in Homer without any hint of any sin committed by the hero but rather as a result of superhuman prosperity, the story of Polycrates' ring, of Philip's prayer mentioned by Plutarch, that the gods would give him some slight misfortune to counterbalance his continual success, are illustrations of this naive religious belief that lasted as long as the Hellenic race. Its plainest expression is in the lines of Aesopus, 'if a man has some good fortune he receives Nemesis by way of compensation^a'; the most foolish is in the epigram of Antiphilos Byzantios on the

^a *Anth. Pal.* 10. 123.

danger of speaking of the morrow ^a. This is merely a religious form of the old superstition of luck, and it is natural enough that the religious thinkers among the Greeks tried to reform this doctrine. The story of Bellerophon becomes so to speak moralized, perhaps by the popular imagination, or perhaps by Pindar himself, who at least is the earliest authority for the more ethical version of the story: namely, that Bellerophon's fall was due to his ambitious attempt to scale heaven ^b. The most outspoken writer on this subject is Aeschylus. At first, indeed, he expresses himself like an ordinary Greek: 'excess of fair report is a burdensome thing, for the jealous eye of God hurls the lightning down ^c'; but later on he gives the more advanced view as one peculiar to himself, maintaining that it was not a man's prosperity but the evil use of it that brought Nemesis ^d. The actual cult of Nemesis as a concrete goddess will be examined later; as a moral personification, whether rational or irrational in principle, she is not a separate power from Zeus, for it is through her that he acts, and in the *Phoenissae* of Euripides she is invoked as if she wielded his thunderbolts ^e.

Another idea in the Greek theory of divine retribution is common to it with the Hebraic, namely, that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, that the curse cleaves to the race, or that the community is punished for the sin of one. An historical illustration of this clan-morality is the view—held strongly by the Lacedaemonians—that the descendants at Athens of those who committed sacrilege in the Cylonian conspiracy were under a curse, especially Pericles. Such a doctrine was seen to have its questionable side as a religious axiom, not only by Hebrew prophets, but by Greek thinkers. We find a protest against its justice in Theognis, who prays that the gods would punish the guilty in his own person, and not avenge the sins of the fathers upon the children ^f. But the doctrine held its ground even in the most religious minds:

^a *Anth. Pal.* 7. 630.

^b *Isthm.* 6. 44.

^c *Agam.* 466.

^d *Ib.* 759.

^e 184.

^f *Bergk.* l. 731. 11.

Aeschylus himself is full of it, although he occasionally tries to find a compromise between this and the doctrine of individual moral responsibility by supposing that the curse works through the generations because the descendants each commit new acts of guilt.

These are special questions arising about the doctrine of retribution ; but the whole theory that the gods sent evil to man because of sin or of some other reason did not remain without criticism and modification. In the first place, the retribution theory did not always square with the facts of experience : this difficulty could be met by the profounder conception, that the ways of the divine agency are unseen, that 'God is not like a passionate man, inclined to avenge every small act^a,' that 'Justice moves along a silent path^b,' or that God's retribution is purposely slow, so as to teach men to restrain their own wrath^c. Secondly, the morality of the retribution theory became boldly and searchingly questioned : and native Greek thought can claim for itself the distinction that it not seldom rose to the conception that God could do no evil to any, not even by way of punishment for sin. According to the view of the old myth the slaying of Neoptolemos at Delphi was divine retribution, because his father had insulted Apollo ; but Euripides places a daring phrase in the mouth of the messenger^d—'then the god remembered an ancient grudge like a base-minded man'—and an echo of this sentiment is faintly heard in Plutarch^e. Euripides indeed is not consistent, though his inconsistency may be due to dramatic appropriateness. By the side of the profoundly Mephistophelean sentiment, 'the gods have set confusion in our lives that in our ignorance we may reverence them^f,' we have other utterances of his, in which he excludes evil or evil-doing from the notion of divinity : 'it is men who impute their own evil nature to God ; for I think there can be no evil in God^g' ; and again,

^a Solon. fr. 13. 25.

^b Eur. *Troad.* 887.

^c Plut. *De Ser. Num. Vind.* p. 550E-F.

^d *Androm.* 1164.

^e *De defect. Orac.* 413 B-D ; and *De Cohib. Ira* 458 b.

^f *Hec.* 959, 960.

^g *Iph. Taur.* 389-391.

‘if the gods do evil, they are not gods^a.’ Bacchylides^b declares that it is not Zeus, the all-seeing one, that is the cause of great troubles to men; and similarly Menander holds that every man at his birth has a good spirit ‘who stands by his side to guide him through the mystery of life, for that a spirit can be evil must not be believed^c’.

Such expressions are in accord with Plato’s view in the *Republic*, that the gods never do evil to men, and, if they send misfortune, it is for an educational or moral purpose; and Aeschylus had already given this thought powerful utterance in the *Agamemnon*, where he maintains that the object of Zeus is to bring men to *φρόνησις* or *σωφροσύνη* through suffering^d.

A different attempt to reconcile the fact of evil in the world with the absolute beneficence of God was the curious theory put forward by the author of *De Mundo*^e, that the divine power coming from a very distant sphere was somewhat exhausted before it reached us. The problem of evil did not weigh very heavily on the spirit of Greek religious speculation, which contented itself with such solutions as those which I have mentioned, without taking refuge in the theory of a future life. And Greek cult, though little affected by philosophic inquiry, amply admitted this beneficent character of Zeus, while the conservative spirit of ritual preserved something of the darker aspect. On the whole, one might say that the bright and spiritual belief of Plutarch^f, ‘that the gods do well to men secretly for the most part, naturally rejoicing in showing favour and in well-doing,’ though it rises above the average popular feeling, yet stands nearer to it than the temper of the superstitious man in Theophrastus.

The relation of Zeus to *Μοῖρα*, or destiny, has yet to be considered—a question that touches on the part played by free-will and fatalism in Greek religion. A cult-name of Zeus at Athens, at Olympia, and probably at Delphi and in Arcadia,

^a Belleroph. *Frag.* 294.

^b Bergk, 3. p. 580, 29.

^c Menand. *Frag. Fab. Incert.* 18.

(Meineke).

^d Aesch. *Agam.* 165.

^e Aristotle, p. 397 b.

^f *De Adul.* c. 22, p. 63 F.

was *Μοιραγέτης*, 'the leader of fate,' with which we may compare the title of Zeus 'Εναίσιμος, 'the controller of destiny,' at Coronea^{153, 154}. The question might be put thus—how did Greek religion reconcile a belief in fate with the omnipotence of Zeus as ordinarily believed? Looking at the growth of the conception we find that Homer rarely regards *Μοιρα* as a person; the word is used by him generally as an impersonal substantive signifying the doom of death. It is Zeus who dispenses this and the other lots of men; it is Zeus who holds the balance of life and death in the strife—who has on the floor of heaven the two urns of good and ill fortune from which he distributes blessing or sorrow. It is an anachronism in Plutarch when he says, wishing to defend the Homeric Zeus from the charge of sending evil to men, that Homer often speaks of Zeus when he meant *Μοίρα* or *Τύχη*^a; when Homer speaks of Zeus he meant Zeus. Only thrice^b in Homer do we find the *Μοίραι* regarded as persons who at the birth of each man weave for him the lot of life and death. The question has been vehemently discussed whether in these poems there appears the conception of the overruling power of destiny to which even the gods must bow. This is strongly denied by Welcker^c, and with reason: he points out that it is Zeus himself who sends the *Μοίρα*; that the phrase *Μοίρα Διός*, 'the doom of God,' is habitual with him, so that where *μοίρα* is used alone it may be regarded as an abbreviative for this; that neither Homer nor the later epic poets ever refer the great issues of the war to *μοίρα*, but in the *Cypria* it is Zeus' intention to thin population, in the *Iliad* it is his promise to Thebes that is the *θέσφατον*, the divine decision, which governs events. The casting the lots of Hector and Achilles into the scale cannot be interpreted as a questioning of the superior will of fate, for Zeus never does this elsewhere; the act might as naturally be explained as a divine method of drawing lots, or, as Welcker prefers, as a symbol of his long and dubious reflection. When Hera and Athene

^a *De Aud. Post.* 23 E.

^b *Il.* 20. 127; 24. 209; *Od.* 7. 196.

^c *Griech. Götterlehre*, I, p. 185, where

most of the Homeric passages are collected.

remonstrate with Zeus for wishing to save Sarpedon or Hector, 'who had long been due to death,' this cannot mean that fate had decided against Zeus in the matter, but that Zeus ought not to interfere with the ordinary course of events which was making against these heroes, or with his own prior decision. And it is quite obvious that Zeus feels he could stop their fate if he liked. *Μοῖρα* and the will of the gods are often expressly given as synonyms; in the same breath the dying Patroclus tells Hector that Zeus and Apollo had overcome him, and then that *Μοῖρα* and Apollo had slain him^a. And a striking passage at the beginning of the *Odyssey*^b at once maintains the free action of men, and the identity of *Μοῖρα* and God's will: Zeus complains that men wrongly accuse the gods of evil which they suffer through their own sins—suffering *ὑπὲρ μόνου*, contrary to what fate or the gods intended.

We arrive at the same conclusion when we consider what was the earliest character of the personal *Μοῖραι*, for, though Homer cared little for them, there were such personal figures in his age. As such they belonged to the cloudy and demonic company of the *Κήρες* and *Erinyes*. Hesiod speaks of certain older *Μοῖραι*^c who were the daughters of Night, the children of the lower world, the abode of death—probably goddesses of birth and death, perhaps more concerned with the latter, as Homer most frequently uses the term in reference to death and they appear on the Hesiodic shield as demons of slaughter. How very slight was their claim to omnipotence may be gathered from a very curious reference to them in the Homeric hymn to *Hermes*^d, in which they are described as winged, white-haired women once the teachers of Apollo, and still giving men right guidance, if they could obtain sufficient oblation of honey. These are perhaps the faded figures of an older world of worship, personages whose power Apollo is accused by the *Eumenides* of supplanting^e. What relation then have these to the other *Μοῖραι* mentioned in the *Theogony*^f

^a *Il.* 16. 845, 849. In *Il.* 19. 87 Zeus
Μοῖρα and *Ἐρινύς* are joined.

^b *Od.* 1. 32.

^c *Theog.* 217.

^d 549-561.

^e Aesch. *Eum.* 173.

^f 904.

who receive the names of Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, and are called the daughters of Zeus and Themis? Probably they are the same, and we might explain the double account in this way: as the meaning of *μοῖρα* was enlarged the *Μοῖραι* became more than goddesses of death, and were regarded as goddesses of destiny in general, supposing they were not this originally; then a more reflective age became aware that such functions might clash with the power of Zeus, and therefore they are affiliated to him as Dike was; since to say they were his daughters was equivalent to saying that they were his ministers, emanations, or powers.

But the sense of the possible conflict between Zeus and Destiny increased as abstract speculation on the nature of things advanced. It was probably through philosophy—perhaps the early physical Ionic philosophy—that the idea of an overruling necessity became prevalent; for we find *ἐμπαρμένη* among the conceptions of Heraclitus, and the chorus of Euripides' *Alceſtis* confess that it was philosophical studies which taught them that there was nothing stronger in the world than Destiny or *ἀνάγκη*. At any rate, the idea grew in force and did not remain academic merely, but played a prominent part in the greatest drama of the religious mythology, the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus. His hero is supported by the knowledge that there is a greater power than that of Zeus^a: 'Fate the all-fulfiller has otherwise decreed the end of these things. Who then holds the helm of necessity? The triple Fates and the mindful Erinyes.' It may however be said that this is the view of the opponent of Zeus, and that the knot is loosened by the reconciliation of Zeus with the *Μοῖρα*; but the difficulty remains that the supremacy of Zeus has certainly been represented as in danger^b. And there seems to be the same questioning of the divine omnipotence latent in the obscure passage in the chorus of *Agamemnon*,

^a *Prom. Vinct.* 511, 515.

^b Dronke, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen des Aeschylos und Sophocles* (*Jahrbuch für Philologie*, 1861, No. 1), supposes Prometheus to belong to the older system of *Μοῖρα* and *Ἐρινύες*, against

which Zeus is bound to contend at first. But he rather evades the difficulty about the real peril of Zeus. In fact, Aeschylus was under the dramatic necessity of the myth, which does not wholly agree with the cult-form of Zeus *Μοιραγέτης*.

εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν εἶργε μὴ πλέον φέρειω^a, which appears to speak of a higher power that overbears the Θεόθεν Μοῖρα, or the will of heaven; a doctrine which might be discovered also in the saying of Herodotus, 'it is impossible even for a god to escape the destined fate,' which is perhaps, however, only a rhetorical phrase. Certainly it is not the usual theory of Aeschylus; in his view it is generally Zeus himself who maintains the order of the world, 'who by ancient law guides destiny aright^b.' It is Zeus himself who inspires Apollo with his oracles, the utterances of destiny^c, 'and in whose hands are the scales of fate^d.' Even in Euripides it is Zeus himself who is conjectured to be the νοῦς or the ἀνάγκη of the universe: 'Oh thou that stayest the earth and hast thy firm throne thereon, whoso'er thou art that bafflest man's knowledge, whether thou art Zeus, or the necessity of nature, or the mind of man, to thee I raise my voice^e.' In the ode to necessity in the *Alcestis* it is Zeus who accomplishes by the aid of necessity whatever he decrees; just as, in the verses quoted by Eusebius, the powers of the Fates are said to have been delegated to them by Zeus^f. And in the summary of Zeus' character at the end of the Aristotelian *De Mundo*, Zeus is described as absorbing in himself εἰμαρμένη, or Destiny, as he absorbs every other agency. In the prayer of the Stoic Cleanthes, Zeus and Destiny are invoked as twin powers.

This then, on the whole, is the solution of the question put forward by Greek speculation, whether poetical or philosophical; the difficulty was always there for any one who chose to separate Zeus from Μοῖρα, and Lucian's humour in the *Zeus Tragoedus* fastens on the antinomy. Within the domain of cult the contradiction scarcely existed, for the Μοῖραι received but scant worship; the formula of Zeus Μοιραγέτης unconsciously expressed the deepest views of Greek philosophy, while as a principle of conduct the idea of fatalism scarcely existed for the ordinary Greek. The Stoic view had but little to do with the average belief, and the astrological aspect

^a *Agam.* 1026. ^b *Suppl.* 673.

^d *Suppl.* 822. ^e *Troad.* 884.

^b *Frag.* 82; cf. *Eum.* 618.

^f *Præf. Ev.* 6. 3, 5.

of destiny belongs mainly to the decadence of the Greek world.

At the close of the investigation into the cults and religion of Zeus, it is necessary to ask how far his supremacy and predominance introduces a principle of order or a monotheistic tendency into the Greek polytheism. The answer will vary according as we regard the cults or the literature. Confining our attention to the period of Hellenism proper, we find in the state religions and in the popular worship a singular extent of function assigned and a very manifold ethical character attached to Zeus. Some of his characteristics and epithets belonged to other divinities also, but he is prominently the guardian of the whole physical and moral world, the god who protects the life of the family, the clan, the city, and the nation, the god of retribution and forgiveness of sins, and his voice was the voice of fate. Yet all this as regards cult made in no way for monotheism, for Greek religious conservatism was timid, and was much more inclined to admit new deities than to supplant a single one. Besides, the minutiae of cult were designed to meet the minute wants of the daily life, and Zeus was not so much concerned with the small particulars as Hermes or Heracles; just as in many villages of Brittany or Italy the local saint is of most avail. Therefore there were more statues to Hermes and more dedications to Athene at Athens, to Asclepios at Epidaurus, than to Zeus. And it is difficult to mention a single Greek divinity whose worship perished before all perished at once. When Oriental ideas began to work upon the older beliefs, somewhat before and still more immediately after the conquests of Alexander, their influence is by no means monotheistic. Isis is introduced and fused with Hera and Artemis, Baal Serapis and even Jehovah with Zeus, Adonis and later Mithras with Dionysos and Sabazios; ideas become more indistinct, but no single idea of divinity clearly emerges. This theocrasia destroyed the life of religious sculpture and did nothing directly for monotheism, but a great deal for scepticism and the darkest superstitions.

On the other hand, within Greek cult proper in the purely

Hellenic periods, we have already noticed a strong impulse towards a certain organized unity. The most striking instance, which displays a germ of monotheism that had not vitality enough to develop itself, is the partial identity sometimes recognized between Zeus and the gods of the lower world and the sea, and again his occasional identification with Dionysos. The cult of a trinity of Zeus-figures seems to have been prevalent in Asia Minor at Troy, Mylasa, and Xanthos, and is presented to us on the Harpy tomb. It has been suggested^a that Semitic ideas have been fruitful here, but it is not necessary to assume this, for we can illustrate such *rapprochement* of divinities cognate to Zeus in other parts of Greece. And what Semitic trinity was there besides the Carthaginian? Again, the multiplicity of the Greek polytheism is modified by the tendency to group and classify divinities. We have the circle of the twelve Olympians¹⁵⁷, from which the merely local divine personages, and usually the deities of the lower world, were excluded. But the importance of this classification has been exaggerated. It is probably comparatively late, for Hesiod, the earliest theological systematizer, appears to have known no more of it than Homer knew. The first certain instances in cult are the dedication to the twelve gods at Salamis by Solon^{157a}, and the altar erected by the younger Pisistratus in the *áγopά* at Athens; and Welcker supposes that Athens, where it was far more prominent than elsewhere, was the centre from which the worship spread. This worship can scarcely be supposed to have expressed any esoteric idea of any complex unity of god-head corresponding to a unity observed in nature; probably it was suggested by the ritualistic convenience of grouping together the leading Hellenic cults. It is not found diffused widely over the Greek world, and at many of the places where it occurred—as for instance at Megara, Delos, Chalcis^b, on the Hellespont, and at Xanthos—we may ascribe something to

^a Vide an article by Paucker in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1851, p. 379.

^b Theocles, the leader of the Chalcidic troops in the joint attack of the

Megarians and Chalcidians on Leontini, vowed sacrifice to the twelve gods; this may point to the Megarian worship¹⁵⁷¹.

Attic influence. Nor had it much importance for Greek religious belief, since the circle failed to include Dionysos and the divinities of the lower world, who came to be the most prominent in the later period of Greek mystic worship.

Earlier and less artificial than this is the classification of divinities according to their affinities or local connexion. On the latter ground we find the Theban tutelary deities grouped together: the chorus in the *Septem contra Thebas* speak of a *συντέλεια* or *πανήγυρις* of gods, and they pray to a company of eight^a. In the *Supplices*, the Danaides pray at the common altar of the Argive gods, Zeus, Helios, Poseidon, and Apollo. In Homer we find Zeus, Athene, and Apollo frequently named together in adjurations; and in Athens the same trio were often mentioned, a fact upon which some strangely mystic theories have been built^b. At Athens there was a local reason for this connexion, and no other divinities were so important for Greek life and thought as these, who were specially called 'the guardians of the moral law.' In accordance with their affinities of character we frequently find Greek deities falling into groups of three or two; we have the three or two Fates, the three or two Graces, the three Erinyes, the two Dioscuri or Anakes, the group of Demeter Persephone and Iacchos, of Aphrodite Peitho and Eros, and others besides. Further than this we cannot claim unity for Greek polytheistic cult, which shows quite as much tendency to multiply as to combine forms.

But when we look at the religious literature, the answer is different. We have here to distinguish between the Zeus of legend and the Zeus as he appeared to the religious consciousness at serious moments. As Welcker^d has well expressed it, Zeus is not only a god among other gods, but also God solely and abstractedly. In Homeric use *Θεός* by itself is equivalent to Zeus^e. And the usage of

^a *Sept. c. Theb.* 220, 251.

^b *Il.* 2. 371; 4. 288; 7. 132; 16. 97; *Od.* 7. 311; 18. 235; 24. 376. *Dem. Meid.* 198; Plato, *Euthyd.* 302D.

^c Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 11. 8.

^d *Griech. Götterlehre*, I, p. 181.

^e For instance in *Il.* 13. 730; *Od.* 4. 236; 14. 444. In some passages it may be merely a form of grammar, though in these cases it may be said that the

the lyrical gnomic and dramatic poets allows us to say that, in their expressions of earnest and profound ethical and religious thought, their diction has a tone of monotheism, and Zeus and the abstract Θεός become synonyms.

We are not obliged to see in this any trace of a primitive monotheistic idea, as Welcker would; it may be a later development, due to increased power of abstract thought. And at most it amounts not to monotheism but 'henotheism'—if a very awkward term may be used to denote the exaltation of one figure in the polytheism till it overshadows without supplanting or abolishing the others.

Nevertheless, as we have noted already, there are a few passages in Greek philosophy and poetry that seem to assert the principle of monotheism. Usually, indeed, when the term Θεός or τὸ θεῖον occurs in the fragments of the pre-Socratic philosophers, it may be more naturally given an impersonal or pantheistic sense; and the words of Xenophanes, 'there is one God, greatest among gods and men,' savour more of 'henotheism' than monotheism^a. But the concluding chapters of the *De Mundo*, the Stoic theory described by Plutarch, the sentiment found among the γυνῶμαι of Philistion—'believe that a single providence of higher and lower things is God and reverence him with all thy strength'^b—show the monotheistic idea.

However, the doctrine never affected the popular religion, which went a different path from that followed by the poets and philosophers. While these maintained that no images or sense-forms could express the true nature of the divinity, they only could have succeeded at most in infusing more spirituality into the people's worship. The sacrifices and images rather increased than diminished, and in spite of Xenophanes' protest against anthropomorphism, the Zeus Olympius of Pheidias, the masterpiece of Greek religious art, appeared to the whole Greek world as the full and triumphant realization of the divine idea in forms of sense.

language itself is helping monotheistic thought.

^a Clem. *Strom.* 5. 714 P.

^b Mein. *Frag.* 4. 336, No. 16.

There is no inner reform traceable in Hellenic religion after the fifth century. The great change came from the pressure of alien cults, Semitic and Egyptian. In the witty narrative of Lucian¹⁵⁸ Zeus pathetically complains that men neglect his worship, have deserted Dodona and Pisa, and have turned to the Thracian Bendis, the Egyptian Anubis, and the Ephesian Artemis.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

THE RITUAL OF THE ZEUS-SACRIFICE.

THE strange rites of the Diipolia, which have been briefly described in the text (p. 56), were regarded by Porphyry, who follows Theophrastus, as a mystic allusion to the guilty institution of a bloody sacrifice and to the falling away of mankind from a pristine state of innocence, when animal life was sacred and when the offerings to the gods were harmless cereal or vegetable oblations^{107 c}. It is the explanation of a vegetarian defending a thesis. We do indeed find in the ritual of Zeus, as of other divinities^a, an occasional distinction between the bloodless offerings and the sacrifice which shed the blood of a victim. For instance, nothing but cakes, and not even wine, was allowed on the altar of Zeus Ἰπτατος on the Acropolis; and Pausanias (1. 26, 5) contrasts this with the dark and cruel rites in the worship of Zeus Lycaeus, just as he contrasts the worship of the Καθαροὶ θεοί, 'the pure gods,' on the crest of the hill by Pallantium. The νηφάλια, the 'wineless' sacrifices, were perhaps 'innocent' in the sense of excluding the animal victim, for they are identified by Plutarch with μελίσπονδα or libations of honey (*Symp. Quaest.* 4. 6, 2); and these were offered to Zeus Γεωργός, the agricultural god, Poseidon, the Winds, Mnemosyne, the Muses, Eos, Helios, and Selene, the Nymphs, and Aphrodite Ourania, and even to Dionysos^b. It is clear that this kind of sacrifice was not specially associated with the oldest period of the religion, for Dionysos and Aphrodite

^a For instance, in the worship of Apollo, whose ritual in Delos was performed without blood and without fire.

Diog. Laert. 8. 13.

^b *Schol. Oed. Col.* 100; Paus. 6. 20, 2; *Marm. Oxon* (Roberts), 21.

Ourania are not the divinities of the primitive Greek. In Hellenic as in Semitic religions we have to recognize the distinction, which Prof. Robertson Smith was the first to emphasize, between the offering of the first-fruits of the harvest, which the worshippers laid upon the altar as a mere tribute, and the sacrifice at which, by means of a common sacramental meal, the whole tribe were brought into communion with their god (*Religion of the Semites*, pp. 218-227). The reasons he mentions are cogent for believing that the latter is the earlier of the two forms; we might believe this solely on the ground that the agricultural period was later than the nomadic. The erroneous supposition of Theophrastus was due partly to the vague popular conception of a golden age in which man was nourished by the spontaneous fruits of the earth and shed no blood, partly to the curious features that marked the ritual of some of the animal sacrifices, the lamentation, and the acknowledgement of guilt. It is only recently that some light has been thrown upon the ideas underlying this religious drama. In Mommsen's *Heortologie*, only a very superficial account of the *βοιφόνια* is given; he regards it as a threshing-festival for reasons that are by no means convincing. It fell indeed about the end of the Attic harvest, about the beginning of July, and may certainly be regarded as some kind of harvest-commemoration recognizing Zeus as a deity of tillage. But this does not explain the strangeness of the ritual. So far as I am aware the only serious attempts to interpret the *βοιφόνια* in accordance with ideas known to prevail in early periods of human society have been made by Mannhardt, Prof. Robertson Smith, and Mr. Frazer. In his essay on 'Sacrifice' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in his *Religion of the Semites* (p. 288), Prof. Robertson Smith suggests that we have to reckon with the survival of early totemistic ideas in that mysterious sacrifice on the Acropolis. An essential feature of totemism is that the society claims kindred with an animal-god or a sacrosanct animal, from whose flesh they habitually abstain, but which on solemn occasions they may devour sacramentally in order to strengthen the tie of kinship

between them and the divinity or the divine life. Now this writer lays stress on the appellative *βουφόνος*, the 'murderer of the ox,' on the sense of guilt that rested on the slayers, on the exile of the priest who dealt the blow, and on the legend that connects the rite with the admission of a stranger into the tribal community, and draws the conclusion that the ox is so treated because he is regarded as a divine animal akin to the clan. Mr. Frazer's view in his admirable treatise, *The Golden Bough* (vol. 2, pp. 38-41), is somewhat different; he regards the ox as the representative of the corn-spirit^a, whose flesh is eaten sacramentally, and who is killed at the end of the harvest that he may rise again with fresher powers of production. But this explanation of the Bouphonia appears not quite so satisfactory as the former, though it may well be applied to certain details of the rite. Mr. Frazer has collected evidence showing that the ox has been regarded by some primitive people, and even now is so regarded in certain districts of China, as the representative of the deity of vegetation (vol. 2, pp. 22, 23, 41, 42), and he quotes on p. 42 the Chinese practice of forming an effigy of the ox and stuffing it full of grain, which may appear to illustrate the Athenian pretence of making a live ox out of the skin of the slain one stuffed with hay or grass. Instances also are given of the habit of mourning for the victim that has been slain with rites that seem to point to the worship of the deity of vegetation. And Mr. Frazer adduces other reasons than those natural to totemism that may explain why a primitive tribe may regard an animal in some way as divine, and may endeavour to conciliate it and make all possible reparation to it for taking its life; this may be due, for instance, to a desire to avoid a blood-feud with the animal's kindred (vol. 2, pp. 113, 114); and from the same feeling the slayer may try to persuade his victim that it was not he who slew him, but some one else. 'It was the Russians who killed you,' the Ostiaks are reported to say to the slain bear; 'it was a Russian axe, or Russian knife,' &c. (vol. 2, p. 111). In fact, totemism itself, the belief in an animal-ancestor of the clan or of the tribal kinship with

^a This view was first expressed by Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 68.

a certain sacred animal, is only a special form of the larger fallacy peculiar to the savage mind of regarding animals as moved by the same feelings and thoughts as mankind. We are then at liberty to assume totemism as a *vera causa* either in the present or the past, not whenever any kind of veneration is paid to the slaughtered or sacrificed animal, but only when we can detect some belief, latent or expressed, that the animal is in some way akin to the tribe. Now some such belief seems naturally implied in the ritual of the Bouphonia. Mr. Frazer's theory does not sufficiently explain why the slaying of the ox should awaken such a profound sense of guilt, as does not elsewhere seem to have been aroused by the slaying of the corn-spirit, when we examine the mass of evidence which he has collected; nor why the priest should be obliged to flee into temporary exile. On the other hand, the theory that we have here a survival of totemism would throw clearer light on these dark passages of ritual; if the ox were of the same kindred as the worshipper, those who sacrificed him would feel as much sense of guilt as if kindred blood had been shed, and the same necessity that drove the slayer of a kinsman into exile would lie upon the *βουφόνος*. And this theory is confirmed by the legend that the admission of Sopatros into citizenship depended on his eating the flesh of the ox at a sacramental meal with the rest of the citizens, whereby he became of one flesh with them; it is further confirmed by the existence of the Boutadae, the ox-clan, at Athens, whose mythic ancestor was *Βούτης*, a name that was given also to the officiating priest of the Diipolia. This theory of the origin of the rite might be reconciled with Mr. Frazer's, if we suppose that in this case the deity of vegetation, personified as the ox, has been taken as their totem by the agricultural tribe; it is clear at any rate that in this worship, as in other Attic cults, Zeus has an agricultural character. Both the above-mentioned writers have collected ample evidence proving the primitive custom of killing the god in the form of a divine animal, and the sacramental eating of his flesh. But Mr. Frazer considers that totemism is not proved to have existed among the Aryan tribes, and that the assump-

tion that the ox is really the vegetation spirit gives us a *verior causa* (loc. cit. vol. 2, p. 38). Looking at the Greeks only, we must certainly admit that, if their society was ever based on totemism, they had fortunately left this system very far behind them at the dawn of their history; and we may admit that descent through the female, a fact that is usually found with totemism, cannot be proved to have existed at any time in any Greek community, though certain legends may lead us to suspect its existence. But an institution that has long passed out of actual life may still cast a shadow from a very remote past upon legend and practices of cult. And where we find indication that the animal that is venerated and occasionally sacrificed is regarded as akin to the worshipper, the survival of totemism here is the only hypothesis that seems to provide a reasonable key to the puzzle. A curious parallel to the Diipolia, as explained by Prof. Robertson Smith, might be found in the sacrifices to the Syrian goddess which are described by the pseudo-Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, c. 58). The worshippers sacrificed animals by throwing them headlong from the top of the Propylaea of her temple, and occasionally they threw down their own children, 'calling them oxen.' We are reminded of that curious story which will be noticed in a later chapter about the sacrificer in the Brauronian worship of Artemis, who offered up a goat 'calling it his own daughter.' The same explanation may reasonably be offered for the strange ritual of Zeus Lycaeus, the wolf-god of the wolf-clan of the Lycaonids, of whose legend and worship human sacrifice and 'lycanthropy,' or the transformation of men into wolves, are prominent features; and with the cult-legend of the Lycaonids Jahn has rightly compared the story about the origin of the worship of Zeus Lycoreios on Parnassus, which was founded by Deucalion, who landed here after the Flood and was escorted by wolves to the summit, where he built the city Lycoreia and the temple of Zeus^a.

But whether the ultimate explanation must be sought in

^a O. Jahn, *Ber. d. Sächs. Gesells. d. Wiss.* 1847, p. 423. His view that the wolf symbolizes the exile may be true of

Norse legend, but cannot be proved true of Greek.

totemism or in some other primitive fact, indubitable traces remain in the ritual of Zeus, as of other Hellenic divinities, of the 'theanthropic' animal, if this term invented by Prof. Robertson Smith may be used to denote the semi-divine semi-human animal of sacrifice. To the examples already given we may add one from Crete; the local legend of Mount Dicte spoke of the sow which nourished the infant Zeus and was held in especial sanctity by the Praisii¹¹.

The fairly numerous ritual-stories in Greece about the substitution of the animal for the human victim may well have arisen from the deceptive appearance of many sacrifices where the animal offered was treated as human and sometimes invested with human attributes. In a later chapter I have suggested this as an explanation for the sacrifice to Artemis-Iphigenia; it may apply also to the Laconian legend preserved by Plutarch (*Parallela*, 35), that Helen was led to the altar to be sacrificed in order to stay a plague, when an eagle swooped down and snatched the knife from the hand of the priest and let it fall upon a kid that was pasturing near the altar. As the eagle is the bird of Zeus, the myth testifies to the feeling that Zeus himself desired the milder offering in place of the human life. There is no doubt that the human offering was at certain times actually found in the Hellenic cults of Zeus; but it was probably not the primitive fact^a, but a development from the sacrifice of the theanthropic animal, when this latter was misunderstood, and the idea arose that the human victim was what the god really desired and must be given in times of peril and disaster. We are told, for instance, by Clemens (754 P.) that the *μάγοι* of Cleona averted hail and snow by animal offerings, probably to Zeus, but if a victim were wanting they began the sacrifice with shedding their own blood.

The strange legend of Athamas and Zeus Laphystius, recorded by Herodotus and others, well illustrates the double view of human sacrifice and the confusion between the human and the animal offering. There are many apparent

^a I see the same suggestion has been made in Mr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vol. 1, p. 329; cf. also Prof. Robertson Smith, loc. cit. p. 346.

contradictions and some alien elements in the story; a few essential and salient points may be noted here^a. The eldest representative of Athamantid family must at certain times be offered to Zeus Laphystius; and the legends preserve the record that not only Phrixus, but Athamas himself, was brought to the altar. The family, that is, has a royal and sacred character; and the practice of periodically slaying the god in the person of his human representative has been amply illustrated by Mr. Frazer. The next point of importance is that both father and son are rescued by the ram, a semi-divine animal endowed with human voice and miraculous power, and the ram itself is sacrificed to Zeus Φύξιος. But the people of Halus in the time of Herodotus still maintained that the god was angry at missing his human prey, and that therefore this curse was laid on the descendants of the son of Phrixus, that each should be liable to sacrifice if he entered the prytaneum. The confusion in Herodotus' account is too great to allow us to say positively whether the human sacrifice was actually carried out in his time or not; but Plato's statement in the *Minos* (315 C.) seems to point to the reality of it. The opposite view about the righteousness of the sacrifice is presented by the legend in Pausanias, that Zeus himself sent the ram as a substitute, just as Jehovah stayed the sacrifice of Isaac. And Herodotus himself, at the beginning of his account, seems to imply that the members of this family were under a curse because Athamas sinned in wishing to sacrifice his first-born; but the historian is not responsible for the contradiction, which was probably rooted in the popular thought. We can detect in the legends the feeling that the human victim or the divine animal is due to the god, and also the feeling that the deity himself sanctioned the more merciful rite.

In the Diipolia, as in the Laphystius cult, we see that the ideas of human and animal sacrifice are blended; and we can discover in both an allusion to the divinity of the field or the pasture. For each legend represents the sacrifice as a means

^a Vide ²⁵ and ⁶⁸, and Apollod. I. 9.

of averting dearth, and the ram would naturally be the sacred animal of a pastoral tribe. The importance of the ram in the Zeus-ritual is attested not only by the legend of Athamas, but by the religious significance of the Διὸς κώδιον, 'the fleece of God,' which was spread under the feet of those who were being purified in the scirophoria at Athens¹³⁸. We may believe that this use of it was dictated by the feeling that this contact with the sacred animal helped to restore those who had incurred pollution to the favour of the god. Somewhat similar was the custom of which we have record in the worship of Zeus on Mount Pelion, to whose altar, in time of excessive heat and drought, chosen youths ascended clad in the fresh skins of rams, probably to pray for rain^{83b}.

It has been maintained by Overbeck, following Parthey^a, that even the figure of Zeus Ammon, the ram-god, was native Hellenic, and not derived from Egypt. But this theory was based chiefly on a mistake about the monumental evidence from Egypt; it was supposed that the Egyptian god Amoun was never represented with ram's horns or head. But Lepsius has shown that he was so represented on many monuments, and it is certain that the worship of the Egyptian ram-god of this name spread to the Libyan oasis of Siwa, and was thence adopted by the Greek colony of Cyrene towards the end of the seventh century, and travelled from Cyrene into Greece, at first only to Thebes and the coast of Laconia. The type of the god with ram's horns would never have appeared in Greek art of the fifth century, as it did, except through the influence of Egypt; the Hellenic sculptors of this age could never have represented their own native supreme god with any touch of theriomorphic character. But the type would seem the more natural, especially in Thebes and North Greece, because of the long-recognized sacred association of the animal and the god.

The ram and the bull were the chief sacrificial victims, and

^a Vide Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, 1, p. 273; Parthey, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1862, 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon'; Lepsius, *Zeitschrift für*

Aegypt. Sprache, 1877, p. 8; 'Ammon' in Roscher's *Lexikon* by E. Meyer, *Ephem. Arch.* 1893, pp. 178-191.

more than others bore a sacred character in the ritual of Zeus. But in certain cults the goat also may have possessed something of the same significance. The title *αἰγοφάγος*, 'the goat-eater,' is found among the titles of Zeus⁴⁸, though we do not know the locality of the cult in which the name was in vogue; on the analogy of similar appellatives, we can certainly conclude that the name was derived from actual cult, from some sacrificial ceremony in which the god was supposed to partake of the flesh of one of his favourite animals. The goat was sacrificed at Halicarnassus to Zeus Ascreus, and the record of the ritual recalls in one point the account of the Diipolia; the animal that approached the altar was chosen for sacrifice^{42a}. The other evidence for the sacred character of the goat in the Zeus-ritual is mainly indirect; we cannot lay stress on the part played by this animal in the story of the god's birth, for this is a Cretan legend, in which Zeus and Dionysos are probably confused. The goat appears on the coins of the Phrygian Laodicea, and is there considered to be an emblem of Zeus *Ἄσκεις*^a; but this is probably a Graeco-Syrian divinity. Apart from the evidence supplied by the cult-term *αἰγοφάγος*, the question whether the goat stood ever in the same relation as the ox and the ram to the god and his worshippers depends on the view that is taken of the aegis. The term *αἰγίοχος* does not seem to have been in vogue in later Greek religion as an actual cult-title, but its prevalence in the Homeric poetry might lead us to suppose that once this significance had belonged to it. But if Zeus was ever worshipped or habitually regarded as 'the holder of the aegis,' what was the aegis? According to Preller and Roscher, it is the storm-cloud fraught with lightning and thunder, which was imagined to be the weapon of Zeus, and which afterwards, perhaps by a false etymology, became misinterpreted as a goat-skin. A different explanation has been suggested by Prof. Robertson Smith in his article on 'Sacrifice,' namely, that the aegis on the breast of Athena is only the skin of the animal associated with her in worship. It is partly a question

^a Head, *Hist. Num.* 566.

of etymology. That the word and its compounds had a meteorological sense cannot be denied. Aeschylus uses it for the storm-wind in the Choepori (592), and we have the words *καταιγίς*, *καταίξις* and *καταιγίζεω* of the same meaning. On the other hand, we have clear proof that writers after Homer often used the term *αίγίς* in the sense of goat-skin. Herodotus tells us that the Libyans wore goat-skins (*αἴγαι*), and that the Greeks borrowed the aegis of Athena from Libya (4. 189); Euripides makes his Cyclops recline on a shaggy goat-skin (*δασυμάλλῳ ἐν αἰγίδι*, *Cycl.* 360); Diodorus declares that Zeus was called *αἰγίοχος* because he wore the skin of the goat that suckled him (5. 70); and the pseudo-Musaeus, quoted by Eratosthenes (*Catast.* 13, p. 102 R), also explains it as the skin of the goat Amalthea, which Zeus used as a battle-charm against the Titans, *διὰ τὸ ἄτρωτον αὐτῆς καὶ φοβερόν*. Again, we are told by Hesychius (*s. v.*), on the authority of Nymphodorus, that the word was used by the Laconians in the sense of a shield, and this use may be illustrated by the statement of Pausanias that the Arcadians occasionally wore the goat-skin for this purpose in battle; lastly, we have the title *μελάναιγίς* applied to Dionysos, and, as this god has much to do with goats and nothing at all with whirlwinds, it could only mean 'the wearer of the black goat-skin,' and it is so explained by the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 146). It is important in judging of Roscher's interpretation to note that the word is never used for a cloud. Can we now suppose that of the two distinct meanings noted above, one is in some way derived from the other? Could a word originally denoting 'whirlwind' come by any logical development of idea to mean a goat-skin? It is difficult to say this. Or did the word which first meant goat-skin come to be used for a whirlwind? One cannot see why it should; large waves were called goats (*αἴγες*), according to Artemidorus (2. 12), but that suggests no reason why whirlwinds should be called goat-skins. Possibly the two meanings really belong to two entirely distinct words. What seems clear is that in the post-Homeric period the sense 'goat-skin' predominates over the other. It remains to examine the significance of the aegis in Homer,

who is our earliest authority and who sometimes describes it minutely. There is nothing in the Homeric passages to show that the word connoted any meteorological or other elemental phenomena. The aegis, in his poetry, belongs especially to Zeus, but also to Athena; Apollo wields it only as the vicegerent of Zeus. In Book 2. 446, Athena stirs up the Achaeans, 'bearing the revered aegis, the deathless and immortal, wherefrom a hundred all-golden tassels wave, all well woven (or well twisted, *ἔϋπλεκέες*), each worth in price a hundred oxen.' In Book 4. 166, Agamemnon prophesies that Zeus will 'shake the dark aegis against the whole city of Troy, wroth at their perjury.' Again, in Book 5. 738, it is described as part of the accoutrement of Athena: 'she cast about her shoulders the tasselled aegis, the thing of terror that is set all about with Fear, and wherein is Strife, and the might of Battle, and chill Pursuit, and the Gorgon's head, . . . the sacred sign of Zeus the Aegis-holder.' When Apollo bears it against the Achaeans, it is described (14. 309) as 'shaggy all about,' and as wrought by the smith-god, Hephaestus, for Zeus to wield for the fear of men; when he shakes it in the face of the Danaï, their hearts fail within them, as the hearts of the suitors sank in the hall of Odysseus, when in the midst of the fight Athena held up on high the sign of the man-destroying aegis. It serves as a covering for the body of Hector, which Apollo wraps in the aegis, that must be here regarded as some soft substance, to protect it from laceration when Achilles drags it about. Lastly, in the theomachia (21. 400), Ares hurls his spear against the aegis on Athena's breast, 'the dread aegis against which not even the thunderbolt of Zeus can prevail,' a poetical expression for its invincibility. Evidently there is not the most distant allusion in all this to atmospheric phenomena, whirlwind, cloud, or lightning. The aegis is something that can be put round the body as a shield or breastplate, and something in which things could be wrapped; it is shaggy and has metal ornament—golden tassels for instance; above all, it is a most potent and divine battle-charm, which strikes terror into the enemy. It is not in Homer a symbol for the whirlwind, nor can we

imagine how such a thing as Homer describes ever could have been a symbol for it. There are only two passages in Homer where it is mentioned in any connexion with storm or cloud, and in neither of these is the connexion essential at all. In Book 17. 593, Zeus is said to take the tasselled gleaming aegis, and to cover Ida in clouds, 'and having lightened, he thundered mightily, and shook the aegis, and gave victory to the Trojans and put fear in the Achaeans.' But the aegis is not said to cause the cloud or the thunder; it is only used here as elsewhere as a battle-charm to inspire terror. In Book 18. 204-206, it is said that Athena, when Achilles was going unarmed to the trenches, 'cast around his mighty shoulders the tasselled aegis. And about his head she set a golden cloud, and kindled gleaming fire therefrom.' The aegis on his unarmed breast is evidently a battle-charm; it is entirely distinct from the golden cloud about his head. It would be an appropriate sense for all the Homeric passages if we understood it as a magic goat-skin, endowed with miraculous properties, especially powerful to inspire terror and to protect the wearer in battle; but occasionally wielded by Zeus when he wished to cause thunder or to gather clouds, just as Poseidon might take his trident when he wished to cause an earthquake. Now there is no reason why the aegis of Zeus should be different from the aegis of Athena, and the latter divinity has nothing especially to do with storm and lightning, but is pre-eminently a battle-goddess. Her aegis is represented usually as a shaggy fell; the fringe of serpents is added by the early artists to intensify its terrifying character, just as snakes were sometimes the badge on the warrior's shield: they could not possibly have been added as the symbol of storm, in any case an inappropriate symbol for this goddess; for the aegis as described by Homer has no serpents; and if the post-Homeric artist attached them to it for the purpose that Roscher (*s. v. Aegis, Ausführliches Lexikon*) supposes, namely to symbolize the lightning, we must then say that the vase-painter mysteriously rediscovered a meteorological symbolism in the aegis of which Homer was ignorant, and which, if once there, had died out before the Homeric period.

There is every reason to suppose that the goat-skin had a ritualistic and not a meteorological significance. In certain cults in Greece, the goat possessed the mysterious and sacred character of a 'theanthropic' animal, akin to the divinity and the worshipper; namely, in the worship of Dionysos, 'the god of the dark goat-skin,' and of the Brauronian Artemis, to whom a mythical Athenian offered a goat, 'calling it his daughter' (Eustath. *II* p. 331, 26). The goat had a sacred and tabooed character in the worship of Athena on the Acropolis, and once a year was solemnly offered her (Varro, *De Agricult.* 1. 2, 19). It would be quite in accord with the ideas of a primitive period, when the divinity and the worshipper and the victim were all closely akin, that Athena should be clothed in the skin of her sacred animal, and that in this, as in many other cases which Mr. Frazer has noted in his recent book, the sacrificial skin should possess a value as a magical charm. Being used in the ritual of the war-goddess, it was natural that it should come to be of special potency in battle; but the skin of the sacred animal of the tribe ought also to have a life-giving power as well, and it is interesting to find that the aegis in an Athenian ceremony possessed this character also, being solemnly carried round the city at certain times to protect it from plague or other evil, and being taken by the priestess to the houses of newly married women, probably to procure offspring. The last practice is strikingly analogous to the use of the goat-skin of Juno in the Roman Lupercalia, where it was employed for the purification of women (Serv. *Aen.* 8. 343). Now this usage at Athens must certainly be pre-Homeric, for in recent times the close association of Athena with the goat had faded away. But if there is this evidence pointing to the belief that Athena acquired the aegis from some ritual, in which the sacred goat was sacrificed to her, it is a reasonable hypothesis that Zeus, who is once called 'the devourer of goats'^{42a}, acquired it from the same source. As his worshippers advanced, they tended to associate him with the more civilized animals; but we can best explain the facts examined on the supposition that in his ritual, as in Athena's, the goat was a sacred animal, and that therefore its

skin was a badge of his power, but that as the goat-ritual died out, the aegis in the hands of the supreme god became a magical charm, an emblem of terror, of which the true meaning was concealed by much poetical and artistic embellishment, but was never entirely lost.

Down to the close of Greek religion, the animal-sacrifices were the chief part of the ritual of Zeus, and there was no reform in the direction that Theophrastus desired. The god remained a devourer of entrails (*σπλαγχνότομος*), a feaster (*εἰλαπιναστής*), as he was termed in Cyprus, who delighted in the blood of bulls and rams (Athenae. 174 D)^a. It is true that the bloodless sacrifice, the offerings of corn and fruits which were occasionally made to him, appeared to certain minds to be the purer ritual; the prayer contained in a fragment of Euripides, where appeal is made to Zeus and Hades as to one god, is proffered with a sacrifice which the poet feels to be the more acceptable—‘the sacrifice without fire of all the fruits of the earth poured forth in abundance on the altar.’ It is true also that among the Greek as among the Hebrew people the higher natures came to take a deeper and more spiritual view about sacrifice than that which was presented by the state-ritual; in the Pythagorean philosophy, as elsewhere in Greek literature, we come upon the advanced reflection that righteousness was the best sacrifice, that the poor man’s slight offering, ‘the widow’s mite,’ availed more with the deity than hecatombs of oxen. But though these ideas may have penetrated the minds of some of the worshippers, the ritual remained unchanged till the end of paganism, even human sacrifices continuing in vogue in certain parts of the Roman empire, according to Porphyry (*De Abstin.* 2. 54–57), till the time of Hadrian. The Greek was more conservative in ritual than in any other part of his life, feeling, as Lysias felt, that ‘it was worth while to continue making the same sacrifice to the gods, if for no other reason, still for the sake of luck’ (*Κατὰ Νικομαχ.* R. 854).

^a Cf. *Ἐκατομβαῖος*, Hesych. s. v. : Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ, καὶ παρὰ Καρσί καὶ Βρησί.

CHAPTER V.

THE CULT-MONUMENTS OF ZEUS.

THE oldest worship of Zeus, as of all other Greek divinities, was without an image, and remained so on Mount Lycaeum and probably elsewhere for a longer time than the other cults. In Homer we have an explicit reference to an idol of Athene and an allusion to one of Apollo, but no hint that he ever knew of an image of Zeus. And the most archaic statues that have come down to us are representations of Artemis and perhaps Apollo, but not of the Supreme God. The reason why the most primitive religion, both of Greece and Rome, was destitute of images, was, of course, want of imagination and helplessness of hand rather than the piety that Clemens claims for the Pelasgians; but obviously this would not explain why, when the iconic age had begun, the cult of Zeus was later in admitting the iconic form than the other divinities. We may allow that the cause here lay in a certain religious reserve.

For a long period he was worshipped on the mountain tops with altar and sacrifice only; in the next stage, or during the same period, certain aniconic objects were consecrated to him. The strangest of these was the stone which Pausanias saw near Gythium in Laconia, upon which Orestes had sat and had been healed of his madness, 'and which had been called Zeus the stayer in the Dorian tongue^a.' We may suppose that this was a meteoric stone which had become invested with magical and medicinal qualities, but its title is remarkable; the significance of the worship of Zeus *Κεραυ-*

^a See above, p. 46.

vós in Arcadia has been noticed, in which the god seemed altogether identified with the phenomenon; the same identification appears in this local legend of Laconia, only that the level of the religious thought is here still lower as the stone is a more palpable and material thing than the lightning. Now there is a very great difference for religious thought between the consecration of the stone to Zeus and its identification with him, but in language the difference would be only as between a nominative and genitive. And Pausanias may have made this slight mistake in recording the local term. But he is not usually careless in giving the popular designations of monuments, and accepting his account of it we may regard this stone, which probably exists still, as the oldest monument of Zeus-worship.

There is less difficulty about his statement that the *ἄγαλμα* of Zeus *Μειλίχιος* was wrought in the form of a pyramid at Sicyon, standing near to a pillar-shaped Artemis¹³⁸ ^b. We must suppose that the pyramid was worshipped not as the god but rather as the emblem of the god; and in the same way we may interpret the pillar that stands in the middle of the scene on the vase of Ruvo, where Oinomaos and Pelops are taking the oath, the column of which is inscribed with the word ΔΙΘΣ^a. A religious monument of the same class is the conical stone that appears on coins of Seleucia, with the inscription Zeus *Κάσιος*^b.

When we consider the earliest human representations of Zeus, and enquire how far they express the various physical and moral conceptions that we have found in the oldest cults, we find that the earlier religious art, in dealing with the divine forms, had very little power of moral or spiritual expression. It was long before it could imprint ethical and personal character or any inner life on the features; and the symbols that it employs are usually of physical meaning, such as the crown of flowers, or vine-leaves, or the thunderbolt, or are mere personal badges, such as the bow of Apollo or Artemis, or the trident of Poseidon. It could, and did, help

^a Plate I a.

^b Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 661.

itself out by means of inscriptions: but not till a later period could it become an adequate vehicle of expression for the manifold religious thought that was embodied in the literature and legends and cults. The monuments of the earlier period could only illustrate part of the religion that has been described. The physical supremacy of Zeus in the three realms was quaintly expressed by that ancient ξόανον of the three-eyed Zeus, the ἀνάθημα on the citadel of Argos that was said to have been brought from Troy⁶⁴, if we accept the explanation of Pausanias that this was the sky-Zeus united with the Ζεὺς Καταχθόνιος whom Homer mentions and the Zeus Ἐνάλιος to whom Aeschylus refers, and we may accept it until a more probable can be found^a. The legend concerning the origin of the Trojan image would accord with the fact mentioned already of the prevalence of this conception of a triple Zeus in Asia Minor. The clearest illustration of the same idea in more mature art is given by a vase from Chiusi which displays three forms of Zeus, all carrying the lightning, and one the trident^b. Such a representation is exceedingly rare among genuinely Hellenic monuments; for we cannot include among these the representations of Zeus Osogos, the

^a Dr. Mayer in his *Die Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 111-114, considers that this three-eyed idol could not possibly be Zeus, but must originally have been some Titanic nature-power allied to Cyclops. He thinks the symbolism too monstrous for Zeus, and wonders why the artist did not represent him with the lightning or eagle, trident or Cerberos, if he intended his figure for the triple Zeus, as Pausanias supposed. His arguments do not seem to me conclusive; it is hard to say it was a very unnatural symbolism in the very primitive period to represent the being who saw in three worlds as a three-eyed person; and I do not see what more natural meaning Dr. Mayer finds in them if the three eyes really belonged to a Cyclops; and a three-eyed Cyclops is after all a very doubtful person. The primitive sculptor might have put a tri-

dent and the lightning into the hands of this ξόανον, if he had been able to open the hands and part the fingers at all; but in the very earliest xoana the hands are clenched at the side and the fingers are not yet parted. But what this figure was originally does not concern us here. It is clear that long before Pausanias the people had interpreted the idol as Zeus and had associated it with the legend of Priam; regarding it as Zeus, they may well have explained the three eyes as Pausanias did, for this triple character of Zeus was recognized in prevalent popular cults. Therefore there is some ground for still quoting the xoanon as a monument illustrative of that character of the god.

^b Pl. I b: cf. gems published by Overbeck, *Kunst-Myth.*, Gemmentaf. 3, nos. 7, 8, p. 259.

a



b



c



Zeus-Poseidon of Caria, who is found on a coin of Mylasa, of the period of Septimius Severus, holding the trident with a crab by his feet^a. But the chthonian Zeus undoubtedly appeared in the group of Zeus-Hades of Athene Itonia at Coronea,—which Pausanias and Strabo⁶⁵ both mention, the one naming the god Zeus, the other Hades^b. And we have a small statuette in the British Museum which shows the god in his double character with Cerberos on the one side of his throne and the eagle on the other (Pl. I c). And through all the periods of Greek art this affinity is expressed in the close resemblance which the type of Zeus bears to that of Hades, the distinct character of the latter being marked by the more gloomy countenance and the more sombre arrangement of hair^c.

It is obvious that many of the functions of Zeus in the physical world, which were commemorated in many of the cults, could not be easily expressed with clearness in the monuments. What, for instance, could have been the representation in the archaic period of Zeus 'Υέτιος? Even in the later period, when a far greater power of natural symbolism had been gained, we find only one or two monuments that can be regarded as a representation of the rain-god; namely, a head of Zeus in the Berlin Museum^d, wearing an oak-crown and with matted hair, as if dripping with water, which Overbeck, following Braun, interprets with good reason as a head of Zeus Dodonaeus, or more specially of Zeus Naios: and again, the type of Zeus on certain Ephesian coins of Antoninus Pius, that represent him enthroned near a grove of cypress-trees, with a temple below him, while rain-drops are seen descending from him upon a recumbent mountain-god below^e. Such a theme was obviously better adapted to painting or to relief-work than to sculpture. Of all his physical attributes none so frequently appear in the monuments as

^a Head, *Hist. Num.* 529; Overb. loc. cit., p. 269.

^b For a probable reproduction of this group see *Athena-Monuments*, p. 328.

^c The cult and monuments of Zeus

Serapis are more conveniently studied in connexion with the divinities of the lower world.

^d Overb. *Kunst-Myth.* I, p. 233.

^e *D. A. K.* 2. no. 14; Overb. *Kunst-Myth.* I, p. 226, Münztaf. 3. 22.

those of the thunderer. The thunderbolt appears in the oldest vase-paintings, and was probably his most common emblem in very early sculpture: for although Pausanias does not mention it in his record of the most archaic Zeus-statues^a, his silence is inconclusive, for the symbol was so common that it did not always claim special mention; and the oldest art stood in the greatest need of so obvious a proof of personality. A very early bronze, found at Olympia^b, presents a type of Zeus *Κεραύνιος* striding forward and hurling the bolt which must have been widely prevalent, as it appears on an archaistic coin of Messene and is found in a large series of coins of other cities^c. The thunderbolt itself seems to have been worshipped as an emblem of Zeus at Seleucia near Antioch, for we find it represented by itself on a throne on the coins of this city^d; and coins of Cyrrhus preserve the figure and inscription of Zeus *Καραβάρης*, seated on a rock holding the lightning with his eagle at his feet^e. In the peaceful assemblages or processions of the gods—a common theme of ancient vase-painting—in scenes such as the birth of Athene, the apotheosis of Heracles, as well as in such dramatic and violent subjects of archaic relief-work as the battle with the giants on the Megarian treasury, or the contest with Typhon on the gable of the Acropolis, the thunderbolt is the weapon and mark of Zeus. The other sign which has been supposed usually, though on insufficient ground, to indicate the thunderer, the aegis or goat-skin, appears on the arm of Zeus in the representations on the Pergamene frieze, where he is warring against the giants, but it is extremely rare in public monuments. The coins of Bactria show it, and late

^a The statue by Ascarus the Theban, at Olympia, which probably belonged to the late archaic period, held the thunderbolt in the right hand, Paus. 5. 24, 1.

^b Baumeister, *Denkm. Klass. Alterth.* p. 2134, fig. 2378.

^c Messene, Gardner-Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Com.* Pl. P 4, 5; Athens, B B 1; Megara, A 4; Corinth, E 90; Patrae, R 12; Aegium, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 348;

Cierium of Thessaly, Head, p. 249; Cyzicus, *Mus. Hunter.* 24, 16; Ambracia, Head, p. 270; Bruttium, *ib.* p. 78; Petelia, *ib.* p. 91; Acarnania, *ib.* p. 283; Aegina, *ib.* p. 334; Bactria, *ib.* 702; cf. Zeus standing with lowered thunderbolt on coins of Athens, Gardner, *Num. Com.* B B 2, 3; Corinth, *ib.* E 89; Sicyon, *ib.* H 10.

^d Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 661.

^e *ib.* p. 654.

coins of Alexandria^a, and a few statues and gems, of which the most famous is the cameo at Venice, on which the aegis on the breast and the oak-crown occur together. The meaning of this conjunction of attributes has been much debated. The oak-crown would seem to refer to Dodona, being the badge of Zeus on the coins of the Epirot kings. But what does the aegis mean? Is it here an ensign of war and victory of the Zeus *Ἄρειος* who was worshipped in Epirus, or, as Overbeck regards it, a sign of the fertilizing cloud? Either sense would agree with the local cults of Dodona and the Epirote country, in which Zeus *Ναῖος* and *Ζεὺς Ἄρειος* were indigenous. But the literary record fails to show that the aegis bore any direct reference to the cloud, and we ought not to assume that it had this meaning in the monuments. And those cult-names that express the warlike or victorious god—*Ἄρειος*, *στρατηγός*, or *τροπαῖος*, might be better applied to the aegis-bearing Zeus.

But even in the archaic monuments, whether it is his physical or his moral nature that is represented, the pacific and benign character prevails, and the reason is not far to seek^b. It was in the oldest and most primitive cults that the dark and sinister aspect of the worship was in strongest relief; but these on the whole remained without an image, and almost all the earlier representations of Zeus belong to the later archaic period, when gloomy and terrifying forms were beginning to be refined away. In the statues of this period at Olympia recorded by Pausanias we find two mentioned in which, though the thunderbolt was held in his hand, his head was crowned with lilies or other flowers^c. The more peaceful form of the god with the lowered thunderbolt is a type created in the archaic period and is found frequently among the later monuments^d. And in the later periods of

^a Bactrian coin of third century B.C., Head, op. cit. 702: the tassels hanging down show that the covering of Zeus' left arm is no ordinary chlamys. Alexandrian coin with inscription, *Ζεὺς Νέμειος*, and aegis on the left shoulder, Head, op. cit., p. 719; Overbeck, *Kunst-Myth.* 1, p. 218.

^b Overb. op. cit. 1 Gemmentaf. 3; cf. pp. 243-250.

^c Paus. 5. 22, 5; 5. 24, 1.

^d Vide note c, p. 106, and cf. statuette of Zeus in Vienna, Overbeck, *Kunst-Myth.* 1, p. 152, fig. 18; bronze statuette in Florence, *ib.* Pl. 17.

Greek art we can find monuments that express his benign influence in the physical world. The Hours and Graces, the powers of birth and fruitfulness, were carved on the throne of the Olympian Zeus; the form of Zeus *Καρποδόττης*, the giver of fruits, appears on a coin of Prymnesos, holding ears of corn^a; and on a coin of Aetna of the early part of the fifth century B. C., on which Zeus is represented enthroned and holding a thunderbolt, his right arm is resting on a vinestock, possibly with some reminiscence of some cult of Zeus as god of the vintage^b. On a coin of Halicarnassus^c of the imperial period we may see the figure of Zeus *Ἀσκραῖος*, of whose cult we have record there, in the strange type of the bearded divinity in long robes with a crown of rays about his head, who stands between two oak-trees.

Lastly, there are sundry coins that illustrate the worship of Zeus *Ἀκραῖος*, the god who dwells on the heights; the representation on the coin of Aetna is very similar to the coin-type of Gomphi^d of the third century B. C., where the rock on which he is enthroned may allude to his worship on Mount Pindus; and the inscription *Ζεὺς Ἀκραῖος* occurs on late coins of Smyrna^e.

If we except the type of Zeus Olympius, which will be afterwards considered, scarcely any canonical monument has survived belonging to those cults that were of the greatest national importance. As regards the Arcadian worship, a small bronze in the Bonn Museum^f, representing Zeus with a wolf-skin around the back of his head, may allude to Zeus Lyceus; but this cannot have been an accepted national type, for that worship on Mount Lycaeum was in all probability always without an image, and the head of Zeus on certain Arcadian coins^g has no similarity to this. Nor again, if we look to Crete, is it possible to discover what was the chief cult-image of Zeus *Κρηταγενής*. We have many representa-

^a Coin Pl. A 2. Vide Ramsay in *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 7, p. 135.

^b Coin Pl. A 1; vide supra, p. 48.

^c Head, p. 527.

^d Head, p. 251.

^e *Ib.* p. 510.

^f Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol.* 1, p. 266.

^g *Ib.* Münztaf. 1, Pl. 30.

tions^a on reliefs and on coins of the infancy and nurture of Zeus, and various groups of the child and the goat that nourished him. But though the myth gained a certain national importance, so that 'the community of Crete,' the 'Κρητῶν κοινόν,' could take for its device the child seated on the round emblem of the world with the goat standing by^b, yet all these representations are late, and belong more to mythology than religion; and the monuments disclose a certain variation in the myth; for instance, on coins of Cydonia of the fourth century B.C.^c, the child is being suckled not by a goat but by a bitch. There is, in fact, only very slight evidence for the belief that the child-god was ever an actual object of real cult. The Ζεὺς Κρηταγενής mentioned in inscriptions¹⁻⁹, and on two or three coins, was evidently a title of the mature god. A coin of Hierapytna and one of Polyrrhenion^d, both of the time of Augustus, show the bearded head of Zeus with this inscription; and the whole figure, hurling a thunderbolt and surrounded by stars, appears on Cretan coins of the period of Titus^e. Neither is there any youthful representation of Zeus Dictæus, whom we find on the fourth-century coins of Praesus in Crete^f as a mature god enthroned and holding sceptre and eagle. A very striking and peculiar type is that of Zeus *Φελαχάριος* on fourth-century coins of Phaestus, who is seated on a stump under a tree holding a cock, and has the youthful form and much of the air of Dionysos, to whom, as has been pointed out, he closely approximates in Cretan worship^g.

We have no record of any temple-image of the Dodonean Zeus; but the oak-crowned head on the coins of Thessaly and Epirus are rightly interpreted as referring to the oracular god of Dodona. The former were struck by the Magnetes

^a Overbeck, loc. cit., pp. 322-338.

^b *Ib.* Münztaf. 5. 2.

^c *Eph. Arch.* 1893, Pl. I. 6.

^d Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol.* I, p. 216, Münztaf. 1. 38.

^e *Ib.* Münztaf. 3. 19; Head, *Hist.*

Num. p. 384.

^f Coin Pl. A 3.

^g Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol.* p. 197, Münztaf. 3. 3; Head, op. cit., p. 401, Fig. 255.

and the Thessali in the first half of the second century B. C.^a, and may show the survival in this region of the tradition of a Thessalian Dodona in Phthia. More important is the series of oak-crowned heads on the coins of Epirus^b, struck in the reigns of Alexander and Pyrrhus, and on the gold staters of the former king we may possibly detect in the countenance the expression of a mental quality proper to the god of divination. The oak-crown is not infrequently found in other representations of Zeus, not only on coins, but in works of plastic art^c; probably borrowed from Dodona originally, it may have become a merely conventional symbol, and cannot by itself be taken to prove any direct association with Dodonaean cult.

The head of Zeus on the coins of Halus alludes no doubt to the cult of Zeus Laphystius, but does not at all reflect the character of the worship^d. A few other local cult-names, which may be illustrated by representations on coins, may be here mentioned, such as Zeus Ainesios, whose head is seen on fourth-century coins of Proni^e, Zeus Aetnaeos on the fifth-century coins of Aetna already mentioned, Zeus Salaminios^f represented on Cypriote coins of the Roman period, erect and holding patera and sceptre with an eagle on his wrist. On late coins of Alexandria^g we find the inscription Zeus Nemeios, and a representation of him lying on the back of his eagle, a purely fanciful type which certainly bore no special significance for Nemean cult. The seated Zeus who is seen on the Archemorus vase of Ruvo in converse with Nemea^h, may be called Zeus Nemeios, but obviously the figure has not the character of a cult-monument. The only representation that may claim to be a monument of the actual worship of this deity is the device on an Argive coin of Marcus Aurelius, on which we see a naked Zeus standing

^a Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 256; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Thess.*, Pl. VII. 2, 3; Overbeck, I, p. 231.

^b Coin Pl. A 11, 12.

^c Overbeck, I, pp. 234-239.

^d *Brit. Mus. Cat. Thess.*, Pl. XXXI.

I, Head, p. 251.

^e *Ib.* p. 358.

^f *Ib.* p. 267.

^g *Ib.* p. 719.

^h Published in Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. klass. Alterthums*, I, p. 114.

with his right hand supported on his sceptre, and his left hand behind him with an eagle near his feet. From the prevalence of this figure on the Argive coins, Professor Gardner concludes that we have here a copy of the statue carved by Lysippus for the temple of Argos^a. The cult of Zeus Olympius was widespread⁸⁹, and his name is inscribed on many coins. But we cannot suppose that the inscription attests any connexion with the local worship of Olympia, as the name 'Ολύμπιος came to have the most general signification. But no doubt the representations of Zeus under this title were often modelled on the great Pheidian masterpiece in Elis, as we find when we examine the type on the coins of Megara^b, Prusa^c, Antioch^d, and other cities.

Of the various political ideas attaching to the Zeus-worship there were comparatively few that were expressed in the monuments of religious art, and those works are still fewer which we can use as illustrations of public cult. For instance, many attempts have been made to discover the Zeus Polieus of Athens. The text of Pausanias has been interpreted as proving that there was an older and a later statue of this god on the Acropolis, the later having been executed by Leochares, who in some way modified the traditional form. This may be so, but the words of Pausanias are rather loose, and do not at all of necessity imply that the statue carved by Leochares was named Zeus Polieus. Jahn sees in the Attic archaic coins that display the god striding forward and hurling the thunderbolt a preservation of the archaic type of the god of the city^e. The motive reminds us of that of the archaic Athena Polias, and being more violent is probably earlier than the more peaceful representation of Zeus with the lowered thunderbolt which is found on another archaic coin of Athens^f, and which Overbeck is more inclined to regard as a copy of the early statue on the Acropolis^g. We

^a Coin Pl. A 13. *Num. Comm. Paus.*, Pl. K. XXVIII. p. 36.

^b Gardner, *op. cit.* A 3.

^c Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 444.

^d Müller, *Antiqu. Antioch.*, Taf. 2,

Fig. K.

^e *Nuove Mem. dell' Inst.*, A, p. 24, Gardner, *op. cit.* B B 1.

^f *Ib.* B B 2.

^g *Kunst-Mythol.* I, p. 55.

then find on another Attic coin this type of Zeus modified in accordance with the style of the fourth century^a, and an altar is represented by his side over which the god is holding a libation-cup. This may well be a reproduction of the statue of Leochares which stood near the altar, but there is no direct proof that this statue ever usurped either the name or the worship of the image of Zeus Polieus. The same conception of Zeus as the guardian of the people appears in the group of Zeus and Demos that stood in the Peiræus, the work of Leochares^b. Of the forms of this group we know nothing, but it is interesting to note how the type of the personified Demos in certain monuments borrows much from the recognized type of Zeus; for instance, on certain archaic coins^c of Rhegium of the transitional style a doubt has been felt whether the seated figure whose lower limbs are enveloped in the himation is the god or the personification of the people^d.

The type of Zeus Ἄγοραῖος, the god whose altar stood in the market-place, and who guarded the righteousness of trials, cannot be recognized on any coin^e, or in any statue. But his figure is seen on a Roman relief with an inscription to him, on which he appears erect and of youthful form, holding in his left hand a sceptre, and extending his right over an altar, and wearing a chlamys that leaves the right breast bare.

As a god of war, Zeus was but little known in the genuine Hellenic cult, and was rarely represented in public monuments. It is true that a very common type in coin-representations is the thunder-hurling Zeus, but this may express

^a Gardner, BB 3.

^b Paus. I. 1, 3.

^c Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol.* I, p. 25; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 93, Fig. 62, who inclines to regard it neither as Zeus nor Demos, but as Agreus or Aristæus.

^d The personal form of Demos was created at least as early as the close of the fifth century, as Demos was grouped with Zeus and Hera in the representation on the famous mantle of Alcisthenes

of Sybaris, Athenæ. 541. We may interpret the figure of Zeus on the beautiful vase published by Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I. 493, No. 537, representing the birth of Erichthonius, the mythic ancestor of the Athenian people, as Zeus Polieus.

^e The inscription Ζεὺς Ἄγοραῖος occurs on a coin (of the Imperial period) of the Bithynian Nicaea; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 443, but only an altar is represented with it.

the legend of the Titans' and Giants' battles, or the mere physical conception of the thunderer. A helmed Zeus at Olympia is a fiction born of the corrupt text of Pausanias^a; and only on rare and late coins of Iasos^b does the armed figure of Zeus *Ἄρπυιος* occur. The warrior-god of Caria appears on the coins of Euromus^c, Mylasa^d, and of the Carian dynasts, and the double-headed axe that is a device of the coinage of Tenedos may be his emblem. The most striking representation is that which is found on the coin of Mausolus^e, on which Zeus Labraundeus is seen walking to the right clad in a himation that leaves his breast bare, and carrying a spear and bipennis; the style shows the impress of Attic art of the middle of the fourth century. But the actual cult-figure of the Carian temple is probably better presented by the type of the coins of Mylasa, on which we see the god in the midst of his temple, clad in chiton and himation that is wrapt about his lower limbs in stiff hieratic fashion, wearing a modius on his head and wielding axe and spear. The coin-types of Amastris^f that illustrate the epithet of Zeus *Στρατηγός* show little or nothing that is characteristic of this idea, which does not enter at all into the canonical representations of Zeus. It is only the late coinage of Syracuse^g that represented the god whom Cicero calls Jupiter Imperator with the warlike symbol of the spear.

But of Zeus the Conqueror there are a large number of illustrations among the monuments, though these all belong to the period of perfected and later art; in literature Nike had been associated with Zeus at least as early as Bacchylides, but not in any conspicuous monument until the statue of Pheidias, who placed her on the hand of the Olympian Zeus turned partly towards him. Henceforth we have two modes of representing Zeus with Nike; the goddess is either facing him with a garland in her hand or a libation to offer

^a Paus. 5. 17, 1.

^b Coin Pl. A 4.

^c Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 523.

^d *Ib.* 529; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.*

d. alt. Kunst, 2. 29.

^e Coin Pl. A 5.

^f Overbeck, *Münztaf.* 2. 27, and 3. 21.

^g Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 164.

him^a; or she stands in the hollow of his hand looking away from him and holding out a crown to the worshippers; such is frequently her pose on the coins of the Syrian kings^b and of the Achaean league^c. She was sometimes also present with Zeus Soter; for instance, in the shrine of Zeus in the Peiraeus, mentioned by Pausanias as containing statues of Athene and Zeus with Nike in his hand, and called the *ιερόν* of Zeus Soter by Strabo. In this case then, the epithet *Σωτήρ* would refer to the dangers of war. But generally speaking the monumental evidence of this title and of the special expression given to the idea of Zeus Soter¹²⁸ is very slight. Pausanias speaks of an archaic statue at Aegium of this name; a great group carved by Cephisodotus of Zeus *Τύχη*, and Artemis *Σώτειρα*, was dedicated at Megalopolis in the Temple of Zeus Soter; and at Thespieae we hear of a bronze figure of *Ζεὺς Σαώτης*, which was probably ancient because of the ancient legend attaching to it. But of none of these statues nor of the *agalma* at Athens, often mentioned in the state archives, nor of the two statues in Messene recorded by Pausanias have we any explicit account or evidence. The only full representation that has survived is found on a coin of Galaria in Sicily^d, which has for its device the seated Zeus, holding a sceptre on which an eagle is carved, with the inscription *ΣΟΤΕΡ*, written backwards. A youthful head of Zeus Soter with a diadem is found on a coin of Agrigentum^e of the third century.

Of all the cult-names that we have examined that express the relations of the family and clan to the worship of Zeus, there is scarcely any that can be attached to any surviving monument. We do not know what distant form, if any, the ancients used for Zeus *Ἐρκείος*, *Ἄμόγγιος*, or *Φράτριος*; but an allusion to Zeus *Γαμήλιος*, the marriage god, may perhaps be found in an interesting series of works. These are those in which the god appears veiled and with the veil wearing some-

^a For instance on an early fifth-century vase in Stackelberg's *Gräber der Hellenen*, Taf. 18.

^b Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol.* I, p. 59.

^c *Ib.* Münztaf. 2. 17 and 17 a.

^d Coin Pl. A 6. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 121.

^e Head, *ib.* p. 108.

times an oaken crown^a. The meaning of this symbol has been much disputed. The veil might express the chthonian nature of Zeus, and illustrate the idea of *Zeὺς σκοτίας*, whose oak-grove on the road near Sparta might be alluded to by the oaken crown; but the veil is not usually a symbol of the lower world, nor have any of these works features or expression that would be proper to the nether god. It may well be that in the case of some of them the veil alludes to the deity who hides himself in the clouds; for instance on the silver-cup from Aquilea^b, where Zeus with half his form concealed and his head veiled is gazing down upon Triptolemos and Demeter who is giving him the corn, and on the Borghese relief of the Louvre where the veiled Zeus may be probably Zeus Maimactes, the winter-god^c. But we have no sure authority for saying that the veil was a sign of the cloud; its only certain significance is its reference to the bridal, and it is the constant attribute of the bride and of Hera as the goddess of marriage. But could it have such a meaning on the head of the male deity? It is possible that on the sarcophagos-representation published in the *Monumenti dell' Instituto*^d, which shows the birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus, the veil around the head of the god might mean that Zeus is here fulfilling the functions of the mother—a quaint unintentional illustration of the very ancient practice of the Couvade. Again, in the picture of the *ἱερός γάμος* from Pompeii^e, the bridegroom Zeus has the veil, which more probably symbolizes the marriage-rite than the spring-cloud. Lastly, the terra-cotta group found in Samos and published by Gerhard^f, shows the veiled Zeus side by side with the veiled Hera (Pl. V b). Now the Hera of Samos is the goddess of marriage, and in such a connexion it is natural to suppose that Zeus also is here a *Θεὸς γαμήλιος*. We might then apply this interpretation to the doubtful instances of the

^a E. g. Overbeck, *K. M.* 1, Fig. 20.
For a list of the monuments vide Overbeck, 1, pp. 239 and 251.

^b *Mon. dell' Inst.* 3. 4.

^c Winckelmann, *Monum. Ined.* 11.

^d Vol. 1, Taf. 45 a.

^e Baumeister, *Denm. d. klass. Alterthums*, Fig. 2390, p. 2133.

^f *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. 1; also in Overbeck, *K. M.* 2, p. 25, Fig. 4 a.

single representations of the veiled Zeus; only we must reckon with the possibility that the attribute was sometimes given for a merely artistic reason, as a becoming framework for the head.

The other two cults of Zeus, that express a national or political idea, that of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος and Πανελλήνιος, are illustrated by no surviving monument of sculpture; but a fine series of Syracusan coins^a show us the head of the former god laurel-crowned, and marked by a noble and mild earnestness of expression, and some of these bear on their reverse the device of the unbridled horse, the emblem of freedom. But these refer to the freedom won by Timoleon's victories, and tell us nothing of the earlier colossal statue dedicated at Syracuse to Zeus Ἐλευθέριος after the downfall of the tyranny of Thrasybulus. Of Zeus Ἑλλάνιος, who was the same as Panhellenios, we have representations on coins belonging to two periods; the first a Syracusan coin of the fourth century about the time of Timoleon^b, the second a coin of the same city, struck near the beginning of the third^c. In neither is there anything specially characteristic of the idea, but the later type is remarkable for the youthful countenance and imperious beauty of the laurel-crowned god.

Lastly we may mention in this series certain coins of Pallantium^d and Aegium^e in Achaëa issued by the Achaean league, the type of which agrees with that adopted by other cities of the league, such as Messene and Megara^f; the god is represented facing towards the left, naked and erect, with his right hand raised high and supported on his sceptre, and with a Nike in his left hand turned towards him. There is good reason to suppose, as Professor Gardner argues, that this may be a copy of the statue of Zeus Homagyrus of Aegium whose statue is mentioned by Pausanias as next

^a Coin Pl. A 7. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 156.

^b Head, p. 157; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaie Grecque*, Pl. B 21.

^c Coin Pl. A 14. Head, p. 160.

^d Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*, 2, No. 20.

^e Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* R 15.

^f Overbeck, *K. M.* 1, p. 155, Nos. 17 and 17 a.

to that of Demeter Panachaia and whose cult was mythically associated with the gathering of the Achæan host against Troy, and whose title was appropriate to the patron-divinity of the Achæan league.

Turning now to those cults to which some moral or spiritual idea attaches, we find the monumental record far slighter than the literary, and only in a few cases can we draw from both. Something has been said of the importance of the worship of Zeus Μειλίχιος, in which certain physical conceptions were blended with ideas of retribution and expiation. But it is difficult to illustrate this worship from existing monuments, for it is not allowable to discover in every mild-visaged head of Zeus a representation of this divinity, as some have been wont; for the cult and character of Zeus Μειλίχιος were by no means altogether mild. Perhaps it is an act in his worship that is the representation on a vase published in the *Archæologische Zeitung* of 1872^a: blood is flowing from an altar, and on it a youth, wearing a chlamys and holding a club, is sitting in an attitude of sorrow; the scene may well be the purification of Theseus from the taint of kindred blood^b. The only certain representations preserved to us of this Zeus are two reliefs of the later period found in the Peiræus. The one shows us the god enthroned, with one hand resting on his thigh, another holding apparently a cornucopia; before him are several figures leading a pig to sacrifice. Most fortunately the inscription is preserved: 'to Zeus Meilichios^c.' In this interesting work the god appears as a deity of the spring, if the cornucopia is rightly recognized, and as a god who claims piacular offerings for sin; for the pig was used in these rites of purification. The other relief represents three worshippers approaching the divinity, who is seated by an altar holding a cup in his right hand and a sceptre in his left (Pl. II a); the inscription proves the dedication to Zeus Meilichios^d.

Greek religious sculpture has suffered much through the loss of the Zeus Μειλίχιος which Polycleitos carved for the

^a Pl. XLVI.

^b Paus. I. 37, 4.

^c *Eph. Arch.* 1886, p. 49.

^d *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* 1883, p. 507, Taf. 18, Foucart.

Argives to commemorate and to expiate a fearful civic massacre. Of everything that concerns this statue we are in the greatest doubt: we do not know what was the actual occasion of its dedication, for the history of Argos records more than one bloody faction-fight; we do not know whether its sculptor was the elder Polycleitos of the fifth century or the younger of the fourth century, or what were the forms by which the sculptor represented the religious idea^a.

The only other cult-title which was derived from the moral or spiritual character of Zeus, and which received distinct monumental illustration, is that of the Zeus Φίλιος. The earliest representation of him that is recorded is the statue wrought by Polycleitos the younger for Megalopolis¹⁵¹. 'He resembles Dionysos, for the coverings of his feet are buskins, and he has a cup in one hand and a thyrsos in the other, and on the thyrsos sits an eagle.' Pausanias evidently did not understand the reason of these dionysiac features of Zeus Philios. As this statue was a public work of the earlier part of the fourth century and intended for temple-worship, we ought not to seek for any recondite mystic reason for this strange representation: for the religious sculpture of the great age has little to do with mystic symbolism. We may connect this worship with that of Zeus Didymaeus, whose priests wore ivy during the ritual; and we can illustrate in more than one way the *rapprochement* between Zeus and Dionysos^b. At the feast the third cup was poured to Zeus Σωτήρ, and Zeus Φίλιος was regarded in the fourth century as the god of the friendly feast. As the work of Polycleitos seems certainly to have been wrought especially for the city and temple of Megalopolis, we may give it the political meaning which belonged to many of the monuments of the new foundation of Epaminondas, and may interpret the epithet Φίλιος as referring partly to the political friendship which should bind together the Arcadian community. By what means Polycleitos was able to express the double nature of the god is a doubtful

^a The Zeus-statues recorded in Argos are too many to allow us to recognize the Zeus Meilichios on the coin pub-

lished by Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* K, 25.

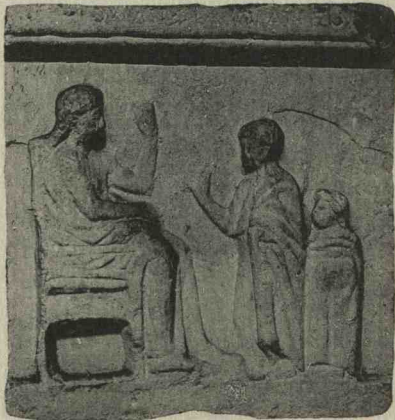
^b Vide p. 48.

PLATE II

a



b



matter, but we may believe that it was shown in the features and inner character as well as in the external attributes; also in the pose and arrangement of the drapery. In the *Archaeologische Zeitung* of 1866 (pl. 208, no. 6) there is the sketch of a lost antique, a representation of a seated Dionysos, posed and draped according to the usual type of the seated Zeus, and it is most natural to suppose that the Zeus Φίλιος of Polycleitos was also seated. As regards the face we can say little: the sculptor must have borrowed something from the older type of the Dionysos heads, the type of the severe bearded god, and given the features a benevolent and smiling aspect. But no existing monument gives us any certain clue to the rendering of the idea. The Pergamene coins which give a representation of the head of Zeus Philios, and the full figure seated, have little definite character^a.

The only other surviving representations of the full figure of this deity are found on the two Attic votive reliefs of the fourth century, bearing inscriptions to Zeus Philios^b, that have been mentioned above. On both the god appears seated on his throne; but on one the eagle is carved beneath the seat, and he seems to have held a cup in his left hand; on the other, which is reproduced by Schöne^c, there is no eagle, and he probably held the sceptre in his left, and two worshippers, a woman and a boy, are approaching him (Pl. II b). Neither monument is of importance as regards style or as evidence of a widely prevalent type.

This list of monuments may close with the mention of those that illustrated the cult of Zeus Moiragetes, none of which have survived. It has been already noticed that in the religion and the religious art the idea of fatalism had little or nothing to say, the difficulty being avoided by refusing to Μοίρα much independent recognition and by subordinating her to Zeus.

In Delphi, by the side of the two fates, stood Zeus Μοιραγέτης

^a Overbeck, *K. M.* I, p. 228, Münztaf.

3. 23.

^b *C. I. A.* 2. 1330, and 1572.

^c *Griechische Reliefs*, Taf. 25. 105.

Cf. Heydemann, *Die antiken Marmor-bildwerke zu Athen*, No. 736.

and Apollo *Μοιραγέτης*; and at Akakesion in Arcadia, by the entrance to the temple of Despoena, was a relief of white marble representing Zeus *Μοιραγέτης* and the *Μοῖραι*¹⁵³. Perhaps the title might be mechanically drawn from the figure of Zeus preceding the fates; but obviously at Delphi it had acquired a spiritual sense, probably having also a special reference to the oracular functions of Zeus and Apollo. But the great statue of Zeus by Theocosmos of Megara, a pupil and fellow-worker of Pheidias, displayed no such special idea, but in the most general way the omnipotence of Zeus over the *Μοῖραι*; for Pausanias tells us that the Hours and the Fates were wrought there above the head of Zeus, that is, on the back of his throne as subordinate figures^a.

Besides monuments to which we can attach some definite cult-names, we find a rich illustration in mythic representations of many of the moral ideas that were expressed in the worship. In the group of Dantas carved on the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia, Zeus is present at the contest between Heracles and Acheloos, dispensing the fate of the action. In the group wrought by Lycios the son of Myron of Thetis and Eos pleading before Zeus for their children, the same idea appears as in the worship of Zeus *Λιταῖος*. And the myth of Prometheus illustrates the ideas of reconciliation and mercy that can be found in the worship. But the greater part of the myths scarcely touch the temple-worship, which is purer and less fantastic than these.

When we reckon up this whole series of monuments we see that the literary record is far richer and more explicit than the monumental in the display of the various cults and religious functions of Zeus. We see that very few of the cult-titles that are preserved in the literature are to be discovered in the monuments of religious art; and even these are usually attested not so clearly by the attributes or inner qualities of the work as by the inscription: without artificial aid we should not know a Zeus *Σωτήρ* or a Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος*. Nor can we be at all sure that any special aspect of the god was always represented in the same way

^a Paus. I. 40, 4.

and by the same forms. The numismatic evidence cannot always be used for other works, because the face on the coins is often characterless and expressionless, and often shows no congruity with the title: there is nothing warlike, for instance, in the coin-representation of Zeus *Στρατηγός*. Doubtless the great sculptors of the great age found appropriate expression for such widely diverging ideas as Zeus *Φίλιος* and Zeus *Ὀρκίος*, as we know they did for the distinction between the Sky-Zeus and the Nether-Zeus; but we cannot understand by what power of expression they could impress upon any statue of Zeus the meaning of *Ἐρκείος* or *Καθάρσιος* without the aid of inscription, nor have we any right to say that these special figures of cult were a frequent theme of great religious art. The statues of Zeus, with which any famous name is associated, represented the god usually in the totality of his character, while his special functions were appealed to rather by altars and votive tablets. Most of the surviving statues, busts, and reliefs of Zeus do not admit of being specially named, and perhaps the originals themselves of which these are copies possessed no special cult-title. But if the artistic monuments give us a less rich account of the manifold character of Zeus than the literature gives, they are far more palpable and living evidence of the forms in which the popular imagination invested him, and we have now to note the chief features of the type in art.

CHAPTER VI.

I. THE IDEAL TYPE OF ZEUS.

AS regards the monuments of the earlier pre-Pheidian period the most interesting question is how far they contain the germ of the Pheidian masterpiece, how far the artists had anticipated Pheidias in the discovery of forms appropriate to the ideal. But our evidence of the earliest archaic period is most scanty; no statues have survived, and probably very few existed; we have to collect testimony from coins, vase-paintings, and reliefs, and most of these belong to the later archaism. The means of expression that the workers in this period possessed was chiefly external and mechanical; character and personality were chiefly manifested by attributes. The most usual of these was the thunderbolt, whether he was represented in action or repose; also on some archaic works, there was not only the thunderbolt in his hand, but on his head a garland of flowers, and the character becomes more manifold by the accumulation of attributes. Nothing is told us in the ancient literature about the form or pose of these representations; but examining the series of archaic coins and vases, we gather that there were three commonly accepted types showing three varieties of pose: (1) we see the striding Zeus with the thunderbolt in his right hand levelled against an imaginary enemy or transgressor on Messenian tetradrachms, on later Attic coins, and in the very archaic bronze from Olympia^a, and the eagle is sometimes flying above his extended left arm or perched upon it; (2) the standing figure of Zeus in repose—for instance, on the coin of Athens holding the thunderbolt in

^a Vide pp. 106, 107, 111; Baumeister, *Denkm. d. klass. Alterth.* p. 2124, Fig. 2378.

his lowered right hand, and stretching out his left as though demanding libation. It is difficult to decide certainly between the comparative antiquity of these two types: the first, displaying in activity the power and functions of Zeus the thunderer, gratified the naïve craving of archaic art for dramatic action; the second contains more possibilities of ethical expression, and is more in accord with the later conception of the peaceful unquestioned supremacy of Zeus. The third type with which we can best compare the Pheidian is that of the seated Zeus, as he appears, for instance, on the certain Arcadian coins of ripe archaism ^a, on many vase-representations—such, for instance, as the birth of Athene ^b—in the relief of the Harpy-tomb, and on the metope of Selinus; in the coin-representation he holds the sceptre as on the Harpy-tomb, and the right arm is outstretched with the eagle flying above it or resting on it; the feet are separated, and in one instance at least the legs are drawn up with some freedom, and in these motives and forms we recognize an affinity with the Pheidian work. As regards any spiritual expression in the pose of the limbs, the *σεμνότης*, the earnestness and majesty that was one quality of the Pheidian ideal, we may discern the germ of this in the seated figures of the Harpy-tomb, whose forms belong to genuine Greek art, and who are akin to the Hellenic supreme God, although we cannot with security name any one of them Zeus.

The treatment of the body and rendering of the muscles as we see it in the naked figures does not in the earlier period contribute much to the distinct character of the god; we see the strong forms such as any mature man or god might possess, rendered in the usual archaic style, with great emphasis thrown on the shoulders and thighs. The Selinus relief shows the beginning of that idea that guided the later perfected art, namely, that the forms of Zeus should be rendered so as to express self-confident strength without violent effort or athletic tension of muscles, a rendering which assists the idea of reposeful supremacy.

^a Overbeck, Münztaf. 2, Nos. 1-3.

^b E.g. *Mon. dell' Inst.* 3. 44.

In the draped archaic type the treatment of the drapery varies. In the earlier vases Zeus is never naked, but wears sometimes only a chiton with or without sleeves, sometimes a himation or mantle thrown over the chiton; and on the figures of the Harpy-tomb the drapery is very ample, such as the older austerer worship of the gods required. The later tendency is to reveal the divine forms, and hence it came about that in the canonical representation of the seated Zeus, it is the lower limbs only that are covered by the himation, while the greater part of the breast is free and a fold hangs over the left shoulder. Now this arrangement of the drapery which allows the display of the rich forms of the torso, and attains a high artistic effect in the noble swinging wave of the lines, was supposed to be the creation of the ideal Pheidian sculpture. This is not the case. It was perfected by him, but it was an invention of the earlier period; for we see it on one of the Arcadian coins^a, on the interesting coin of the city of Aetna with a representation of Zeus Aetnaeus struck between 476 and 461^b, and on the metope of Selinus.

Lastly, as regards the countenance of the archaic period, we can scarcely yet speak of spiritual expression^c. The forms of the head show the usual marks of the archaic type, and we cannot by the features alone distinguish a Zeus from a Poseidon or any of the maturer gods^d. The hair is generally long and sometimes bound in a cropylos, but it hangs down simply and leaves the forehead and ears usually free; it has nothing of the later luxuriant or leonine treatment, never rising up above the forehead, except in the archaic terra-cotta group of Zeus and Hera from Samos mentioned above, which Overbeck for this insufficient reason pronounces of later date.

Most commonly in the pre-Pheidian as well as the post-

^a Overbeck, *K. M. Münztaf.* 2. 2 a.

^b Coin Pl. A 1.

^c The Vatican relief, found in the villa of Hadrian at Tibur (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*, 2, No. 19; Overbeck, *Atlas*, I. 6), where Overbeck discerns a solemn and noble earnestness in the head of Zeus, is probably archaistic,

and in any case does not belong to the archaic period.

^d For instance the very striking archaic bronze head from Olympia (*Olymp. Ausgrab.* 24) is sometimes called a Zeus-head (e.g. Baumeister, Fig. 1276a), but the name is very doubtful.

Pheidian period he is bearded; for the maturer age better accorded with the Greek conception and the ancient idea of *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*; but it is important to note that both before and after Pheidias a youthful type of Zeus existed, the motive of which it is not always possible to explain. We find at least one beardless Zeus among the works of the Argive Ageladas, the predecessor and teacher of Pheidias, namely, a statue dedicated at Aegium in Achaea, where was localized the legend of the birth of Zeus and his rearing by the goat. The statue was kept in the house of the youthful priest, a boy annually elected for his beauty. And we find the same custom observed in regard to the idol of Zeus Ithomatas⁶⁶, another work of Ageladas: though here the priest is not said to have been youthful, and it is not certain^a but only possible that this also was an image of the beardless god, as Ithome, like Aegium, possessed the legend of the birth. Now in these places this legend might explain the cult; as also the Cretan legend might explain the cult of the youthful Zeus *Φελχανός*^b. The youthful Zeus of Pelusium, whose emblem was the pomegranate, may well be interpreted as the bridegroom Zeus, or as another form of Dionysos, the god of vegetation^c; but we do not know for what reason the Zeus at Elis dedicated by Smicythos^d was beardless, or why the heads of Zeus Soter on the coins of Agrigentum and of Zeus Hellanios on the coins of Syracuse have the youthful form. In the earliest period, the male divinities one and all, with the exception of Apollo, are bearded; but in the Pheidian and later work, the forms of other gods besides Apollo are rendered in accord with the Greek instinct. But we are not at liberty to say that the love of the youthful form for its own sake explains these rare representations of Zeus.

^a The Zeus Ithomatas on the Messenians' coins is always bearded, vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 361. Cf. a bronze of Zeus, bearded and hurling thunderbolt, in the Musée de Lyon, somewhat of this type: *Gazette Archéol.* 1880, Pl. II, p. 78.

^b Overbeck, *K. M. Münztaf.* 3. 3.

^c At Pelusium, *Διὸς ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα Κασίου νεανίσκος Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον εἰοκῶς . . . προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ροιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ροιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός.* *Ach. Tat. Erot. Script.* 3. 6. Hirschig, p. 59.

^d Paus. 5. 24. 6.

Of the features of the usual bearded type there is little more to say; neither in forehead, mouth, nor eyebrow do the works of even the later archaic period show much of the distinct character that is impressed upon the perfected idea of Zeus. In the period before Pheidias no doubt the whole countenance came to express a certain solemn dignity and earnestness; the Cyrenaic coins with the representation of Zeus-Ammon, which perhaps preserve the style of the work of Calamis, and which display something of the impressiveness of brow which belongs to the Pheidian ideal, belong to this transitional period; and near to this period we may assign the relief of Zeus and Hebe in Bologna which has sometimes been regarded as spurious, but without good reason, although the inscription is not genuine^a. As it stands it is one of the most remarkable representations of Zeus belonging to the earlier period of the perfected style. The himation conceals the lower limbs, and displaying the forms of the torso hangs over the shoulder; the sceptre shows him as the king. The features are very earnest and richly moulded, the cheeks are broad, the eye-sockets rather deep. The Pheidian ideal, if this work is really earlier than the Olympian Zeus, is foreshadowed here.

There are two works of the Pheidian period that may serve as comments on the masterpiece of the Pheidian sculpture: the relief-figures of Zeus on the Parthenon^b and on the Theseum friezes^c. As regards chronology both these figures are probably earlier than the great temple-statue, and both are almost of the same date (circ. 440 B. C.); both show the best features of Attic sculpture, of which at this time Pheidias was the unrivalled head; so that they come into the account of the type of Zeus which Pheidias chose or created.

But we must bear in mind the great difference between the character of the frieze-figures and the temple-image: the latter, being set up for worship, must have been more solemn and severe, and could not have possessed the same freedom of forms or the same dramatic expression in the pose of its

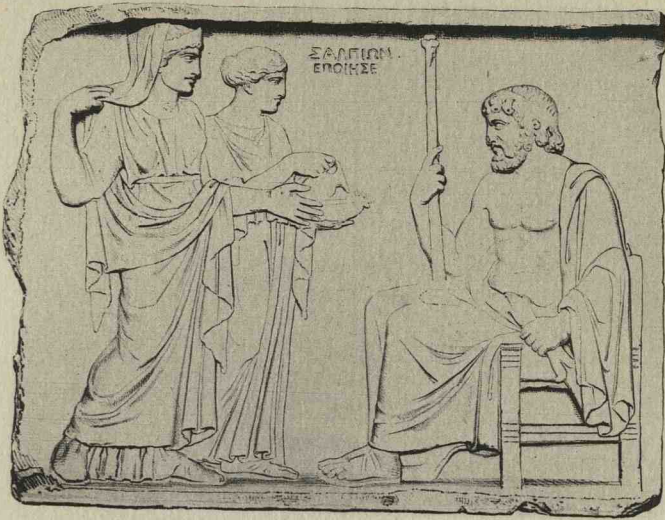
^a Pl III a. Vide Kekule, *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, Taf. 27.

^b Pl. III b.

^c Pl. IV a.

PLATE III

a



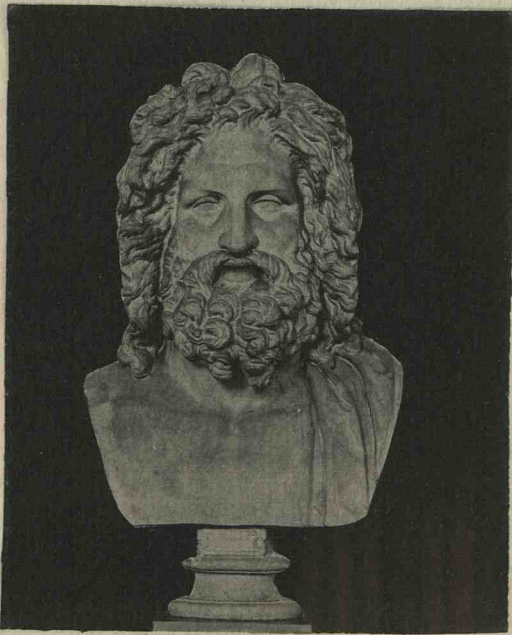
b



a



b



limbs as the frieze-figures show. In both scenes the god is the interested spectator of a special drama: in the Parthenon group the Zeus is seated on his throne with a half-negligent but noble freedom, while in the scene on the Theseum he appears to be moving in his seat through the lively emotion which the combat caused in him. In both, the design of the arrangement of the drapery is on the whole the same—namely, to conceal the lower limbs, and to display the upper parts of the body, in which the idea of divine energy and power can be best manifested. Of the Theseum figure, the himation covers the outstretched left arm, probably for artistic reasons; and this becomes the more usual arrangement of the drapery of the seated Zeus. But it is in keeping with the more restful attitude of Zeus on the Parthenon frieze, that here the mantle has fallen away from the shoulder. The latter representation is altogether more expressive of the peaceful majesty of the god, and has possibly more affinity with the temple-statue, which naturally would show less ease and abandon, but which might well have resembled this in the pose of the legs. Also the sphinx on the throne recalls part of the decoration of the throne of the Olympian god. As regards the rendering of the forms there is little that is specially characteristic of the supreme god, for the large style that appears in the treatment of the flesh and great surfaces of muscle, in the reserve and solemnity of the whole, is to be looked for in any work of Pheidias. The pose indeed speaks to the character of the god, as elsewhere in the frieze it is the pose that defines the divinity. As regards the countenance we can say little, for it is too defaced; but probably much of the expression that was achieved in the countenance of the Olympian head was anticipated here. We can conjecture what we have lost when we note the extraordinary power of ethical and spiritual expression in the other heads of the frieze. But both here and on the Theseum it seems that the sculptor has scarcely indicated the flowing locks of Zeus as an essential feature.

II. THE STATUE OF ZEUS OLYMPIOS.

The image of the god wrought by Pheidias at the zenith of his artistic renown for the temple of Olympia was regarded as the masterpiece of Greek religious sculpture, and the fullest and deepest expression in plastic form of the national worship. Of no other work of ancient art is the account that remains so detailed, varied, and emotional. The description left by Pausanias^a is as usual the driest but the most accurate and full. The deity was seated on a richly-carved throne, wearing a crown of wild olive-leaves wrought of gold, and in his right hand holding a Nike of gold and ivory, who also wore a crown and carried in her hand a garland, while his left hand was grasping a sceptre wrought of variegated metals and surmounted with an eagle. His face and the parts of his body that were bare were of ivory, his sandals and himation of gold. From the silence of Pausanias concerning any other garment, as well as from the general history of the type of Zeus, we can conclude with certainty that he was represented with the mantle only, which, we may believe, was wrapt about his lower limbs, and, leaving the torso bare, fell lightly over his shoulder: an arrangement most expressive of the dignity of the god, and affording the most striking interchange of light from the surfaces of gold and ivory. The garment was worked over with forms of animals and flowers, especially the lily, which we may probably interpret as the symbol of immortality^b. The olive-crown, being the prize of the Olympian victor, expressed the great function of Zeus as the guardian of the Olympian games and of the unity of Greece.

The figure of victory which here for the first time he holds in his hand, instead of the eagle his constant attribute in the older monuments, marks him as the god to whom victory belongs; for, as a later coin proves, she was not facing the

^a 5. 11.

^b Lilies adorned the head of the archaic Aeginetan statue of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias, 5. 22; Athenaeus, p. 684, quotes from Nikander the story that lilies bloomed from the head of the

statue of Alexander in Cos on the night of his death; the Coans called the lily 'the immortal' flower, τὸ ἀμβρόσιον, and the story must allude to his apotheosis.

spectator as though passing from Zeus to the worshipper, but was seen in profile, half-turned towards Zeus and holding up the garland to him^a. In fact, the idea of the victorious god was prominent in the whole figure, for groups of victories were carved in relief on each of the legs and feet of the throne. At the extremities of its back stood the free figures of the Hours and Graces, of such proportions that their heads were higher than his, and on the cross-pieces, barriers, and base-ment of the throne were carved or painted the great myths which the epos or drama had made Pan-hellenic: the battle of Heracles and Theseus with the Amazons, the punishment of the Niobids, the labours of Heracles, the deliverance of Prometheus, the birth of Aphrodite from the sea. So far the bare record of Pausanias enables us to gather the manifold idea of the whole. The pose and attributes of the god revealed him in kingly repose with the Victory ever at his side, as the supreme moral deity whose worship, rising above the particularism of local cult and the political severance of tribes and cities, was one of the few bonds of the national union. To such an idea the mythic by-work carved on the throne gave content and depth. The Amazon-contest is the symbol of the struggle against lawlessness and barbarism, and is the mythic counterpart of the battle of Salamis, which is more clearly recorded on the throne in the persons of Hellas and Salamis holding the figure-heads of ships in their hands. Even the slaughter of the Niobids is no mere legend of destruction such as the primitive art loved, but through the genius of Aeschylus had gained the noblest poetical beauty, and a higher ethical meaning as a story of the divine retribution for presumptuous sin, and now for the first time appears as a theme of great religious sculpture. But no scene that was wrought on the throne possessed such spiritual significance, or could contribute so much to the moral aspect of Zeus, as the myth of the Prometheus Unbound, unique as it was among Greek legends for the idea of mercy that underlies it, and for its handling of the dark problem of necessity conflicting with the

^a For the artistic necessity of this arrangement vide chapter on the Pheidian Athena, p. 366.

supreme power of the divinity. This also is a new motive appropriated by perfected Greek sculpture, though not discovered by it^a; and here also Aeschylus had been beforehand interpreting the story and fixing it in the imagination of the people. The group that was richest in figures and offered most scope to the sculptor's power was that which was carved on the basement of the throne, in which Zeus and the other leading divinities appeared as spectators of the birth of Aphrodite from the waves. The theme hitherto untried by art was derived from the older epic religious poetry. The Homeric Hymn describing the birth presents us with a subject full of genial physical and spiritual ideas, that could offer as many fine motives of sculpture as the birth of Athena, and its cosmic significance is shown by the presence of Helios and Selene, who appeared on the basement at either extremity of the group. The Graces and the Hours at the back of the throne have a higher significance than they possessed on the throne of the Amyclean Apollo, where they served chiefly as monumental supports. Here they express the character of the god as the orderer of the seasons, the dispenser of the fruitfulness and beauty of the year^b.

Thus the work upon the throne and about the person of Zeus helps the interpretation of the whole, completing or explaining the incomplete or vague accounts given by ancient writers of the meaning of the image. We can thus partly understand the moral analysis given us by Dio Chrysostom in his ecstatic description^c. According to him the style and the forms gave clear illustration of the many cult-names of Zeus, of the manifold aspects of his worship; this was the Panhellenic god, the guardian of a peaceful and united Hellas, the giver of life and all blessings, the common father and saviour of men, Zeus the king, the city-god, the god of friend-

^a The subject appears on a black-figured vase in Berlin; Otto Jahn's *Beiträge*, Taf. 8.

^b The Hours are personages connected with the processes of life and birth as well as with time; they belong to the circle of the Moirae and Aphrodite. In

a picture described by Philostratus (*Imag.* 2) they are given golden hair, which he supposes to be symbolical of the ripening corn.

^c Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12. Dind. p. 236, 412 R.

ship, the god of the suppliant and the stranger. 'His power and kingship are displayed by the strength and majesty of the whole image, his fatherly care for men by the mildness and loving-kindness in the face; the solemn austerity of the work marks the god of the city and the law, . . . he seems like to one giving and abundantly bestowing blessings.'

The statement is perhaps over-analytical, but we may well believe that in the work of Pheidias the full and manifold ideal was perfectly shown—'so that none of the beholders could easily acquire another conception'^a—this being the express likeness of the god, the masterpiece of Greek religious sculpture, 'of all images upon the earth the most beautiful and the most beloved by heaven'^b. The account of Pausanias attests the moral imagination of Pheidias in his choice of attributes and symbols: he has rejected all imagery of terror; the thunderbolt nowhere appears^c: his ideal is the peaceful and benevolent god. But it is interesting to note that it is not the external attributes which helped Dio Chrysostom to find that wealth of meaning which the image possessed in his eyes; and that therefore we are dealing here with no monument of the archaic hieratic art which relied on certain signs and symbols to express its meaning. Symbols and attributes are not wanting to the work of Pheidias, but they are allowed no separate function; they merely aid the expression, which is conveyed by the forms of the body and the face.

No doubt his unique power in plastic spiritual expression was most manifest in his treatment of the countenance, which must have revealed in clear interpretation the ideas embodied in the whole form. The ancient writers are fortunately more outspoken than usual on this point. Macrobius records that Pheidias himself declared that 'from the eyebrows and the

^a Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12. Dind. p. 230, 401 R.

^b *Ib.* p. 220, 383 R.

^c This significant omission is probably not an innovation made by Pheidias himself. On one of the vases published by Stackelberg (*Gräber der Hellenen*,

Taf. 18) representing Zeus opposite to Nike, he bears no thunderbolt, which in archaic art is his most common symbol, and is frequently given him in quite peaceful representations of the later period.

hair he had gathered the whole face of Zeus^a;' and we have the interesting story in Strabo that, when asked what had inspired his conception, Pheidias replied that his imagination had been moved by the lines of Homer: 'The son of Kronos spake and he nodded assent with his gleaming eyebrows; and from the immortal head of the king the deathless locks waved down, and great Olympus was shaken with his nod;' and Strabo, or the Scholiast, adds: 'The poet incites the imagination to express some great type, some form of great power worthy of Zeus^b.'

The story has more value than most anecdotes about artists; for, if not literally true, it proves what the Greek spectator himself saw in the countenance: it proves that for him it embodied the conception of Homer, and is testimony of the profound earnestness, the peaceful and reserved strength, the exalted life, manifested in the feature; and we can believe, on the authority of Dio Chrysostom, that there was added to the *σεμνότης*, or solemnity which was proper to every Pheidian work, the more specially characteristic expression of benignity and loving-kindness, the expression which corresponds to the cult-ideas of Zeus Philios and Soter.

The passionate enthusiasm of the ancient descriptions cannot give us a full and concrete impression of this work, but serves to indicate that there was in it a great and strange power operative by processes which require a philosophic history of Greek art to explain. And the record also enables us to some extent to test the value of the claim of certain coin-figures to be regarded as copies of the Zeus-image of Pheidias. In his *Kunst-Mythologie*, Overbeck has urged many reasons for accepting three extant Elean coins of the period of Hadrian as the most faithful reproductions of the face and figure. The two that present the whole figure are found in the state collections of Florence and Stockholm, and have often been published^c; we see the god on his throne in profile from right to left with the olive-crown upon his short and close-pressed hair, with the Nike in his right hand and

^a *Saturn.* 5. 13, 23.

^b Strabo, p. 354.

^c Coin Pl. A 8.

sceptre in his left. Undoubtedly, then, the coin-stamper had the Pheidian original before his eyes, and tries to reproduce it in outline. Yet the value of this slight copy has been greatly overrated; for except that it helps to establish that the Victory was turned partly towards Zeus, it teaches us nothing certain that we did not before know from the account of Pausanias, and it is entirely lacking in imaginative expression. Overbeck indeed admires the solemn simplicity, the freedom from all ostentation in the pose, and especially the position of the sceptre, which is held erect and rather close to the body; but Stephani, in a long polemic in the *Compte-Rendu*^a, of which the negative criticism is of more value than the positive theory, complains justly of the stiffness of the figure, and its want of free rhythm. And the general accuracy is open to suspicion when we see that the figure is almost certainly clad in a chiton^b, and not in the himation which we have every reason to believe was the sole garment of the Pheidian Zeus. Now the chiton was the archaic vesture of Zeus, and the coin-stamper of Hadrian's time may have had some temptation to 'archaize' in his work as copyist. Another Elean coin of Hadrian's time^c, mentioned by Stephani, shows the figure of Zeus Olympios *en face*, in head body and pose free from all archaism and stiffness, and clad in the himation alone, while the left arm with the sceptre is held much freer of the body^d, and the whole form is more in accordance with the style of the Parthenon frieze.

Another coin of Elis^e of the same period, published and described by Overbeck, and regarded by him as contributing most to our knowledge of the Pheidian masterpiece, bears

^a *Compte-Rendu*, 1875, pp. 160-193, and 1876, *Nachtrag*, p. 224.

^b Overbeck would make out the drapery of the coin-figure to be a himation gathered up in a large fold over the left shoulder; but a very similar coin, also of Hadrian's period, published by Friedländer (*Monatsberichte d. Kön. Akad. d. Wiss.* Berlin, 1874, p. 500, No. 5; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plast.* 1, p. 258, Fig. 56 b),

shows the figure seated from left to right, clearly wearing the chiton.

^c Coin Pl. A 10.

^d The simpler pose of the sceptre on Overbeck's coin, stiff as it may appear, is yet perhaps more suitable for a temple-statue some forty feet in height.

^e In the Paris collection: Coin Pl. A 9.

upon its obverse the head of Zeus Olympios crowned with the wild olive. The countenance, according to that writer, possesses not only a remarkable nobility of expression, but also just those characteristic qualities which, according to the record of Dio Chrysostom, belonged to the Zeus of Pheidias. But Overbeck himself notes with much surprise the severe and simple arrangement of the close-pressed hair, in which even traces of the archaic stiffness appear to survive. And he actually attributes to the coin a unique value in that it alone discloses to us the astonishing fact that Pheidias in this, the master-work of his life, chose to hamper himself by obedience to the archaic tradition. Even *a priori* this is incredible. There is no archaism in the great sculpture of the Parthenon gable or frieze. There was none in the countenance of his Athena Parthenos, if we may accept the testimony—as we surely may—of the beautiful fragment of the marble head found recently on the Acropolis^a. Now the Olympian Zeus is of later work than these, and the crowning achievement of the greatest religious sculpture of Greece; and we should require more than the evidence of a doubtful coin to convince us that Pheidias, in this work, fell back into a stiff and conventional manner, of which he, and even sculptors before him, had long abandoned the tradition. But there are other than *a priori* objections. Overbeck and those who have accepted his view about the coin either do not deal at all, or deal very insufficiently, with the question how it was that people who looked on the face of the god at Olympia were reminded of the great words of Homer about the waving immortal locks, if the locks of Pheidias' statue were trim and straight and stiff. And Stephani does well to ask what prompted the later sculptor of the Zeus-head from Otricoli to arrange the hair violently about the head like a lion's mane, if there was no trace or hint of such treatment in the preceding work of that sculptor who fixed for all time the ideal of Zeus. This trait in the Otricoli head is an exaggeration, but it is an exaggeration of something that we know to have been found in the Pheidian original, and which does not

^a Described in Athena Monuments, p. 368.

appear at all in the head on Overbeck's coin, about which no one would dream of saying 'the artist has conceived the whole face from the hair and the eyebrows.' The illusion has been strengthened by the very deceptive reproduction of the coin in Overbeck's plates. The photograph and the cast of it by no means bear out his enthusiastic account, but show a countenance that is not very impressive either for its artistic beauty or its spiritual expression, and is earnest and solemn rather than mild and benign. The tendency towards archaism, which has been overstated but is discernible in these two late coin-types of Elis, may be due, as Stephani supposes, to an archaizing affectation of Hadrian's period.

Surely the fourth-century coins of Elis that bear upon them the head of Zeus crowned with the olive are of more value, as probably preserving something of the form and the spirit of the countenance of the great statue^a. The luxuriant treatment of the hair is slightly indicated on the coin by a few free locks, the eye and the eyebrows are dominating features of the whole type, and some slight expression proper to the friendly god appears on the half-opened lips. But, in spite of this series, there is much in the literary record which no coin has been found to illustrate. Still slighter is the aid from vase-painting, though the form of Zeus on a beautiful Kertsch vase of the fourth century may show us something of the Pheidian ideal^b. The Melian marble head in the British Museum is a masterpiece of Greek religious sculpture, showing the high imagination and abiding influence of the Pheidian school, of which it is probably a late product. And more than most surviving works of antiquity it enables us to understand what Pheidias himself is made to say about the moral and ideal side of his art in the treatise of Dio Chrysostom. But the belief that this is an Asclepios and not a Zeus is slightly the more probable^c.

Excavation may yet bring to light some work that will tell us as much of the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias as the discoveries

^a Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 355, Fig. 234; vide Professor Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 137, who objects to this coin as too archaic in the treat-

ment of the hair.

^b *Compte-Rendu Atlas*, 1859, Pl. I.

^c According to Cavvadias a very similar head has been found at Amorgos

of the last few years have told us about Athena Parthenos^a. Meantime we must be content with the literary record and with the works of later artists who modified but never entirely deserted the great canonical type. His own pupils were doubtless content to follow in their master's steps, and the statue of Zeus by Theokosmos of Megara was evidently inspired by his teacher's master-work.

The next generation, the younger Attic school, achieved great results in a certain sphere of religious sculpture, by working out the types of Poseidon, Apollo, Eros, Aphrodite, Dionysos, and the kindred divinities of the Dionysiac circle, the forms with which passion and sentiment could mingle; but Pheidias' hands left the ideal of Zeus perfected, and the art of the fourth century, finding for it no further legitimate development, worked at other themes. The Alexandrine age lost the power little by little of reproducing the forms of the religious sculpture in the older manner and spirit; for the spiritual and political beliefs from which the older sculpture had drawn its best material were undermined and changed, and the ideas to which the later religious imagination clung were chiefly drawn from the Dionysiac or Eleusinian mysteries, or from foreign beliefs of which the forms were vague and mystic.

We can note the change in the Alexandrine type of features, whether the head carved is human or divine; we see stamped upon them the mental qualities that dominated the period of the Diadochi and Epigoni, voluptuousness and a restlessness that showed itself in exaggerated act and sentiment; it is these qualities appearing in the representation of divinities that change the forms and enfeeble the tradition. In one

by the side of a head of Hygieia; *Deltion Archaeol.* 1888, April. Cf. also *Athen. Mittheil.* 1892, p. 1.

^a The head in the Villa Albani which has recently been brought into notice by Amelung (*Römische Mittheil.* 8. 1893, p. 184), as derived from a Zeus-original of Pheidias and as closely resembling the head on the Elean coin of Hadrian, does not seem to contribute

much to our knowledge of the Zeus Olympios. In certain important respects its treatment of the hair differs from that which we see on the coin. The type of the head appears to agree with the coin-type in so far as the length of the skull is considerably more than its breadth. But the reverse is true of the heads of the Parthenon and of others that belong to the Pheidian School.

respect the type of Zeus suffered less than those of others; for on the whole it was preserved free from any manifestly sensuous expression, which appears only in the later development of the type of Zeus Ammon. Yet it suffers from the excessive emphasis of one or the other part of the Pheidian ideal, and much that was essential was changed: in the place of calm and still majesty we see in the later type an imperious self-assertion; in place of the reserved power, the possession of strength without effort, we find a self-consciousness and a straining force. The bright but clear intellectual expression becomes an expression of overwrought thought. But at first the influence of the great tradition remains strong. The Zeus of Otricoli is a Roman work^a, being of Carrara marble, but more perhaps than any existing work of ancient sculpture it retains the impress of the Pheidian original, in spite of the changed forms. The majesty and worth, the inner spirit of the old sculpture is still seen, and the mild benevolence of the Pheidian ideal is expressed in the half-opened mouth. But the head has no longer the Pheidian depth, the centre of the face is broader and more deeply marked than in that older type; the forms of the skull are less clear, because of the masses of the luxuriant hair, which forms a kind of framework overshadowing the face. Doubtless also in the Pheidian work the hair was ample and flowing, but the rendering of it could hardly have been so exuberant as this, as we may judge from other monuments of the Pheidian style. The other feature in the original of which we have evidence was the strong marking of the brow, which dominated the whole expression of the face; it is the exaggeration of this that we see in the violent depressions and swellings about the forehead and eyes of the head of Otricoli. In fact the forehead has something of a leonine character, which appears also in the raised tufts of hair above; just as in many heads of Alexander we see the allusion to the lion type in the treatment of the forehead and hair. The sculptor of the Otricoli head has made a study from the masterpiece of Pheidias, and hence the forms are rendered so as to produce their proper

^a Pl. IV b.

effect when seen from below and at a distance; but he has given an excessive emphasis to the expression of mental force, and he has not succeeded in charging the countenance with that profound inner life which we see in the Parthenon heads, and which we must suppose in the fullest measure for the face of the Pheidian Zeus.

This one quality of Zeus, the quality of intellectual force, was the favourite theme of the Graeco-Roman sculptors: they could best understand this, and could express it easily enough by the excessive marking of the forehead and the deep lines on the face. The head of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg is a striking instance of this lower and narrower conception; the forehead is higher and the cheek much less broad than in the older type, the eyebrows are very protruding and swollen, and the eye-sockets very deep. The face, in fact, is 'pathetically' treated, and the god has no longer the character of one *εἰρηνικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρῶος*, but wears an expression of restless over-anxious thought. The influence of the Pheidian work is still traceable, but from a distance^a.

In the later representations of the god in action, as for instance on the Pergamene frieze, we note the difference in the rendering of the torso. The sculptors aim chiefly at expressing the overpowering force of the muscles: the strength is no longer ideal, but partly physical.

The spirit and tendencies of the later Alexandrine age are most manifest in the monuments of Zeus Ammon. The earliest representation of him in Greece was the statue by Calamis, carved for the shrine erected by Pindar in Thebes. The type, apart from the ram's horns, was no doubt purely Hellenic, and the rendering worthy of the 'Lord of Olympus,' as he is called in a fragment of Pindar; and a coin of Cyrene^b of nearly the same epoch shows us the head of Zeus Ammon in the style of the transitional period before Pheidias—an impressive countenance, cold and austere, with a powerful marking of the eyebrow. And no doubt the genuine and wholesome tradition of Greek sculpture lingered for some

^a Pl. V a. Vide my article in the *Hellenic Journal*, 1888, pp. 43-45.

^b Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 728, Fig. 328.

PLATE V

a



b



time in the monuments of this adopted worship. But later, at some point in the Alexandrine period, the hint of the animal from which the god had grown began to appear in the face, as this age loved to try experiments in blending the animal with the human traits. A marble bust at Naples^a preserves the older ideal in the rendering of the forehead and other features, and the power and function of the oracular god is strikingly expressed; but the long nose and the curving line of the extremity are traits borrowed from the ram, and the mouth is unmistakably sensual. More bizarre and unnatural in effect is the head of Zeus Ammon in Munich^b, a work probably of later origin than the last; the hair of the beard resembles a wild beast's fell, but it is not so much the fusion of the animal and divine forms as the incongruity of the expression that marks this work as alien to those of the earlier style. The face seems to express a bitter merriment, a mingling of care and laughter; it is neither Zeus nor Dionysos, although the sculptor was possibly thinking of a certain affinity between Ammon and the latter god. In both these heads we can trace the evil effects of the Alexandrine *θεοκρασία*, which tended to blur and falsify the outlines of the older types^c.

But none of these later works or types prevailed over or obscured the influence of the Pheidian image upon the imagination of the classical world. The last witness to its enduring impressiveness is Porphyry, who in a passage of wild symbolism^d, in which he gives a mystic meaning to all the details of the typical representation of Zeus, evidently has before his mind the figure wrought by Pheidias.

^a Overbeck, *K.-M. Atlas*, 1. Taf. 3, No. 5.

^b *Atlas*, 1. 3, 7.

^c An interesting figure of Zeus Ammon has been recently published (*Eph. Arch.* 1893, Πίν. 12, 13, p. 187), which shows the last result of this tendency; it is probably from Alexandria,

a work of Graeco-Egyptian art, but the non-Hellenic character and the animal nature of the god prevail; the body is a herme ending in a serpent; the head has the ram's horns and scarcely any expression.

^d Ap. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 3. 9, 5.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTERS IV-VI.

Crete.

¹ a Zeus Κρηταγενής: *C. I. Gr.* 2554 in treaty between the Cretan cities, Latus and Olus: ὁμνύω τὸν Ζῆνα τὸν Κρητογενεῖα καὶ τὰν Ἑραν.

^b On certain coins struck under Titus, Overbeck, *Kunst-Myth.* 1, Münztaf. 3. no. 19 with inscription. *Eph. Arch.* 1893, Πίν. 1. no. 8.

^c Zeus Κρηταγενής in Carian inscriptions near Olymus, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1889, p. 395.

² Io. Lyd. *de Mens.* 4. pp. 83, 84 Bekk. Ἐρατοσθένους γε μὴν τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τεχθῆναι λέγει, κακέϊθεν διὰ τὸν Κρόνου φόβον μετενεχθῆναι εἰς Νάξον: *Ib.* ὁ Κορίνθιος (Εὐμηλος) τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λυδία τεχθῆναι βούλεται, . . . ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πρὸς τῷ δυτικῷ τῆς Σαρδιανῶν πόλεως μέρει τῆς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Τμώλου τόπος ἐστίν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετίου (προσηγορεύετο).

³ Eurip. Κρήτες frag. 475 a. Dind.:

ἀγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνομεν ἐξ οὗ
 Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμεν
 καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντᾶς
 τὰς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας τελέσας
 μητρί τ' ὀρεῖα δᾶδας ἀνασχῶν
 καὶ Κουρήτων
 Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὄσιωθεῖς.

Cf. Strabo 468 ἐν δὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ καὶ . . . τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰ ἰδίως ἐπετελεῖτο μετ' ὀργασμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων προπόλων οἳ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσόν εἰσιν οἱ Σάτυροι.

⁴ Diod. Sic. 5. 77 κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνώσῳ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερώς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι. Apoll. Bibl. 1. 1, § 6 γεννᾶ δὲ (Ῥέα) ἐν ἄνθρω τῆς Δίκτης Δία καὶ τοῦτον μὲν δίδωσι τρέφεσθαι Κούρησί τε καὶ ταῖς . . . Νύμφαις Ἀδραστεία τε καὶ Ἰδη. Strabo 478 τῶν Ἑτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πρᾶσος καὶ . . . ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δίκη πλησίον.

⁵ Zeus Δικταῖος in oath of alliance between Hierapytna and Gortyna, *C. I. Gr.* 2555 Ὀμνύω . . . Ζᾶνα φράτριον καὶ Ζᾶνα Δικταῖον.

⁶ a Zeus Φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 33 P.

^b Anthol. *Ephit.* 7. 746 Ὡδε μέγας κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι.

⁷ Hygin. *Fab.* 139 Amalthea pueri (Iovis) nutrix eum in cunis in arbore suspendit, ut neque coelo neque terra neque mari inveniretur.

⁸ Athen. 9. 376 a (Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος) μυθεύουσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχεον ὄς καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῷ περιοιχνεύσα, τὸν κνυζηθμὸν τοῦ βρέφους, ἀνεπαίστου τοῖς παριούσιν ἐτίθει. Διὸ πάντες τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο περίσεπτον ἡγοῦνται, καὶ οὐκ ἄν, φησι, τῶν κρεῶν δαΐσαντο. Πρᾶισιοι δὲ καὶ ἱερά ῥέζουσιν ὑῖ, καὶ αὕτη προτελής αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νενομίσται.

⁹ Anth. 9. 645 :

Σάρδιες, ἡ Λυδῶν ἔξοχος εἰμι πόλις·
 μάρτυς ἐγὼ πρώτη γενόμην Διός· οὐ γὰρ ἐλέγχω
 λάθριον νῦα ῥέης ἤθελον ἡμετέρης.
 αὕτη καὶ Βρομίῳ γενόμην τροφός.

¹⁰ Paus. 8. 38, 2 χώρα τέ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Κρητέα καλουμένη, . . . καὶ τὴν Κρήτην ἔνθα ὁ Κρητῶν ἔχει λόγος τραφήναι Δία τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ οὐ τὴν νῆσον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

¹¹ a Strabo 387 Αἴγιον δὲ ἱκανῶς οἰκεῖται, ἱστοροῦσι δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Δία ἵπ' αἰγὸς ἀνατραφήναι.

b Paus. 7. 24, 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεῦσιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα, Ζεὺς τε ἠλικίαν παῖς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔχων πω γένεια, Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἱερεῖς αἰρετοὶ γίνονται καὶ ἐκάτερα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις μένει τοῦ ἱερομένου. τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα προεκκрито ἐκ τῶν παιδῶν ἱεράσθαι τῷ Διὶ ὁ νικῶν κάλλι.

¹² Strabo 648 ἡ πατρις (Magnesia on the Maeander) δ' ἱκανῶς αὐτὸν ἠΰξησε πορφύραν ἐνδύσασα ἱερώμενον τοῦ σωσιπόλιδος Διός. Pindar *Ol.* 5. 40 :

Σωτήρ ὑψιφεφές Ζεῦ, Κρόνιον τε ναίων λόφον
 τιμῶν τ' Ἀλφεὸν εὐρὺν ῥέοντ' Ἰδαίον τε σεμνὸν ἄντρον.

¹³ Zeus Γοναῖος on coins of Tralles of Imperial period, *Hist. Num.* p. 555.

Dodona.

^a *Il.* 16. 233 :

Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
 Δωδῶνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοῖ
 σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χამαιεῦναι.

b *Od.* 14. 327 :

τὸν δ' ἐς Δωδῶνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὄφρα θεοῖο
 ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλήν ἐπακούσαι.

^c Hesiod, *ap. Strabo*, p. 328 Δωδώνην φηγόν τε Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον ἦεν: *Ib.* ἡ Δωδώνη τοίνυν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Θεσπρωτοῖς ἦν καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Τόμαρος ἢ Τμάρος . . . ὑφ' ᾧ κείται τὸ ἱερόν . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένους ὑποφήτας τοῦ Διὸς . . . τομούρους φασὶ λεχθῆναι.

^d *Od.* 16. 403 :

εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μέγαιλοιο θέμιστες (ν.λ. τομούροι)
αὐτὸς τε κτενέω τοὺς τ' ἄλλους πάντας ἀνώξω,
εἰ δέ κ' ἀποτρωπῶσι θεοί, παύσασθαι ἄνωγα.

^e Strabo 329 κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες ἦσαν οἱ προφητεύοντες· ὕστερον δ' ἀπεδείχθησαν τρεῖς γράϊαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σύνναος τῷ Διὶ προσαπεδείχθη καὶ ἡ Διώνη.

^f Hesiod, *ap. Soph. Trach.* 1169 Schol. τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς ἐφίλησε καὶ ὄν χρηστήριον εἶναι τίμιον ἀνθρώποις, ναῖεν δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγοῦ, ἔνθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντήϊα πάντα φέρονται.

^g Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δωδώνη· Σουίδας δὲ φησι Φηγωναίου Διὸς ἱερόν εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.

^h Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 829 :

ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ γάπεδα
τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
μαντεῖα θᾶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός,
τέρας τ' ἄπιστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες.

ⁱ Soph. *Trach.* 169 :

τοιαῦτ' ἔφραζε πρὸς θεῶν εἰμαρμένα
ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν αὐδήσαι ποτε
Δωδῶνι δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη.

^k Paus. 10. 12, 10 τὰς Πελειάδας . . . λέγουσι, καὶ ἴσαι γυναικῶν πρῶτας τὰδε τὰ ἔπη· Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστί, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ, Γὰ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέρα γαῖαν.

^l Strabo 7. *Frag.* 1 ἴσως δὲ τινα πτῆσιν αἱ τρεῖς περιστεραὶ ἐπέτοντο ἐξαιρετον, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἱέρειαι παρατηρούμεναι προθεσπίζον. φασὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Μολοττῶν καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν γλῶτταν τὰς γραῖας πελίας καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς γέροντας πελίουσ· καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ὄρνεα ἦσαν αἱ θρυλούμεναι Πελειάδες, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες γραῖαι τρεῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν σχολάζουσαι.

^m Dion. Halic. *Hist. Rom.* 1. 14 (τὸ παρὰ Δωδωναίοις μυθολογούμενον) ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ δρύος ἱερᾶς καθεζομένη περιστερὰ θεσπιωδεῖν ἐλέγετο.

ⁿ Herod. 2. 55 τὰδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶν αἱ προμάντιες· . . ἰσομένην δὲ μιν (τὴν πελειάδα) ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάσασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηῇ, ὡς χρεῶν εἶη μαντήϊον αὐτοῦσι Διὸς γενέσθαι. Cf. 54-56.

o Ephorus, *ap. Strabo*, p. 402 ἐκ δὲ τούτων Βοιωτοῖς μόνοις ἄνδρας προθεσπίζειν ἐν Δωδώνῃ.

p Cic. *de Divin.* I. 76 maximum vero illud portentum isdem Spartiatibus fuit, quod, cum oraculum ab Iove Dodonaeo petivissent de victoria sciscitantes, legatique vas illud, in quo inerant sortes, conlocavissent, simia . . . sortes . . . disturbavit. . . .

q Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466 (Dodona) ubi Iovi et Veneri templum a veteribus fuerat consecratum. Circa hoc templum quercus immanis fuisse dicitur, ex cuius radicibus fons manabat, qui suo murmure instinctu deorum diversis oracula reddebat; quae murmura anus Pelias interpretata . . . narratur et aliter fabula: Iupiter quondam Hebae filiae tribuit duas columbas humanam vocem edentes, quarum altera provolavit in Dodonae glandiferam silvam.

r Cic. *de Div.* I. 95 (Lacedaemonii) de rebus maioribus semper aut Delphis oraculum aut ab Hammone aut a Dodona petebant. Cf. Plutarch, *Lys.* 25.

s Paus. 8. 11, 12 Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δωδώνης Σικελίαν ἦλθεν οἰκίζειν . . . οἱ δὲ οὐ σωφρονήσαντες τὸ εἰρημένον ἔς τε ὑπερορίου στρατείας προήχθησαν καὶ ἔς τὸν Συρακοσίαν πόλεμον.

t Demosth. κατὰ Μειδ. p. 531 τὰς μαντείας, ἐν αἷς ἀπάσαις ἀνηρημένον εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει ὁμοίως ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐκ Δωδώνης, χόρους ἰστάναι: *Ἰδ.* Ἐκ Δωδώνης μαντεία τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ὁ τοῦ Διὸς σημαίνει . . . αἰρετοὺς πέμπειν κελεύει θεωροὺς ἑννέα, καὶ τούτους διὰ ταχέων τῷ Διὶ τῷ ἐν Τομάρῳ τρεῖς βοῦς καὶ πρὸς ἐκάστῳ βουὴ δύο οἷς, τῇ δὲ Διώνῃ βοῦν καλλιερῆν. Cf. *Fals. Leg.* p. 436.

u Schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ ναῖος ὕδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία.

v *C. I. Gr.* 2909 νικήσας Νᾶα τὰ ἐν Δωδώνῃ: cf. inscription from Tegea, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 15. Bekker, *Anecdota* I, p. 285 Ναῖον Διός ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διός, ὃς ἐν Δήλῳ, Ναῖον Διὸς καλεῖται.

w Carapanos, *Dodone*, pl. 34. 5: Collitz, *Dialect-Inschriften* 1562 ἐπικοινωνῶνται Κορκυραῖοι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ναίῳ καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ τίνι κα θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων θύοντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον φοικέοιεν. Carapanos, pl. 34. 4: Collitz 1563 ἐπικοινωνῶνται τοῖ Κορκυραῖοι τῷ Διὶ Νάῳ καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ τίνι κα θεῶν ἢ ἡρώων θύοντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι ὁμοουσίην ἐπὶ τῷ γαθόν.

x *C. I. A.* I. 34 τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Διώνης: inscription of fifth century B. C. Cf. *ib.* 3. 333.

¹⁴ a Zeus Πανομφαίος : Simonides, Bergk 144 :

οὔτω τοι μελέα ταναὰ ποτὶ κίονα μακρὸν
ἦσο, πανομφαίῳ Ζηνὶ μένουσ' ἱερά.

b *Il.* 8. 249 :

πᾶρ δὲ Διὸς βωμῶ περικαλλεῖ κάββαλε νεβρόν,
ἔνθα πανομφαίῳ Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί.

c *Ov. Met.* 11. 190 Ara Panomphaeo vetus est sacrata Tonanti.

¹⁵ a Inscription from Stratoneicea in Caria (Roman period), Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* tom. 3. no. 515 Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἀγαθῷ Ἀγγέλῳ Κλαύδιος . . . ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας . . . χαριστήριον.

b *Il.* 2. 93 :

μετὰ δέ σφισιν Ὅσσα δεδήει . . . Διὸς ἄγγελος.

¹⁶ Zeus-oracle at Olympia : ^a Strabo 353 τὴν δ' ἐπιφάνειαν (τὸ ἱερόν) ἔσχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν διὰ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς· ἐκείνου δ' ἐκλειφθέντος οὐδὲν ἦττον συνέμεινεν ἢ δόξα τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

b Xenoph. *Hell.* 4. 7 Ἀγησίπολις . . . ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἐπερώτα τὸν θεόν, εἰ οσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων.

c Pind. *Ol.* 6. 6 βωμῶ τε μαντεῖῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσῃ : cf. *Il.* 119-120.

¹⁷ Zeus Φήμιος with Athena Φημία at Erythrae : inscription published in Βιβλ. Μουσ. Σμυρν. 1873, no. 108-109 ; *Rev. Arch.* 1877, p. 107.

¹⁸ Hesych. Εὐφήμιος· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λέσβῳ : cf. Paus. 1. 17, 1 σφίσι (Ἀθηναίοις) βωμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Φήμης.

¹⁹ a Zeus Τεράστιος, Lucian, *Tim.* 41 ὁ Ζεὺς τεράστιε . . . πόθεν τοσοῦτον χρυσίον ;

b *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 58, inscription near Gytheum, Μοῖρα Διὸς Τεραστίου, referring to the territory of the temple.

²⁰ Strabo 414 Λεβάδεια δ' ἐστὶν ὅπου Διὸς Τροφώνιον μαντεῖον ἱδρύται· χάσματος ὑπονόμου κατάβασιν ἔχον, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος.

²¹ Zeus Σημαλέος : Paus. 1. 32, 2 ἐν Πάρνηθι . . . βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διὸς.

²² Zeus Λυκαίος : ^a Paus. 8. 2, 1 (Λυκαίων) . . . Λυκόσουραν . . . πόλιν ᾤκισεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ καὶ Δία ὠνόμασε Λυκαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε Λύκαια.

b *Id.* 8. 38, 6 τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ (τῷ ὄρει) Λυκαίου Διὸς, ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἀνθρώποις· . . . ἐσελθόντα ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ πρόσω μὴ βιώναι· καὶ τάδε ἔτι ἐλέγετο τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους γενόμενα ὁμοίως πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ παρέχεσθαι σκιάν. . . ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρῃ τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ

τοῦ ὄρους γῆς χῶμα, Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμός, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σύνοπτος' . . . ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ· πολυπραγμονήσαι δὲ οὐ μοι τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἡδὺν ἦν, ἐχέτω δὲ ὡς ἔχει καὶ ὡς ἔσχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Cf. Polybius 16. 12, quoting Theopompus.

^c Paus. 8. 38, 3 τῆς δὲ Ἀγνοῦς ἡ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ πηγή . . . ἦν δὲ ὁ αὐχμὸς χρόνον ἐπέχη πολύν, . . . τηλικαῦτα ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ θύσας . . . καθήσει δρυὸς κλαδὸν ἐπιπολῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βάθος τῆς πηγῆς· ἀνακωνθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀνεισιν ἀχλὺς εὐοικία ὀμίχλη.

^d Strabo 388 τιμᾶται δ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς ἱερὸν κατὰ τὸ Λύκαιον ὄρος.

^e Paus. 8. 53, 11 ἐκ Τεγέας δὲ ἰόντι ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἔστι . . . βωμός . . . Λυκαίου Διός.

^f *Id.* 8. 30, 2 (Megalopolis) πεποιήται σφισιν ἀγορά· περίβολος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός. ἔσοδος δ' ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι· τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ αἰετοὶ ταῖς τραπεζαῖαι ἴσοι.

^g *Id.* 8. 2, 3 Λυκάων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς βρέφος ἦνεγκεν ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἔθυσε τὸ βρέφος, καὶ ἔσπεισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ αἷμα. καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ γενέσθαι λύκον φασὶν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου. . . § 6 λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ ὡς Λυκάωνος ὕστερον αἰεὶ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου λύκος γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός, γίνοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον· ὅποτε δὲ εἶη λύκος, εἰ μὲν κρεῶν ἀπόσχοιτο ἀνθρωπίνων, ὕστερον ἔτει δεκάτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν αὐθις ἀνθρωπον ἐξ λύκου γίνεσθαι, γευσάμενον δὲ ἐς αἰεὶ μένειν θηρίον. Apollod. 3, ch. 8, § 5 οἱ δὲ (the sons of Lycaon) αὐτὸν (Ζῆνα) ἐπὶ ξενία καλέσαντες σφάξαντες ἕνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδα, τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ τούτου σπλάγχνα συναναμίξαντες, παρέθεσαν. . . Ζεὺς δὲ τὴν μὲν τράπεζαν ἀνέτρεψεν.

^h Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 31 P ἡγνῶει γὰρ ὁ θεός, ὡς ἄρα Λυκάων ὁ Ἄρκας ὁ ἐστιάτωρ αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα κατασφάξας τὸν αὐτοῦ . . . παραθείη ὄψον τῷ Διί.

ⁱ Plato, *Min.* p. 315 C ἡμῖν μὲν οὐ νόμος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπους θύειν ἀλλ' ἀνόσιον. . . καὶ μὴ ὅτι βάρβαροι ἀνθρωποὶ ἡμῶν ἄλλοις νόμοις χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Λυκαίᾳ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος ἔκγονοι οἷας θυσίας θύουσιν Ἑλληνες ὄντες.

^k Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 27 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ αἱ τῶν καρπῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίαι. . . ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μόνον τοῖς Λυκαίοις . . . ἀνθρωποθυτοῦσιν: from Theophrastus, vide Bernay's *Theoph.* p. 188.

^l Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, bk. 18. ch. 17 (Varro) commemorat alia non minus incredibilia . . . de Arcadibus, qui sorte ducti transnatabant quoddam stagnum, atque ibi convertebantur in lupos. Cf. Pliny, 8. 34, 8.

^m Plut. *Caes.* 61 ἡ τῶν Λυπερκαλίων ἑορτή, περὶ ἧς πολλοὶ γράφουσιν, ὡς ποιμένων τὸ παλαιὸν εἶη, καὶ τι καὶ προσήκει τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς Λυκαίοις.

ⁿ *Id. Quaest. Graec.* p. 300 A διὰ τί τοὺς ἐς τὸ Λύκαιον εἰσελθόντας ἐκουσίως καταλείουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες; ἂν δ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, εἰς Ἐλευθέρας ἀποπέλλουσιν. . . . καὶ γὰρ ἔλαφος ὁ ἐμβάς καλεῖται.

^o Paus. 5. 5, 3 and 5 ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, . . . γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκαίου Διὸς ναὸν καὶ Λυκούργου τάφον τοῦ Ἄλεου.

²³ Zeus Λυκωρείος, Steph. Byz. s. v. Λυκωρεία κώμη ἐν Δελφοῖς. ἔστι καὶ Λυκωρείος Ζεὺς. Cf. Paus. 10. 6, 2: Lucian, *Tim.* 3.

²⁴ Human sacrifices to Zeus Ἰθωμάτης, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 36 P Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσηνίος τῷ Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξε. Cf. *ibid.* Λυκτίους γὰρ—Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι—Ἀντικλειδῆς ἐν νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Δί.

²⁵ Zeus Λαφύστιος, Herod. 7. 197 at Alus, ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθέισι τοῖς ἐκείνου (Ἀθάμαντος) ἀπογόνοισιν ἀέθλους τοιούσδε. ὅς ἂν ἦ τοῦ γένους τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανήτιον, αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι. . . ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθη, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ἕξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ: cf. Lactant. *Instit.* 1. 21 Apud Cyprios humanam hostiam Iovi Teucrus immolavit, idque sacrificium posteris tradidit, quod est nuper, Hadriano imperante, sublatum.

^{26a} Zeus Αἰθριος, Οὐράνιος, pseudo-Arist. *De Mundo*, p. 401 a. 16 ἀστραπαῖός τε καὶ βρονταῖός τε καὶ αἰθριος καὶ αἰθήριος κεραυνῖός τε καὶ ὑέτιος. . . καλεῖται.

^b Herod. 6. 56 Γέρεα δὲ δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλευσὶ Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου.

^c Zeus Αἰθήριος, Ampelius 9 Ioves fuere tres, primus in Arcadia, Aetheris filius cui etiam Aetherius cognomen fuit; hic primum solem procreavit: cf. Eurip. *Frag.* 869 ἀλλ' αἰθήρ σε τίκει κόρα, Ζεὺς ὅς ἀνθρώποις ὀνομάζεται.

^{27a} Zeus Ἀμάριος, Collitz, *Dialect. Inschriften* 1634 Ὁμνῶ Δία Ἀμάριον καὶ Ἀθάναν Ἀμαρίαν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας, the Achaean federation-oath: vide Foucart, *Revue Archéol.* 1876, p. 96.

^b Strabo 387 Αἰγέων δ' ἐστὶ. . . καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλλος τὸ Ἀμάριον, ὅπου συνήεσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν: cf. 385. Polyb. 2. 39, 6 Κροτωνιάται Συβαρίται Καυλωνιάται πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ὁμορίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν: cf. *id.* 5. 93 τὸ Ὁμάριον near Aegium.

^{28a} Zeus Panamerios or Panamaros, *C. I. Gr.* 2715^a inscr. from

Stratonicea, τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν Διὸς τοῦ Παναμηρίου καὶ Ἐκάτης (? time of Tiberius).

^b *C. I. Gr.* 2717: Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie Mineure* 518 Χρηστίριον Διὸς Παναμηρίου. Ἡ πόλις ἐρωτᾷ . . . εἰ ἐπιστήσονται οἱ ἀλιτήριοι βάρβαροι τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει, inscr. from Stratonicea in reign of Valerian or Gallienos, *ib.* 2719 inscr. on base of statue, Τίτου Φλαβίου . . . ἱερατεύσαντος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παναμάρου ἐν Ἡραίοις: cf. 2720, 2721.

^c *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1887, pp. 373-391; 1888, pp. 82-104; 1891, pp. 169-209, inscriptions nearly all of the Roman period, illustrating the worship of Zeus Panamaros and Hera.

^d Zeus Panamaros connected with Zeus Narasos and Zeus Λώνδαργος: vide inscription *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1888, pp. 83, 86, 90, titles probably from villages near Stratonicea.

^{29a} Zeus Helios: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 191, archaic inscription from Amorgus; cf. *C. I. Gr.* 4604: Anth. Pal. 7. 85.

^b Zeus Φαναῖος: ? cult-title, Eur. *Rhes.* 355:

σύ μοι Ζεὺς ὁ Φαναῖος

ἦκεις διφρέων βαλῆαῖσι πώλοισι.

³⁰ Zeus Ἀστέριος: *Corp. script. hist. Byzant. Cedrenus* I, p. 217 Ἀστερίῳ Διὶ ἐν Γορτύνη πόλει θυσίασων (Μενελαος): cf. Lycophron 1299-1301: *Et. Mag.* p. 710, 28 ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος σείριω τὸν Δία ἔφη, διὰ τὸ ἄστρον.

³¹ Zeus Μηνητιάμος: on Lydian inscriptions of late period, *C. I. Gr.* 3438, 3439.

³² Zeus Ἀνατήρ: on inscription from Thoricus, ὄρος ἱεροῦ Διὸς ἀνατήρος, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1890, p. 443.

^{33a} Zeus Ὀμβριος: on Hymettus, Paus. I. 32, 2 βωμοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προοψίου . . .

^b On Parnes, *ib.* ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τότε μὲν Ὀμβριον τότε δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία. Cf. Marc. Antonin. τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν 5, 7 ἔσον, ᾧ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων.

^c *C. I. Gr.* 2374, Parian Chronicle 6 Δευκαλίων τοὺς ὄμβρους ἔφυγεν ἐκ Λυκωρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κραναὸν καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀμβρίου Ἀπημίου ἰδρύσατο καὶ τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν.

^d Lycophron *Cass.* 160 τοῦ Ζηνὶ δαιτρευθεντὸς Ὀμβρίῳ δέμας.

³⁴ Zeus Ὑέτιος: ^a at Argos, Paus. 2. 19, 7 βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διός.

^b On Mount Arachnaeum, between Argos and Epidaurus, *ib.* 2.

25, 10 βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Διὸς τε καὶ Ἑρας' δεῆσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιον ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

^c At Lebadea: Paus. 9. 39, 4 ἐν τῷ ἄλσει Τροφωνίου . . . Ζεὺς Ἰέτιος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.

^d At Cos: Ross, *Inscr. Inéd.* 2. 175 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν συμπορευομένων παρ Δία Ἰέτιον. Cf. Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 382.

³⁵ Zeus Ἰκμαῖος in Ceos: Apoll. Rhod. 2. 524 (Aristaeus) καὶ βωμὸν ποίησε μέγαν Διὸς Ἰκμαῖοιο ἱερά τ' εὖ ἔρρεξεν ἐν οὖρεσι ἀστέρη κείνῳ Σειρίῳ αὐτῷ τε Κρονίδῃ Διὶ τοῖο δ' ἔκῃτη γαίαν ἐπιφύχουσιν ἐτήσια ἐκ Διὸς αὔραι ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα: cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 753 P.

³⁶ Zeus Πανελλήμιος and Ἀφείσιος: Paus. 1. 44, 9 in the Megarid, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διὸς ἔστιν Ἀφείσιου καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ δὴ τι λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίῃ . . . κομίσαντα δὲ ἀφείναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφείσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία: cf. 2. 29, 8 and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 753 P.

³⁷ Alcman in Plut. 940 B Διὸς θυγάτηρ, Ἑρσα, καὶ Σελάνας.

^{38a} Zeus Οὐριος: Arrian *Peripl.* 27; Müll. *Geogr. Graec. Min.* 1, p. 401 ἐκ δὲ Κνανέων ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Οὐρίου, ἵνα περ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου, στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα. Cf. Demosth. πρὸς Λεπτ. § 36; Cic. *Verr.* 4. 57. Vide other references collected by Boeckh, *C. I. Gr.* 2, p. 975. Cf. *ib.* 3797 inscrip. found near Chalcedon, Οὐριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὀδηγητῆρα καλεῖται Ζῆνα on base of statue.

^b Zeus Εὐάνεμος: at Sparta, Paus. 3. 13, 8 Διὸς ἱερὸν ἔστιν Εὐάνεμον.

³⁹ Zeus Κεραύνιος: ^a at Olympia, Paus. 5. 14, 7 ἔνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμέλια ἔστι τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθά εἰσι βωμοί, Διὸς τε Ἑρκείου . . . τῷ δὲ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ὕστερον ἐποίησαντο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, βωμὸν, ὅτ' ἐς τὸν Οἰνομάου τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνός.

^b Altar at Pergamon, Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ, Conze, *Ergebnisse des Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, p. 78.

^c In Cyprus, *C. I. Gr.* 2641 Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ Ἀφροδίτῃ dedication of Imperial period.

^d In Lydia, 3446, late period.

^e Near Palmyra, 4501, dedication in Trajan's reign.

^f Near Damascus, 4520.

^g Altar on the Alban Mount, Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ, 5930.

^h On coins of Seleucia of the Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 661.

ⁱ Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος at Tegea: *C. I. Gr.* 1513 ἐν ἀγῶσι τοῖς Ὀλυμπικοῖς τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ Κεραυνοβόλῳ Διὶ ἀνατεθεμένοις, fourth century B. C.

^k Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος: *Rev. Arch.* 1854², p. 49; at Antandros ἔδοξε τῇ βούλῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀντανδρίων στεφανῶσαι Πολυκράτην . . . τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς Διὸς Ἀστραπαίου. At Athens, Strabo 404 ἡ ἑσχάρα τοῦ Ἀστραπαίου Διὸς.

^l Zeus Βροντῶν: *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1888, p. 235 Μηνόδωρος ἀρχιερεὺς Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Ἀστραπτοῦντι εὐχὴν, inscription of Laodicea published by Ramsay; cf. *Hell. Journ.* 1884, p. 256; *C. I. Gr.* 3810, inscription from Dorylaeum in Phrygia, Διὶ Βροντῶντι εὐχὴν, late period; cf. 3817 b *ib.*, 3819 *ib.* In Galatia 4135, late period.

^m Zeus καταιβάτης at Olympia: Paus. 5. 14, 10 τοῦ δὲ καταιβάτου Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. At Athens, inscription found on Acropolis, *Delt. Arch.* 1890, p. 144: at Nauplia, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1890, p. 233 Διὸς Κραταιβάτα.

ⁿ Zeus Κέρανος: inscription from Mantinea, ΔΙΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟ, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1878, p. 515.

^o ἐνηλύσια: Pollux 9. 41 οὕτως ὠνομάζετο εἰς ἃ κατασκήψιει βέλος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ . . . καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατα(ι)βάτην. Cf. Polemon, *Frag.* 93.

^p Zeus Καππώτας: Paus. 3. 22, 1 Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίου ἀργὸς λίθος: Ὁρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα.

⁴⁰ Zeus, a maritime god: ^a Σωτήρ at the Laconian Epidaurus, Paus. 3. 23, 10 πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος (ναὸς) Διὸς ἐπικλησιν Σωτήρος. In Athens, *C. I. A.* 2. 471 Διωστήρια festival in the Peiraeus, vide ¹²⁸ c.

^b Zeus Ἀποβατήριος: inscription of Roman period at Methana, Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου *Rev. Arch.* 1864, p. 66. Cf. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* 1. 11, 7 λέγουσιν . . . (Ἀλεξάνδρον) βωμοὺς ἰδρυσάσθαι ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη τῆς Ἀσίας Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου.

^c Zeus Λιμενοσκόπος: Callim. *Frag.* 114 ποτί τε Ζανὸς ἰκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπου.

^d Zeus Βύθιος: Anth. Pal. *Anath.* 164 Γλαύκῳ καὶ Νηρήϊ καὶ Ἴνοϊ καὶ Μελικέρτῃ καὶ Βυθίῳ Κρονίδῃ καὶ Σαμοθρᾶξι θεοῖς.

^e Zeus Ἐνάλιος: Proclus, Plat. *Crat.* 88 ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς Ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν. Paus. 2. 24, 4 Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν Θαλάσσει.

⁴¹ Ζηγο-Ποσειδῶν in Caria: Athenae. p. 42 a τὸν ἐν Καρίᾳ (ποταμὸν) παρ'

ὃ Ζηνοποσειδῶνος ἱερόν ἐστι (from Theophrastus); cf. 337 c, d. Vide *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1890, p. 260 Σύμμαχος Γαίου Πλωτίνου Συμμάχου υἱὸς ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὅσογῶ Ζηνοποσειδῶνος: cf. ¹⁰⁹ b.

⁴² Zeus as god of vegetation: Zeus Καρποδότης at Prymnesus in Phrygia; inscription published by Ramsay in *Mitt. d. d. deutsch. Inst. Ath.* 7. p. 135 Διὶ μεγίστῳ Καρποδότῃ εὐχαριστήριον.

^a Cf. Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, Plut. *Animine an corp. aff. sint pejor.* p. 502 Ἀσκραῖος Διὶ Λυδίων καρπῶν ἀπαρχὰς φέροντες: Hesych. Ἀσκρα δρυὸς ἄκαρπος.

⁴³ Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος in Euboea, Hesych. s.v. Ζεὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. Cf. late inscription from Paphlagonia, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1889, p. 310 Διὶ ἐπικαρπίῳ εὐχῆς χάριν.

⁴⁴ Zeus Ἐπιδώτης at Mantinea, Paus. 8. 9, 2 Μαντινεῦσι δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά τὸ μὲν Σωτήρος Διὸς τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδώτου καλουμένον.

⁴⁵ Zeus Ὀπωρέυς at Acraephia: *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1884, p. 8, archaic inscription, τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀπωρεῖ: cf. Zeus Ἐνδεδροσ, ¹ to chapter 1.

⁴⁶ Zeus Γεωργός in Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 77, vide ¹³⁸ a. Cf. Roberts, *Marm. Oxon.* 21.

⁴⁷ Zeus Μόριος, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 704:

ὁ γὰρ εἰσαεὶν ὄρων κύκλος
λεύσσει νῦν Μορίου Διός.

⁴⁸ Zeus Νόμος, Archytas *Frag.*: Mullach. *Frag. Phil. Graec.* 1, p. 561 Ζεὺς Νόμος καὶ Νειμήϊος καλέεται. Apoll. *Duscol.* § 13 ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῷ θυσίας τινοὺς συντελουμένης ἀγγελὴν αἰγῶν ἄγεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . προβαίνειν μίαν αἶγα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγομένην καὶ προσέρχεσθαι τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν δὲ ἱερέα λαβόμενον αὐτῆς καλλιερεῖν (cf. *Et. Mag.* s.v. Αἰγοφάγος ὁ Ζεὺς, ὡς παρὰ Νικανδρῷ ἐν Θηριακοῖς).

⁴⁹ Zeus Συκάσιος, Eustath. *Hom. Od.* 1572 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Συκάσιος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁ καθάρσιος· τῇ γὰρ συκῇ ἐχρῶντο, φασίν, ἐν καθαρμοῖς. Hesych. s.v. παραπεποιήται παρὰ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν.

⁵⁰ Zeus Μήλιος on coins of Nicaea of Imperial period, *Head. Hist. Num.* p. 443.

⁵¹ Zeus Μηλώσιος in Corcyra, *C. I. Gr.* 1870 Διὸς Μηλωσίου, inscription on boundary stone. In Naxos, 2418 Ὄρος Διὸς Μηλωσίου, early period.

⁵² Zeus Γελέων on Attic inscription of Hadrian's time, *C. I. A.* 3. 2 ἱεροκῆρυξ Διὸς Γελέοντος.

⁵³ Zeus Ἀρισταῖος, Schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 500 Ζεὺς Ἀρισταῖος ἐκλήθη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνεὺς καὶ Νόμος.

⁵⁴ Zeus Κόνιος, the god of dust: at Athens, Paus. I. 40, 6 Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον.

^{55 a} Zeus Εὐβουλεύς: Hesych. *s.v.* εὐβουλεύς· ὁ Πλούτων, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς ὡσπερ ἐν Κυρήνῃ. Cf. inscription in Paros, Ἐρασίππη Πράσωνος Ἄρη Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βαβοῖ, Athenaeon 5, p. 15; Diod. Sic. 5. 72 (προσαγορευθῆναι Ζῆνι) Εὐβουλέα καὶ μητιέτην διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς σύνεσιν. Cf. Eubouleus at Eleusis.

^b At Amorgus, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* I, p. 334 Δήμητρι Κόρῃ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ.

⁵⁶ Zeus Βουλεύς: at Myconos, Dittenberger, *Syll.* 373 ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ἕν ἐγκύμονα πρωτοτόκον, Κόρῃ κάπρον τέλειον, Διὶ Βουλεῖ χοῖρον.

^{57 a} Zeus Χθόνιος: at Corinth, Paus. 2. 2, 8 (ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ) τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψιστον. At Olympia, vide ^{142 a}.

^b Hesiod Ἔργ. 465 Εὐχέσθαι δὲ Διὶ Χθονίῳ, Δημητέρι θ' ἀγνῇ ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν.

⁵⁸ Zeus Σκοτίτας: near Sparta, Paus. 3. 10, 6 Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διὸς (ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας δρυῶν πλήρης).

⁵⁹ Zeus Καταχθόνιος: Hom. *Il.* 9. 457:

θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαρᾶς

Ζεὺς τε Καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινῇ Περσεφόονεια.

⁶⁰ Zeus Τροφώνιος: vide ²⁰.

⁶¹ Eur. *Frag.* 904:

σοὶ τῷ πάντων μεδέοντι χοῖν
πέλανόν τε φέρω, Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης
ὄνομαζόμενος στέργει, σὺ δέ μοι
θυσίαν ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας
δέξαι πλήρη προχυθεῖσαν.

⁶² Zeus Διδυμαῖος: Macrob. 5. 21, 12, quoting Nikander's *Αἰτωλικά*: ἐν τῇ ἱεροποιῇ τοῦ Διδυμαίου Διὸς κισσῷ σπονδοποιέονται. Zeus Βάκχιος, *C. I. Gr.* 3538, at Pergamon in late oracle.

⁶³ Zeus Ἀπομνῖος: Paus. 5. 14, 1. At Olympia, φασὶ δὲ Ἑρακλεῖ θύοντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δι' ὄχλον μάλιστα γενέσθαι τὰς μνῖας· ἐξευρόντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου διδαχθέντα Ἀπομνίῳ θύσαι Διῖ, καὶ οὕτως ἀποτραπῆναι τὰς μνῖας πέραν τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. λέγονται δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ Ἥλείῳ θύειν τῷ Ἀπομνίῳ Διῖ. Cf. Aelian, *Hist. An.* 10. 8. Paus. 8. 26, 7: Sacrifice to Myiagros.

⁶⁴ Three-eyed Zeus at Argos on the Acropolis: Paus. 2. 24, 3 ἐνταῦθα . . . Ζεὺς ξόανον δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. Τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριμίαφ φασὶν εἶναι . . . πατρῶον ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον. Cf. Schol. Eur. *Troad.* 16 τὸν δὲ ἐρκεῖον Δία ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ ἰδίαν τινὰ σχέσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦντες, τρισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν κεχρησθαί φασιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀγίαν καὶ Δερκύλον.

⁶⁵ At Coronea, Paus. 9. 34, 1 ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῶ (τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς) πεποιημένα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰωνίας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα· τέχνη δὲ Ἀγαροκρίτου. Strabo 411 συγκαθίδρυται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὁ Ἄιδης κατὰ τινα, ὡς φασι, μυστικῆν αἰτίαν.

Zeus-cult on mountains.

⁶⁶ Zeus Ἰθωμάτας: a Messenia, Paus. 4. 3, 9 τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Ἰθώμης . . . οὐκ ἔχον παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσί πω τιμάς, Γλαῦκος ἦν ὁ καὶ τούτους σέβειν καταστησάμενος. *Id.* 4. 27, 6 ὡς δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ πάντα ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ (for the recolonization of Messene) . . . Μεσσηνῖοι Δί τε Ἰθωμάτα καὶ Διοσκούροισ (ἔθουοι): *id.* 4. 33, 2 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς (τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα) Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων. ἱερεὺς δὲ αἰρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεισαν μουσικῆς . . . τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα Ἄ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

b In Laconia, *id.* 3. 26, 6 (ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσση χώρα τῆς Λευκτρικῆς) . . . ἄνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα· τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσηνῖοι φασὶ μαρτύριον εἶναι σφισι τὰ Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον Μεσσηνίας εἶναι.

c Le Bas-Waddington, *Mégar. et Pélof.* 328 A Ὀρκος τῶν Μεσσηνίων Ὀμνῶ Δία Ἰθωμάτων. Vide ²⁴ a.

d Zeus Ἰθωμάτης: on coins of Thuria of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 363.

⁶⁷ a Zeus Κηναῖος: in Euboea, Aesch. *Frag.* 27 Εὐβοῖδα καμπὴν ἀμφὶ Κηναίου Διός. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 237 and 757. Apoll. Bibl. 2. 7, 7 προσορμισθεὶς Κηναίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ Διὸς Κηναίου βωμῶν ἰδρύσατο (Ἡρακλῆς).

b At Athens, *C. I. A.* 1. 208 Διὸς Κηναίου (fifth century B.C.).

⁶⁸ Zeus Λαφύστιος: Paus. 9. 34, 5 ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Λαφύστιον καὶ ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαφυστίου τὸ τέμενός εἰσιν ἐκ Κορωνείας στάδιοι μάλιστα εἴκοσι λίθου μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν. Ἀθάμαντος δὲ θύειν Φρίξον καὶ Ἕλληνα ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντος πεμφθῆναι κριὸν τοῖς παισὶ φασιν ὑπὸ Διός. Also at Alus, vide ²⁵.

- ⁶⁹ Zeus Ἀταβύριος: ^a in Rhodes: Pind. *Ol.* 7. 87 Ζεῦ πάτερ νότουσιν Ἀταβυρίου μεδέων. Cf. dedication of second century B. C. (?), Rhodian inscr. *C. I. Gr.* 2103 b. Diod. Sic. 5. 59 ὅπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τιμᾶται διαφερόντως. Apollod. 3. 2. 1 (Ἀλθημένης, the grandson of Minos), ἀναβάς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀταβύριον . . . τῶν πατρῶν ὑπομνησθεὶς θεῶν ἰδρύετο βωμὸν Ἀταβυρίου Διός.
- ^b At Agrigentum, Polyb. 9. 27, 7 ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔκτισται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίους.
- ⁷⁰ Zeus Αἰνήσιος in Cephallenia, Strabo 456 μέγιστον δὲ ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ τὸ Διὸς Αἰνήσιου ἱερὸν: from Mount Aenus, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 297.
- ⁷¹ Zeus Δικταίος in Crete, Strabo 478. Vide ⁴.
- ⁷² Zeus Κύνθιος in Delos: Dittenberger, *Syll.* 249; *C. I. A.* 2. 985 D ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κυνθίου.
- ⁷³ Zeus Ἰδαῖος: Aesch. *Frag.* 155 οἱ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς, ὧν κατ' Ἰδαίον πάγον Διὸς πατρῶν βωμὸς ἔστ' ἐν αἰθέρι. Vide ³.
- ^{74a} Zeus Κάσιος: from Mount Casium of N. Syria, Ammian. Marcell. 22. 14, § 4; on coins of Seleucia of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 661.
- ^b Also from the mountain between Arabia and Egypt, Strabo 760 Διὸς ἔστιν ἱερὸν Κασίου; at Pelusium, vide note, p. 125.
- ^c On coins of Corcyra of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 277. Διὸς Κασίου, on bronze seal in Leyden, *C. I. Gr.* 7044 ^b.
- ^d At Epidaurus, *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 87 inscription, Διὶ Κασίῳ.
- ⁷⁵ Zeus Ὑνναρεὺς: Hesych. *s.v.* ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑνναρίου ὄρους.
- ⁷⁶ Zeus Ἀγχέσμιος: Paus. 1. 32, 2, in Attica, Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἔστιν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου.
- ⁷⁷ Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος: Paus. 2. 15, 3 Ὄρος Ἀπέσας ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσεία πρῶτον Διὶ θύσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ.
- ⁷⁸ Zeus Ὑμηττίος: Paus. 1. 32, 2 ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμηττίου Διός.
- ⁷⁹ Zeus Παρνήθιος: Paus. 1. 32, 2 ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἔστί.
- ⁸⁰ Zeus Πελιωναῖος: Hesych. *s.v.* ἐν Χίῳ—from the mountain.
- ⁸¹ ? Κιθαιρώνιος: Paus. 9. 2, 4 ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρῶν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρώνιου ἔστί: ? an interpolation.
- ⁸² Zeus Κοκκύγιος: on the 'Cuckoo-mountain' in the neighbourhood

of Hermione, Paus. 2. 36, 2 *ιερά δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωῶνί ἐστιν Ἡρας.*

⁸³ Zeus Ἀκραίος: ^a at Magnesia in Thessaly, inscription in *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.*, 1889, p. 52 *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου*: cf. *id.* 1890, p. 314.

^b On Mount Pelion, Heracleides, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 2. 262, frag. 60 *ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους κορυφῆς σπήλαιόν ἐστι τὸ καλούμενον Χιρώνιον καὶ Διὸς ἀκταίου (leg. ἀκραίου) ἱερόν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κυνὸς ἀνατολὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιοτάτον καῦμα ἀναβαίνουνσι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐνεζωσμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινά.*

^c Near Smyrna, *C. I. Gr.* 3146 *ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαχθέντος ὕδατος ἐπὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἀκραῖον ἐπὶ Οὐλλπίου Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου.*

^{84a} Zeus Ἐπάκριος: worshipped on Hymettus and Parnes, *Et. Mag.* s.v. *ἐπάκριος*: quoting fragment of Polyzelus, *ἱερόν γὰρ ὅν τετύχηκας ἐπακρίου Διός.*

^b Hesych. s.v. Ἐπάκριος Ζεύς: *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων ἰδρυμένος, ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ὄρων τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῷ ἴδρυνον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ.*

^{85a} Zeus Κορυφαῖος: in late inscription from Philadelphia, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1. 308.

^b *C. I. Gr.* 4458, inscription from Seleucia in time of Seleucus Philopator, *ἱερεῖς Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Διὸς Κορυφαίου.*

⁸⁶ Zeus Καραῖος: Hesych. s. v. Ζεὺς παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται, ὡς μὲν τινες φασί, παρὰ ὑψηλὸς εἶναι.

⁸⁷ Zeus Ὑπατος: ^a in Boeotia: Paus. 9. 19, 3 *ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλισάντος ἐστιν ὄρος Ὑπατος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ὑπάτου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα.*

^b In Athens, Paus. 1. 26, 5 *πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου (τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου) Διὸς ἐστι βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἐμψύχου θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἔτι οὐφὴ χρήσασθαι νομίζουσι.* Cf. *id.* 8. 2, 2; *C. I. A.* 3. 170 (late period). Vide oracle quoted in Demosth. *πρὸς Μακάρτατον* 1072 *συμφέρι Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου θύοντας καλλιερεῖν Διὶ Ὑπάτῳ, Ἀθηνᾶ ὑπάτῃ Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι σωτῆρι καὶ ἀποπέμπευ ἀμφὶ ὀνήσει.*

^c In Sparta, Paus. 3. 17, 6 *τῆς χαλκιοῦκου ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου πεποιήται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὅποσα ἐστι χαλκοῦ.*

⁸⁸ Zeus Ὑψιστος: ^a at Corinth: vide ^{87a}.

^b At Corcyra, *C. I. Gr.* 1869 *Διὶ ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν.*

^c At Olympia, Paus. 5. 15, 5 *δύο βωμοὶ ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου.*

^d At Thebes, *Id.* 9. 8, 5 *πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ὑψίσταις (πύλαις) Διὸς ἱερόν ἐπὶ κλησίν ἐστιν Ὑψίστου.*

- ^e In Athens, *C. I. A.* 3. 146, 148-155 (of late period). Cf. inscription at Miletus: and *Athen. Mittheil.* 1893, p. 267.
- ^f In Mylasa, *C. I. Gr.* 2693 e *ιερέως Διὸς ὑψίστου*: at Stratonicea, vide ¹⁵.
- ^g Pindar, *Nem.* 11. 2 'Εστία, Ζητὸς Ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα.
- ⁸⁹ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος: ^a at Athens, *C. I. A.* 1. 196, 198 (fifth century inscr.); Paus. 1. 18, 6 Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἀγάλμα θέας ἄξιον, οὗ μεγέθει μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίου καὶ Ῥωμαίους εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί, τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγάλματα ὁμοίως ἀπολείπεται, πεποιήται δὲ ἕκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἔχει τέχνης εὖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος ὀρώσιν. § 8 τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομῆσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν: cf. Thuc. 2. 16. *C. I. A.* 3. 291 Φαιδωντοῦ Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐν ἄστει: *ib.* 243 *ιερέως Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου* on seat in theatre.
- ^b At Megara: Paus. 1. 40, 4 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιος: cf. Lebas, *Mégar.* 26-34.
- ^c In Naxos: *C. I. Gr.* 2417 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου 'terminus sacri fundi.'
- ^d At Miletus: *C. I. Gr.* 2867 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Πεισαί(ου), late period.
- ^e At Chalcis: *C. I. A.* 4. 27^a, oath of alliance between Athens and Chalcis, ? end of fifth century B. C., ὅς δὲ ἂμ μὴ ὁμῶση, ἄτιμον αὐτὸν εἶναι . . . καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἱερόν ἔστω τῶν χρημάτων.
- ^f At Sparta: Paus. 3. 14, 5 Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίου ἱερόν: cf. *ib.* 3. 12, 11.
- ^g At Corinth: Paus. 3. 9, 2 Κορίνθιοι μὲν οὖν . . . κατακαυθέντος σφίσις ἐξαιφνης ναοῦ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Ὀλυμπίου (just before the Asiatic campaign of Agesilaus).
- ^h At Olympia: Paus. 5. 10 and 11 temple and statue: *ib.* 5. 13, 8 altar.
- ⁱ At Patrae: Paus. 7. 20, 3 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ναὸς Ὀλυμπίου, αὐτὸς τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἐστῶσα Ἀθηναῖα παρὰ τὸν θρόνον.
- ^k At Aegira: Paus. 7. 26, 4 Παρείχετο δὲ ἡ Ἀγχειρα ἐς συγγραφὴν ἱερόν Διὸς καὶ ἀγάλμα καθήμενον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησιίου, Ἀθηναῖου δὲ ἔργου Εὐκλείδου.
- ^l At Syracuse: Paus. 10. 28, 6 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἥρκα εἶλον Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐν Συρακούσαις ἱερόν. *C. I. Gr.* 5367, formula of public oath, Ὀμνύω τὰν Ἰστίαν καὶ τὸν Ζᾶνα τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, end of third century B. C. *ib.* 5369 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, inscribed on a seat in the theatre, of same period.
- ^m At Agrigentum: Diod. Sic. 13. 82 τὸ δ' οὖν Ὀλύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνειν τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκώλυσε . . . μέγιστος δ' ὦν (ὁ νεῶς) τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως.

ⁿ Near Nacoleia in Phrygia: *C. I. Gr.* 3847 b, late inscription mentioning τὸ Ὀλυμπεῖον.

^o In Seleucia: *C. I. Gr.* 4458, vide ⁸⁵.

^p Zeus Ὀλύμπιος inscribed on coins of—

Hipponium	Head, <i>Hist. Num.</i> p. 85, fourth century.
Prusa ad Olympon	” ” ” 444, Imperial period.
Ephesus	” ” ” 498 ” ”
Antiochia ad Maeandrum	” ” ” 520 ” ”
Briula	” ” ” 548 ” ”
Maeonia	” ” ” 550 ” ”
Alexandria	” ” ” 719 ” ”

⁹⁰ Zeus Πατρώος: ^a Plato, *Eulhyd.* 392 D Ζεὺς ἡμῖν πατρώος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, ἐρκείος δὲ καὶ φράτριος καὶ Ἀθηναία φρατρία.

^b Apollod. 2. 8, 4 ἐπειδὴ ἐκράτησαν Πελοποννήσου (οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι) τρεῖς ἰδρύσαντο βωμοὺς πατρώου Διός, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἔθυσαν.

^c At Tegea: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 24, inscription of late period.

^d At Chios: *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 3. 203 (fourth century B. C.) δόσθω Κλυτίδαις χιλίας δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πατρώου.

^e Aesch. *frag. Niobe* 155: vide ⁷³.

^f Arist. *Nub.* 1468

ναὶ ναὶ καταδέσθητι πατρῶον Δία.

Epictetus, *Διατριβ.* 3. ch. 11 οὐ μοι θέμις πατέρ' ἀτιμῆσαι, πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἶσιν ἅπαντες τοῦ πατρῶου.

^{91a} Zeus Πάτριος in Italy: *C. I. Gr.* 5936 at Rome, Διὶ Πατρίῳ ex oraculo, very late: cf. 6014 b Διὶ Πατρίῳ καὶ Ἀρτίμπασα in reign of Trajan. In Caria, late inscription from Laodicea, Διὶ Πατρίῳ *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1890, p. 258.

^b Diod. Sic. 4. 14, Olympian games dedicated by Heracles, τῷ Διὶ τῷ Πατρίῳ.

⁹² Zeus Παπίας in Phrygia: *C. I. Gr.* 3817 Δημᾶς καὶ Γάϊος ὑπὲρ βοῶν ἰδίων Παπία Διὶ σωτήρι εὐχὴν. In Scythia: Herod. 4. 59 Ζεὺς ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλούμενος Παπαῖος.

⁹³ Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων: Athenag. *Leg.* 1 ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία . . . σέβει: Schol. Lycophr. 1369 Λατέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς (leg. Λακωνικῆς) ἔνθα Διὸς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἱερόν ἐστι.

⁹⁴ Zeus Λακεδαίμων: vide ²⁶ b.

⁹⁵ Zeus Ὀμόγγιος: Epictetus, *Διατριβ.* 3. ch. 11 καὶ γὰρ ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς Διὸς

είσω ὁμογνίου : Plato, *Laws* 729 C συγγένειαν δὲ καὶ ὁμογνίων θεῶν κοινωνίαν ἄπασαν . . . τιμῶν τις καὶ σεβόμενος εὖνους ἂν γενεθλίου θεοῦ εἰς παιδῶν αὐτοῦ σπορὰν ἴσχοι : Eur. *Andr.* 921 ἄλλ' ἄντομαί σε Δία καλοῦσ' ὁμόγνιον : cf. Plut. 679 D.

^{96a} Zeus Τέλειος : Plut. *Rom. Quaest.* 2, p. 264 B πέντε δεῖσθαι θεῶν τοὺς γαμοῦντας οἴονται, Διὸς τελείου καὶ Ἑρας τελείας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πειθοῦς ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος.

b At Tegea : Paus. 8. 48, 6 πεποήηται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον.

c At Athens : *C. I. A.* 3. 294 ἱερέως Διὸς Τελείου Βουζύγου.

d Aesch. *Eum.* 213, 214 :

ἦ κάρτ' ἄτιμα καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν εἰργάσω
Ἑρας τελείας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα.

e Aristoph. *Thesm.* 973 Schol. Ἑρα τελεία καὶ Ζεὺς τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων.

f Aesch. *Frag.* 52 :

Λοιβὰς Διὸς μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου
Ἑρας τε
τὴν δευτέραν δὲ κρᾶσιν ἥρωσιν νέμω,
τρίτην Διὸς Σωτήρος εὐκταίαν λίβα.

Cf. ^{55a}.

⁹⁷ Zeus Λεχεάτης at Aliphera in Arcadia : Paus. 8. 26, 6 Διὸς ἰδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου βωμὸν ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηναίων τεκόντος.

⁹⁸ Zeus Γενέθλιος : Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7 : Dind. 1, p. 139 αἰσχυρόμενοι οὐτε Δία γενέθλιον οὐτε Ἑραν γαμήλιον οὐτε Μοίρας τελεσφόρους ἢ Λοχίαν Ἄρτεμιν ἢ μητέρα Ῥέαν οὐδὲ τὰς προεστώσας ἀνθρωπίνης γενέσεως Εἰλειθυίας οὐδὲ Ἀφροδίτην : Plut. *Amat.* p. 765 γονέων ἄρα ὁ Γενέθλιος διώκει.

^{99a} Zeus Ἐρκεῖος at Athens : Philochorus, *Frag.* 146 b Κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δύο εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἐρκεῖου Διός, τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ, κατέκειτο. Πάτριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κῦνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. *C. I. A.* 2. 1664, altar Διὸς Ἐρκεῖου.

b At Olympia : Paus. 5. 14, 7 ἐνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμελίᾳ ἐστὶ τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταυθα εἰσι βωμοί, Διὸς τε Ἐρκεῖου. . . .

c At Argos : Paus. 8. 46, 2 Ἰλίου ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα Ἑλλήνων Σθενέλφ τῷ Καπανέως τὸ ξόανον τοῦ Διὸς ἐδόθη τοῦ Ἐρκεῖου.

d At Sparta : Herod. 6. 67, 68 (Δημάρτος) ἔθνε τῷ Διὶ βουὴν θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἔσθεις ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν

σπλάγχνων, κατικέτευε, λέγων τοιάδε· ὦ μῆτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καθαπτόμενος, ἵκετεύω, καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε, φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθινήν, τίς μευ ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ.

^e Hom. *Od.* 22. 334 :

ἦ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμὸν
ἐρκείου ἴζοιτο τετυγμένον, ἔνθ' ἄρα πολλὰ
Λαέρτης Ὀδυσσεύς τε βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρὶ ἔκειαν.

^f Harpocrat. ἐρκείος Ζεύς, φ' βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἔρκους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἰδρύται. Hesych. *s. v.* μεσέρκιον· Διὸς ἐπίθετον.

^g Soph. *Ant.* 486 :

ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἀδελφῆς εἴθ' ὀμαιμονεστέρα
τοῦ παντὸς ἡμῶν Ζηνὸς ἐρκείου κυρεῖ.

¹⁰⁰ Zeus Ἐφέστιος : Herod. *i.* 44 (Κροῖσος) ἐκάλεε δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ Ἐταιρήιον (Δία), τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν.

¹⁰¹ For the religious conception of family duties cf. Euripides in *Stob. Floril.* 3, pp. 78 and 83 (Meineke) : quotation from Perictione, *ib.* p. 90 : from Musonius, *ib.* p. 74 : Plato's *Laus* 930 E, 717 B, 927 A-B.

^{102a} Zeus Φράτριος : Meineke, *Frag. Com. Poet.* 3. p. 377 from the younger Cratinus, Ζεὺς ἐστὶ μοι ἐρκείος ἐστι φράτριος . . . τὰ τέλη τελῶ. Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 146 ἔθνον Διὶ φρατρίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ (at the festival of Apaturia). Dem. πρὸς Μακαρτ. 1078. 1 οἱ φράτερες . . . λαβόντες τὴν ψῆφον, καιομένων τῶν ἱερείων, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου. *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 73 ; *ib.* 1888, p. 1 : *C. I. A.* 2. 841 b (B. C. 396-5) Διὸς φρατρίου ἱερεὺς . . . ἀνέγραψε καὶ ἔστησε τὴν στήλην.

^b Zeus Ὁράτριος in Crete : ? a dialect-variant for φράτριος, *C. I. Gr.* 2555 Ὁμνῶ τὰν Ἐστίαν καὶ τὰνα Ὁράτριον καὶ τὰνα Δικταῖον . . . oath of alliance between the Hieropytnii and their cleruchs : cf. Cauet, *Delectus*, 2. 117.

^{103a} Zeus Κτήσιος : Harpocr. p. 115, *s. v.* Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπελλαίων. Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύνοντο.

^b At Athens : *C. I. A.* 3. 3854 (late period) : cf. decree in Demosth. 21. 53 Διὶ κτησίῳ βοῦν λευκόν.

^c At Phlya : Paus. *i.* 31, 4 ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδάρας καὶ Διὸς κτησίου in the Peiraeus.

^d Isaeus, 8. 16 τῷ Διὶ θύων τῷ κτησίῳ περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκείνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε . . . ἠῤῃχετο ἡμῶν ὑγίειαν δίδουσι καὶ κτησῶν ἀγαθῆν. Cf. Antiph. p. 612.

^e At Anaphe : *C. I. Gr.* 2477, doubtful inscription.

f At Teos: *C. I. Gr.* 3074 Διὸς κτησίου Διὸς Καπετωλίου 'Ρώμης 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος.

g Plut. *Stoic. Rep.* 30. p. 1048 ὁ Ζεὺς γελῶσις εἰ κτήσιος χαίρει καὶ 'Επικάρπιος καὶ Χαριτοδότης προσαγορευόμενος (if all fortune is worthless).

h Aesch. *Ag.* 1036:

ἐπεὶ σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις
κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ
δούλων σταθείσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας.

i Athenae. p. 473 b Καδίσκος ἀγγεῖόν ἐστιν ἐν ᾧ τοὺς κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύνουσιν, ὡς 'Αντικλείδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ 'Ἐξηγητικῷ . . . εἶσθαι ὅτι ἂν εὕρης καὶ εἰσχεῖται ἀμβροσίαν. ἡ δὲ ἀμβροσία ὕδωρ ἀκραϊφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία.

^{104a} Zeus Πλούσιος near Sparta, Paus. 3. 19, 7 πρὶν δὲ ἡ διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐρώταν, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἱερὸν δέικνυται Διὸς Πλουσίου.

b Zeus Πλουτολόγης on coins of the Lydian Nysa of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 552.

¹⁰⁵ Zeus 'Ολβίος in Cilicia, inscription circ. 200 B.C. *Hell. Journ.* 1891, p. 226 Διὶ 'Ολβίῳ ἱερεὺς Τεῦκρος Ταρκυάριος. *C. I. Gr.* 2017 in Thracian Chersonese Κάλλιστος (?) ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου Διὶ 'Ολβίῳ εὐχαριστήριον.

^{106a} Zeus 'Οριος: Demosth. *Halonnes.* p. 86 Χερρονήσου οἱ ὄροι εἰσὶν, οὐκ 'Αγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου. Plato, *Laus* 842 E Διὸς ὀρίου πρῶτος μὲν νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω—μὴ κινεῖτω γῆς ὄρια μηδεῖς— . . . τοῦ μὲν γὰρ (τοῦ πολίτου) ὀμόφυλος Ζεὺς μαρτύς.

b Zeus Κλάριος at Tegea: Paus. 8. 53, 9 τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγαταῖς εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου, δῆλα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ ἐπίκλησις τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἕνεκα τοῦ 'Αρκάδος. ? At Argos, Aesch. *Suppl.* 359 ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φνυγὰν ἱεσία θέμις Διὸς Κλαρίου.

^{107a} Zeus Πολιεύς on the Acropolis of Athens: Paus. 1. 24, 4 καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω· τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιεύς κριθὰς καταθέτες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακὴν. ὁ βουῖς δὲ ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν. καλοῦσι δὲ τίνα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ρίψας, οὕτω γὰρ ἐστὶν οἱ νόμος, οἴχεται φεύγων· οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν. Cf. *id.* 1. 28, 10 'Αθηναίων βασιλεύοντος 'Ερεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιεύς Διὸς.

b Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 981 τὰ δὲ βουφόνια παλαιὰ ἑορτὴ ἦν φασιν ἄγεσθαι

μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια, ὅτε καὶ βοῦν θύουσιν εἰς ὑπόμησιν τοῦ πρώτου φονευθέντος βοῦς ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἀψαμένου τοῦ πελάου ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Διπολίων . . . Θαύλωνα δέ τινα, ὡς εἶχε τῷ πελέκει ἀποκτείνει τὸν βοῦν.

c Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 29, 30 from Theophrastus: συνέταξαν οὕτω τὴν πράξιν, ἥπερ καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρ' αὐτοῖς. ὑδροφόρους παρθέτους κατέλεξαν· αἱ δὲ ὕδωρ κομίζουσιν, ὅπως τὸν πέλεκυν καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἀκονήσουσιν. ἀκονήσαντων δὲ ἐπέδωκεν μὲν τὸν πέλεκυν ἕτερος, ὁ δὲ ἐπάταξε τὸν βοῦν, ἄλλος δὲ ἔσφαξεν· τῶν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα δειράντων, ἐγένεσαντο τοῦ βοῦς πάντες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τὴν μὲν δορὰν τοῦ βοῦς ῥάψαντες καὶ χόρτῳ ἐπογκώσαντες ἐξανάστησαν ἔχουτα ταῦτὸν ὅπερ καὶ ζῶν ἔσχεν σχῆμα, καὶ προσέζενεξαν ἄροτρον ὡς ἐργαζομένῳ. . . καὶ γένη τῶν τοῦτο δρώντων ἔστι νῦν· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατάξαντος βουτύπου καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περιελάσαντος κεντριάδαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισφάζαντος δαιτροὺς ὀνομάζουσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κρεανομίας γιγνομένην δαίτα. πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βύρσαν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀχθῶσιν, κατεπόντωσαν τὴν μάχαιραν. οὕτως οὔτε τὸ παλαιὸν ὄσιον ἦν τὰ συνεργὰ τοῖς βίοις ἡμῶν ζῶα, νῦν δὲ τούτων φυλακτέον ἔστι πράττειν.

d Varro, *R. R.* 2. 5 ab hoc (bove) antiqui manus ita abstinere voluerunt ut capite sanxerint si quis occidisset.

e *C. I. Gr.* 140, 141, 150 mentioning sacrificial utensils of Zeus Polieus in the Parthenon-treasury.

f Βούτης: Hesych. *s. v.* ὁ τοῖς Δῦπολίοις τὰ βουφόνια δρῶν: cf. inscription on stone found by the Erechtheum, *ιερέως βούτου*, *C. I. A.* 2. 1656.

g Βούτης: Suidas *s. v.* οὗτος τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔσχε, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βουτάδαι ἐκλήθησαν.

h *C. I. A.* 3. 71 *ιερέως Διὸς ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ βουζύγης*: cf. 273 *βουζύγου ἱερέως Διὸς ἐν Παλλαδίῳ*.

i Hesych. *Διὸς θάκοι*. . . φασὶ δέ, . . . ὅτε ἡμφισβήτουν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Διὸς δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ τοῦ Πολιέως ἱερὸν (leg. *ιερείου*) πρῶτον θύεσθαι ἐπὶ βωμοῦ.

k Plato, *Laws* 782 c τὸ . . . θύειν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλήλους ἔτι καὶ νῦν παραμένον ὀρώμεν πολλοῖς· καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀκούομεν ἐν ἄλλοις ὅτε οὐδὲ βοῦς ἐτολμῶμεν γεύεσθαι θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖσι ζῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδουμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἀγὰρ θύματα.

l Luc. *De Dea Syr.* § 58 *στέψαντας τὰ ἱρήμα, ζῶα ἐκ τῶν προπυλαίων ἀπιάσι, τὰ δὲ κατενιχθέντα θνήσκουσι, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ παῖδες ἐαντῶν ἐντέυθεν ἀπιάσι . . . ἐς πῆρην ἐνθήμεροι χειρὶ κατάγουσιν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτέοισιν ἐπικερτομέοντες λέγουσι ὅτι οὐ παῖδες ἀλλὰ βόες εἰσίν.*

m Hesych. *Διὸς βούς*· ὁ τῷ Διὶ ἄνετος βούς ὁ ἱερός· ἔστι δὲ ἑορτὴ Μιλησίῳν.

- ⁿ At Paphos: *C. I. Gr.* 2640 Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ Ἦρας.
- ^o At Sardis: *C. I. Gr.* 3461 Δεύκιον Ἰούλιον Βονυῆτον . . . ἱερέα μεγίστου Πολιέως Διὸς in time of Tiberius.
- ^p At Plium: *C. I. Gr.* 3599 προθύεσθαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Πολιεῖ τὰ πέμματα: second century B. C.
- ^q In Ios with Athena Polias(?): *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1891, p. 172 Διὶ τῷ Πολιεῖ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ . . . decree concerning alliance with Rhodes.
- ^r In Rhodes with Athena Polias: *Rev. Arch.* 1866, p. 354. Cf. Athena⁴⁵.
- ^s At Physcos in Caria: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 31 ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθῆνας τᾶς Λυδίας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως.
- ¹⁰⁸ Zeus Πολιοῦχος: Plato, *Laus* 921 C Δία πολιοῦχον καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν κοινω-
νοὺς πολιτείας ἀτιμάζων: cf. Theogn. 757:
 Ζεὺς μὲν τῆσδε πόλιος ὑπέιρεχοι αἰθέρι ναίων
 αἰεὶ δεξιτερὴν χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνη.
- ¹⁰⁹ ^a Zeus Πολιάρχης at Olbia in Scythia: *C. I. Gr.* 2081 ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ Σωσίπατρον Νικηράτου Ἀναξιμένης Ποσιδήου μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐποίησεν τὸν πύργον Διὶ πολιάρχῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ, (?) third century B. C.
- ^b Zeus Λαιοίτης in Elis: Paus. 5. 24, 1 παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Λαιοῖτα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Λαιοῖτα τὸν βωμόν.
- ^c Zeus ἀρχηγέτης: late inscription from Prymnessos, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 7, p. 135 (Ramsay) Θεῷ ἀρχηγέτῃ εὐχὴν.
- ¹¹⁰ ^a Zeus Βουλαῖος at Athens, with Athena Βουλαία: Antiph. 6, p. 789 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας ἱερόν ἐστί, καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται. Paus. 1. 3, 5 Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ (τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ) κέται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Δήμος ἔργον Λύσωνος. *C. I. A.* 3. 683 τὸν ἱερέα Διὸς βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς βουλαίας. Cf. *ibid.* 272, 1025.
- ^b In Laconia: *C. I. Gr.* 1245 Δία βουλαῖον ἐσι(τήρια?). *C. I. Gr.* 1392 ἡ λαμπρὰ τῶν Γυθεατῶν πόλις Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καλοκλέα . . . τὸν ἱερέα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων θεῶν Διὸς βουλαίου καὶ Ἥλιου καὶ Σελήνης.
- ^c In Caria: *C. I. Gr.* 2909 ἔδοξεν Ἰώνων τῇ Βουλῇ. . . . περὶ τῆς ἱερατεῖης τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ τῆς Ἦρης.
- ^d At Mitylene: on coins of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 488.
- ^e Plut. 819 E τὸ βῆμα . . . τὸ κοινὸν ἱερόν Διὸς βουλαίου καὶ Πολιέως καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης.

¹¹¹ Zeus Ἐπιβήμιος: Hes. *s. v.* ἐν Σίφνῳ, the god of the orator's platform.

^{112a} Zeus Ἀμβούλιος at Sparta: Paus. 3. 13, 6 πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀμβουλίης βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων.

b Zeus Μηχανεύς at Argos: Paus. 2. 22, 2 Λυκίας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανεύς τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διὸς, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμοῖα παραμένειν πολεμοῦντας, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτή σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ: cf. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 3. 3052^a, the month Μαχάνειος at Chalcedon, ? sacred to Zeus Μαχανεύς.

^{113a} Zeus Ἀγοραῖος at Athens: *C. I. A.* 1. 23: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀγοραίου Διὸς βωμὸς Ἀθήνησι.

b In the Agora at Sparta: Paus. 3. 11, 9 τούτων δὲ οὐ πόρρω Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἀγοραίου.

c At Olympia: *id.* 5. 15, 4, near the altar of Artemis Ἀγοραία, a βωμὸς Ἀγοραίου Διὸς.

d At Selinus: Herod. 5. 46 οἱ γὰρ μιν Σελινοῦσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν, καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

e At Thebes: Paus. 9. 25, 4 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Νηϊστῶν τὸ μὲν Θέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς Μοιρῶν, τὸ δὲ Ἀγοραίου Διὸς.

f In Crete: Cauer, *Delect.* 2. 121 ὁμύω τὰν Ἑστίαν . . . καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ἀγοραῖον . . . : alliance between Dreros, Cnossos and Lyctos, third century B. C.

g Zeus Ἀγοραῖος: on coins of Nicaea of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 443.

h Theophrastus περὶ συμβολαίων, Stobaeus, *Floril.* 44. 22 (vol. 2, p. 167 Meineke) (ἐν τοῖς Αἰνίων νόμοις) . . . δεῖ . . . θύειν τὸν ὄρκον ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀγοραίου.

i Eur. *Heracl.* 70:

ἰκέται δ' ὄντες Ἀγοραίου Διὸς βιαζόμεσθα καὶ στέφη μαιίνεται.

k Aesch. *Eumen.* 973:

ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος.

l Plutarch 789 c (οἱ γέροντες) ὑπῆρται τοῦ βουλαίου Ἀγοραίου Πολιεύς Διὸς.

¹¹⁴ Zeus Ἀγώνιος: Soph. *Trach.* 26:

τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς.

Eust. *II.* ω, 1 ἀγών, ἢ ἀγορά, ὅθεν καὶ ἀγωνίους θεοὺς Δισχύλος τοὺς ἀγοραῖους.

¹¹⁵ a Zeus Στράτιος in Caria: Herod. 5. 119 οἱ διαφυγόντες (τῶν Καρῶν) κατελήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα, ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἶδρον μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλλος πλατανίστων, μούνοι δέ, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Κᾰρές εἰσιν οἱ Διὶ Στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. Cf. 136 x.

^b *Id.* 1. 171 ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἶδρον ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι, ὡς κασιγνήτοισι εὐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί.

^c *Id.* 5. 66, at Athens, Ἰσαγόρης ὁ Τισάνδρου, οἰκίης μὲν ἑὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. Zeus Στράτιος in Athens, *C. I. A.* 3. 141, 143, 201, of late period.

^d In Pontos: Appian, *Mithrad.* p. 215 (ed. Steph.).

^e Plut. *Eumen.* 17 ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς Διὸς Στρατίου καὶ θεῶν ὀρκίων ἐνταῦθά με δι' αὐτῶν κτείνετε.

¹¹⁶ Zeus Στρατηγός ^a at Syracuse: inscription on coin of Syracuse, *Annali dell. Inst.* 1839, p. 62 Jupiter Imperator: Cic. *In Verr.* 4. 58 Tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Iovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime facta; unum illud Macedonicum quod in Capitolio vidimus; alterum in Ponti ore et angustiis, tertium quod Syracusis ante Verrem praetorem fuit: ^b on coins of Amastris, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 433.

¹¹⁷ Zeus Ἄρειος ^a at Olympia: Paus. 5. 14, 6 τοῦ δὲ Ἐφείστου τὸν βωμόν εἰσιν Ἡλείων οἱ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἄρειου Διός· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύει τῷ Ἄρειῳ Διὶ.

^b In Epirus: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5 εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος Ἄρειῳ Διὶ θύσαντες ὀρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὀρκίζειν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.

^c On coins of Iasos of Caria, Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 528.

¹¹⁸ Zeus Ὀπλόσμος ^a in Arcadia: inscription of Achaean league in *Rev. Arch.* 1876², p. 96.

^b At Methydrion: Lebas, *Mégar.* 353 περ[ὶ] δὲ τᾶς τραπέζ[α]ς τᾶς χρυσεύς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀπλοσμίου ἄγ καταθέντες ἐνέχυρα οἱ Μεθυ[δριεῖς οἱ μεταστή]σαντες εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν διεῖλοντο τὸ ἀργύριον.

^c In Caria: Arist. *Part. Anim.* p. 673 λ. 18 περὶ δὲ Καρίαν οὕτω τὸ τοιοῦτον διεπίστευσαν· τοῦ γὰρ ἱερέως τοῦ Ὀπλοσμίου Διὸς ἀποθανόντος. . . .

¹¹⁹ a Zeus Ἀγήτωρ in Laconia: Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 13. 2, 3 θύει (ὁ βασιλεὺς) μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ἂν Διὶ Ἀγήτορι καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερῆση, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγείται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς

χώρας· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ· ὅταν δὲ ἄμφοιν τούτου τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῆ, τότε διαβαίνει τὰ ὄρια τῆς χώρας.

^b At Argos: Schol. Theocr. 5. 83 τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἡγήτορα καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι.

¹²⁰ Zeus Κοσμητᾶς at Sparta: Paus. 3. 17, 4 ἐς δὲ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν στοὰν Κοσμητᾶ τε ἐπέκλησιν Διὸς ναὸς καὶ Τυνδαρέω πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνημᾶ ἐστίν.

¹²¹ Zeus Σθένιος: Paus. 2. 32, 7, between Troezen and Hermione, πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, . . . πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς (cf. Athena Σθενίας in Troezen, Athena R. 17 b).

^{122 a} Zeus Τροπαῖος at Sparta: Paus. 3. 12, 9 τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τοὺς τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιοὺς . . . καὶ τοὺς Ἀμκλαεῖς κρατήσαντες.

^b At Salamis: C. I. A. 2. 471 ἀνέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τρόπαιον καὶ ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τροπαίῳ.

¹²³ Zeus Τροπαιούχος at Attalia in Pamphylia: C. I. Gr. add. 4340 f. g. ἱερέως Διὸς τροπαιούχου, early Roman period.

¹²⁴ Zeus Χάρμων at Mantinea: Paus. 8. 12, 1 τοῦ τάφου δὲ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα μάλιστα πού σταδίου μήκος Διὸς ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπέκλησιν Χάρμωνος.

¹²⁵ Arist. *Equit.* 1253 Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον.

¹²⁶ Zeus Ὀμαγύριος at Aegium: Paus. 7. 24, 2 ἱερὸν Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ . . . Ὀμαγύριος δὲ ἐγένετο τῷ Διὶ ἐπέκλησις, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἤβροισεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀξίους.

¹²⁷ Bacchylides, frag. 9, Bergk:

Νίκα γλυκύδωρος

ἐν πολυχρύσῳ δ' Ὀλύμπῳ Ζηνὶ παρισταμένα κρίνει τέλος

Ἀθανάτοσί τε καὶ θνατοῖς ἀρετᾶς.

^{128 a} Zeus Σωτήρ: Plut. *Arist.* 11 τῶν Πιλαταίων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρίμνηστος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτὸν, ὃ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. Xen. *Anab.* 1. 8, 16 Ζεὺς Σωτήρ καὶ Νίκη, watchword at the battle of Cynaxa. Cf. Diod. Sic. 14, 30 at Trapezus αὐτοὶ δὲ (οἱ Κύραιοι) τῷ τε Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διὶ σωτηρίῳ θυσίαν ἐποίησαν.

^b In the Peiraeus: Strabo, 395, 396 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πόλεμοι . . . τὸν Πειραιᾶ συνέστειλαν εἰς ὀλιγὴν κατοικίαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος. Paus. 1. 1, 3 θέας δὲ ἀξίον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφότερα τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ

μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην, ἣ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ δόρυ. Ἐνταῦθα Λεωσθένην ὃς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἡγούμενος Μακεδόνας ἔν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὐθὶς ἔξω Θερμοπυλῶν . . . τοῦτον τὸν Λεωσθένην καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔγραψεν Ἀρκεσίλαος.

^c In Athens: Aristoph. *Plut.* 1174:

ἀπόλωλ' ἀπὸ λιμοῦ . . .
καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερεὺς ὦν Διός . . .
θύειν ἔτ' οὐδεὶς ἀξιοῖ
. . . καίτοι τότε,
ὄτ' εἶχον οὐδέν, ὁ μὲν ἂν ἦκων ἔμπορος
ἔθυσεν ἱερείῳν τι σωθείς, ὁ δὲ τις ἂν
δίκην ἀποφυγῶν, ὁ δ' ἂν ἐκαλλιερεῖτό τις
κάμῃ γ' ἐκάλει τὸν ἱερέα.

Plut. Dem. 27 εἰωθότες γὰρ ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀργύριον τελεῖν τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσι τὸν βωμόν. . . Cf. inscription referring to the Lamian war, *Delt. Arch.* 1892, pp. 57-59 τὴν μὲν (στήλην) ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτῆρα. Cf. *Isocr.* 9. 57 τοὺς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν (Κόνωνος καὶ Εὐαγόρου) ἐστήσαμεν, οὗ περ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα τοῦ σωτῆρος.

C. I. A. 3. 281 (on a seat in the theatre) Ἱερέως Διὸς (Διὸς) Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Σωτείρας (Momms. *Heortol.* p. 453). *C. I. A.* 2. 741 ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι: *ib.* 446²³ ταῦρον τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι: *ib.* 469²¹ τοῖς Διωσωτηρίοις τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ Σωτείρα: *ib.* 471³⁰ περιέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μουνιχίοις εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐμ Μουνιχία ἀμιλλώμενοι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Διωσωτηρίοις: *ib.* 326 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔθυσσε τὰ εἰσιτήρια . . . τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ Σωτείρα: *ib.* 3. 167 ἔφηβοι ἀνέθεσαν Διὶ Σωτῆρι ἐφήβων. *Rev. Arch.* 1865, p. 499 Zeus Soter, worshipped by ἑρανοισταί.

^d At Sicyon: *Plut. Arat.* 53 θύουσιν αὐτῷ (Ἀράτῳ) θυσίαν τὴν μὲν ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξε τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρα . . . τὴν δὲ ἐν ἢ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα διαμνημονεύουσι. Τῆς μὲν οὖν προτέρας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος κατήρηχο θνητόλος.

^e At Messene: *Paus.* 4. 31, 6 Μεσσηνίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ἔστιν ἄγαλμα Σωτῆρος. At Corone in Messene, 4. 34, 6 Διὸς Σωτῆρος χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πεποιήται.

^f At Argos (by an Argive cenotaph): *Paus.* 2. 20, 6 καὶ Διὸς ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτῆρος.

^g At Troezen: *id.* 2. 31, 10 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτῆρος.

^h At Aegium: *id.* 7. 23, 9 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτῆρος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τέμενος.

ⁱ At Mantinea: *id.* 8. 9, 2 Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά τὸ μὲν Σωτῆρος Διὸς, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδῶτου καλουμένου.

^k At Megalopolis in the agora : Paus. 8. 30, 10 ἱερὸν Σωτήρος ἐπέκλησιν Διὸς. κεκόσμηται δὲ πέριξ κίσι. Καθεζομένῳ δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐν θρόνῳ παρεστήκασιν τῇ μὲν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἄρτέμιδος Σωτήρας ἄγαλμα. ταῦτα μὲν λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου Ἀθηναῖοι Κηφισόδοτος καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἰργάσαντο. Cf. *C. I. Gr.* 1536, second century B.C.

^l At Acraephiae : *C. I. Gr.* 1587 ἱερατεύοντος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος, time of Sulla.

^m At Agrigentum : inscription on coins of third century, B.C., Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 108.

ⁿ At Galaria, a Sikel town, on coin of fifth century, *ib.* p. 121.

^o At Ambracia : *C. I. Gr.* 1798 dedication Σωτῆρι Διὶ.

^p At Aetolia : *C. I. A.* 2. 323 ἐπειδὴ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν . . . ἐψήφισται τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν Σωτηρίων τιθέναι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ὑπόμνημα τῆς μάχης τῆς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, circ. 276 B.C.

^q At Pharsalos : Cauer, *Delect.*². 396 [Φαρσάλι]οι ἀνέθεικαν [εὐξάμ]ενοι Διὶ Σουτεῖρι.

^r Rhodes : *C. I. Gr.* 2526 Ζήνων Ναούμου Ἀράδιος πρόξενος Διὶ Σωτῆρι.

^s At Lesbos : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 435.

^t At Pergamon, vide Conze, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1884, s. 12 στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα . . . παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος βωμόν, ὅπως ὑπάρχη ἡ εἰκὼν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

^u At Miletus : *C. I. Gr.* 2852 Κέρας ἐπιγεγραμμένον Διὶ σωτῆρι ἔν, in a letter of Seleucus to the Milesians.

^v At Eumenia in Phrygia : *C. I. Gr.* 3886 τὸν ἀπὸ προγόνων λαμπροδαρχησάντων Διὸς Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

^w Soph. *Frag.* 375 :

Ζεῦ παυσίλυπε καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου
σπονδῇ τρίτου κρατήρος.

Cf. Athenae. 692 E πλείστων τῶν μὲν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτούντων ποτήριον τῶν δὲ Διὸς σωτήρος, ἄλλων δὲ ὑγείας : see other passages collected there, 692 E and 693 A-C.

^{129 a} Zeus Σαώτης : Paus. 9. 26, 7 Θεσπιεῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Σαώτου Διὸς ἔστι χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα.

^b Zeus Σωσίπολις : at Magnesia on the Maeander,¹²

¹³⁰ Zeus Ἀποτρόπαιος : Erythrae, *Rev. Arch.* 1877, p. 115, inscription concerning sale of priesthoods, Διὸς ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀποτροπαίας.

¹⁸¹ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος : Simonides, Bergk 140

Πέρσας ἐξέλασαντες ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδι κόσμον
ιδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἐλευθερίου.

^a At Syracuse : Diod. Sic. 11. 71 (after the overthrow of the tyranny of Thrasylbulus) ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθερίου κολοπταῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν ἐλευθέρια καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιφανείς ποιεῖν.

^b At Plataea : Strabo, 412 A ιδρύσαντό τε ἐλευθερίου Διὸς ἱερόν καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν στεφανίτην ἀπέδειξαν, Ἐλευθέρια προσαγορεύσαντες. Cf. Plut. *Arist.* 20 περὶ δὲ θυσίας ἐρομένοις αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Πύθιος Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ιδρύσασθαι, θύσαι δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντας ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μεμιασμένον ἐνάσασθαι καθαρὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας. Paus. 9. 2, 5 at Plataea, οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἐλευθερίου βωμός . . . τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τὸν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν λευκοῦ λίθου· ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀγῶνα δι' ἔτους πέμπτου, τὰ Ἐλευθέρια, ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα προκείται δρόμου· θέουσι δὲ ὀπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. *C. I. Gr.* 1624, inscription at Thebes of Roman period, παρὰ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ὀμονοίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πλαταιέων πόλις τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐεργέτην.

^c Zeus Ἐλευθέριος at Samos : Herod. 3. 142 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἐξηγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος . . . Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ιδρύσαντο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὔρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί.

^d At Larissa : Lebas, *Mégar.* 42 b Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐν Λαρίσῃ.

^e At Athens, near the στοὰ βασιλείου in the Ceramicus : Paus. 1. 3, 2 ἐνταῦθα ἔσθηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός (cf. *C. I. A.* 3. 9) : Paus. 10. 21, 5 ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν (in the battle at Thermopylae) τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκουτες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ . . . τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὄμοι Σύλλα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθηνησικῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελὶν ἀσπίδας. Hargocrat. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμός φησιν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα (Ἵπερίδην)· ἐκλήθη γὰρ ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος. Hesych. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς· τῶν Μήδων ἐκφυγόντες (?) ιδρύσαντο τὸν Ἐλευθέριον Δία· τοῦτον δὲ ἔνοι καὶ Σωτήρ φασί· τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνους καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ ἐν Καρίας (I. Καρύαις) : cf. Schol. Plato in *Eryx.* 392 A (who quotes from the same source as Hesychius, reading ἐν Καρίᾳ). Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1176 ἐν ἄστει Διὰ σωτήρα τιμῶσιν, ἔνθα καὶ σωτήρος Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἔνοι καὶ ἐλευθερίον φασί. *C. I. A.* 2. 17 (containing the terms of alliance of the second Attic confederacy), l. 63 τὸ ψήφισμα τότε ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγραφάτω ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ καταθέτω παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον : cf. *ib.* l. 9 and 26.

f In Laconia: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 49 a add. Διοικέτα Διωλευθερίφ: Le Bas-Foucart, 189 Ζανί Ἐλευθερίφ Ἀγωναίνοι Σωτήρι (vide Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 5. 4 and 17).

g At Olymus in Caria: ἱερέα Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, inscription in *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1889, p. 375.

¹³² a Zeus Ἐλλάμιος: Herod. 9. 7, 4 ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἐλλήμιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιούμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ κατανέσαμεν.

b In Aegina: Pind. *Nem.* 5. 15 τάν ποτ' εὐανδρόν τε καὶ ναυσικλυτὰν θέσσαντο πᾶρ βωμόν πατέρος Ἐλλαίου στάντες. Aeginetan inscription, *C. I. Gr.* 2138 b Διὶ Πανελληνίφ (? first century B. C.).

c At Athens: Paus. 1. 18, 9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις ναὸν Ἦρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου.

d At Syracuse: Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, II. 25.

¹³³ Zeus Ὀμολώιος: Suidas, s. v. ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωταίς καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ . . . Ἰστρος δὴ ἐν τῇ ἰβ' τῆς Συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσι τὸ ὀμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηρικὸν ὄμολον λέγεσθαι. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημήτηρ Ὀμολοία ἐν Θήβαις: cf. inscription from Assos, *C. I. Gr.* 3569 Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ . . . ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀμονώου.

¹³⁴ Zeus Πάνδημος, at Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 7, mutilated inscription of the time of Hadrian, mentioning a Διὸς Πανδήμου ἱερόν. At Synnada in Phrygia: ΖΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΣ on coin of the Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 569.

¹³⁵ Zeus Ἐπικοίνιος: Hesych. s. v. Ζεὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

Local titles from cities or districts.

¹³⁶ a Zeus Ἀβρεττηνός: from Abrette, a district of Mysia, Strabo, 574.

b Zeus Ἄσιος: Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἄσος, πόλις Κρήτης . . . ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖ τιμᾶται καὶ Ἄσιον Διὸς ἱερόν ἀρχαιότατον.

c Zeus Βαιτοκακεύς, from Baetocaece, a village near Apamea in Syria: *C. I. Gr.* 4474: in letter of King Antiochus, προσενεχθέντος μοι περὶ τῆς ἐνεργει[α]ς θε[οῦ] ἁγίου Διὸς Βαιτοκακ(έως) ἐκρί[θ]η συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῶ. εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, [ἐφ' ἧ]ν καὶ ἡ δύνα[μ]ις τοῦ θεοῦ κτε[έ]ρchetαι, κώμην τὴν Βαιτοκα[κηνῶν].

d Zeus Βένμιος, ? from Benna, a city in Thrace: *C. I. Gr.* 3157 I ὑπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Νεροῦα Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ νείκης Διὶ Βενμίου Μηνοφάνης . . . βωμόν ἀνέστησαν ὑπὲρ Βενναιοσηνῶν.

e Zeus Δολιχῆνος: inscription of Roman period in *Comm. Arch. Com. d. Roma*, 1885, p. 135: cf. Steph. Byz. s. v.

- f Zeus Ἐκαλος, at the deme Hekale near Marathon: Plut. *Theos.* 14 ἔθνον γὰρ Ἐκαλήσιον οἱ περίξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἐκάφ Δί.
- g Zeus Ἐλευσίνιος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ζεὺς Ἐλ. παρ' Ἴωσι.
- h Zeus Εὐρωμέυς: on coins of Euromus near Mylasa, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 525.
- i Zeus Ἰδαίος Ἰλιέων: on coins of Ilium and Scepsis of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* pp. 473, 474.
- k Zeus Κελανεύς at Apamea: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 309 ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον . . . ἱερέα διὰ βίου Διὸς Κελαινέως: cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 558.
- l Zeus Κραμφηνός: on inscription from Mysia, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1889, p. 90.
- m Zeus Κάριος: vide ¹³⁶ x and ¹¹⁵.
- n Zeus Κροκεάτης: Paus. 3. 21, 4 Ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντι ἐστὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἡ κώμη . . . (Κροκεαί) . . . θεῶν δὲ αὐτόθι πρὸ μὲν τῆς κώμης Διὸς Κροκεάτα λίθου μὲν πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε.
- o Zeus Κυναιθεύς, from Cynaetha in Arcadia: Schol. Lycophr. 400: Paus. 5. 22, 1.
- p Zeus Κώμυρος, ? from district near Halicarnassus: Tzetz. Lycophr. 459 Κώμυρος ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶ τιμᾶται: vide *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 174: 1887, p. 385.
- q Zeus Λαρισαίος or Λαρισεύς at Argos: Paus. 2. 24, 1 τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισαν μὲν καλοῦσιν . . . § 3 Ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον. Strabo, 440 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ δὲ ἐστὶ Λάρισα καὶ τῶν Τράλλεων διέχουσα κώμη τριάκοντα σταδίου . . . ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαρίσιος Ζεὺς ἐκέθην ἐπωνόμασται. Steph. Byz. Λάρισαι πόλεις ἰ . . . καὶ ὁ πολίτης Λαρισαίος καὶ Λαρισεύς Ζεὺς. Cf. Zeus Λαράσιος at Tralles: vide ¹³⁶ h.
- r Zeus Λαοδικεύς on coins of Imperial period of the Phrygian Laodicea, and other cities of Phrygia, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 566, &c.
- s Zeus Λύδιος on coins of Sardes and Cidramus of Imperial period: *ib.* pp. 523, 553.
- t Zeus Μαλειαῖος at Malea: Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Μαλέα.
- u Zeus Μέγιστος of Iasos: *C. I. Gr.* 2671: cf. Zeus Ἄρειος on coins of Iasos, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 528: inscription on altar in Oxford, Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου καὶ Διὸς μεγίστου, from Aphrodisias in Caria, *C. I. Gr.* 2750.
- v Zeus Μεσσαπεεύς: Steph. Byz. Μεσσαπέαι χωρίον Λακωνικῆς τὸ ἐθνικὸν

Μεσσαπεεύς· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖ τιμᾶται. Θεόπομπος πέντηκοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ.
cf. Paus. 3. 20, 3.

^w Zeus Νεμείος: Paus. 2. 15, 2 ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ (τῇ Νεμέᾳ) Νεμείου τε Διὸς ναὸς ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιος . . . θύουσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Νεμείου Διὸς ἱερέα αἰρούνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα ἀνδράσιν ὀπλισμένοις Νεμείων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν. *Id.* 2. 20, 3 in Argos: Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Δυσίππου. *Id.* 4. 27, 6 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τῇ τε Ἡρᾷ τῇ Ἀργεῖᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ Διὶ ἕθνον (at the restoration of Messene): cf. *C. I. Gr.* 1123. In Locris: Thuc. 3. 96 ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου. In Caria: inscr. *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1890, p. 261 ἱερέως Διὸς Νεμείου.

^x Zeus Ὀσογῶς Λαβραυνηνός at Mylasa in Caria: Strabo, 659 ἔχουσι δ' οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερά δύο τοῦ Διός, τοῦ τε Ὀσογῶα καλουμένου καὶ Λαβραυνηνοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ Λάβραυνδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει . . . ἐνταῦθα νεὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος καὶ ξόανον Διὸς Στρατίου. τιμᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυλασεῶν, ὁδὸς τε ἕστρωται σχεδόν τι καὶ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἱερά καλουμένη, δι' ἧς πομποστολεῖται τὰ ἱερά . . . ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴδια τῆς πόλεως, τρίτον δὲ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου Διός, κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, οὐ μέτεστι καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Μυσοῖς ὡς ἀδελφοῖς. *C. I. Gr.* 2691 E, inscription in the time of Mausolus, mentioning the ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραυνίδου at Mylasa. *C. I. Gr.* 2693, inscription from Mylasa first century B. C.? Διὸς Ὀσογῶ: cf. 2700. Zeus Λαβραυνηνός: inscription from Olymos in Caria, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1889, p. 375. Zeus Λαβραυνηνός, Thiasos and temple in the Peiraeus: inscription beginning of third century B. C. *Rev. Arch.* 1864, p. 399. *C. I. A.* ii. 613.

^y Zeus Πελτηνός: from Peltae in Phrygia, on coins of first century B. C., Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 567: cf. *C. I. Gr.* 3568 f,? third century B. C., ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πελτηνοῦ.

^z Zeus Χρυσάωρ or Χρυσσαορεύς: Strabo, 660 Στρατονίκηα δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία Μακεδόνων . . . ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύοντες καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσσαορέων συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κομῶν . . . καὶ Στρατονικεῖς δὲ τοῦ συστήματος μετέχουσι, οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους. *C. I. Gr.* 2720, inscription from Stratonicea of Roman period, mentioning the ἱερεὺς Διὸς Χρυσσαορίου. Paus. 5. 21, 10 τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα ἢ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσσαορίς. In Iasos: *Rev. d. Études Grecques*, 1893, p. 167, inscription mentioning a στεφανηφόρος τοῦ Χρυσάωρος.

^{aa} Zeus Πιτάνιος: from Pitane in Aeolis, inscription in Smyrna, Βιβλιοθ. καὶ Μουσ. 1873, p. 142.

bb Zeus Σαλαμίνιος: on Cypriot coins of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 627.

cc Zeus Σολυμεύς: on late coins of the Pisidian Termessus, *ib.* p. 594: cf. *C. I. Gr.* 4366 k.

dd Zeus Τάρσιος = Baaltars on coins of Tarsus of Imperial period, Head, *ib.* p. 617.

ee Zeus Ἐν Οὐρνάσοις at Venasae in Cappadocia: Strabo, 537 ἐν δὲ τῇ Μοριμνηῇ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ ἐν Οὐρνάσοις Διὸς ἱεροδοῦλων κατοικίαν ἔχων τρισχιλίων σχεδόν τι καὶ χῶραν ἱερὰν εὐκάρπου.

¹³⁷ Zeus Βασιλεύς ^a at Lebadea: Paus. 9. 39, 4-5 (ἐν τῷ ἄλσει Τροφωνίου) Διὸς Βασιλέως ναὸς . . . θύει . . . ὁ κατιῶν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Τροφωνίῳ . . . καὶ Διὶ ἐπίκλησιν Βασιλεῖ, καὶ Ἥρα τε Ἡμιόχῃ.

b At Erythrae: *Rev. Arch.* 1877, p. 107 Σωσθένης . . . ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους Καλλινίκου, Διὶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

c At Paros: *C. I. Gr.* 2385 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους, third century B. C.

d Arrian, 3. 5, Alexander at Memphis, θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Dio Chrys. 1, p. 9 (Dind.) Ζεὺς μόνος θεῶν πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπονομάζεται καὶ Πολιεύς.

¹³⁸ Zeus Μειλίχιος ^a at Athens: Thuc. 1. 126 ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάσια ἀ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ πανδημει θύουσι πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια. Schol. Lucian, Ἴκαρομεν. 24 Διάσια, ἑορτὴ ἦν ἐπετέλουσαν μετὰ τινος στυγνότητος, θύοντες ἐν αὐτῇ Διὶ μελιχίῳ. Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 408 ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου Διὸς ἄγεται δὲ μῆνος Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἢ φθίνοντος. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Ἀχαρνέως τὰ Διάσια διακρίνει ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Μειλιχίου ἑορτῆς. Xen. *Anab.* 7. 8, 3 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐμποδῖος γάρ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ ἤδη θύσειεν, ὥσπερ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ δλοκαυτεῖν . . . τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὁ Ξενοφῶν . . . ἐθύετο καὶ ὠλοκαυτεῖ χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ καὶ ἐκαλλιέρι. Lucian, *Χαριδμ.* 1 Ἀνδροκλέους τὰ ἐπινικία τεθυκότος Ἐρμῆ, ὅτι δὴ βιβλίον ἀναγνοὺς ἐνίκησεν ἐν Διαισίσι. Luc. Ἴκαρομεν. 24 ἡρώτα (ὁ Ζεὺς) . . . δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐλλείπειεν

⊙ ΔΡ

Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Διάσια τοσοῦτων ἐτών. *C. I. A.* 1. 4 ΛΙΧΙΟΙ. *ib.* 2. 1578 Ἡδίστιον Διὶ Μιλιχίῳ, 'in parte inferiore lapidis imago serpentis sculpta fuit.' Cf. 2. 1579-1583. *ib.* 1585 Ἡλίῳ καὶ Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ Μαμμία. *Érh. Arch.* 1886, p. 49 Κρι]τοβόλῃ Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ. Paus. 1. 37, 4 Διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν βωμός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος Μειλιχίου Διὸς: ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θησεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Φυτάλου καθαρσίῳν ἔτυχε ληστὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκτείνας καὶ Σίνιν τὰ πρὸς Πιτθέως συγγενῆ. Plutarch, *De*

Cohib. Ira 9, p. 458 Διὸ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα μελιχίον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μαμάκτην, οἶμαι, καλοῦσι: cf. Hesych. s. v. Μαμάκτης· Μελιχίος καὶ Καθάρισος. Suidas, I. I, p. 1404 Διὸς κῶδιον· οὐ τὸ ἱερεῖον Διὶ τέθνηται· θύουσι δὲ τῷ Μελιχίῳ καὶ τῷ Κτησίῳ (? Ἴκεσίῳ), χρῶνται δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τε Σκιρροφορίων τὴν πομπὴν στέλλοντες, καὶ ὁ Δαδοῦχος ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμούς, ὑποστορνύντες αὐτὰ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν. Eustath. p. 1935, 8 Διὸν ἐκάλουον κῶδιον ἱερεῖον τυθέντος Διὶ Μελιχίῳ ἐν τοῖς καθαρμοῖς φθίνοντος Μαμακτηριῶνος ὅτε ἤγετο τὰ πομπαῖα καὶ καθαρμῶν ἐκβολαὶ ἐς τοὺς τριόδους ἐγένοντο. C. I. A. 3. 77 Μαμακτηριῶνος Διὶ Γεωργῷ κ' πόπανον. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1889, p. 392 Διὶ Μελιχίῳ καὶ Ἐνοδίᾳ καὶ πόλει. Harpocrat. s. v. Μαμακτηριῶν. ὁ ἐ μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίους . . . ὠνόμασται ἀπὸ Διὸς μαμάκτου, μαμάκτης δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνθουσιώδης καὶ ταρακτικός.

Θεοὶ Μελιχίοι at Myonia in Locris: Paus. 10. 38, 8 ἄσος καὶ βωμὸς θεῶν Μελιχίων ἐστὶ· νυκτεριναὶ δὲ αἱ θυσίαι θεοῖς τοῖς Μελιχίοις εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀναλῶσαι τὰ κρέα αὐτόθι πρὶν ἢ ἥλιον ἐπισχεῖν νομίζουσι.

^b In Sicily: Paus. 2. 9, 6 ἔστι Ζεὺς Μελιχίος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεπονημένα οὐδεμιᾶ· πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μελιχίος, ἣ δὲ κίονι ἐστὶν εἰκασμένη.

^c At Argos: Paus. 2. 20, 1 ἄγαλμά ἐστι καθήμενον Διὸς Μελιχίον, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον . . . ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπηγάγοντο καθάρσια ὡς ἐπὶ αἵματι ἐμφυλίῳ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκαν Μελιχίον Διὸς.

^d At Orchomenos: C. I. Gr. 1568, Inscr. Graec. Septentr. vol. 1. 3169 ἡ πόλις Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (third century B. C.).

^e At Chalcis: C. I. Gr. 2150, doubtful inscr.

^f At Andros: *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1893, p. 9 votive inscription, Διὸς Μελιχίου.

^g In Chios: inscr. Διὸς Μελιχίου *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1888, p. 223.

^h (?) At Alaesa in Sicily: C. I. Gr. 5594, inscription of pre-Roman period mentioning τὸ Μελιχίειον.

^{139 a} Zeus Τιμωρός in Cyprus: Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* P. 33 οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἄργει τιμωρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον;

^{140 a} Pollux 1. 24 θεοὶ λύσιοι καθάρσιοι ἀγνίται φύξιοι . . . παλαμναῖοι προστροπαῖοι.

^b Pherecydes: Müll. *Frag. Hist.* 114 A ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ Ἀλάστορος καλεῖται: cf. 103 Λύσσα δὲ ἐπέπεσε τῷ Ἰξίῳ διὰ τοῦτο (the murder of his father-in-law) καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἤθελεν ἀγνίσαι οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων· Πρῶτος γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄνδρα ἀπέκτεινε. Ἐλεήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀγνίζει.

^c Aesch. *Eum.* 441 σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος: *Ib.* 710 πρωτοκτόνοισι προστροπαῖς Ἰξίονος.

^d Apollod. 2. 1, 5 καὶ αὐτὰς (τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας) ἐκάθησαν Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆς Διὸς κελεύσαντος.

¹⁴¹ Zeus Φύξιος ^a at Argos : Paus. 2. 21, 2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμός, καὶ πλησίον Ἑπερμνήστρας μνημα Ἀμφιαρίου μητρός, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Ἑπερμνήστρας τῆς Δαναοῦ. *Id.* 3. 17, 9 (τὴν παῖδα τῷ ἀκινάκῃ παίει) . . . τοῦτο τὸ ἄγος οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἀποφυγεῖν Πανσανία, καθάρσια παντοῖα καὶ ἰκεσίας δεξαμένη Διὸς Φυξίου (? at Sparta or in North Greece).

^b In Thessaly : Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 Φύξιον δὲ τὸν Δία οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἦτοι ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμοῦ κατέφυγον εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Φρίξον καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτόν. *Ib.* 4. 699 Φύξιος μὲν Ζεὺς ὁ βοηθῶν τοῖς φυγάσι.

^c On Parnassus : Apollod. 1. 7, 5 Δευκαλίων δὲ . . . τῷ Παρνασσῷ προσίχει, καὶ ἐκεί τῶν ὄμβρων πᾶσαν λαβόντων, ἐκβὰς θύει Διὶ Φυξίῳ : *id.* 1. 9, 6 ὁ δὲ (Φρίξος) τὸν χρυσόμαλλον κριὸν Διὶ θύει Φυξίῳ. Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 1150.

^{142 a} Zeus Καθάρσιος at Olympia : Paus. 5. 14, 8 Καθαρσίον Διὸς καὶ Νίκης (βωμός), καὶ αὐτὸς Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Ἰσθιον.

^b Herod. 1. 44 ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι εἰδενολογέτο, ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς, ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον.

^c Apoll. Rhod. 4. 698 :

τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζητὸς θέμις Ἰκεσίῳ,
ὃς μέγα μὲν κοτέει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνουισιν ἀρήγει,
ρέξει θνηπολίην, οἷη τ' ἀπολυμαίνονται
νηληεῖς ἰκέται, ὅτ' ἐφέστιοι ἀντιώσων
πρῶτα μὲν ἀτρέπτιο λυτήριον ἦγε φόνου
τειναμένη καθύπερθε σὺς τέκος, ἦς ἔτι μαζοὶ
πλήμυρον λοχίης ἐκ νηδύος . . .

καθάρσιον ἀγκαλέουσα

Ζῆνα παλαμναίων τιμήρορον ἰκεσίων.

^d Pollux, 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὀμνύει κελεύει Σῶλον, ἰκεσίον καθάρσιον ἐξακεστήρα.

^{143 a} Zeus Ἰκεσίος : at Sparta : Paus. 3. 17, 9 Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην, τὸ ἐπὶ Πανσανία τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μνημα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον. Roehl, *I. G. A.* 49 A : inscription at Sparta ΑΤΞΧΙΘΟΙΔ = Διὶ ἰκέτα.

^b *Od.* 13. 213 :

Ζεὺς σφεας τίσατο ἰκετήσιος, ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλους
ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίνυται, ὃς τις ἀμάτην.

^c Aesch. *Suppl.* 385 :

μένει τοι Ζηὸς ἰκτίου κότος
δυσπαράθελκτος παθόντος οἴκοις.

Ib. 413 :

μήτ' ἐν θεῶν ἔδραισιν ᾧδ' ἰδρυμένας
ἐκδόντες ὑμᾶς τὸν πανώλεθρον θεὸν
βαρὴν σύνοικον θησόμεσθ' ἀλάστορα,
ὃς οὐδ' ἐν 'Αΐδου τὸν θανάοντ' ἐλευθεροῖ.

Ib. 479 :

ἀνάγκη Ζηὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον
ἰκτῆρος· ὕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος.

¹⁴⁴ Zeus Ἀποτρόπαιος with Athene ἀποτροπαία at Erythrae : inscription of third century B.C. at Smyrna *Rev. Arch.* 1877, p. 115. Epidaurus : Cavvadias *Epidaurae* 119.

¹⁴⁵ Zeus Παιάν, Hesych. s. v. Ζεύς· τιμᾶται ἐν 'Ρόδῳ.

¹⁴⁶ Zeus Ἐπικούριος : on coins of Alabanda, Imperial period : Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 519.

¹⁴⁷ Zeus Ὀρκίος ^a at Olympia : Paus. 5. 24, 9 ὃ δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πάντων ὅποσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς μάλιστα ἐς ἑκπληξίω ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν πεποίηται, ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν Ὀρκίος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ κεραυνὸν χειρί.

^b At Tyana : Aristot. p. 845 λέγεται περὶ τὰ Τύανα ὕδωρ εἶναι Ὀρκίου Διός.

^c Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1767 χῶ πάντ' αἶων Διὸς ὄρκος.

¹⁴⁸ *Ib.* 1382 Δίκη σύνοικος Ζηὸς ἀρχαίος νόμοις. Aesch. *Choeph.* 950 Δίκη Διὸς κόρα. Arist. *De Mundo* sub fin. τῷ δὲ (Ζηνὶ) αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη. Soph. *Frag.* 767 χρυσῇ μακέλλῃ Ζηὸς ἔξαναστρέφη (Δίκη). Archilochus, *Frag.* 88 Bergk ᾧ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄρας, λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει. Plut. *ad princ. inerud.* p. 781 ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Δίκη καὶ θέμις ἐστὶ. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1268 :

ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων
Αἰδῶς ἐπ' ἔργοις πᾶσι, καὶ πρὸς σοί, πάτερ,
παρασταθήτω.

Aesch. *Suppl.* 191 :

λευκοστεφεῖς

ἰκτηρίας, ἀγάλματ' αἰδοίου Διός,
σεμνῶς ἔχουσαι διὰ χερῶν εὐωνύμων.

¹⁴⁹ ^a Zeus Ξένιος : Plut. *De Exil.* 13 (p. 605) καὶ Ξενίου Διὸς τιμαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλα. *Od.* 14. 283 :

ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κείνος ἔρυκε, Διὸς δ' ὠπίζετο μῆνιν
Ξενίου, ὃς τε μάλιστα νεμεσῶται κακὰ ἔργα.

^b At Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 475 Διόγητος ταμίας ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων τῶν φερόντων τὴν σύνοδον τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ξερίου (first century B.C.). *C. I. A.* 3. 199 inscription of late period on altar found on Acropolis: τόνδε Λύκος καὶ . . . κατ' ὄνυρον τῷ ξείνων ἐφόρῳ βωμὸν ἔθεντο Διῖ.

^{bb} At Epidaurus: Cavvadias *Ἐπίδαυρε* 99 Πυροφορήσας Διὸς Ξερίου.

^c At Sparta: Paus. 3. 11, 11 ἔστι καὶ Ζεὺς Ξένιος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ξενία. Cf. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 4. 31 περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν (Ἀπολλώνιον) οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διῖ ἐποιοῦντο.

^d In Rhodes: Διὸς ξενιασταί, Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.* pp. 108, 230, No. 48. Roman period.

^e In Cyprus: *On. Met.* 10. 224 Ante fores horum stabat Iovis hospitis ara.

^f Plut. *Aral.* 54 Δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς Διῖ ξενίῳ καὶ φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τίνων διετέλεσε.

^g Plato, *Laws*, p. 729 E ἔρημος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ξένος ἐταίρων τε καὶ συγγενῶν ἐλειονότερος ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεοῖς. ὁ δυνάμενος οὖν τιμωρεῖν μᾶλλον βοηθεῖ προθυμότερον· δύναται δὲ διαφερόντως ὁ ξένιος ἐκάστῳ δαίμων καὶ θεὸς τῷ ξενίῳ συνεπόμενοι Διῖ.

^h Charondas προοίμια νόμων: Stobaeus, 44. c. 40 (vol. 2, p. 181 Meineke) ξένον . . . εὐφήμως καὶ οἰκείως προσδέχεσθαι καὶ ἀποστέλλειν, μεμνημένους Διὸς ξενίου ὡς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἰδρυμένου κοινουῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὄντος ἐπισκόπου φιλοξενίας τε καὶ κακοξενίας.

¹⁰⁰ Zeus Μετοίκιος: Bekk. *Anecd.* 1. 51 ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν μετοίκων τιμώμενος.

^{151 a} Zeus Φίλιος at Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 1330 Ἐρανισταὶ Διῖ Φιλίῳ ἀνέθεσαν ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος (B.C. 324-3), on a seat in the theatre at Athens: *C. I. A.* 3. 285 ἱερέως Διὸς Φιλίου: private dedications at Athens *C. I. A.* 2. 1330, 1572, 1572 B (of fourth century B.C.).

^b At Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 31, 4 τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἔστιν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσου δὲ ἐμπερές· κόθορνοί τε γὰρ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ.

^c At Epidaurus: *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 31 Διῖ Φιλίῳ Πύροιοι κατ' ὄναρ (late period).

^d On coins of Pergamum of Imperial period: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 464.

^e Pherecrates, *Mein. Frag. Com. Poet.* 2. p. 293 νῆ τὸν Φίλιον: cf. Menander, *ib.* 4. 85. Diodorus, *ib.* 3. 543 τὸ γὰρ παρασιτεῖν εὔρειν ὁ Ζεὺς

ὁ Φίλιος ὁ τῶν θεῶν μέγιστος ὁμολογουμένως. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12 (Dind. 1, p. 237) Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρείος (Ζεὺς ἐπονομάζεται) ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους συνάγει καὶ βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις.

¹⁵² Zeus Ἐταιρείος: ^a Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐταιρείος ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ: Athenae. p. 572 D from Hegesandros τὴν τῶν ἑταιριδεῶν ἑορτὴν συντελοῦσι Μάγνητες ἱστοροῦσι δὲ πρῶτον Ἰάσονα τὸν Αἴσονος συναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας ἑταιρείῳ Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἑταιριδεῖα προσαγορευῆσαι· θύουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ ἑταιριδεῖα.

^b Herod. 1. 40: Diphilos, Mein. *Frag. Com. Poet.* 4. p. 384 *Ἐγχεον μεστήν, τὸ θνητὸν περικάλυπτε τῷ θεῷ· πίθι· ταῦτα γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν Διὸς ἑταιρείου, πάτερ.

¹⁵³ Zeus Μοιραγέτης ^a at Olympia: Paus. 5. 15, 5 Ἴοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἵππων ἔστι βωμός, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δηλαδὲ οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπίκλησιν εἶναι Διὸς, ὅς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν.

^b Near Akakesion in Arcadia: Paus. 8. 37, 1 ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ λίθου λευκοῦ τύποι πεποιημένοι, καὶ τῷ μὲν εἰσὼν ἐπειρασμένοι Μοῖραι καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν Μοιραγέτης.

^c At Delphi: Paus. 10. 24. 4 ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ . . . ἔστηκε . . . ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο· ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεὺς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Ἀπόλλων σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης.

^d At Athens: *C. I. A.* 1. 93 Διὶ Μοιραγέτῃ (fragmentary inscription of fifth century B. C.).

¹⁵⁴ Zeus Ἐναΐσμος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἐν Κορωνείᾳ.

¹⁵⁵ Ὀρολύτος: epithet of Zeus and Hera at Camirus: Foucart in *Rev. Arch.* 1867, p. 31 ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας Ὀρολύτων ἐν Ποιτωρείᾳ, inscription of Roman period.

^{156 a} Titles of doubtful meaning: Zeus Ἀσβαμαῖος: Strabo, 537 ἱερὸν σὺν ἑορτῇ Διὸς Ἀσβαμαίου (in Cappadocia).

^b Zeus Βιδάτας: *C. I. A.* 2. 549, inscription belonging to Cretan city of Lyctus (? second century, B. C.) ὁμνύω . . . Τῆνα Βιδάταν.

^c Zeus Βόζιος: on coins of Phrygian Hierapolis, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 565.

^d Zeus Γελχανός or φελχανός in Crete: Hesych. *s. v.* Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρισίῳ (? παρ' Ἀκρισίῳ or παρὰ Κρησί), on coins of Phaestos, Ov. *Kunst-Mythol.* 1. p. 197, *Münztaf.* 3. 3.

^e Zeus Ἐλινομέμος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ (? referring to the festival holidays).

- ^f Zeus Ἐπιρύντιος: Hesych. *s.v.* Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ.
- ^g Zeus Ἐριδήμιος: Hesych. *s.v.* Ζεὺς ἐν Ρόδῳ (?) referring to Zeus of the popular assembly; cf. Πάνδημος.
- ^h Zeus Λαράσιος: on coins of Tralles, perhaps from a place called Larasa in the vicinity, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 555 ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου, inscription from Tralles, *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1886, p. 204.
- ⁱ Zeus Μασφαλατηνός in Lydia: *C. I. Gr.* 3438, 3439.
- ^k Zeus Μοννίτιος in Crete: Cauér, *Delect.*² 117 "Ὀρκος Ἱεραπυτνίων" Ὀμνύω . . . Ζῆνα Μοννίτιον καὶ Ἥραν. At Olymos in Caria, inscription in *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1889, p. 375.
- ^l Zeus Ὀρκαμανεΐτης: Inscr. Βιβλιοθ. καὶ Μουσ. Σμύρνης 1873, p. 71, 23 Ἐπίκτητος Διὶ ὄρκαμανεΐτη εὐχὴν.
- ^m Zeus Ποτῆος: on coins of Dionysopolis in Phrygia of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 562.
- ⁿ Zeus Στοιχεύς at Sicyon: Bekk. *Anecd.* 2. 790 Σικιῶνιοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἑαυτοὺς τάξαντες καὶ ἀριθμήσαντες Διὸς Στοιχεύως ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο.
- ^o Zeus Συλλάνιος at Sparta: Plut. *Lycurg.* 6 μάντιαν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομίσαι (Λυκοῦργον) . . . ἦν ῥήτραν καλοῦσιν Ἔχει δὲ οὕτως Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθηναίης Συλλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενον φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα . . .
- ^p Zeus Συργάστης: on coins of Tium on the Euxine of Imperial period, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 444.
- ^q Zeus Ταλλαῖος at Olus in Crete: Cauér, *Delect.*² 120 (inscription about arbitration between Latus Olus and Cnossus) θέμεν στάλαν . . . ἐν δὲ Ὀλοντί ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ζηνὸς τῷ Ταλλαίου: cf. 121 Ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν . . . καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαίου. Cf. Ταλετίτης at Sparta, Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 4.
- ^{157 a} Worship of the twelve gods at Athens: Thuc. 6. 54 Πεισίστρατος δ' Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱὸς . . . ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε. Xen. *Hipparch.* 3, 2 καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες. Herod. 6. 108 Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι, ἱκέται ἐξόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν, εἰδίδουσαν σφέας αὐτούς (οἱ Πλαταιέες). Paus. 1. 3, 3 Στοῦ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἑκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα καλουμένους. Val. Max. 8. 12 cum Athenis duodecim Deos pingeret (Euphranor). *C. I. A.* 2. 57^b εὔξασθαι τὸν κήρυκα . . . τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς (just before the battle of Mantinea). *Ib.* 3. 284 ἱερέως δώδεκα θεῶν on a seat in the theatre. Archaic

In the earliest period to which by record or monument we can get back Hera was worshipped as the wife of Zeus, and the goddess who protected the institution of marriage among men^a. No doubt in her favourite sites her religion was so predominant that it cast other cults, even that of Zeus, into the shade; but in the myth and most ancient ritual of Plataea, Samos, and Argos, we can discover the recognition of the husband-god by her side. The antiquity of the *ἱερός γάμος* in many parts of Greece¹⁷ would by itself be sufficient proof of the very primitive conjunction of the two divinities; and there is no reason to say that the fairly frequent union of their cults of which we have record belongs in all cases to a later period. On Mount Arachnaion altars were erected to Zeus and Hera⁴, at which men prayed for rain; and sacrifice was offered in Argos to Zeus Nemeios and Hera the Argive together³. At Lebadea¹ Pausanias found the joint worship of 'King-Zeus' and Hera the 'holder of the reins,' a curious title that will be referred to later. In Crete the name of Hera is coupled with that of Zeus 'the Cretan-born'⁷ in the formula of the public oath, at Cyprus she was worshipped with Zeus Polieus and Aphrodite⁸, and in Caria she is united in the inscriptions with Zeus Panamaros and Zeus *Βουλαῖος*⁹.

The worship of Hera, as it is presented to us in Homer and in the cults, has become divested of the physical meaning or symbolism, whatever that was, that may have formed the original groundwork of it. We have seen how various were the physical functions of Zeus, and we may in some sense call him a god of the sky; but we cannot award to Hera any particular province of nature. Of course many departments have been claimed for her: for Dr. Schliemann and Herr Roscher she is obviously the moon—for M. Ploix 'the double one,' that is the twilight—for Empedocles and Welcker the earth¹⁴. What she may have been at the beginning of time is not our present concern: we have only to ask whether for historical Greece she was ever worshipped as the moon, or the air, or the earth, or some other physical element, function, or

^a See Appendix A at the end of the chapter and R. I-II.

power. Now a review of the evidence leads to the conviction that the ordinary Greek did not think—although certain philosophers may have said—that Hera was the moon. She is not necessarily the moon because Homer calls her cow-faced or ox-eyed, and because Dr. Schliemann found some little cow-shaped ἀναθήματα at Mycenae; nor because she protected marriage and aided or retarded childbirth, or because at Nemea she was on friendly terms with Selene^a, or because occasionally she rode in a chariot. All this might have happened merely because she was the lawful wife of Zeus, and the cow was a prominent animal among her earliest tribe of worshippers. The torch, which in some doubtful representations a figure supposed to be Hera is carrying, might be the marriage-torch, and is not necessarily the symbol of the moon's light^b; the crown of rays about her head on late coins of Chalcis^{63 a} is a rare and doubtful sign, proper to her as a celestial divinity; the goat sacrificed to her at Sparta and Corinth need have had no celestial significance^c, but was probably the earthly food of a tribe who imputed to the goddess tastes like their own, and naively called her αἰγοφάγος,^{30 a, 50 d}. The only arguments for the theory that she was the air are the false etymology¹⁴ and the tradition that she was often angry with Zeus, and the air seems often angry in Greece as elsewhere.

But more serious and real is Welcker's theory^d that she was originally an earth-goddess and that the Greeks themselves were at times aware of this¹⁴. It is well to notice the arguments that might be urged for this, apart from any attempt to give the etymology of the name. If she were an earth-goddess, we should suppose that she would be regarded at times as the giver of fruits and especially of corn. Now there is an interesting Argive legend which told of the king of the country who first yoked oxen to the plough and dedicated a temple to Hera 'the goddess of the yoke,' and who called the ears of corn 'the flowers of Hera'^{13 a}. From whatever source the legend was taken,

^a Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 2. p. 30.

^b Vide p. 211.

^c Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Ὀβρῶν αἶψ.

^d *Griech. Götterl.* 1. pp. 362-370.

part of it seems genuine—namely, the statements that Hera was called *Ζευξίδα* in Argos, and that the ears of corn were called ‘the flowers of Hera.’ We gather also that in Argolis the cult-title of ‘Euboea,’ the ‘goddess rich in oxen,’ was attached to her; for Pausanias declares that Euboea, Prosymna, and Acraea were nurses of Hera, and we know how apt was Greek legend to create new and separate personages out of mere epithets of a divinity detached from the proper name and then misunderstood. We know also that ‘Prosymna,’ ‘the goddess to whom the hymn was raised,’ and ‘Acraea,’ ‘the goddess worshipped on the heights,’ were actually cult-titles of Hera in Argolis, and the latter was in vogue also in Corinth^{35c, 30d}. We may conclude then that ‘Euboea’ also designated Hera, and that the island itself, which was full of the legend of Zeus and Hera’s marriage and of Io her other form, received its name from the goddess worshipped there^{63b}. But this is not by itself sufficient proof that the goddess was worshipped as earth-goddess at Argos: these cults and legends allude to the beginnings of civilization and the introduction of corn-growing. Now Athene revealed the use of the olive to the Athenians and Zeus himself is called *μόριος*, but neither Athene nor Zeus are personifications of the earth, although the olive grows from the earth. It is an important principle to bear in mind for the interpretation of Greek or other myths, that all which a divinity does for its worshippers cannot always or need not be explained by reference to some single idea, physical or other, of that divinity: as a tribe advances in civilization it will impute its own discoveries to its patron god or goddess. And Hera was the tutelary deity of Argos.

Again, we need not conclude that she was an earth-goddess because she had the epithet *Ἀνθεία*, nor because flowers were especially used in her religious ceremonies at Sparta and we hear of female flower-bearers in her great temple near Argos. The flower was an occasional symbol of other goddesses and might be appropriate to a spring feast or marriage-rite: and certain flowers were sacred to her that possessed medicinal virtue with a view to offspring^{13c, 38}.

We have to deal also with the myth that Hera was the mother of the earth-born Typhoeus, the last enemy that threatened Olympus, a monster who seems to have had some connexion with volcanoes and subterranean forces^{15 a}. Now if this myth were ancient and genuine we should say that Hera was here regarded as the earth-goddess or chthonian power. But it does not seem at least to have been known to Hesiod, who makes the earth-goddess, Ge, the parent of Typhoeus: it is only recorded by the author of the Homeric hymn to Apollo^a, and by Stesichorus: in the former we hear that Hera, being jealous of the birth of Athene, resolved to emulate Zeus by producing a child independently, and after praying to the heaven and earth and the Titans to grant her an offspring that might be stronger than Zeus, she gave birth to Typhoeus—a creature ‘like neither to the immortal gods nor to men.’ It may well be that Stesichorus borrowed this strange legend and brought it also into connexion with the birth of Athene, a theme which we know was celebrated in one of his poems. But can we account for the version in the Homeric hymn—a version which seems altogether inconsistent with the Olympian character of Hera—by saying that the poet supposes her to be the same as mother-earth? If so, it is a very inexplicable fact that this conception of Hera, which according even to Welcker had faded away from the religious consciousness, and of which Hesiod, who makes Ge the mother of the monster, seems ignorant, should have been rediscovered by the author of the hymn and by Stesichorus.

But is there no other explanation? We cannot reject the eccentric myth simply because it is an obvious interpolation in the text where it occurs—for it is a genuine though a misplaced fragment, and we have also the authority of Stesichorus. Now we see at once that the author of this passage in the hymn, so far from confusing Ge with Hera, is explicit in distinguishing them, for Hera herself makes appeal to the Earth. In their genealogies the poets sometimes seem capriciously to depart from the popular tradition, and we need not always suppose that they are in such cases putting on

^a ll. 350-354.

record some primeval and half-buried idea or some foreign myth.

It may be in this case that the poet gives this strange account of Typhoeus' birth simply because of the part that Hera plays in the epic drama, because in fact of her hostility to Zeus which appears also in the singular legend of Briareus Aegaeon. We may compare with this the legend given by Hesiod that Hera cherished the Lernaean Hydra and the Nemean lion; to explain this we need not go back to any prehistoric conception of Hera the earth-goddess, the mother of monsters: the explanation may suffice that as Hera was hostile to Heracles, and these animals were destined to give him trouble, she was naturally thought to have been answerable for their breeding. A slight touch of affinity between two ideas is enough for the constructiveness of the Greek mythic fancy. Again, in one of Sophron's mimes Hera was made the mother of Hekate, who there appeared as a nether goddess under the name of *Ἄγγελος*^a; but the whole version is a naive burlesque, and proves nothing about Hera's original character as an earth-goddess. In Pausanias' account of Boeotia we hear of an archaic statue at Coronea, carved by Pythodorus of Thebes, showing Hera with the Sirens in her hand²⁴. Now the Sirens are most commonly sepulchral symbols, emblems of the lower world, and called 'daughters of the earth' by Euripides^b; and if Hera were an earth-goddess, the Sirens would be thus naturally explained. But they also were regarded as the personifications of charm and attractiveness, and on the hand of Hera they may simply denote the fascination of married life. In the same sense, in later mythology^c Hera is called the mother of the Charites, which is not a physical, but an ideal genealogy.

Again, it is said by Welcker, and not without some show of probability, that in certain cults her primeval character as earth-goddess was vaguely remembered; especially in the solemn festival of the *ἱερός γάμος*, prevalent from the most ancient times in very many parts of Greece. We have record

^a *Schol. Theocr.* 2, 12.

^c *Cornutus* 15.

^b *Hel.* 167.

direct or indirect of the ceremony, or of a myth that points to it, in Plataea, Euboea, Athens, Hermione, Argos, Arcadia, Samos, Crete, and in the Italian Falisci, and we may believe that it existed in other sites of the Hera-worship than these^{16c, 17, 51a}. This *ἱερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera is supposed to be the personal expression of the marriage of earth and heaven in spring, 'when the tilth rejoices in the travail of the corn-ear.' The Homeric description of the union of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida is often interpreted as an echo of some ancient hymn that celebrated the mystery; and the cloud in which he shrouds himself and the goddess, and the flowers that spring up beneath them, are regarded as obvious symbols of the spring; while at Argos we have the legend of Zeus pursuing Hera in the form of a cuckoo, and the name of the mountain, *Κοκκύγιον*, on which they were first united, to suggest that the bridal was in this land associated with the spring-time. It may well have been associated with it; but must we therefore say that the Argive *ἱερός γάμος* was a mere impersonation of the spring union of earth and heaven? The cloud on the mountain-top might be a sign of the presence of the god, and the flowers on the mountain-side might be thought to betoken his nuptial rites; but did the people of Argos therefore of necessity believe that their Zeus and Hera were personal forms of the fertilizing cloud and the spring-earth, or was Jehovah a personification of the cloud for the Jews, because 'clouds and darkness were round about Him'? If this were the complete meaning of the *ἱερός γάμος* at Argos it could scarcely have been so in Attica if the Attic month Gamelion, our January, took its name from the marriage of Zeus and Hera, as there are some grounds for supposing. Besides, in whatever countries the rites of the *ἱερός γάμος* are described for us, we see no reference to the fertile growths of the year, but rather to the customs of human nuptials. In Samos⁶⁵ the custom was sanctioned—as it has been in many parts of Europe—of the betrothed pair having intercourse before marriage; therefore the Samians boldly declared that Zeus had similar intercourse with Hera before wedlock: the Samian priestess at a yearly ceremony secretly made off with the idol of Hera and hid it

in a lonely place in the woods by the shore^a, in the midst of a withy brake, where it was then re-discovered and cakes were set by its side, possibly as bridal offerings^{65 e}: in all this we have an allusion to the secret abduction of the bride, and we see the anthropomorphism of a people who made the life of their god the mirror of their own. The whole island was consecrated to Hera, and, as far as we have record of the ritual, to Hera the bride of Zeus. 'Bring wine and the Muses' charming lyre,' sings a Samian poet, 'that we may sing of the far-famed bride of Zeus, the mistress of our island.' Its ancient name, indeed, had been Parthenia, but this was in the Carian period^b, and was derived not from Hera Parthenos, but from the Parthenos or unmarried goddess, whose cult can be traced along the coast of Asia Minor to the Black Sea. After the Hellenic settlement, the legends and the rites seem almost exclusively to point to the marriage-goddess. Even the legend of the birth of Hera in the island under a withy-bush may have been suggested by the use of the withies in the annual ceremonial, when the goddess's image was wrapped round in them as in a sort of bridal bed, and by the supposed medicinal value of the withy for women. After lying some time on its secluded osier-couch, the idol was purified and restored to the temple; the sacred marriage was supposed to have been complete. As the married goddess she became, in Samos as elsewhere, the divinity who protected marriage and birth, as we learn from a prayer in the Anthology: 'O Hera, who guardest Samos and hast Imbrasos as thy portion, receive these birthday offerings at our hands^{16 a}.'

The Samian worship was connected by the legend with the Argive^{17 c, 35, 36}; but in Argolis the functions of the goddess were more manifold, for Argos alone among the Greek communities, so far as we have record, recognized her in some sense as the foundress of its civilization, as the power who taught them to sow the land, and who for this and for other reasons was gratefully styled the Benefactress; also as the goddess of

^a In the passage from Athenaeus given R. 65°, the reading ἀφανίζεσθαι should certainly be retained; the correc-

tion ἀφαγγίζεσθαι accepted by Meineke misses the point.

^b Vide Artemis, R. 37.

religious song, to whom a special kind of melody was consecrated, and who took one of her titles, *Προσυμναία*, from the hymns of praise addressed to her. The Argive festival in fact reflected more of the people's life than any other of which we hear, except perhaps the Samian. In both there seems to have been some allusion to her as a goddess who aided her people's warfare; for as in the Samian sacrifice the people marched in armed procession, so in the Argive we hear of the armed march and of the contest for the shield of Hera. As regards the nature of this, Schoemann^a describes it as a contest of spearmen, who, running at full speed, threw their spears at a brazen shield that was hung up, the man who struck it down winning and bearing it as his trophy. This is somewhat more than we know; but we know that the feast of Hera at Argos, or 'the feast of the hundred oxen,' was also called the 'brazen contest,' or the 'feast of the shield,' and that the pride of the man who took down and won the shield passed into a proverb. The rest of the festival bore reference to the bride. In describing the rites of Falerii¹⁶⁰, which were similar to the Argive, Dionysios of Halicarnassus speaks of the chaste maiden with the sacrificial vessels upon her head who began the sacrifice, and the choruses of maidens who celebrated the goddess in ancient songs of their land. The messenger in the *Electra* of Euripides summons her to the Argive festival, where 'all the maidens are about to go in solemn order to the presence of Hera³⁶.' And we have scattered indications showing that the performance of the sacred marriage was a necessary part of the yearly ceremony at Argos as at Samos; and by a probable combination of the various statements we may get the following outline of the ritual. A car drawn by white oxen conveyed the priestess from the city to the temple, probably to play the part of the *νημφεύτρια* or attendant on the goddess at her nuptials, whose image was possibly borne in the car by her side. The actual solemnity may have taken place outside the temple, where a couch of Hera was seen by Pausanias, and the *λεχέρνα* mentioned by Hesychius as a sacrifice performed by the Argives to their

^a *Griechische Alterthümer*, 2. p. 491.

goddess may have referred to the strewing the couch with twigs, before the puppet-image which was possibly the little wooden idol of the seated goddess from Tiryns was placed upon it; for we gather from the lines in Theocritus about the *ἱερὸς γάμος*^{17k} that the preparation of the marriage-bed was part of the rite. And some allusion was conveyed in this mystery-play to the perpetual renewal of the virginity of Hera⁴⁴. Finally, the cult of Hera Eileithyia in Argos arose from the prevailing aspect of her as the goddess of wedlock³⁹. In this vague record of the ritual there is little express reference to Zeus, but evidently he is implicitly associated with her, and it was probably her union with him that gave her the title in Argos⁴¹ of 'Hera the queen^a', as the 'King-Zeus' was worshipped at Lebadea in conjunction with Hera 'the charioteer,' a strange epithet^b that might be naturally explained if we suppose that there also the figure of Hera was borne in the chariot in some performance of the *ἱερὸς γάμος*^{1c, 46b}.

If legend and some express statements of ancient writers are to be trusted, the cult and probably the ritual of Argos spread to other Greek communities and beyond the Greek world. Not only at Samos, but at Aegina also, Sparta, Locris, Alexandria, on the north shores of the Adriatic, on the south coast of Italy, and at Falerii we find traces of this worship^{64, 50b, 21, 62, 87, 88}. Probably the mystery-play was borrowed also. It is specially recorded that the Aeginetans brought with them from Argos the feast of the Hekatombœa, and the curious description preserved by Ovid of the rites of the Falisci suggests that there also the performance of the sacred marriage was part of the sacrifice^{16c}. The festival was celebrated by games, sacrifices, and a solemn procession. The image of Hera was borne, probably in a chariot drawn by white heifers, down ways that were hung and strewn with drapery, while flute-players followed

^a We hear of Hera *βασιλὶς* or *βασιλεία* at Lebadea, Athens, Lindos and Termessus, R. 1, 60, 69; in a later period the name is merely a translation of Juno Regina (vide *C. I. G.* 4040 and 4367 f.); the title is hers *par excellence*, though

it is once applied to Aphrodite (*Athenae*. p. 510) and once to Cybele (Diod. Sic. 3. 57).

^b We may compare the title of Hera Hippias at Elis, R. 46^b.

and maidens bearing the sacred vessels on their heads. An interesting part of the ceremony was the slaying of the female goat; youths threw spears at her, and he who struck her got her as a prize, and the practice may have been derived from the competition for the shield at Argos. But more important is the story explaining why the goat was killed. The goddess hated her, because when Hera had fled to the woods and concealed herself the animal revealed her lurking-place, and she had to return to her people. 'The fashion of the procession is Argive.' We have here a link between Argos, Samos, and Falerii, for the goat-story points to some ceremony of hiding the image of Hera in the woods and bringing it home again. In the other places where the Argive Hera was worshipped similar rites may have survived.

We gather from Pausanias and Plutarch that ceremonies of the same meaning were performed at Plataea in the feast of Daedala. Both these authors record a humorous Plataean legend, which told how Hera had become irreconcilably angry with Zeus, had deserted him and hidden herself on Mount Cithaeron; but Zeus bethought himself of a ruse to bring her back. He gives out that he is going to marry again, and prepares his marriage with much ceremony: he gets some one to carve a puppet and dress her up as a bride, and her name is Daedale, and she is carried in bridal pomp along the roads near Cithaeron. Hera hears of it, flies to the spot in a furious fit of jealousy, and sees Zeus escorting his bride. She falls on Daedale to demolish her, and then discovers the joke; whereupon she is reconciled to Zeus, and pays certain honours to the puppet, but in the end burns her through jealousy^{2, 17b}.

The interpretation of all this is easy enough, and there is no better instance of an aetiological myth, invented to explain a rite. The myth implicitly tells us that the Plataeans had preserved from prehistoric times the processional ceremony of the *ἱερός γάμος*, in which the puppet of Hera, adorned as a bride, was carried along, and in some way or other married to Zeus. Then the original religious sense of this becomes obscured, and the puppet is called *Δαιδάλη*, and the naive story invented.

The rites of the great Daedala, celebrated by all the cities of Boeotia, appear to have been almost identical. A large number of *δαίδαλα* or wooden idols were prepared; but only one special image of the goddess was adorned as a bride and taken to the banks of the Asopus, washed, and thence escorted to the top of Cithaeron in a chariot, with a priestess attending on it as *νυμφεύτρια*, and the Boeotian people following with the bridal song and the music of the flute. A vast altar had been erected on the summit and strewn with brushwood, and at the close of the ceremony all the idols, together with the sacrifices, were burnt upon it. It is possible that the altar, which according to Plutarch was built in the style of a stone dwelling, had already played its part in the mystery as a nuptial chamber.

But where in all this is any allusion to the marriage of heaven and earth? At Olympia, the festival of Hera, of which the performance of the marriage drama may have been part, contained no allusion to the goddess of the earth or spring-time, so far as we hear. Young girls ran races in honour of Hera^a, a custom instituted by Hippodameia as a thank-offering for her marriage and in commemoration of the race of Pelops and Oinomaos⁴⁶⁻⁴⁹. We hear of a temple of Hera Parthenos at Hermione, and the legend of the sacred marriage and probably the ritual were in vogue in the neighbourhood^{33a,b}. And at Stymphalus in Arcadia three festivals were solemnized that celebrated the three stages of Hera's career as *Παρθένος* or *Παῖς*, *Τελέια*, and *Χήρα*, the latter epithet denoting a married woman who lives apart from her husband^{51a}. 'Rouse thy comrades,' Pindar exclaims to the leader of his chorus at Stymphalus, 'to sing the praise of Hera the maid.' Here the theory of physical symbolism has much to say: *Ἥρα χήρα*, the divorced goddess, is the barren earth in autumn and winter when there is no production, and we are reminded of the festival of Hera at Corinth⁴⁸, which was a *πένθιμος ἑορτή*, 'a feast of lamentation,' expressing perhaps that sorrow for the fall of the year which was part of the rites of Adonis and the Oriental

^a A charming statue in the Vatican, of Peloponnesian style, presents us with one of these girl-runners.

Aphrodite. There were many foreign elements in the state-religion of Corinth; but the Arcadian festival must be genuinely Hellenic. Now if *Xήρα*, the widowed goddess, is to be identified with the winter earth^a, how are we to interpret *Παρθένος*? It would not naturally be a title of the young earth in spring; for the earth is then wedded, nor are the seasons of sowing and ploughing naturally those in which the earth could be spoken of as maiden. The physical interpretation of *Xήρα* might be supported by the Homeric myth of the separation of Oceanos and Tethys, whom Hera wished to reconcile; in Homer Oceanos and Tethys are the creative principles of the world, and the myth of their separation may perhaps have been invented to give a reason why creation having reached a certain point seems to stop, and why new things are not constantly being brought forth; but the myth of Hera's separation from Zeus could hardly have symbolized the cessation of the creative principles of the universe, for the wedded union of Zeus and Hera was not a cosmic force of creation at all, nor was the marriage particularly fertile.

One might suggest more plausibly a more human explanation. Hera was essentially the goddess of women, and the life of woman was reflected in her; their maidenhood and marriage were solemnized by the cults of Hera *Παρθένος* and Hera *Τελέια* or *Νυμφενομένη*², and the very rare worship of Hera *Xήρα* might allude to the not infrequent custom of divorce and separation. That the idea clashed with the highest Greek conceptions of Zeus and Hera need not have troubled the people of Arcadia, and the audacious anthropomorphism of such a religious conception need not make us incredulous, for 'man never knows how anthropomorphic he is.'

But a more special explanation is probably nearer the truth. A myth born from the misunderstanding of cult is a common phenomenon; but a peculiar cult arising from the misunderstanding of another is a fact harder to prove and yet perfectly credible, and one that would sufficiently explain the present difficulty. Both at Plataea and Stymphalus we have the

^a Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 1. p. 367: 'die von Zeus abgewandte getrennte Göttin ist die im Winter abgestorbene Erde.'

legend of Hera being angry with Zeus and retiring to the mountain, and in the region of Cithaeron this is associated with the ritual of the marriage, and arose probably from the practice of concealing the image in some lonely place; and we may suppose the same origin for the Arcadian story. If the idol of the Stymphalian Hera were kept apart for a time and hidden in the woods, this would be enough to move the naive imagination of the Arcadians to conceive that Hera was for a season living apart from her lord and to invent the cult of Hera *Xήρα*.

Lastly, as against the theory of physical symbolism, we may bring into evidence the hymeneal chant of Aristophanes at the end of the *Birds*, which may echo an actual hymn sung at the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, and in which we hear nothing of the fertilizing heaven and the growth of spring flowers, but of the very personal and human marriage of Zeus and Hera escorted by Eros in their chariot¹⁷¹.

In the records then of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* we see rather the reflection of human life, than of the life of nature; and at last it would seem to have become little more than a symbol of ordinary marriage, if the statement in Photius were correct, that this rite was performed at every wedding by the bridegroom and bride¹⁷¹.

These then are the chief arguments that might be adduced from cult and legend for the theory that the person of Hera was developed or detached from a goddess of the earth. No single one of them seems conclusive, and there is certain negative evidence making against the theory. If she were originally the mother-earth, why was her marriage so comparatively unprolific, and why has she so little connexion with the Titan world or the earth-born giants? Her children, Hebe, Ares, Hephaestos, have nothing to do with the shadowy powers of the lower world, although in a legend of late authority, quoted from Euphorion by the scholiast of the *Iliad*, Hera was strangely said to be the mother of Prometheus^{15b}. It is not impossible that the legend arose at Athens, where Prometheus enjoyed an important cult and was brought into close affinity with Hephaestos, her genuine son. At any rate the legend itself implies a natural antagonism

between Hera and the Titan or giant world, for she was made the mother of Prometheus only through the violence of Eurymedon^a. Nor on Welcker's theory is it easy to explain her strong hostility to Dionysos, who through his affinity with the earth became intimately associated with such real earth-goddesses as Cybele and Demeter. At Eleusis, as Iacchos, he came to be united with Demeter and Kora—a trinity of chthonian deities; but the religion of Hera was so antagonistic to the cult of Eleusis that her temple at Athens was closed when Demeter's was open, and her feud with Dionysos was carried so far that, as it was said, the priestesses of the two cults at Athens did not speak when they met, and no ivy was allowed in the temple of Hera^{28d, 29}.

On Welcker's hypothesis that she was another form of Ge, it becomes the more surprising that she took so little interest, except at Argos, in agriculture and the arts of cultivation. The sacrificial animals offered to her, the bull, cow, calf, pig, goat, are just those which a pastoral and agricultural people offers to its divinity. In the absence of other evidence they do not reveal any special view about the character and nature of the deity worshipped¹⁶.

Again, had she been an earth-goddess we might have expected that she would have retained some traces of an oracular function; for the earth was the mother of oracles and dreams, and in the person of Themis had her ancient seat at Delphi. But Hera had never any connexion with Delphi, nor had Dione (whom we may regard as a local form of Hera and who was identified with her by Apollodorus⁶) any concern with the oracle at Dodona in ancient times. Only once do we hear of a *μαντεῖον* of Hera, namely, on the promontory sacred to Hera Acraea, some few miles east of Corinth^{30d}; but this worship stands apart from all the other Hellenic cults of Hera and must be separately discussed.

Lastly, it is very rare to find Hera grouped with any of the

^a An earlier record of this legend has been supposed by Jahn to be given on a Volci vase (circ. 450 B. C.), published in the *Mon. dell' Inst.* 5. 35, on which

Prometheus, newly released, appears receiving a libation from Hera. But there is more than one explanation of this scene.

divinities of the lower world. At Lebadea the man who wished to descend into the oracular cave of Trophonius used to sacrifice to Zeus Basileus and Hera the charioteer; but not necessarily as chthonian powers, for he sacrificed to Apollo also and to Cronos. It may be easy to guess but it is difficult to be sure of the reason. An inscription from Paros speaks of a votive-offering made by a woman to Hera, Demeter Thesmophorus, Eubouleus, Baubo, and Core. These others are divinities of the lower world, but Demeter Thesmophorus was also a goddess of marriage, and for this reason Hera may have been united with her. If the dedication were a thank-offering for escape from the dangers of childbirth we might understand this grouping together of the divinities of marriage and death^{1, 66}.

It does not appear then that Welcker's theory, which resolves Hera into an earth-goddess, explains the facts of her cult in the historic period, and with many of them it does not harmonize at all.

The more important question is, what did the Greeks themselves say or think about Hera? Those who reflected on the myths—the early physical philosophers or the Stoics for instance—usually tried, as we have seen, to discover some physical substance into which each divinity could be resolved, thus gaining as they thought a real truth and meaning for an apparently irrational mythology¹⁴. But these ancient interpreters were no more skilled in this art than we are, and their utterances were quite as contradictory. Thus Empedocles seems to have thought that Hera was the earth, though in his scheme of the four elements she might as well stand—and was supposed by some ancient critics to stand—for the air. Plato believed her to be the air^a, and Plutarch the earth, as we gather from a passage in Eusebius who exposes Plutarch's absurdities. The connexion between Hera and Leto in Boeotia^{23 b}, where they shared

^a The oracle that speaks of the 'queen-goddess who ranges o'er the earth with dewy showers'—if this indeed is Hera—may have been inspired by

the false interpretation of Hera as the air, or by her close affinity with Zeus the sky-god.

a common altar, was used by some ancient mythologists, who held the physical theory, as an argument to show that Hera was the earth; but that connexion was too slight and local to be regarded as essential, and if it were essential it would not help us; for the character and functions of Leto are themselves too indefinite for us to interpret Hera by means of them. But the majority of Greeks who did not reflect on their cults or myths knew her primarily as the wife of Zeus, from whom she borrowed such titles as Acraea, Ammonia ^{46 a}, and probably Basilis and Olympia ^{46 c}, and by whose side she sat 'sharing his throne' and 'holding the sceptre as she gazed down on Olympus ¹¹.' And they knew her secondly as the goddess who encouraged marriage and aided childbirth. Maidens offered their veils to her at the time of marriage ^{17 s, t}. And the Charites belong partly to her, according to the idea that 'Love and the Graces set up house ^a.' A quaint custom of ritual recorded by Plutarch symbolized the peace of married life that Hera loved: he tells us that when sacrifice was made to Hera Γαμήλιος, the gall was extracted from the victim and not offered, so that the married life might be without bitterness ^{17 u}.

There are other deities of marriage, but Hera is pre-eminent. 'Let us sing,' says Aristophanes, 'of the wedded Hera, as is meet, who is gay in all the bridal choirs, and guards the keys of wedlock ^{17 m}.' And Apollo in the *Eumenides* upbraids the Furies who pursue Orestes with having no regard for the pledges of Hera Τελεία and Zeus ^{17 p}. Before the wedding, sacrifice was made to Zeus Τέλειος and Hera Τελεία ^{17 q}, and this title of hers refers always to marriage and does not acquire a larger significance as it does in its application to Zeus. According to the law inserted in a speech of Demosthenes the magistrate who neglected to compel the relations to provide for the marriage of orphan girls incurred a fine of a thousand drachmae to Hera; and a fine to the goddess was to be exacted in Plato's state from the man who was still unmarried at the age of thirty-five ^{17 r}.

Thus we find her united with Aphrodite, receiving the

^a Plut. *de Adulat.* ch. 2. p. 49: Χάριτες τε καὶ Ἰμερος οἴκι' ἔθεντο.

same sacrifice of goats and bulls, and worshipped at Sparta under the double name^{50 b, 16 b}. And it was still more natural that she should acquire the functions and character of Eileithyia^{28 e, 39}, a name which at first perhaps was nothing more than an epithet of Hera, as we hear of Hera *Ειλεΐθυια* at Argos and Athens, and which then came to denote a separate person who was regarded sometimes as the daughter of Hera, but often as a goddess of the ancient world related in idea to Hera as well as to the Fates^a.

It is Hera who protects the newborn child, and possibly the Samian goddess 'Kurotrophos' was Hera, the chief goddess of the island^b. This function of hers appears in one or two rather striking myths. In spite of her feud with the parents she was sometimes supposed to have given suck to Dionysos and Heracles^c, a legend that expresses not only the character of Hera *Κουροτρόφος*, but probably also is symbolical of reconciliation and adoption^{17 γ}.

Perhaps it is because she protected child-birth that we find the Hours grouped with her in monumental representations^d, for the Hours symbolized the destiny of man's life; or the reason may be that like Zeus she was controller of the Hours, the times and seasons of the year, sharing the functions of Zeus and bearing like him at Camirus the title of 'Ωρόλυτος^e. In a hymn of Olen mentioned by Pausanias the Hours are said to be the nurses of Hera^{14 f}.

On the whole the functions of Hera were less manifold than those of Juno, her Latin counterpart, and scarcely ranged beyond the sphere already described. Though the state was based on the institution she protected, she was never, except at Argos and perhaps at Samos, pre-eminently a political divinity; the Argives are called her people by Pindar^f, and we have some evidence of a Samian cult that recognized her as 'Αρχηγέτις, the leader of the original settlement^{65 e}. But

^a Vide Eileithyia¹.

^b Herod. *Vita Hom.* 30. The interpretation of the name in this passage as a title of Artemis-Hekate is rather more probable.

^c Vide Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel*, No. 126.

^d Vide pp. 214, 217.

^e Vide Zeus¹⁵⁵.

^f Pind. *Nem.* 10. 36: "Ἡρας τὸν εὐάνομα λαόν.

such titles as Φράτριος or Βουλαῖος were not for her, but for Zeus and Athena. We have faint glimpses in cult of a war-like Hera¹⁸—a doubtful Hera Ἀρεία (perhaps Ἀργεία or really the Latin goddess) worshipped near Paestum⁸⁸, and we discern the form of a battle-goddess in the Hera Prodrómia of Sicyon^{32 b}, the goddess who ran before the host and showed Phalces the son of Temenos his way, and possibly in the Hera Alexandros^{32 b, c}, 'the saviour of men,' whose cult Adrastus founded in Sicyon^a. The Hera Ὀπλοσμία of Elis is only known to us through Lycophron and his scholiast⁴⁷.

Though she was the mother of Hephaestos, she did little, except at Argos, for the arts of life, and among the various festivals and agones held in her honour it is only the Argive that seems to have been distinguished for artistic display. It is characteristic of the women's goddess that the ἀγών of Hera at Lesbos included a contest of beauty. 'Come, daughters of Lesbos,' says the poet in the *Anthology*, 'come to the bright shrine of Hera of the gleaming countenance'⁷³.

The beauty of Hera was the theme of art, rather than of religion or cult: but the religion recognized it in the myth of Hera's perpetual rejuvenescence and in the figure of Hebe her daughter. While expressing her mother's immortality of youth, Hebe is yet a real figure of cult, being worshipped as Hebe Δία at Phlius and Sicyon, and being perhaps originally the same as Aphrodite the daughter of Zeus and Dione^b.

Reviewing the main features of this worship we can see that there is much beauty and grace in it, and some strong expression of the lawfulness and order of life, but little morality of a high sort.

The only moral law she was supposed to be careful about was the sanctity of her altar, but not more careful than other divinities were in this matter. She sanctioned marriage, and yet breaches of the marriage vow were not considered a special offence against Hera, which she was particularly concerned with punishing; and though in one legend she took notice of the new and exceptional sin of Laius^c, it was the

^a Cf. *Gazette Archéol.* 1883, p. 140.

^c Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1760.

^b Strabo, p. 382.

Erinyes, according to Sophocles, who punished infidelity in marriage^a. In fact she stands far below Athena for the part her idea played in Greek civilization: married life and its duties were not the highest Hellenic ideal, and Hera's personality reflects the life and character of the Greek matron. She is also more than this—the queen of heaven, full of solemn dignity and nobility. 'The souls who followed Hera,' says Plato, 'desire a love of royal quality^{1c}.' And the more exalted view of her was maintained by the monuments of Greek art.

^a *Electr.* 114.

APPENDIX A.

The view which I have expressed, that her association with Zeus is a primitive factor in the Greek worship of Hera, is entirely opposed to a theory recently put forward by Miss Harrison in the *Classical Review* of 1893, p. 74, which may be briefly summarized thus—(a) the connexion of Zeus and Hera is late and the latter is pre-Achaean; (b) Hera had a previous husband, Heracles, Argos, Helios, over whom she had complete control, because the primitive worshippers were in a state of gynaeocracy. The theory seems to me to rest on insufficient facts, some of which are erroneously stated, and on a nebulous and ineffectual article by Dr. Tümpel (*Philologus*, 1892, p. 607). First, there is no proof that Hera is pre-Achaean. The Mycenaean people, among whom the worship of the cow-goddess prevailed, are not yet shown to be pre-Achaean; nor does Miss Harrison bring forward any authority for her statement that the Heraeon was a refuge for slaves, though, if this were true, we might draw the probable conclusion that it was the cult of a conquered pre-Hellenic people, like that of the Palici in Sicily: she seems in the context to be referring to the temple of Hera at Phlius, but Pausanias speaks of the temple of Hebe, not Hera, as the slaves' asylum there; nor can I find in the cult of Hera in Argos Olympia or Cos any reference to the privileges of slaves; in fact as regards Cos we have evidence to the contrary preserved by Athenaeus, that at the sacrifice to Hera in this island no slave was allowed to enter the temple or to taste the offerings⁷², the natural conclusion being that the worship was the privilege of the conquering race. Secondly, there is no proof that the connexion of Zeus and Hera is late. 'At Crete we hear nothing of Hera;' the evidence given in ⁷, ¹⁷g and ⁷⁰ disproves this; 'At Samos we hear nothing of Zeus': yet the rites of Samos clearly recognize Hera as the bride. In fact the very primitive character of the ritual of the *ἱερός γάμος* makes for the belief that the union

of Zeus and Hera is not late but very early. And this is supported by the myth of Io, for we may assume, as Miss Harrison does, that the cowheaded Io of Argos is another form of Hera; and as the myth is very ancient the period at which Io was really known to be Hera was still more ancient, and yet in the earliest form of the myth Io is the beloved of Zeus. But Miss Harrison holds the view that in a still earlier period Argus was her real husband, and there is no harm in this belief: only if it were true the theory of gynæcocracy seems to lose a point, for Argus certainly does not seem to have been oppressed by Io. Again, if it were true, why should not Argos the bull-god be an old name for Zeus, since the sky or the lightning is bright as well as the sun? And in this case we should have only got back to Hera and Zeus again. It is noteworthy that the island Eubœa, which was full of the myth of Io, also contained a very primitive Zeus-worship and a local legend about the marriage of Zeus and Hera^{17 d}, ^{63 d}. Thirdly, there is no evidence to suggest even as a valid hypothesis that the earliest period of Hera's cult was a period of gynæcocracy. Miss Harrison believes that Hera is really the wife of Heracles and persecutes him; but to prove this she should show (1) that Hebe, his wife in the *Odyssey*, is really Hera also; (2) that the marriage of Hebe and Heracles belongs to the most primitive period of religious legend; or (3) that Omphale was really Hera. There is scarcely any attempt to prove the first point; Hera was indeed called Παις, but so was Persephone; and Hebe was named Dia in Sicyon and Phlius, but this title would accord as well with Aphrodite as with Hera, and Hebe's feast of the 'ivy-cuttings' in Phlius seems more in favour of interpreting her as akin to Aphrodite-Ariadne than as Hera, who elsewhere objected to ivy. Nor is there any attempt to prove the second point, that this marriage of Heracles and Hebe belongs to the primitive story of the hero or god, yet to prove this is essential to the theory. Lastly, Miss Harrison relies much on the legend about the effeminacy of Heracles in the story of Omphale and in the curious Coan ritual that Plutarch describes (*Quæst. Græc.* 58),

but nothing that she urges brings gynaecocracy any nearer to the cult of Hera. Plutarch tells us that the priest at the sacrifice to Heracles in Cos wore feminine robes, and that bridegrooms put on a similar costume to receive their brides in; the reason being, according to the legend that he gives, that Heracles when hard pressed took refuge with a Thracian woman, and concealed himself with her in woman's dress. In all this there is no reference to Hera at all, for it is not Plutarch nor any ancient author who says 'the priest wore a *γυναικείαν ἐσθήτην* or a *στολήν ἀνθίνην* for Hera of the flowers'; and neither ancient nor recent evidence, such as the collection of Coan inscriptions by Messrs. Paton and Hicks, shows a connexion between the cult of Heracles and of Hera in Cos. The last refuge for the theory must be Dr. Tümpel's combination by which the Thracian woman becomes the '*Trachinian*' Omphale-Hera. But his attempt to transplant Omphale from Lydia to Trachis is scarcely successful; the fact that the inhabitants of Malis were under the thrall of women, according to Aristotle, is not relevant, unless we can put Omphale and Heracles there; and the only reason for doing that is drawn from two passages in Stephanus in which the '*Ὀμφαλιῆς*' appear as a legendary tribe near Thresprotis, and Omphalion is mentioned as a place in Thessaly (Steph. *s. v.* *Παραναῖοι* and '*Ὀμφάλιον*'), and even if this were sufficient, the last and most difficult task remains, to show that Omphale is Hera, and for this identification Dr. Tümpel offers no shadow of proof. In this case the able writer of the article in the *Classical Review* has carried too far the always hazardous process of mythological combination; and the evidence of a pre-Achaean period, which knew nothing of the union of Zeus and Hera, has still to be discovered.

APPENDIX B.

The cult of Hera Acraea at Corinth³⁰ has been reserved for a separate discussion, as it stands apart from the other Hellenic cults of the goddess and opens some perplexing questions. It must be studied in connexion with the

legend of Medea, of which the ancient form is far other than that which Euripides gave to it. Towards the close of his play he alludes to the solemn festival and rites performed at Corinth in memory of the slaughtered children, and to their burial in the temple of Hera Acraea; and this is explained by other records which show the tale of their death to be a religious myth that colours the whole of the cult. The oldest authority for the story of Medea is Creophylus of Samos, quoted by the scholiast on the *Medea*, according to whom Medea did not slay her children, but, when she herself had to flee to Athens to escape the wrath of the king, she put them under the protection of Hera Acraea: the Corinthians did not respect the sanctity of the altar and slew them upon it. The same scholiast gives us another and fuller account of the tragedy as recorded by Parmeniscus. The Corinthians disliking the rule of the barbarian queen plotted against her and her children, who numbered fourteen, and who took refuge in the temple of Hera Acraea and were slain at her altar: a plague fell upon the land and the oracle bade them atone for the pollution; the Corinthians in consequence instituted a rite which survived till the fall of Corinth: each year seven girls and seven boys of the highest families were selected to serve a year in the temple in a sort of bondage to the goddess, and to appease the wrath of the dead with sacrifice. The 'feast of mourning,' as the scholiast of Euripides calls the Corinthian Heraea, must refer to these rites, since we gather from Pausanias that the hair of the consecrated children was shorn and they wore black raiment. In another passage, the latter writer tells us that Medea concealed each of her children at their birth in Hera's temple, wishing to make them immortal, and a stranger story is preserved by the scholiast on Pindar, to the effect that Hera promised her children immortality, and the promise was fulfilled in the sense that the citizens immortalized them after their death with divine honours. We have also ancient and direct testimony to the divinity of Medea herself, given by Alcman, Hesiod and a later Musaeus.

The conclusion to which these facts inevitably lead is that which O. Müller and Schömann have drawn^a, namely, that Medea is a divinity closely connected with Hera and that the sacrifice of children was part of her primitive sacrifice. We can understand thus why in some legends the people, and in others the goddess herself, was made responsible for the slaughter; in a certain sense both accounts might be true. If Medea then was an integral part of the cult of the Minyan-Corinthian Hera, as Müller maintains, and also a divinity indigenous in Corinth, it could no longer be said that the religion of Hera in Greece was innocent of all traces of human sacrifice. But there are strong reasons against Müller's view of her autochthonous origin. In Iolchos itself no traces of a Hera-worship survived at all in historical times. Yet the *Odyssey* gives us an early proof of the close association of the goddess with Jason, and we may believe that she was revered by the Minyan people as well as by the Achaeans; but the Medea-cult belongs not to Iolchos but to Corinth. And the record seems to make clear that a foreign goddess had settled there, borne up by some wave of Minyan migration, and had fastened upon an ancient cult of Hera. It would be erroneous to argue that the practice of human sacrifice proves a foreign origin for the cult; for we find clear traces of it in undoubtedly Hellenic worships. The strikingly foreign trait in the service of Hera Acraea is the ritual of sorrow and mourning, the shaven head and the dark robe. There is nothing in the character of the Greek goddess that can explain this; but at Byblos men shaved their heads for Adonis, and we find grief and lamentation mingled with the service of the Oriental Aphrodite at Cyprus, Naxos and Athens. In the face of these facts, we must assign some weight to the legend of the foreign and barbaric origin of Medea. Her father, Aetes, may be genuine Corinthian, as O. Müller maintains; but this would prove nothing about the daughter, for in the confusion and syncretism of myths and cults, paternity is a slight matter. We have also more than mere legend; the Corinthians themselves, while

^a *Orchomenos*, p. 267; *Griech. Alterth.* 2. p. 491.

honouring the children of Medea as divinities, called them *μῆξοβάρβαροι*^{30 d}. Medea stayed the famine in the land by sacrificing to the Lemnian nymphs, and, according to the statement of the Pseudo-Plutarch^a, built the temple of the Oriental Aphrodite on Acro-Corinth. The scholiast on Euripides found in these Corinthian rites something that reminded him of Adonis^{30 d}; and it is difficult to explain his allusion, unless he is referring to the rites of mourning common to Phoenicia, Phrygia and other parts of Asia Minor. It is a curious fact also that the legend of Medea is haunted with stories of people being boiled alive in cauldrons; some such practice seems actually to have occurred at Carthage in connexion with the rites of Baal or Moloch; and the other traces of human sacrifice at Corinth are associated with the rites of the Graeco-Phoenician Melicertes. The cauldron-stories may be a legendary reminiscence of a savage Oriental ritual; but be this as it may, it is notable that they are never told of any known Greek divinity or heroine, but only of Medea and the Asia-Minor goddess Rhea who boiled Pelops. These are reasons for believing that the Medea who was ingrafted upon the Hera of Corinth was one of the many forms of that divinity whose orgiastic worship we can trace from Phoenicia to the Black Sea, and from Phrygia and Caria on the coast far into the interior, and who appears in Greece chiefly in the form of Cybele and Aphrodite. The Minyan settlements in Lemnos were probably the result of the earliest Minyan colonization which, as O. Müller rightly maintains, took the north-east of the Aegean for its route. It may have been from this island that they brought the Oriental worship to the shores of Corinth, and Lemnos seems to have been remembered at that city in the religious legend of Medea.

^a *De Herod. Malign.* 39.

CHAPTER VIII.

CULT-MONUMENTS OF HERA.

WE may believe that all the important centres of the worship of Hera possessed a temple-image, though this is not always recorded. But only very few of the ideas which we have found in this religion appear to have been definitely expressed in specially characteristic monuments. The record of these, so far as it is explicit, shows that she was usually represented as the wedded wife of Zeus, the goddess who cherished the lawful union of men and women; and this accords with the main idea of the cults and with her general character in Greek legend. Her earliest ἀγάλματα or symbols were, like those of most Greek divinities, aniconic and wholly inexpressive. A stock cut out from the tree was her badge at Thespiæ²⁵, her first sacred emblem at Samos was a board⁹⁶, at Argos a lofty pillar in the primitive period⁹⁶. And of most of the earliest images mentioned by Pausanias and other writers, nothing significant is told us. The most interesting is the archaic image of Hera, a ξόανον or wooden statue, carved by Smilis^a for the temple in Samos, probably about the middle of the seventh century B.C.⁹⁷ This supplanted an older idol, and retained its place in the island worship down to the latest period. The words of Varro, quoted by Lactantius, about the bridal character and appearance of the Samian image must apply to this work of Smilis^{65 d}, and this must be the βρέτας which, according to

^a Overbeck's view about the historic character of Smilis and his date may be accepted as the most probable. *Kunst-Mythol.* 2. 1, p. 13.

Athenaeus, was taken down to the sea and hidden in a wood, a rite that probably has reference to primitive marriage customs; for both writers appear to be speaking of the chief image of the temple-worship, and in historical times there was never any other than the statue carved by Smilis. We can gather something about the form and character of the temple-statue of Samos, from a series of Samian coins that have come down to us, ranging from the period of Hadrian to that of the younger Valerian (Coin Pl. A 15). The most important of these have been published by Overbeck in his *Kunst-Mythologie*, and in the British Museum catalogue^a. From an examination of these we gather that the image was an upright wooden figure overlaid with drapery, wearing a calathus and an ample veil on her head, and holding a libation cup in each hand, from which what appears to be a sacred fillet is hanging down. All these are natural emblems of the goddess of marriage and fruitfulness. On one of these coins the lower parts of the goddess have the same stiff almost aniconic appearance as the Samian statue of Hera in the Louvre, and as it is probable that this very archaic marble work preserves some reminiscence of the wooden temple-image, it may well be, as Overbeck suggests, that the wealth of drapery seen on most of the coins does not represent what was really carved upon the idol, but rather the sacred garments with which the worshippers from time to time may have draped it, possibly thank-offerings of married women^b.

The image of Aphrodite-Hera at Sparta^{17 x} must be ranked among the archaic monuments of the marriage-goddess, and the statue at Coronea of Hera bearing in her hands the Sirens²⁴ is the only other monument of the same significance which we can quote from the barren record of this earlier period; for in the account of some of the most interesting cults, such as that of Hera the maid, wife, and widow at Stymphelus we have no mention of any representation at

^a Overbeck, 2. 1, Pl. 1; Brit. Mus. Cat. *Ionia*, pp. 370-374. Pl. 37. 2.

^b We have Samian inscriptions con-

taining an inventory of the drapery that was used for the statue; *Mitt. d. deut. Inst.* (Athens), 7. 367.

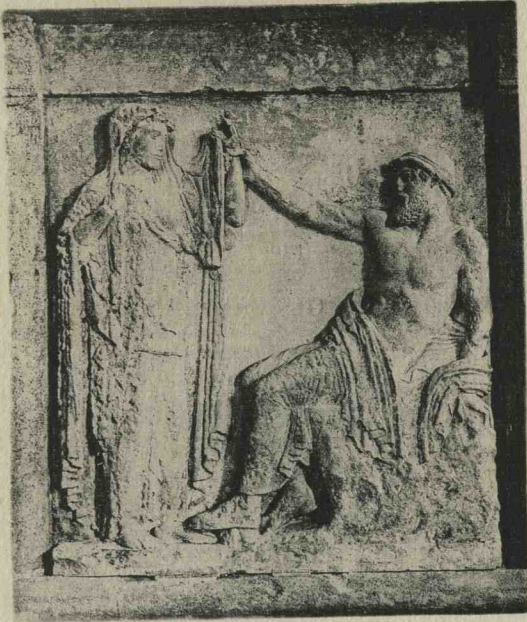
all. The two temple-statues that explicitly represented her as the bride or the goddess of wedlock, belong to the period of perfected art: the Hera *Νυμφεομένη* at Plataea by Callimachus, and the Hera *Τελέια* in the same city by Praxiteles². The first title seems to denote that the goddess was represented as at the moment of her marriage; and *Τελέια* may be an epithet of the married goddess or the goddess who brings marriage. Both these statues are obviously cult-monuments of the wife of Zeus, and evidence has already been given that shows how ancient and how prevalent in the city of Plataea and the neighbourhood were the myth and ritual of the sacred bridal. Of the form and type of the figure carved by Callimachus we know nothing at all. The Praxitelean statue, as we are told by Pausanias, was of Pentelic marble, representing the goddess as erect and of colossal stature. An attempt has been made by Overbeck^a, following a suggestion of Visconti, to discover the type of the Hera *Τελέια* in a small series of statues of which the Hera Barberini in the Vatican is the chief. But the attempt must share the fate of most hypotheses which try to establish the connexion between existing works and lost originals of which no description, or only the vaguest, survives. That the Vatican statue represents the marriage-goddess is very probable, but only certain if we allow that a very close relationship exists between her and the goddess who appears on a Roman sarcophagus in St. Petersburg^b, bringing a married pair to the altar, and that this is certainly a Juno Pronuba and in form descended from some Greek original of Hera *Τελέια*. But it is still somewhat doubtful whether the relief-figure with the half-bared breasts can be a Juno Pronuba: and even if we allow this, her relationship with the Vatican figure has been greatly exaggerated; her drapery is very different, and her pose does not strikingly resemble that of the statue. And finally, if we can reasonably interpret the Barberini statue as a representation of the goddess of marriage, and if the not infrequent repetition of the type suggests a Greek original of some celebrity, there is

^a *Kunst-Mythologie*, 2. 54.

^b *Ib.* p. 57, fig. 6.

PLATE IX

a



b



a part in the religious service of the island. On the other hand it cannot be proved that any of the numerous vase-representations in which the two divinities are grouped together have any real reference to the actual sacred ceremony or even to any public common cult of Zeus and Hera.

The only monuments which, after much debate, have been admitted to be representations of the sacred marriage, are three: (*a*) the relief on the metope of the most recent temple at Selinus, (*b*) the Pompeian wall painting, (*c*) the relief in the Villa Albani designed for the basis of an altar or a statue. The chief question for the student of Greek cult is how far the artist and sculptor has borrowed and reproduced certain traits or motives from the religious mimes that were in vogue in different parts of Greece. The Selinus relief (Pl. IX. a), of which the art displays the archaic style passing into the transitional period, shows us the figure of Zeus on the right seated on a rock, with the himation flung about the middle of his body and lower limbs as if one end had just slipped down from his left shoulder. With his right hand he is grasping the left wrist of Hera, who stands before him arrayed most ceremoniously as the bride, gazing on him with a very earnest and solemn expression, while her whole figure and pose are full of shame and reserve. Her form has entirely the style of hieratic art, and might really stand for a cult-figure of Hera the bride. Above her woollen chiton she has put on a second robe that falls in stiff folds to her feet, and the ample veil which she is just lifting away from her face envelops her head and falls low behind. There is no movement or life in the form. The attitude and expression of the god is just the contrary: he is seated with an ease that is rarely found in the figures of this period of sculpture; his drapery is very freely treated and there is an expression of strong passion in the features which corresponds with the energy of his action. Such a figure could certainly not be derived from any ancient cult; and it is surprising enough to find it on any Greek temple of the fifth century. We can suppose that the whole motive may have been derived from the religious drama, which may have been well known in the

neighbourhood, and which may have justified the sculptor in using it for the purposes of temple-sculpture. But it is more probable, from the slight evidence that is recorded, that these dramas or mimes were carried on not so much by living actors as by puppets that were borne in procession, and at last perhaps placed side by side on the bridal couch, as in the marriage-festival of Venus and Adonis at Alexandria; and certainly the Zeus on the metope does not resemble the figure in a religious dumb-show.

The Pompeian painting^a resembles the metope in many essential respects. The appearance of Zeus is very similar, except that here he wears the oaken crown and the veil as bridegroom, and his bearing is more tranquil and cool. Hera approaches him, wearing the same rich attire as before, and with the same expression of bashful hesitation. She is here accompanied by Iris, who may have played an actual part in the dramatic ritual, as she is mentioned in Theocritus' description of the 'sacred marriage.' Both the sculptor and the painter have laid the scene in the open air, and the picturesque landscape of the picture has been supposed by Overbeck^b to contain allusions to Crete, where there was at least one celebration of this ritual. In this, then, as in the former work, there may be some reminiscence of the ceremony as performed in Sicily, Cnossus, and elsewhere; but it would be far too hazardous to say that they reproduce with any exactness the forms and movements of the personages of the religious drama.

The third representation, the relief in the Villa Albani^c, takes the form of a procession of divinities, in which the chief personages are Zeus and Hera, he bearing the sceptre with an eagle on the top, and she represented as the shamefaced bride delicately lifting the border of her veil. The god and the goddess are unnaturally separated, but Welcker^d ingeniously explains this as a blunder of the copyist, who had to transfer the scene from a round to a flat surface. Among the other figures can be recognized Artemis Hegemone, 'the leader of

^a Overbeck, *Atlas, Kunst-Myth.* 10. 28.

^c Overbeck, *Atlas*, 10. 29.

^b *Kunst-Myth.* 2. 240.

^d *Alle Denkmäler*, 2. p. 25.

the bride,' Poseidon, Demeter, Dionysos, and Hermes, and the person of whom slight traces remain in front of Artemis must have been none other than Apollo, who in other bridal representations is seen at the head of the procession with his lyre. All are crowned, and there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the whole. But it is difficult to say that the scene reproduces the actual procession that was part of the performance of the *ἱερός γάμος* in the different parts of Greece, for there is some reason to suppose that the image of Hera or the person representing her was usually borne in the bridal chariot^a. The sculptor may in this case have availed himself of the usual type of the procession of the twelve divinities, and by altering the number and by other modifications have given it a special meaning.

Besides these, there are very few direct traces in the Greek art that have survived of the common cult of Zeus and Hera; the vase-representations cannot be regarded as cult-monuments, and there are very few coins^b that present the two divinities together.

The marriage-goddess is necessarily connected with the goddess of childbirth, and the worship of Hera-Eileithyia in Argos has been mentioned. But no sure representation of Hera under this aspect has survived. On a Berlin vase^c we see the figure of Io seated by a pedestal on which stands the image of a goddess clad in a long chiton with hair streaming over her shoulders and holding a torch in the right hand and a bow in her left; and Overbeck^d maintains that this must be the idol of Hera Eileithyia, as there is no other goddess to whom Io could appeal for pity, and Hera may bear the bow, because Homer speaks of the arrowy pangs of women in travail, the 'shaft that the Eileithyiae send.' This reasoning has been accepted, but it will not bear criticism. A vase-painter might well allow Io in the distress of travail to appeal

^a The Hera *Ἡρώχρη*, 'the holder of the reins,' who was worshipped at Lebadea by the side of Zeus Basileus, may have got her name from the bridal chariot in which she drove.

^b E. g. the coins of Capua and Hali-

carnassus; Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, 2, Münztafel 2. No. 38, and 3. No. 6.

^c Overbeck, *Atlas*, 7. No. 9.

^d *Kunst-Mythologie*, 2. p. 19.

to Artemis, especially as this goddess was even more concerned with childbirth than Hera. But Hera was Io's relentless enemy in the ordinary myth; and though a poet might speak in a figurative sense of the shaft of Eileithyia, yet no artist would consider this sufficient reason for giving Hera the symbol of the bow. Moreover every Greek artist would know that if he drew the figure of a goddess with torch and bow, to whose aid a woman was appealing, every spectator would conclude that the goddess was Artemis; and this is the strongest argument for believing that it was Artemis whom this vase-painter intended to represent ^a.

The only other special worships of Hera to which we can attach certain representations that survive are those of Hera Lacinia and Hera of Argos^b. As regards the image in the temple at Croton, dedicated to the former, we have no information; but that an image existed there we can conclude from the epigram in the *Anthology*^{79b} containing the prayer of the women who offer a linen garment to her, which was no doubt intended to be laid upon the statue; and in any case we could not believe that a cult of such celebrity lacked the temple-idol. It is undoubtedly the face of this goddess that is found on certain coins of Croton of the fourth century B.C., and the type is borrowed with slight modifications for the coinage of Venusia, Neapolis, Pandosia, Hyria, and Veseris Campaniae (Coin Pl. A 20). In some of these instances the goddess wears a veil, and in most the stephanos, which on the coin of Croton is richly decorated with an anthemium in front and two griffins at the sides symmetrically disposed, a peculiar symbol which appears on many of the coins. There can be no doubt that the head on the coin of Croton is

^a This is also Furtwängler's interpretation, *Berlin. Vasen-Sammlung*, No. 3164.

^b We have the vague and doubtful authority of Lycophron for an armed Hera 'Οπλοσμία at Argos; but there is no cult-figure to which we could attach this name; a seated figure of Hera bearing the spear on a black-figured vase (Müller, *D. d. A. K.* I. 10; Over-

beck, *Atlas*, Taf. 9. 16), cannot be accepted as any illustration or corroboration of Lycophron's statement. There is more to be said for the belief that we find the cult-figure of Hera Διρφία⁶³ on a coin of Chalcis^{63 a3}, as the type evidently points to some statue and the rock on which she is seated would naturally refer to her worship on the neighbouring mountain.

PLATE VI



that of the tutelary goddess of the state, and the celebrity of her worship explains and is attested by the frequent use of this type of the Hera Lakinia in the coinage of the other cities of Magna Graecia. The crown and the veil, the earnest and proud expression combined with the maternal forms of the face, are specially characteristic of Hera, but neither the literature nor the coins attest what particular aspect of her, if any, was prominent in this cult. We cannot explain the griffins nor the very striking arrangement of the hair, which waves about her head almost as if tossed by a wind. It has been maintained that Lakinia is an epithet derived from an Oscan word *Lakis*, meaning earth, and that Hera was identified in Magna Graecia with a local earth-goddess^a. If the Greek worshippers were really conscious of this we might explain this singular treatment of the hair as borrowed from the usual representations of *Gaia*, whose hair generally flows in long tresses about her neck. This trait is not found in the colossal marble bust at Venice (Pl. VI), which Overbeck rightly considers a representation of Hera Lakinia on the ground that the stephane above the forehead has the same decoration of anthemium and griffins as appears on the coins of South Italy. Disfigured as it is, the countenance has yet preserved something of the exalted type which we find on the marble coins, although the later copyist who wrought the head has brought a different expression into the face by giving it the rather narrow eye of *Aphrodite*. From the bust and the coins we may gather something of the character and form of the temple-statue, about which history is silent. The sculptor, being the later and inferior artist, would no doubt be the more faithful copyist of the two as regards the external forms which he could reproduce; but it is probable that he has falsified the sentiment, and that the coin-stamper has embodied in his work more of the expression of the original, although the wild and luxuriant hair, more difficult to render in marble and bronze, may have been specially designed for the coin-device. The place of this Lakinian head among the ideal types of Hera will have to be noticed afterwards.

As the Argive was the most celebrated worship of Hera in

^a *Hell. Journ.* 1886, p. 10.

Greece, so her image in the temple of Argos by the hand of Polycleitus takes precedence of all other cult-monuments of her, and must be regarded as the fullest and highest embodiment of the goddess as she appeared in legend and worship. We gather most about it from the words of Pausanias⁹⁸: 'the statue of Hera of colossal size is seated on a throne. It is of gold and ivory, the work of Polycleitus. She wears a crown upon which are wrought the figures of the Graces and Hours, and in her one hand she bears the fruit of the pomegranate, in the other her sceptre . . . and they say that the cuckoo sits on the top of her sceptre, declaring that Zeus, when he was in love with Hera before marriage, transformed himself into this bird . . . and the statue of Hebe, also of gold and ivory, that stands by the side of Hera, is said to have been wrought by the hand of Naucydes.' Most of the other records left by ancient writers of this great work add little to this description⁹⁹⁻¹⁰³. The scholiast on Theocritus corroborates the statement about the cuckoo on the sceptre, and Strabo in a very dull passage praises the technique of the work, in which it surpassed even the great masterpieces of Pheidias, 'while inferior to them in expensiveness and size.' We can gather from the epigram of Parmenion—what would really go without saying—that the main part of the body was covered with drapery. 'The Argive Polycleitus, who alone of all men saw the goddess with his very eyes, has revealed to us as much of her beauty as it is lawful for mortal eyes to see¹⁰⁰.' Of more interest and weight is the summary account of the form and character of the image, left us by Maximus Tyrius, who says that 'Polycleitus revealed Hera to the Argives as a goddess of the white elbow and forearm of ivory, fair of face and clad in noble raiment, in queenly fashion seated on a golden throne¹⁰¹.' It is clear from this sentence that the arms were uncovered, at least from the elbows downwards, and that the artistic impression was mainly produced by a certain majestic treatment of the drapery combined with a striking beauty of face. But the artistic questions concerning this ideal representation of the goddess will be noticed later, as we are chiefly concerned here with the relation of this statue to Argive cult.

In the first place we may note that the description of Pausanias and the others is illustrated and in some ways supplemented by certain Argive coins of the Imperial period; a coin of Julia Domna and one of Antoninus Pius (Coin Pl. A 16). On both of them we see the goddess seated on her throne, wearing the *stephanos* and holding the pomegranate in her extended right hand and grasping the sceptre near the top with the left: her drapery consists of a *chiton* which leaves the arms bare and a *himation* which passes over the middle of her body and falls over her left shoulder, arranged just in the same way as is usual with the mantle of Zeus. She wears no veil: the writers mention none, and the fact is important. The pose has no stiffness in it, but is majestic and suitable to the solemnity of a great temple-statue: the left arm is held high and free of the body, the right foot is drawn slightly under the throne, so as to avoid the look of constraint. There is no reason to doubt the general fidelity of the copy, and on one of the coins the figure of Hebe is given, awkwardly indeed and on far too large a scale.

When we examine the attributes and symbols and what else is told us or shown us of the statue, we see that Polycleitus, a true national sculptor, has given faithful and imaginative expression to the ideas contained in the cult of his land. She was worshipped there as Hera the queen and as the wife of Zeus, united to him in the ceremonial of the sacred marriage; and it is as the queen-goddess, as Maximus Tyrius declares, that Polycleitus revealed her to his countrymen, displaying this character of her in the majesty of the pose and drapery, in her richly ornamented crown, and in her imperious grasp of the sceptre. Her union with Zeus is no doubt allusively expressed by the symbol of the cuckoo, and still more clearly by the subordinate figure of Hebe, their daughter, which the later sculptor added in the early part of the fourth century. She was worshipped also in Argos preeminently as the goddess of marriage and childbirth; and the image of the wife of Zeus would be also naturally an image of the goddess of these functions. Direct allusion to this character of hers is probably conveyed by the symbol of the

pomegranate. We can hardly determine the significance of the whole work, unless we can discover with some certainty the symbolic meaning of this fruit which she bears in her hand. Pausanias is piously averse to giving an explanation; he regards it as a mystery not lightly to be revealed. Most modern interpreters consider the pomegranate in Hera's hand to be the emblem of fruitfulness in marriage, having this significance on account of the large number of its seeds. But Bötticher, in an able article^a, argues against this interpretation and proposes an entirely different one. He declares that the pomegranate played no part at all in the Greek marriage rite; that in Greek symbolism it was no emblem of fertility, but of strife, and bloodshed, and death—by reason of its blood-red colour; and certainly it appears to have this meaning in some few legends. But when Bötticher maintains that the goddess of Argos is holding forth the pomegranate to display her triumph over her rival Demeter, whose daughter Persephone through eating the pomegranate was held a prisoner in the world below, he is asking us to believe a difficult thing. Greek temple-sculpture of the fifth century is not prone to symbolism so far-fetched and so quaint; nor would the great image of Hera, 'the benefactress of the land' as she was called, be likely to embody the idea of strife and hatred. And if Polycleitus intended this meaning he must have lost his labour, for no Greek spectator would be likely to have understood his thought.

The hand of the idol in a Greek temple is extended usually to dispense gifts or to display some permanent attribute of the power, some symbol of the functions of the divinity. The pomegranate is by no means the peculiar and constant token of Persephone; but even if it were, the statue of Hera would be no more likely to hold it in its hand as an emblem of triumph over a rival than to wear the vine-crown or the grape-clusters by way of expressing her hatred of Bacchus. If it were desired to mark the hostility of divinities in ritual or representation, it would surely be by excluding the badge or the ministrant of the hostile divinity from the worship

^a *Denkmäler und Forschungen*, 1856, p. 170.

of the other : as we hear that ivy was tabooed in the service of Hera at Eleusis as the badge of her hated stepson.

The Argive goddess holding forth the pomegranate must have been regarded as the goddess who gives that fruit to men, either for nourishment or for a sign of fruitfulness in marriage. For in spite of Bötticher's arguments there are reasons for believing that it had this double significance in Greek symbolism; it is found in the hands of the Hours, being there perhaps no more than a sign of the season's blessing and of the year's increase, and it is found in the hand of Aphrodite, surely as a sign of love and offspring. In the Argive cult Hera was clearly recognized not only as the marriage-goddess but as the beneficent power that gave the fruits of the earth; and, as we see from the worship of Demeter in Attica, the two functions were closely connected in the Greek religious thought. Both may have been symbolized by the pomegranate in her hand, and both were beautifully suggested by the groups of the Hours and Graces on her crown.

The popular belief as shown in literature, legend, and cult gave the sculptor sufficient reason for associating these figures with Hera. They had already appeared as the ministrants of Zeus on the throne of the Pheidian image, and Hera as his consort could borrow them from him or claim them by right of her own nature and character. Statues of the Charites had already been dedicated in the archaic period in the Heraeon of Argos^a; and in her temple at Olympia the Hours were represented on thrones, works of the early sculptor Smilis^b; and a shrine was raised to them in the Argive territory^c. Mythology also associated her with them, a legend being recorded by Pausanias from Olen's poetry that the Hours were the nurses of Hera. Throughout Greece the Hours were worshipped as the powers that brought the fertilizing rain and wind and the blessings of fruit and corn and wine, also as charged with the due recurrence of the seasons, and therefore in some way with the destiny of man, and especially with child-birth and with the ceremony of marriage. Hence they were

^a Paus. 2. 17, 3.

^b *Id.* 5. 17, 1.

^c *Id.* 2. 20, 5.

frequently associated with Aphrodite and Dionysos, and in Argos most naturally with the chief goddess, who played the part there of Demeter and Eileithyia.

The Graces are very kindred personages to the Hours, being nature-powers of the same significance, but having gained a more ethical and human character. They bring the flowers of the spring, and are thus joined with the Argive Hera the flower-goddess; they personify besides the charm and beauty of life, and as the constant companions of Aphrodite the ideas of the sweetness of love and married life were attached to them. Their presence was necessary to complete the idea embodied in the work of Polycleitus.

As we can discover so clear an allusion to the goddess of fruitfulness in this famous temple-image, we need not wholly reject the statement of Tertullian that her statue at Argos was crowned or in some way adorned with a vine-spray. He may be speaking of some other, but he ought naturally to be referring to the great statue of the city. We cannot, of course, believe that the latter was permanently decorated with an artificial garland of vine-leaves wrought in metal, for Pausanias would certainly have mentioned so very remarkable an emblem; but Tertullian may be carelessly referring to some ritual of crowning the goddess with the vine-garland at the time of the wine-harvest. The explanation offered by him that she wore this as a proof of her dislike of Bacchus is of course ridiculous; we should rather say that at Argos the fruit of the vine was offered her because she was there believed to have given man the blessing of the vine as she had given him the gift of corn.

One last question remains about the conception of the work. In the Peloponnese and elsewhere Hera was worshipped as the maid as well as the wife; and in Argolis a stream was shown where Hera bathed each year, and thus periodically renewed her maidenhood. The statue of Polycleitus gives ample indication of the bride and the wife. Can we believe that in the absence of the veil, and perhaps in the flowing maidenly locks, such as we see on the Argive coins, the sculptor alluded to the mysterious nature of the goddess

who was maid as well as wife? He was a sculptor who loved to reconcile in one figure two different systems of forms—the forms of the boy and the man in his *Doryphorus*, of the female and the male in his *Amazon*. If by some subtle mode of expression he could combine in his work a touch of maidenliness with her character as queen and bride and mother, we may say that in this case at least his imagination was equal to his marvellous power over form. It is true that the ideal of *Hera* was not so spiritual or ethical as the ideal of *Zeus* or *Athene*; and in the sentence of *Maximus Tyrius* the epithets refer mainly to qualities that are physical, formal, or external. Yet there was great beauty and worth in this *Argive* worship with its conception of a supreme goddess whose power worked in the genial fresh life of the earth, and in the grace and peace of human life. And if the statue wrought by *Polycleitus* embodied the leading ideas of that cult, as we find that it did, and if the forms of the head and countenance were rendered in accordance with what was expressed in the whole figure, then his work was the most masterly and ideal representation of the Greek *Hera*, as it certainly was the fullest and most profound reflex of her cult.

CHAPTER IX.

IDEAL TYPES OF HERA.

IN searching through the religious monuments that survive of this worship, the inquirer has to be on his guard against the frequent false interpretations that confront him. There is no Greek divinity so difficult to recognize as Hera; for her figure has often been disguised by false restoration, and on the other hand the name has been applied to representations to which it cannot be proved to belong.

This ambiguity arises chiefly from the lack of any significant and peculiar attribute which may at once reveal her as clearly as Athena is revealed by the aegis, Artemis by the bow, or Demeter by the corn-stalks. Of all the various symbols, badges, attributes, fashions of drapery that have been supposed to be specially characteristic of Hera, there is none that is invariably found; and none that is not found with other divinities also, with the one exception of the peacock; but this comes too late into the artistic representations to be of much service. The veil might be supposed to be proper to the matron-goddess, the bride and the wife of Zeus; and she wears it sitting by his side in the terra-cotta group found at Samos^a; it appears in the Argive statuette of early fifth-century style^b, and on the Selinus metope, but rarely, if ever, on the archaic vases, and only occasionally in works of perfected and later art; and the veiled head of Hera is exceptional on coins, the devices of Capua and the Boeotian Orchomenos being among the few instances from the Greek period^{80, 22}. She is veiled in representations of the sacred marriage, yet on the coins of those places where this rite was regularly performed

^a Pl. V. b.

^b Pl. VII. a.

in her honour, Plataea, Argos, Cnossus, Samos, she wears nothing but the stephanos or smaller crown. Again, as regards this latter attribute on her head, we may believe that its earliest form was the calathos, the emblem of fruitfulness, the proper emblem of the Argive goddess who gave the fruits of the earth. And wherever Hera was the chief divinity it would be natural to attribute this gift and power to her. Yet the calathos in its proper form is by no means common in the representations of her; the only coins that present her with it are the Samian coins that reproduce more or less freely the type of her ancient image. It is not unfrequently found in the vase-representations of the black-figured and red-figured style, for instance on the beautiful Munich patera that will be mentioned below. More usually it appears under the form of the stephanos or diminished calathos, which has no other intention probably but to express dignity or majesty, the change in form being due merely to artistic reasons. It is this more shapely emblem that is seen on so very early a work as the limestone Olympian head ^a, which is possibly a fragment of the temple-statue of the Heraeum, on the Argive statuette, and on the coins of Argos and those other cities whose coinage resembles this type, and on some of the heads of Hera Lakinia on Croton coins ^b. But the stephanos is by no means so frequently found as the half-diadem or stephane, which is her common attribute on coins. On the other hand some of her most certain and most striking representations, such as the Parthenon relief-figure and the Farnese head, show neither crown nor diadem. Even the sceptre which from the fifth century onwards designated the queen of the heavens is rare on the black-figured vases.

And even if all these were constant and necessary attributes and emblems of Hera, they would not be peculiar to her, and therefore would fail in certain cases to distinguish her. A goddess with the veil and calathos may be Artemis or Aphrodite as well as Hera, and the head that wears the stephanos on the coin of Zeleia Troadis, quoted and published

^a Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 2118.

^b Overbeck, *K.-M. Münztaf.* 2. No.

43; cf. Tyrtaeus (Bergk, 2): Κρονίων
καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρας.

among the Hera-heads by Overbeck, is quite as probably a representation of Artemis^a. Many divinities wear the stephane, and any one of them can carry the sceptre. Nor, as we have seen, was Hera so closely associated in the general worship with any part of the natural world or with the arts of life that any special flower or animal, weapon or implement, could be given her as a sign. The pomegranate is as natural to Aphrodite as to Hera, and very rarely found with either. The cuckoo might have been used as the obvious and peculiar symbol of Hera, but by some strange perversity it was not; it figures only in the description of Polycleitus' statue, and possibly on one vase-representation^b.

Nor is there any precisely characteristic handling of the drapery which alone could distinguish her from any other goddess. Character is indeed sufficiently expressed in the drapery of the most imaginative representations of Hera, the character of the stately and imperial goddess, the wife of Zeus. She is essentially *ἐνείμων*, 'clad in comely dress.' Certain negative rules might be given; she could not be unclad like Aphrodite, nor draped in the short tunic of Artemis, nor is it probable that in her temple-images she could wear nothing more than the open Doric chiton of Athene. But, like other goddesses, she changes her fashions with time and place. The Argive terra-cotta statuette shows her with the double-sleeved chiton and veil, on the Parthenon frieze she wears an ample veil and the Doric double chiton without sleeves, and also, on many of the later sarcophagi, the veil and chiton only. The girdle seems indifferent to her; sometimes she has it and sometimes not. In such details the artist appears to have been guided by artistic fashion merely, not by any fixed conception about her. Her standing epithet in Homer is *λευκώλενος*, the white-armed goddess, and one might have supposed that the constant association of this poetic term with her would have impelled the artist and sculptor to show her arms bare of drapery. And the greatest sculptors have represented her thus; but here

^a Overbeck, *K.-M.* 2, Münztaf. 2. 27.
Vide Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 475.

^b According to Porphyry the stork

was also consecrated to her (*De Abstin.* Ek. 3, 5), but as far as I know it has no place in her representations.

a



b



also the practice varied, and we cannot deny that a particular statue is Hera's because the arms are draped, or affirm that it is simply because they are not. The best works, indeed, show a tendency to invest her with a peculiar wealth and magnificence of drapery, to place the himation above the chiton, and to draw the outer robe across her body with a view to the most imposing effect of majestic fold and line. But the question will arise whether this gives us a sure clue, in the absence of other evidence, to discover Hera in a particular statue, or whether, supposing that a very effective and solemn arrangement of drapery had been devised originally for Hera, a Greek sculptor would hesitate to borrow it for his representation of any other austere divinity, say Demeter or Themis^a.

It seems then we have no speaking emblem or symbol of Hera, no indubitable external mark. It is generally by means of the peculiar type of countenance and expression, either in itself or combined with becoming drapery and appropriate attribute, that we recognize her in various works of the perfected and later art. But in the archaic period, when the face was expressionless and there was no separate system of forms for the maidenly and the maternal divinity, and the drapery was conventional not characteristic, we can sometimes only distinguish a Hera from an Aphrodite or an Artemis by the situation or the myth represented, or by the presence of Zeus; or the provenance of the object may decide, as for instance it is reasonable to recognize Hera in the terra-cotta image of the throned and veiled goddess from Argos or Samos (Pl. V. b, VII. a).

It remains to mention the few surviving works in which the ideal form or countenance of the goddess is manifested or which contribute certain elements to it. What that ideal is we can partly gather from the Homeric poetry, and from one or two passages in later Greek literature. The Homeric account depicts her as the majestic queenly goddess, stern,

^a Perhaps the only certain instance of a Hera recognizable by her drapery alone is the figure on the metope of Selinus; the situation itself of course is

sufficient to identify the two personages, but it is only for the representation of Hera the bride that such drapery would be used.

proud, and self-asserting, with certain harsh and sombre traits in her character. There is some force and grandeur in the picture, but very little moral or spiritual quality. The Argive cult, not to mention others, knew her as something more than this, and her portrait in Greek art is richer and deeper than the Homeric. The best Greek sculptors were indebted to Homer for the epithets *βοώπις* and *λευκώλενος* and for the austerity of her type. But there is more in the picture of her conveyed by the words of Dio Chrysostom, who describes a woman 'of shapely and lofty stature clad in white raiment and holding a sceptre, with a countenance radiant and at the same time solemn, being such as painters are wont to paint Hera¹⁰⁴.' It was long before Greek art had attained to this presentation of her.

Among the monuments of the fifth century before Pheidias there are two works that claim special mention among the ideal forms of Hera. Inside a very beautiful patera in the Munich collection of vases we see the form of the goddess, painted in various tints, standing in a very solemn pose, with the right hand holding the sceptre, and the left hand concealed under the drapery of the upper garment which is drawn over her chiton; the left elbow is bent in such a way as to show that this hand is resting on her hip^a. On her head is a golden stephanos, above which the top of her skull is shown, and her golden hair streams down from her shoulders in rich curls. The face is full and matronly, very calm and earnest, but without severity; the lips are slightly open, the under-lip being very slightly advanced. This is a rich and bright representation of the goddess-queen.

Whether the popular imagination usually conceived her as yellow-haired, as she here appears, is uncertain; it would seem so from the story preserved by the Scholiast in the *Iliad*^b that Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite bathed in the river Xanthus to give their hair a golden colour; but she is dark-haired in the Pompeian picture of her marriage.

One of the most important monuments of fifth-century

^a Pl. VII. b.

^b Schol. *Iliad*, 21. 1.

PLATE VIII



religious sculpture is the Farnese head of Hera in Naples^a. The theories put forward concerning its date and origin are very conflicting; and before a judgement can be formed concerning them the features and expression must be carefully analyzed and defined. It is a colossal head of severe and impressive style, resembling some of the heads on the Parthenon frieze in its exceeding depth, and in the great breadth of cheek and in the rendering of the bone-structure. The hair is pressed with a narrow band, and is parted above the forehead and drawn to each side in rippling lines in more accordance with the style of bronze-work than marble; above the band it is drawn so closely over the head that the contour of the skull is impressively shown, and behind it is gathered in a *crobylos* on the neck. The austere simplicity of this arrangement is almost archaic, but the concealment of part of the ear beneath the hair is a mark of a later period of style, a trait that begins to be found in the heads from the temple at Olympia. A striking characteristic of the whole head is its display of straight lines and flat surfaces: the forehead is exceedingly broad and strong, and is only slightly modulated in the part above the eyes; the cheeks are flat surfaces that do not slope much towards the centre of the face, and the eyebrow is almost a straight line at right angles to the nose, of which the bone is broad and flat. Thus the whole head has somewhat of a rectilinear appearance and mathematical quality, and yet one must say also that the bone-structure is not strongly marked, but only, so to speak, shadowed beneath the flesh, to which due attention is paid in places. The corners of the lips are softly treated, and the flesh about the mouth and nose is warmly modulated with lines that aid greatly the impression of character. The upper lip is beautifully carved, and the lower protrudes noticeably in the centre, and is slightly flattened outwards. Beneath the lips is a deep depression, and then a strong broad chin that springs slightly forwards.

The question must now be considered, before any further analysis of the forms, as to the personality. It is evidently

^a Pl. VIII.

a representation of divinity, and the almost unanimous verdict of archaeologists pronounces it to be Hera^a. There can be little doubt that this judgement is correct; for though the head does not wear the usual crown, but only a narrow band, which we find indeed on the head of Hera on Elean coins, but which any goddess might wear, the expression is certainly more suitable to Hera than to any other divinity. It resides chiefly in the eyes and the lips and in the parts about the mouth, though all the other features convey it and are in perfect accord with each other; but in defining it we are in danger of imputing too much to the conscious intention of the artist and too little to the laws of plastic form-rendering to which his generation was devoted. We are struck at once with the energy and powerful will that is written on forehead, chin, and mouth; with the dark and sombre mood revealed in the eyes that are shadowed by very thick eyelids, and in the drooping corners of the lips; and the countenance exercises such fascination on those who look at it long, that one writer, who has made a special study of the types of Greek heads, speaks of its 'elemental demoniac force, its untameable power^b.' The phrase is too strong perhaps, but the head certainly produces something of this effect upon us; only it must be borne in mind that other heads of the period to which this in all probability belongs are marked with something of the same expression. And it is very doubtful if the sculptor intended to represent Hera as a 'demoniac force,' as one who 'would devour Troy and Priam raw'; he is to some extent following or reproducing the style of the short-lived period of sculpture, the period of transition from the archaic to the perfected work. That generation which began its work shortly before the destruction of Athens by the Persians, and which lasted until the zenith of Pheidias, broke away from the older school even more in regard to the spiritual expression which they gave to their work than in their formal treatment of the features. The forms of the countenance become much nobler, and the expression that they convey

^a Dr. Furtwängler inclines to call it Artemis, but he does not discuss the question (*Meisterwerke*, p. 223, 1, Engl. Ed.).

^b Kekulé, *Hebe*, p. 67.

is over-serious and often sombre and dark, contrasting utterly with the weak affected smile upon the later archaic faces. And the expression does not vary for the individual represented; the countenances of Apollo and Demeter would be stamped with the same stern severity as that of Hera. The strange and almost repellent look on the Farnese face is therefore not necessarily due wholly to the conscious aim of the sculptor and his conception of the nature of the goddess, nor need we see in it the Homeric portrait of the stormy and sullen wife of Zeus. It may be sufficient to say that the sculptor, to represent the severe and dignified goddess of marriage, has intensified a type of expression prevalent in his day.

It might be thought that the slimmness of the cheeks is more maidenly than matronly; and it has been supposed that the sculptor wished to allude to the maidenly character of Hera in Argive and Arcadian worship. But the broad flat cheek is not necessarily part of the individual expression, but a characteristic of a style of sculpture which did not distinguish between the youthful wife and the maid^a. The individuality of the head is imprinted in the middle of the face, especially in the lines about the mouth, which without marring the beauty speak of experience and mature life. It is this and the imperious sombre look, which is too marked to be wholly explained by the general tendencies of contemporary art, that are the sole valid reasons for giving the name of Hera to the statue of which this is part.

Much has been said indeed about the eyes, and the strange marking of the eyelids; according to the view of Brunn, in which he has been followed by Kekulé and many others, they have been carved so as to convey the quality expressed by the Homeric epithet *βωδῆπις*; and this they regard as the leading trait in the 'canonical ideal' of Hera's face. No doubt the eyes were a striking feature of her countenance as the people imagined it; for the poetic term of Homer must

^a For instance, in the Eleusinian relief of Demeter, Iacchus, and Persephone, a work perhaps of the earlier Pheidian

period, it is hard to discern from the faces which of the two is the mother and which the daughter.

have had its influence, and it is said by a poet of the *Anthology*, in praise of a maiden, that 'she had the eyes of Hera¹⁰⁵.' It is a question whether each one of the typical heads of Hera can be called *βοῶπις*; there is no question what the term means, and unquestionably it does not apply to the Farnese head.

It certainly does not mean 'bull-eyed,' as Brunn and others have interpreted it, finding in the word an allusion to the 'wild terrific power' latent in the eyes of the bull and of the goddess^a. As applied to Hera, it can only mean ox-eyed or cow-eyed, and the eye of the cow is not threatening, nor does it 'cause a certain inquietude in the mind of him who finds himself opposite it^b.' The eye of the cow is large, round, and somewhat prominent, and has a dark light in it: and this is the sense in which Homer applies it to more than one goddess and lady, as he had noticed that human eyes are often striking and beautiful through a certain resemblance to that animal's. The ancients interpreted the word rightly as large-eyed and dark-eyed¹⁰⁶; a painter would convey the impression by painting the eye dark and round and large, such as the eye of Hera in the Pompeian picture of the Holy Marriage; a sculptor would give the eyeball a certain size and shape. Now the eyes of the Farnese Hera are narrow and long, in their shape as unlike a cow's as any human eye can be. But they are set between very extraordinary eyelids, both of which are abnormally thick and the lower drawn away from the ball and turned down and outwards. It is by this curious method that the sculptor has been thought to indicate Hera *βοῶπις*. If so, he was more ignorant of nature than most Greek sculptors and painters, if we may judge from the representation of cows in classic art. A walk through the fields will convince us that the cow's eyelids do not fall away from the eyeball as those of the Farnese Hera; on the contrary they form a close firm rim; and anything like the lower eyelid of that goddess, if seen at all in human beings, is only seen in disease and old age. It is hard

^a Brunn in the *Bull. del Ann.* 1846, pp. 122-128; cf. Kekulé in his *Hebe*, p. 64.

^b Brunn, *op. cit.*

to believe, then, that the sculptor carved such eyes in the hope that they would remind the Greek spectator of the ox-eyed goddess. Probably his sole aim was to give a striking expression to the eyes by such a treatment of the eyelid as would cast the deepest shadow upon them, and he merely carried somewhat further a technical method which had become usual in the plastic work of the age. The thick lids are found in the Apolline head in the British Museum, a copy as is supposed of a bronze-work of Canachus; in the heads from the temple of Zeus Olympius, and some of the Lapith heads of the Parthenon metopes. But the best instances to compare with the Farnese are the heads of Harmodius in the Neapolitan group of the tyrannicides, of the nymph on the Olympian metope, and of Heracles on the relief from the same temple that represents the cleansing of the Augean stables. In all these cases the eyelids are not only thick, but the lower one is turned slightly down and away from the eye. This method has been exaggerated by the sculptor of the Farnese head, whose colossal statue raised on a pedestal may have towered above the spectator, and who, wisely reckoning with the height, may have pursued a conventional method of treating the eyelid by which the eye as seen from below appeared shadowy and full of warmth. This technical process is more natural to bronze-work than to marble-carving^a.

And the Farnese head is no original production^b (the bust-form alone, a product of Alexandrine art, would prove that), but a copy of a bronze original which in all probability was wrought about the middle of the fifth century, at the very close of the transitional period. The reasons of this view have already been given by the way; to recapitulate, the slightly

^a Overbeck, in his *Kunst-Mythologie* (2. pp. 66, 71, 72), has done good service in exposing the absurdities of the *βοῶπις* theory, and in suggesting that much in the Farnese head may be explained better by the general history of plastic style than by special reference to Hera's character.

^b This is also the view of Overbeck, *Kunst-Myth.* 2. p. 73; and Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, p. 6. Though a copy, it belongs probably still to the Greek period; the surface is rather damaged, but the treatment of hair and mouth shows good Greek style.

protruding chin and lower lip, the great breadth of cheek, the ear placed a little too high, the conventional treatment of the eyelid, and still more the dark and sombre expression, are the marks of an ideal style of sculpture that flourished before the zenith of Pheidias.

This view is of course inconsistent with the theory of Kekulé and Brunn and others, who maintain that the head is a copy more or less direct of the famous Hera of Polycleitus. Before the theory becomes a valuable hypothesis, there ought to be some direct evidence for this, derived from the resemblance of the Farnese head to some recognized work or copy of a work of Polycleitus or to the description left us of the great Argive image. Now the above-mentioned writers maintain that there is the very nearest affinity between this head and that of the Doryphorus^a; while others of equal authority deny that there is any resemblance at all. It is strange that opinions should so conflict about a matter of fact that can surely be decided by a close comparison of the works. My own conviction is that the resemblance is only very general, such as we might expect to find in any two heads representing Peloponnesian art from 460 to 420 B.C., and that the differences are far more weighty. The cheeks of the Doryphorus slope more towards the centre of the face, which thus becomes narrower, the nose is less broad in the ridge, the chin protrudes less, and the eyes are quite differently treated. But those who maintain the Polycleitean origin of the head rely most on the argument that this surpasses all existing representations of Hera in ideal conception; and they ask, if it was not Polycleitus but some earlier sculptor who produced this type, what was there left for Polycleitus, to whom the voice of antiquity ascribes the greatest representation of Hera, to do further in the development of the ideal? The answer is easy, that still much remained to be done. If Polycleitus produced the type of the Farnese Hera, then in his conception of the goddess he fell far below—not perhaps Homer—but the artist who a little later carved the head of Hera on the coins of

^a Conze, *op. cit.*; Overbeck, *K.-M.* 2. p. 50.

Argos, and the sculptor who in the fourth century wrought the original of the Ludovisi head.

For the Farnese bust, effective as it is by the intensity of its expression, gives by no means the full ideal of Hera; it is not the benign Argive goddess 'of good works,' not the goddess in whose face and person, according to Dio Chrysostom¹⁰⁴, brightness appeared by the side of majesty. The sculptor of this head could give us the majesty under a dark and sombre aspect; neither he nor his age could represent τὸ φαιδρῶν.

It was in the following period that the ideal of Hera received full and satisfying expression. In perfecting the type the work of Polycleitus was chief, but the part played by Pheidias and his school was not unimportant. There is no authority for attributing to Pheidias himself, the greatest creator of divine types, any free statue of Hera, and none has survived that can be ascribed to this school^a. But her figure wrought by his hand appeared among the other divinities on the base of the throne of Zeus Olympios, and the Parthenon frieze shows us how he would probably represent her^b. She is there seated between Zeus and the winged figure, who is Iris or Nike. Clad in a Doric chiton, which is fastened over her shoulders so as to reveal her neck and arms, and is drawn down over the concealed girdle to form the beautiful fold common in Pheidian drapery, she turns to Zeus and raises with both hands the veil from her face, as the bride might on the day of her wedding. The face is unfortunately much disfigured, but enough remains to show the full oval outline and the laurel crown on her head, which alludes perhaps to her nuptials as well as to the Attic festival she was witnessing. The treatment of the flesh shows the

^a The attempt of Petersen to discover the Hera of Alcamenes—a very doubtful work—in a series of statues called Demeter by Overbeck has led to nothing: vide *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Rom.* 4. p. 68, and Overbeck, *K.-M.* 3. p. 461. I have not dealt in the text with the head of 'Hera of Girgenti' in the British Museum, which Overbeck and others would place next after the Farnese

in the development of the type. The more that head is studied the more suspicion it arouses, and Furtwängler's grounds for rejecting it as a forgery are very strong (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885, p. 275). If genuine, it would be of little value on account of its singular lack of character.

^b Pl. III. b.

delicacy and grandeur of the Pheidian work, and, apart from the formal beauty of the surface, the whole pose is perfect in its expression of the chastity, dignity, and grace of the youthful wife of Zeus. Though the attitude has some reference to the particular occasion, yet the figure has a permanent value as a monumental and characteristic type of Hera, and as the earliest great representation of the whole person of the goddess. Nor did Pheidias forget, in his arrangement of the drapery, that Hera should appear as Hera λευκώλενος, with her white arms bared.

Among the monuments of this age may be mentioned a very beautiful cylix of the British Museum that contains a representation of Hera full of character and expression^a. Holding a sceptre and wearing a Doric chiton and veil, with her hair bound in a stephane, but partly falling over her forehead, she is seated opposite to Zeus, who is holding out his hand to her, and her lips are parted and seem moving in speech; her form is almost virginal.

The fifth-century electrum coinage of Phocaea^b displays a striking head of Hera, wearing a diadem ornamented with the honeysuckle; the face is set in thick clusters of hair, and the deep eyes and half-opened lips give it a very earnest expression.

In the monuments that may next be quoted a great change is noted in the representation; the features and expression become softer, more benign, and a touch of brightness, the *φαιδρότης* that Dio Chrysostom speaks of, appears in them. The first of these that claims attention is the Argive coin that has been several times published and is unsurpassed in beauty of style^c. The head of Hera upon it shows more grace and purity of feature and more profound and spiritual conception of character than any of her surviving monuments in stone, except perhaps the Ludovisi head. She wears no veil, but the stephanos richly ornamented with floral design, and from beneath it the long wavy clusters of hair fall down her neck and over part of the cheek, which is less broad and

^a Pl. IX. b.

^b Coin Pl. A 19 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, p. 209).

^c Coin Pl. A 17.

flat than that of the Farnese head. The forehead is broad and strong, and, rising somewhat over the eyes, bears the impress of power. The eyebrows are straight and noble, and the eyes are round and somewhat protruding, as if they would suggest the Homeric epithet, and are set between very thick lids. The nose is rather long and forms an angle with the forehead; the chin is firm and well rounded. The bone-structure of the face is well marked, and yet there is no severity except in the clear sharp outline, and the lips that are parted with a smile give to the whole countenance a fascinating expression of brightness and benevolence. Therefore, imposing and majestic as the type certainly is, it is a very pure and true representation of the benign goddess of Argos, and one may discover in the traits some hint of the maidenliness that was ever renewed in the wife of Zeus, and certainly the *decor super verum*, the solemn beauty, that was seen in the works of Polycleitus.

If we search for a name with which we may associate this new type of Hera there is no other than his. A few years ago this association would have been accepted without argument; but it has been said more recently that, as the coin artists of the great age did not copy, it is doubtful whether the Argive coin-stamper has reproduced in his Hera head anything of the expression and any of the traits of the masterpiece of Polycleitus^a. There must, of course, be some doubt where positive reasons are few; and as regards these we can only say that the coin agrees with what is recorded or otherwise known about the statue in the symbol of the decorated stephanos, the floral ornament being an allusion to the Hours and Graces, and in the absence of the veil. Also the necklace and earrings might be taken as pointing to the richness of chryselephantine technique.

And the type that appears on this coin is found with some modifications on coins of Cnossus Himera and, still more modified, on coins of Samos^b. Now we cannot suppose that

^a See Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 138, who does not wholly deny the Polycleitean character of the Argive

coin; and Overbeck, *K.-M.* 2. p. 44, who hesitates.

^b Coin of Cnossus, Overbeck, *K.-M.*

the same great artist wrought all these, especially as the coins of these other cities are inferior in depth of expression, and the face on them has lost its radiancy and retained only its beauty and seriousness. What then is the natural explanation for the prevalence of this type on coins that were struck at various places near to the beginning of the fourth century? There is no political reason to explain it, and one inclines to believe that all these coin-devices were struck under the influence of some great work, well known throughout the Greek world. At this time this must have been the Hera of Polycleitus.

There are other more general reasons for this view. The Argive coin shows a type of head of far higher imagination than the Farnese head, and challenges comparison with the Ludovisi bust itself; in fact, as regards expression it embodies more than the latter work the description of Dio Chrysostom. The coin's date is at least a generation earlier than the period of Praxiteles, and if such a type of Hera as this was in vogue towards the beginning of the fourth century, it is difficult to see what was left for that sculptor to do by way of perfecting the ideal of the goddess; to infuse more mildness and soft delicacy into the face would destroy its power and character. Either, then, an unknown coin-stamper working in Polycleitus' own city a short time after the great temple-image of that sculptor was set up produced independently a rival type of Hera, perhaps the most beautiful that antiquity has left us of the goddess, or he worked under the dominating influence of the gold and ivory statue, the expression of which he had sufficient skill and imagination to reproduce.

The latter theory is all the more probable, as there is every reason for saying that it was Polycleitus and no other who

Münztaf. 2. No. 23; Himera, No. 22; Samos, 1-4. The coins of Elis (Overbeck, *K.-M. Münztaf.* 2. No. 14; Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. VIII. 15; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Pelop.* Pl. XII. 13, 14, and Pl. XIV. 1-6) do not appear to me to belong to this class: the finest of

them, struck towards the end of the fifth century, might be the work of an original artist who preserved the older expression for his ideal of Hera, and gave her face the severe stern look; the lips droop at the corners, and there is no smile upon them (Coin Pl. A 18).

perfected the ideal. Recently much has been ascribed to Praxiteles in this matter by Overbeck and others, who, feeling the superiority of the Ludovisi to the Farnese head, assign the former with its deeper expression to Praxiteles, and fail to note sufficiently what the Argive coin proves—namely, that the perfection of the type was achieved nearer to the end of the fifth century than the middle of the fourth. Now, as regards Praxiteles, we hear only of a Hera Teleia at Plataea, and a Hera in a group at Mantinea by his hand: we know nothing of either of these works, in spite of the attempt to detect copies of the former in a small series of statues^a; and the coins of Plataea that may be contemporary with the earlier period of Praxiteles display a head of Hera far poorer in expression than that on the Argive coin. Nor do these works of this sculptor appear to have been celebrated or much commended; and there is no reason *a priori* for supposing that the ideal of Hera, into which a solemnity and a certain imperiousness in pose and expression largely enter, would have been best dealt with by the genius of Praxiteles. The hypothesis that he did deal with it effectively and finally rests on no ancient statement and on no modern discovery.

On the other hand, the ancient record, so far as it goes, is clear in favour of Polycleitus; and the value of this record is somewhat under-estimated by Overbeck in his treatment of the problem. He puts a wrong question in asking, 'Who wrought the canonical ideal of Hera?' For this implies that there was one, that is, that there was some accepted system of rules about her form and expression that might serve as a canon to which later works should always conform. Now we must not insist too much on finding a 'canon' as so understood for any and every Greek divinity. It is only in the representation of Zeus that we find anything like it, the Pheidian type dominating to a certain degree each succeeding generation; but there is no 'canon' of Athena and none of Aphrodite, although there were certainly representations of these divinities which the Greek world regarded as perfected

^a Vide supra, p. 207.

and ideal, and when they wished to imagine them in the form that best corresponded to their nature, they thought of the Athene Parthenos of Pheidias and the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, though there were many different types wrought by independent artists.

Similarly, so far as the records go, the only statue of Hera that appears to have been 'the ideal,' in the sense that it fully satisfied the popular imagination about her, was the Hera of Polycleitus. Maximus Tyrius puts it by the side of the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias when he is distinguishing between the actual existence of the divinities and their traditional representation in art; and Philostratus mentions it among those great works that illustrate the power in the artist of *φαντασία*, which is something 'wiser than mere imitation,' the power of conceiving a fitting ideal^a. The epigrammatist¹⁰⁰ declares that Polycleitus 'alone of all men contemplated Hera with his eyes,' that is, that he alone carved her in that perfect form which must be supposed the actual.

In one case, then, in the great monument of his country's worship, the sculptor, who 'gave to the human form an almost superhuman beauty, but did not worthily express the majesty of the gods,' rose above himself and created the only image of Hera that was extolled by the voice of antiquity, which is silent concerning the merits of the Hera of Praxiteles, of Callimachus, and of Euphranor. The late Roman coin shows us the full figure, and proves the queenly dignity of the pose (Coin Pl. A, 16); as regards the head, if the earlier Argive coin gives us no evidence, then we have none at all, for the head recently found by the American excavations at Argos cannot be proved to be a Hera^b. If the Argive coin be accepted as a free reproduction of the great temple work, it proves that the words of Dio Chrysostom about the ideal of Hera really record the qualities of the Polycleitean work, for the

^a *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* vi. 19.

^b Waldstein, *Excavations of the American School at Argos*, 1892. The head has a marked maidenly character; it would be too hazardous to name it

Hera Παρθένος. Overbeck (*Berichte Sächs. Gesell. Wiss.* 1893, p. 31) accepts the name of Hera for it, but points out its unlikeness to the Farnese head.

PLATE X



head on the coin displays at once 'the brightness and solemnity' of the countenance.

Among the later monuments we cannot trace clearly the Polycleitean influence. Looking at the representations of the beginning of the fourth century we note a type of Hera prevalent on the coins of South Italy, which was used with some modifications of detail for the Hera Lacinia of Croton (Coin Pl. A 20) and the Hera Areia of Posidonia and Hyria^a. The head is presented *en face*, crowned, and with richly flowing locks; the face is a high broad oval, the features are full and large, and there is a certain exuberance in the whole treatment. It is a striking type, but quite unlike the Argive, and has no very profound expression of individual character. The coins of Thermae also⁹¹, and Capua⁸⁰, show a head of Hera of some power, with serious expression and characteristic rendering of the eye, but none of these preserve the Argive type or add anything new.

Near to the beginning of the fourth century must be placed the representation of the Judgement of Paris incised on wood in St. Petersburg, which contains a representation of Hera of great power and originality^b. The drapery is arranged so as to display her arms, and her figure is almost as maidenly as Athena's, but her face is fuller. She wears the veil and a crown of leaves around her head: the expression of her face is very profound, and there is a searching gaze in her eyes that are fixed on Paris. The treatment of the limbs and the forms of the face recall the Pheidian style; but the figure of Eros is too small to allow us to date the work as early as that period.

Another wood-carving, in the same museum^c, of approximately the same date as the former, presents an equally striking type of Hera, erect and standing in very majestic pose with her left hand resting on her sceptre and her right on her hip; her arms are bare, and she wears a Doric diploidion without sleeves and with no girdle visible, and a himation

^a Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 82, Fig. 57; cf. coins of Phistelia and Neapolis.
 Overbeck, *K.-M. Münztaf.* 2. Nos. 43, ^b Pl. X.
 44; Head, *ib.* pp. 68 and 32, Fig. 16; ^c Pl. XI.

which is fastened on her left shoulder. The folds of drapery about her right leg are severe and columnar, and give the aspect of a temple-statue to the representation; but the left leg is drawn back and the toe is lightly resting on the ground. She wears ear-rings and a stephane which secures the hair. It is the figure of Hera the queen, an independent product of Attic art.

The greatest monument that has survived to show us the type of Hera in the later fourth-century art is the bust of the Ludovisi Hera^a. It belonged to a colossal statue, and it produces its best effect when it is placed high and the spectator meets from below the downward gaze of its eyes. The large proportions of the head, the crown with its rich floral design, the somewhat severe arrangement of the hair that is drawn carefully over the forehead and reveals the form of the skull, the straight and simple line of the eyebrow and the breadth of forehead and cheek, are traits that recall the best style of the fifth century, and accord with the expression of solemn nobility in the countenance. But the hardness and gloom of the Farnese face is nowhere seen in this. The surface of the flesh is rendered with great softness, and the dignity and imperial character of the whole is softened with a benign and gentle expression. The look of brightness which we see in the face on the Argive coin is not quite attained here; the lips do not smile but indicate serious gentleness. The religious aspect of the head is enhanced by the fillet that passes round the head parallel with the crown and falls down by the two long curls on each side of her neck; for this rather curious decoration may well have been suggested by the sacred fillets with which her images were hung in her temple. There has been much discussion as to the date of this work; most archaeologists would assign it to the younger Attic school; and this is the most probable view, for though there is nothing specially Praxitelean in the features, still less any trace of Scopas' style, yet the particular expression, the very soft treatment of the flesh, and the deeply hollowed eye-socket point to that period rather than

^a Pl. XII.

PLATE XI



to any other. It has been proposed indeed by Helbig to place the work in the beginning of the Alexandrine era^a, though he allows the influence of the style of the younger Attic school upon it. But the head has much more of the grandeur of the older period of religious sculpture than the elegance of the later courtly age, and the severity of the profile and the absence of all self-consciousness in the face suggest a better age than the Alexandrine. The rather high and triangular forehead is no mark of the later period, for we see it in the statue of Eirene in Munich. It is the most expressive marble head of Hera that has been handed down, but it does not permit us to say that the perfection of her type was the achievement of the fourth century; for the Argive coin shows an even more intense expression of character^b.

The later heads reveal by the side of much elegance and grace a falling away from the true idea of the goddess. For instance, the later Ludovisi head displays at once the merits and defects of Alexandrine sculpture. Though the forehead

^a *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1869, p. 149, and Helbig, *Die öffentlichen Sammlungen classischer Alterthümer in Rom*, No. 866.

^b The strange theory recently advanced by Dr. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 557) that the Ludovisi head represents a Roman lady of the Claudian period idealized as a goddess is not likely to win acceptance. As there is not the faintest trace of portraiture in the face, his theory depends on what he calls external evidence, namely, (1) the arrangement of the hair on the neck, (2) the sacrificial fillet. He quotes from Bernouilli (*Römische Iconographie*, 2. 1, Taf. 14, 15, 21, Figs. 30, 32) instances of portrait-statues of the Claudian period with a similar treatment of the hair. He declares that the locks hanging down the neck and gathered together with a band was a fashion never used for a goddess, and belongs merely to the Claudian era: this positive statement is as positively refuted by

the Farnese Hera-head, the Pallas of Velletri, the Caryatid of the Erechtheum in the British Museum, the Pheidian torso of Athena in Athens (Wolters, 472), all of which works, even the last-named as we can gather with certainty from what remains of the hair, had the locks gathered on the nape of the neck by a band and plaited or unplaited. The fashion comes down from old Attic sculpture. As regards the fillet, portrait busts and statues show that ladies of the Claudian period affected it. But it was used in the Greek period without affectation for sacred personages: we find it on Euboean coins of the fourth century (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Central Greece*, pp. 112, 113, Pl. xx. 15, 16). The 'Messalina' in Munich (Bernouilli, Fig. 32) tries to make herself look like Hera by wearing the head-gear of the Ludovisi goddess; she fails and cannot be quoted as proving that the Ludovisi Hera is a Roman lady.

and the lines about the mouth slightly recall the Farnese bust, and the veil and polos-shaped crown and the imperial air make the personality certain, there is nothing more in the expression than a certain queenly pride, and in fact it is not so much the goddess as the queen that appears here. The features are small and delicate by comparison with the former heads, and the curve of the neck and the fall of the veil show the striving after elegance and effect. From the Pentini head the dignity and stateliness have almost entirely disappeared, and the countenance and pose are overfull of sentiment and tenderness ; but in the later and Graeco-Roman period something of the earlier *σεμνότης* returns, and the imperial Juno Regina is the only prevailing type.

PLATE XII



REFERENCES FOR CHAPTERS VII-IX.

Common cult of Zeus and Hera.

^{1a} At Lebadea : Hera Ἡνιόχῃ with Zeus Basileus, Paus. 9. 39, 4 : at the shrine of Trophonius, vide Zeus ^{137 a}.

^b Cf. Paus. 9. 34, 3, near the shrine of Trophonius ἐν ἐτέρῳ ναῷ Κρόνου καὶ Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα.

^c At Lebadea : Hera βασιλῖς : *C. I. Gr.* 1603 Ἡρᾶ βασιλίδι καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων (probably of first century A.D.).

Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 253 A ὅσοι μεθ' Ἡρας εἶποντο βασιλικὸν ζητοῦσι τὸν ἐρώμενον.

In Boeotia.

² At Plataea : Paus. 9. 2, 5 ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡρας . . . τὴν δὲ Ἡραν Τελείαν καλοῦσι : statue of Ἡρα νυμφενομένη there : *ib.* 9, 3, feast of Daedala at Plataea, commemorating the ἱερός γάμος : *ib.* 3, 4, sacrifice on Cithaeron at the Daedala Megala, αἱ μὲν δὴ πόλεις καὶ τὰ τέλη θήλειαν θύσαντες τῇ Ἡρᾷ βοῦν ἕκαστοι καὶ ταῦρον τῷ Δίῳ : cf. Eus. *Praef. Ev.* 3. 1, from Plutarch.

³ At Argos on the Larissa : Paus. 2. 24, 2 ἔχεται τὸ στάδιον ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Νεμείῳ Δίῳ καὶ τὰ Ἡραῖα ἄγουσιν, cf. *id.* 4. 27, 6 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἔθνον τῇ τε Ἡρᾷ τῇ Ἀργεῖᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ Δίῳ : cf. inscription giving Cassandros the θεωροδοκία τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου καὶ τῆς Ἡρας τῆς Ἀργείας, *Arch. Zeit.* 1855, 39.

⁴ Between Argos and Epidaurus, on Mount Arachnaion, Paus. 2. 25, 10 : vide Zeus ^{34 b}.

⁵ Olympia : Paus. 5. 17, 1 τῆς Ἡρας δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Διὸς . . . τὸ δὲ Ἡρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενὸν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θρόνῳ, παρέστηκε δὲ γένειά τε ἔχων καὶ ἐπικείμενος κυνῆν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ· ἔργα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπλά.

⁶ Schol. *Odys.* 3. 91 ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἡρα Διώνῃ ὠνομάσθη παρὰ Δωδωναίους, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος.

⁷ Crete : mentioned together in the oath of alliance between Olus and Latus (third century B. C.), *C. I. Gr.* 2554 Ὀμνύω . . . τὸν Ζῆνα τὸν

Κρητογενία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν: in the similar oath taken by the men of Hierapytna, *C. I. Gr.* 2555 Ὀμνύω . . . Ζᾶνα Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν.

⁸ Cyprus: on a wall of old Paphos: *C. I. Gr.* 2640 Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Διὸς Πολιείως καὶ Ἥρας.

⁹ Caria: at Stratonicea with Zeus Panamaros, *C. I. Gr.* 2719: cf. 2722 ὑπερτάτοις παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχὴν Ἥρῃ καὶ Διί . . . περάσας, τὴν ἐτησίαν χάριον (inscriptions of Roman period): cf. 2820: Zeus^{28c}: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 426 Ζεὺς Πανάμαρος with Hera Τελεία.

¹⁰ At Lebedos in Caria, common priestship of Zeus Βουλαία and Hera, *C. I. Gr.* 2909 (pre-Roman period?): vide Zeus^{110c}.

¹¹ Pind. *Nem.* 11. 1 Ἔστία Ζητὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνου Ἥρας: fragment quoted by Clemens, *Strom.* 5, p. 661 (? Pindar) ναὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπον καταδεκρομένην σκαπτῶχον Ἥραν.

¹² Hera Pelasgis: in Iolchus (?), Apoll. Rhod. 1. 14, sacrifice of Pelias, Ἥρης δὲ Πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν. Dionys. Perieg. 534 καὶ Σάμος ἡμερόεσσα Πελασγίδος ἔδρανον Ἥρας.

Physical allusions in epithets and cults of Hera.

^{13a} *El. Mag.* s. v. ζευξιδία. Ἡ Ἥρα οὕτω τιμᾶται ἐν Ἀργεῖ φασι γὰρ ὅτι Ἀργος μεταναστὰς ἀπὸ Ἀργους εἰς Ἀργυπτον, ἔπεμψε βόας τῷ ἐν Ἀργεῖ βασιλεύοντι, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σπόρου ἐργασίαν ἐδίδαξεν· ὁ δὲ ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ σπόρῳ τὰς βοῦς Ἥρας ἱερὸν ἀνέθηκε· ὅτε δὲ τοὺς στάχους συνέβαινε βλαστάνειν καὶ ἀνθεῖν, ἄνθεα Ἥρας ἐκάλεσε.

b Hera Ἀνθεία, vide infra⁹⁸.

c Athenae. 15, p. 678 Α πυλεῶν οὕτως καλεῖται ὁ στέφανος ὃν τῇ Ἥρᾳ περιτιθέασιν οἱ Δάκωνες: cf. the fragment of Alcman's *Hymn to Hera*, Bergk, frag. 16 καὶ τὴν εὐχομαι φέροισα τόνδ' ἐλιχρῦσω πυλεῶνα κηρατῶ κυπαίρω: cf. *Anthol.* 9. 586 ἄνθεα ποίων εἰσὶ θεῶν Ἥρης καὶ Ῥοδῆς Παφίης: cf. Pollux, 4. 78 μέλος τὸ Ἀργολικὸν ὃ ἐν ταῖς ἀνθεσφόροις ἐν Ἥρας ἐπηλύουν.

^{14a} Eus. *Praef. Ev.* 3. 1, 4 οἱ δὲ φυσικῶς μᾶλλον καὶ προπόντως ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν μῦθον οὕτως ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ Λητοῖ συνάγουσι τὴν Ἥραν γῆ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ Ἥρα κ.τ.λ. from Plutarch.

b Plutarch, *De placit. philos.* 1. 3 τέσσαρα τῶν πάντων ριζώματα πρώτων ἄκουε· Ζεὺς ἀργής, Ἥρῃ τε φερέσβιος ἢ δ' Ἀἰδωνεὺς Νῆστις θ', vide *Frag. Phil. Graec.*, Mullach, 1, p. 39.

c Porphyry, *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*: Ἥρῃ δ' εὐκελάδω μαλακῇ χύσις ἡέρος ὑγρῆς (μέλεται): frag. quoted Eus. *Praef. Ev.* 5. 7, 4.

d Plato, *Crat.* p. 404 c ἴσως μετεωρολογῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ἀέρα Ἡραν ὠνόμασεν ἐπικρυπτόμενος.

e Oracle in *C. I. Gr.* 3769 καὶ τὴν ἕδροβόλοισι δρόσοις πάμφοιτον ἀνάσσαν seems to refer to Hera.

f Paus. 2. 13, 3 Ὡλῆν δὲ ἐν Ἡρας ἐστὶν ὕμνῳ πεποιημένα τραφήναι τὴν Ἡραν ὑπὸ Ὡρῶν, cf. Hera Ὡρόλυτος : Zeus¹⁵⁵.

^{15 a} *Et. Mag.* 772, 49 Τυφωεύς· Ἡσίδος αὐτὸν γῆς γενεαλογεῖ, Στησίχορος δέ, Ἡρας μόνης κατὰ μνησικακίαν Διὸς τεκούσης αὐτόν : Bergk, fr. 60 Stesich.

b Schol. *Il.* 14. 295 Ἡραν τρεφομένην παρὰ τοῖς γονεῦσιν εἰς τῶν γιγάντων Εὐρυμέδων βιασάμενος ἔγκνον ἐποίησεν· ἡ δὲ Προμηθεῖα ἐγέννησεν . . . ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Εὐφορίωνι.

Sacrificial animals.

^{16 a} *Anth. Graec.* 6. 243 :

ἡ τε Σάμον μεδέουσα καὶ ἡ λάχες Ἰμβρασον Ἡρη
δέξο γενεθλιδίους, πότνα, θυηπολίας,
μόσχων ἱερὰ ταῦτα τά σοι πολὺ φίλτατα πάντων ἴσμεν.

b Cows : vide Cic. *De Div.* 1. 24. Bulls : Theocr. 4. 20. Goats : vide Hera Αἰγοφάγος⁵⁰. Pigs : Ov. *Amor.* 3. 13, 16.

Sacrifice and ritual.

c Ov. *Amor.* 3. 13, at Falerii :

Casta sacerdotes Iunoni festa parabant
Per celebres ludos indigenamque bovem.

Hinc ubi praesonuit solemni tibia cantu

It per velatas annua pompa vias.

Ducuntur niveae, populo plaudente, iuvencae

Quas aluit campis herba Falisca suis ;

Et vituli nondum metuenda fronte minaces,

Et minor ex humili victima porcus hara.

Duxque gregis cornu per tempora dura recurvo.

Invisa est dominae sola capella deae.

Illius indicio silvis inventa sub altis

Dicitur inceptam destituisse fugam.

Nunc quoque per pueros iaculis incessitur index,

Et pretium auctori vulneris ipsa datur.

Qua ventura dea est, iuvenes timidaeque puellae

Praeverrunt latas veste iacente vias.

.

More patrum Graio velatae vestibus albis
Tradita supposito vertice sacra ferunt.

Argiva est pompae facies.

Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3, 5, 8 Colonia Falisca Argis orta (ut auctor est Cato): cf. ³⁶.

Hera as goddess of marriage.

^{17a} The *ἱερός γάμος*: at Athens: Photius *s. v.* *ἱερός γάμος*· Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὴν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, cf. Menander "Μέθη," *Frag. Com. Graec.* 4. p. 162:

κομψότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρεφῶν ἱερόν γάμον
φάσκων ποιήσειν δευτέραν μετ' εἰκάδα
καθ' αὐτόν, ἵνα τῇ τετράδι δειπνῇ παρ' ἑτέροις
τὸ τῆς Θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς ἔχειν καλῶς.

^b At Plataea: Paus. 9, 3, 1 οὗτος κελεύει τὸν Δία ἄγαλμα ξύλου ποιησάμενον ἄγειν ἐπὶ βοῶν ζεύγους ἐγκεκαλυμμένον, λέγειν δὲ ὡς ἄγοιτο γυναῖκα Πλάταιαν τὴν Ἀσώπου. 16, § 5 Δαιδάλων δὲ ἑορτὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφισσι συνεορτάζουσι . . . § 7 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα κοσμήσαντες . . . παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπον καὶ ἀναθέντες ἐπὶ ἄμαξαν, γυναῖκα ἐφιστᾶσι νυμφεύτριαν . . . τὸ δ' ἐντεύθεν τὰς ἀμάξας ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς ἄκρον τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλαύνουσι. εὐτρέπισται δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους βωμός . . . § 8 τὰ ἱερεῖα . . . καὶ τὰ δαίδαλα ὁμοῦ καθαγίζουσι ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ: cf. Euseb. 3, ch. 1 (p. 104 Dind.) from Plutarch: *τεμόντας αὐτοὺς εὐκτέανον καὶ παγκάλην δρῦν μορφῶσαι τε αὐτὴν καὶ καταστεῖλαι νυμφικῶς Δαιδάλην προσαγορεύσαντας*: εἶτα οὕτως ἀναμέλπεσθαι μὲν τὸν ὑμέναιον, λουτρὰ δὲ κομίζειν τὰς Τριτωνίδας νύμφας, αἰλοὺς δὲ καὶ κώμους τὴν Βοιωτίαν παρασχεῖν. Cf. *ib.* p. 102, 3, ch. 1, § 3 *φανερῶν δὲ τῶν γάμων γενομένων, καὶ περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰς Πλαταιῖδας τῆς ὁμιλίας ἀνακαλυφθείσης, Ἥραν τελείαν καὶ γαμήλιον αὐτὴν προσαγορευθῆναι.*

^c At Argos: Paus. 2, 17, 3 ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάφῃ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλματά ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖα ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τις Ἥρας. Herod. 1, 31 εὐύσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσιν Ἀργείοισι, ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν (of Cleobis and Biton) ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

^d Euboea: vide infra ⁶³, and cf. Schol. Arist. *Pax* 1126 Καλλίστρατος φησι τόπον Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἐλύμιον. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ναόν φησιν εἶναι πλησίον Εὐβοίας· νυμφικὸν δὲ τινας αὐτὸ φασιν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἐκέῖ συνεγένετο.

^e Hermione: vide infra ³³. Cf. Schol. Theocr. 15, 64 Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐρμιόνης ἱερῷ, ἰδιώτερον περὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας γάμου . . . (Mount Thornax) ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶν ἱερόν Ἥρας Τελείας.

f Hera Παῖς Τελεία and Χῆρα at Stymphalos ^{51a}.

g Cnossus : Diod. Sic. 5. 72 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοὺς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίῳ χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηνος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν Ἱερὸν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐναντιὸν ἀγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομειῖσθαι : cf. Samos ^{65 d}.

h Posidonia : inscription on small tablet, τᾶς θεῶ τᾶς Παιδὸς ἡμι. Collitz, *Dialect. Inschrift.*, No. 1648 ? Persephone.

i Arist. *Birds* 1731 :

Ἥρα ποτ' Ὀλυμπία
τῶν ἡλιβάτων θρόνων
ἄρχοντα θεοῖς μέγαν
Μοῖραι συνεκοίμισαν
ἐν τοιῶδ' ὕμεναίφ.
Ἵμῆν, ᾧ Ἵμέναί' ᾧ·
ὁ δ' ἀμφιθαλῆς Ἥρωσ
χρυσόπτερος ἠνίας
ἠὔθυνε παλιτόνουσ
Ζητὸς πάροχος γάμων
κεῦδαίμονος Ἥρας.

k Theocr. *Id.* 17. 131 :

ᾧδε καὶ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς γάμος ἐξετελέσθη,
οὗς τέκετο κρείοισα Ῥέα βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου,
ἐν δὲ λέχος στόρνυσι λαύειν Ζηνὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ
χεῖρας φοιβήσασα μύροις ἔτι παρθένος Ἴρις.

l Lex. Rhetor. Photius, vol. 2, p. 670 (Porson) Ἱερὸς γάμος : οἱ γαμοῦντες ποιῶσι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἱεροῦσ γάμους.

m Arist. *Thesmoph.* 973 :

Ἥραν τε τὴν τελείαν
μέλψωμεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς
ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσιν ἐμπαίξει τε καὶ
κλῆδus γάμου φυλάττει.

n Dion. Halic. *Ars Rhet.* 2. 2 Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγύντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες· οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία.

o Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 7. Dind. I, p. 139 ἀκολάστους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ αἰσχυνομένους . . . οὔτε Δία γενέθλιον οὔτε Ἥραν γαμήλιον οὔτε Μοῖρας τελεσφόρους ἢ λοχίαν Ἄρτεμιν ἢ μητέρα Ῥέαν.

p Aesch. *Eumen.* 214 :

ἢ κάρτ' ἄτιμα καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἠκέ σοι
Ἥρας τελείας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα.

^a Diod. Sic. 5. 73 προθύουσι πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ τελείῳ καὶ Ἥρᾳ τελείᾳ διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγούς γεγονέναι καὶ πάντων εὐρετάς.

^r Laws concerning marriage in the Greek πόλις connected with Hera, Demosth. πρὸς Μακαρτ. 1068 and Plato, *Laws* 774 A.

^s Pollux, 3. 38 ταύτη (Ἥρᾳ) τοῖς προτελείοις προυτέλουν τὰς κόρας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Μοίραις· καὶ τῆς κόμης δὲ τότε ἀπήρχοντο ταῖς θεαῖς αἱ κόραι.

^t *Anth. Graec.* 6, *Anathem.* 133, epigram ascribed to Archilochus :

Ἄλκιβίη πλοκάμων ἱερὴν ἀνέθηκε καλύπτρην

Ἥρῃ, κουριδίων ἐστ' ἐκύρησε γάμων.

^u Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.* 141 E οἱ τῇ γαμηλίῳ θύοντες Ἥρᾳ τὴν χολὴν οὐ συγκαθαγίζουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς.

^v Hera Eileithyia at Athens and Argos : vide ^{28c} and ³⁹.

^w *Il.* 11. 270 :

Εἰλείθυια

Ἥρης θυγατέρες, πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι.

Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 922 : Paus. 1. 18, 5 Κρήτες δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Κνωσίας ἐν Ἀμνισφῷ γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν καὶ παῖδα Ἥρας εἶναι.

^x Hera Aphrodite at Sparta, vide ^{50d} : at Acrae, *C. I. Gr.* 5424, common priesthood of Hera and Aphrodite.

^y Eratosth. *Kataster.* 44 οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῖς Διὸς υἱοῖς τῆς οὐρανοῦ τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῶν θησάσει τὸν τῆς Ἥρας μαστόν. Cf. *Anth. Graec.* 9. 589 Αὐτὴν μητρὶαν τεχνήσατο· τοῦνεκα μαζὸν εἰς νόθον ὁ πλάστης οὐ προσέθηκε γάλα.

¹⁸ Warlike character of Hera in cult : armed procession at Samos ^{65e}, feast of Ἀσπίς at Argos ^{36b}. Hera Τροπαία, Lycophron 1328 τῷ σπάσαντι δηΐας Μύστη Τροπαίας μαστόν εὐθελον θεᾶς (referring to Heracles, whom Hera was supposed to have nourished) ; cf. ^{47, 88}.

Localities of Hera-worship.

¹⁹ Thrace and Dacia : coins and exvoto reliefs of the Roman Imperial period, Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeitschr.* 1885, 16 ; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 244 ; Roscher, *Lexicon*, pp. 2082, 2083.

North Greece.

²⁰ Thessaly : Minyan legend of Pelias, Apollod. 1. 9, 8 Σιδηρῶ δὲ φθάσασα εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας τέμενος κατέφυγε, Πελλίας δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βωμῶν αὐτὴν κατέσφαξε.

^a Phocis, at Crissa : Roehl, *Ins. Graec. Ant.* 314, inscription of sixth century B. C. on altar : τάσδε γ' Ἀθναία . . . ἔθηκε Ἥρᾳ τε, ὡς καὶ κείνος ἔχει κλέος ἄφθιτον αἰεῖ.

²¹ Locris, at Pharygae: Strabo, 426 ἰδρυται αὐτόθι Ἥρας Φαρνυγίας ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φαρύγαις τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄποικοί φασιν εἶναι Ἀργείων.

Boeotia.

²² Orchomenos: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Central Greece*, p. 56, Pl. 8. 18, head of Hera (?) with stephanos and veil, first century B.C.

²³ Plataea: vide ², 17^b. a Coins, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Central Greece*, p. 58, Pl. 9. 3, circ. 387-374 B.C.

b Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 3, ch. 1, § 3 (p. 102 Dind.) τῇ Λητοῖ χάριν ἀπομνημονεύουσιν (Ἥραν) ὁμοβῶμιον θέσθαι καὶ σύναον ὥστε καὶ Λητοῖ μυχία προθύεσθαι (from Plutarch).

²⁴ Coronea: Paus. 9. 34, 3 Κατωτέρω δὲ ὀλίγον Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον, Πυθοδώρου τέχνη Θηβαίων· φέρεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ Σειρήνας.

²⁵ Thespieae: Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 40, P. τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐν Θεσπία πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον. On Cithaeron: Eur. *Phoen.* 24:

λειμῶν' ἐς Ἥρας καὶ Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας
δίδωσι βουκόλοισιν ἐκθῆναι βρέφος.

²⁶ Thebes: Plut. *De Genio Socrat.* p. 18 Ἄρ' οὐ Χλίδωνα λέγεις . . . τὸν κέλῃτι τὰ Ἥραϊα νεκῶτα πέρυσιν.

²⁷ The Perrhaebi: on coins, circ. 196-146 B.C., head of Hera veiled and seated figure of Hera, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 258.

Central Greece and Peloponnese.

²⁸ a Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 1099. Paus. 1. 1, 5 Ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Φαληροῦ ναὸς Ἥρας οὔτε θύρας ἔχων οὔτε ὄροφον. Μαρδόνιον φασιν αὐτὸν ἐμπρῆσαι . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν δῆ, καθὰ λέγουσιν, Ἀλκαμένους ἐστὶν ἔργον.

b Hesych. *s. v.* Θελεξινία· Ἥρα τιμᾶται παρ' Ἀθηναίους (? Θελεξινόη).

c Inscription found near Thoricus, Τέμενος Ἥρας Εἰλειθυίας: Roscher, p. 2091; *Philologus*, 23. 619.

d Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 3, 83 from Plutarch, οὐδὲ ἀξιοῦσι κοινωνίαν εἶναι πρὸς Διώνυσον Ἥρα· φυλάσσονται δὲ συμμιγνύναι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἱερείας ἀπαντῶσας φασὶν ἀλλήλους μὴ προσαγορεύειν μηδὲ ὄλωσ κιττὸν ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας εἰσκομίζεσθαι τέμενος.

e Hesych. Γαμηλιῶν ὁ τῶν μηνῶν τῆς Ἥρας ἱερός: vide ¹⁷a.

²⁹ At Eleusis: Serv. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 58 Cum Eleusine Cereri sacrum fit, aedes Iunonis clauditur, item cum Iunoni Eleusine fit, templum Cereris clauditur.

³⁰ a Corinth: Hesych. *s. v.* Αἰξ· Κορίνθιοι θυσίαν τελούντες Ἥρῃ αἶγα τῇ θεῷ ἔθουον· τῶν δὲ κομισάντων μισθῶν κρυψάντων τὴν μάχαιραν, καὶ σκηπτομένων ἔνθα

ἀπέθεντο, ἡ αἰξ τοῖς ποσὶν ἀνασκαλθύσασα ἀνέφηνεν καὶ τὴν μὲν σκῆψιν αὐτῶν διήλεγξεν, ἑαυτῇ δὲ τῆς σφαγῆς αἰτία γέγονεν.

^b Zenob. I. 27 Κορίνθιοι θυσίαν τελοῦντες Ἦρα ἐνιαύσιον τῇ ὑπὸ Μηδείας ἰδρυνθείσῃ καὶ ἀκραία καλουμένη αἶγα τῇ θεῷ ἔθνον.

^c On Acrocorinthus: Paus. 2. 4, 7 τὸ τῆς Βουναίας ἐστὶν Ἦρας ἱερὸν.

^d Hera Acraea: Apollod. Bibl. I. 9, 28 λέγεται (ἡ Μῆδεια) . . . ἰκέτας καθίσασα (τοὺς παῖδας) ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἦρας τῆς Ἀκραίας. Cf. Schol. Eur. *Med.* 10 ὅτι δὲ βεβασίλευκε τῆς Κορίνθου ἡ Μῆδεια Εὐμηλος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σιμωνίδης· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἦν ἡ Μῆδεια Μουσαῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἴσθμίων ἱστορεῖ. *Id.* 273 ταῦτα (τὰ τέκνα Μηδείας) καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἦρας ἱερὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καθίσαι· Κορινθίους δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀπέχεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ πάντα ταῦτα ἀποσφάξαι· λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου εἰς τὴν πόλιν πολλὰ σώματα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διαφθεῖρεσθαι· μαντευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς χρησμοφθεῖσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰλάσκεσθαι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας τέκνων ἄγος, ὅθεν Κορινθίους μέχρι τῶν καιρῶν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἑπτὰ κούρους καὶ ἑπτὰ κόυρας τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπειναντίζειν ἐν τῷ τῆς θεᾶς τεμένει, καὶ μετὰ θυσιῶν ἰλάσκεσθαι τὴν ἐκείνων μῆνιν (the whole quotation from Parmeniscos) . . . γεγόναι δὲ παραπλήσιον μυθεύεται καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἄδωνι: cf. Paus. 2. 3, 7, after the destruction of Corinth, οὐκέτι ἐκεῖνοι καθεστῆκασιν αὐτοῖς αἱ θυσίαι οὐδὲ ἀποκείρονται σφισιν οἱ παῖδες, οὐδὲ μέλαιναν φοροῦσιν ἐσθήτα. *Id.* § 11 Μηδεία παῖδας μὲν γίνεσθαι τὸ δὲ αἰεὶ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν φέρουσαν τῆς Ἦρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσιν. Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* c. 14 Ἀλκμάν καὶ Ἡσίοδος Μῆδειαν, . . . καὶ Νιόβην Κίλικες (ἰδρυνται θεοῦ). Strabo, 380 ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ Λεχαιῶν καὶ Παγῶν τὸ τῆς Ἀκραίας μαντεῖον Ἦρας ὑπῆρχε τὸ παλαιόν. Eur. *Med.* 1379 φέρουσ' ἐς Ἦρας τέμενος ἀκραίας θεοῦ. Schol. *Id.* Ἦραία δὲ πένθιμος ἑορτὴ παρὰ Κορινθίους. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74 (Μῆδεια) ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατὰ κείνην καὶ ἔπανσε Κορινθίους λιμῷ κατεχομένους θύσασα Δήμητρι καὶ Νύμφαις Λημνίαις. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ζεὺς ἠράσθη. οὐκ ἐπειθετο δὲ Μῆδεια τὸν τῆς Ἦρας ἐκκλίνουσα χολόν· διὸ καὶ ἡ Ἦρα ὑπέσχετο αὐτῇ ἀθανάτους ποιῆσαι τοὺς παῖδας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ τοὺτους τιμῶσι Κορίνθιοι, καλοῦντες μξοβαρβάρους.

³¹ Megara: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 17 τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Μεγαρίσις ὤκειτο κατὰ κόμας, ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Ἦραεῖς. Vide s. Byzantium ⁵⁶.

³² Sicyon: ^a Paus. 2. 11, 1 Ἐπωπεία δὲ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν ποιῆσαι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸ Ἦρας Ἀδραστων ἀγάλματα δὲ ὑπελείπετο οὐδετέρῳ.

^b *Id.* 2. 11, 2 τοῦτον (τὸν ναὸν τῆς Προδρομίας Ἦρας) Φάλκης ἰδρύσατο ὁ Τημένου, τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ τῆς ἐς Σικυῶνα Ἦραν φάμενος ὁδηγὸν γενέσθαι.

^c Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 30 Μέναιχος ὁ Σικυῶνιος οὕτω γράφει . . .

"Αδραστος . . . φυγὼν ἦλθεν ἐς Σικυῶνα, . . . καὶ τῆς Ἥρας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένης ἱερὸν . . . ἰδρύσατο.

³³ a In the neighbourhood of Hermione, Paus. 2. 36, 2 ἱερά ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωϊί ἔστιν Ἥρας.

b Hermione: Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἑρμιῶν: Ἑρμιῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφικομένους ὀρμισθῆναι . . . ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἥρας Παρθένου ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ. Vide ¹⁷ e.

³⁴ Epidaurus: Paus. 2. 29, 1 τὸ δὲ (ἱερὸν) πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἐπ' ἄκρας ἀνεχούσης ἐς θάλασσαν λέγουσιν Ἥρας εἶναι: cf. Thuc. 5. 75. Cavvadias, *Epidaurē* 61, dedication to Hera.

³⁵ a Argos: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 1:

Δαναοῦ πόλιν ἀγλαοθρόνων τε πεντήκοντα κορῶν Χάριτες,

"Αργος Ἥρας δῶμα θεοπρεπὲς ὑμνεῖτε.

Aesch. *Supp.* 291:

κληιδούχον Ἥρας φασὶ δωμάτων ποτὲ

ἰὼ γενέσθαι τῆδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονί.

Cf. ⁵⁰ e.

b Paus. 2. 15, 5 ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀργολίδι ὀνομαζομένη Ἰναχον βασιλεύοντα τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ὀνομάσαι καὶ θῆσαι τῇ Ἥρα.

c *Id.* 2. 17, 1, description of the Heraeum near Argos: Ἀσπερίωνι γενέσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ θυγατέρας, Εὐβοίαν καὶ Πρόσυμναν καὶ Ἀκραιάν, εἶναι δὲ σφᾶς τροφούς τῆς Ἥρας: probably cult-titles of the goddess. Cf. Strabo, 373 Πρόσυμνα in the Argolid ἱερὸν ἔχουσα Ἥρας. Plutarch, *De Fluv.* 18 ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προσυμναίας Ἥρας, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Τιμόθεος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς.

³⁶ a Palaephatus, 51 Ἀργεῖοι Πολιοῦχον αὐτοῖς ἡγούντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ τεταγμένην ἄγουσι· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἐορτῆς ἄμαξα βοῶν τὸ χρῶμα λευκῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀμάξης εἶναι δεῖ τὴν ἱέρειαν.

b Cf. Strabo, 372 τὸ Ἡραῖον εἶναι κοινὸν ἱερὸν τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Μυκήνας ἀμφοῖν ἐν ᾧ τὰ Πολυκλείτου ξόανα τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ κάλλιστα τῶν πάντων πολυτελεία δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Φειδίου λειπόμενα. Festival of Hera in Argos called the Ἀσπίς, *C. I. Gr.* 234. 1068: cf. Hesych. ἀγὼν χαλκείος· τὰ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἑκατομβαῖα. Aeneas, *Tact.* 1. 17 ἐορτῆς γὰρ πανδήμου ἕξω τῆς πόλεως Ἀργείων γενομένης, ἐξῆγον πομπὴν σὺν ὄπλοις τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συχῶν. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 152 Ὁ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκός . . . τούτεστιν, ἡ ἀσπίς ἢ χαλκῆ ἢ διδομένη ἐν Ἀργεὶ . . . πανήγυρίς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἥρας τὰ Ἡραῖα τὰ καὶ Ἑκατόμβαια λεγόμενα· θύονται γὰρ ἑκατον βόες τῇ θεᾷ· τὸ δ' ἔπαθλον τῶν ἀγῶνων χαλκῆ ἀσπίς καὶ στέφανος ἐκ μυρσίνης. Cf. Zenob. *Proverb.* 6. 52 ὡς τὴν ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀσπίδα καθελὼν σεμνύνεται. Dionys. Halic. *Antiqu. Roman.* 1.

21 ὁ τῆς Ἥρας νεὼς ἐν Φαλερίῳ κατεσκευασμένος ὡς ἐν Ἀργεῖ· ἔνθα καὶ τῶν θυηπολιῶν ὁ τρόπος ὁμοίος ἦν καὶ γυναῖκες ἱεραὶ θεραπεύουσαι τὸ τέμενος, ἧ τε λεγομένη κνηφόρος ἀγνὴ γάμων παῖς καταρχομένη τῶν θυμάτων χοροὶ τε παρθένων ὑμνουσῶν τὴν θεὸν ῥδαῖς πατρίοις. Eur. *Elect.* 171 :

νῦν τριταί-
αν καρύσσουσιν θυσίαν
'Αργεῖοι· πᾶσαι δὲ παρ' Ἥ-
ραν μέλλουσι παρθενικαὶ στείχειν.

Pind. *Nem.* 10. 24 :

ἀγών τοι χάλκεος
δάμον ὄτρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν Ἥρας ἀέθλων τε κρίσιν.

³⁷ Paus. 2. 17, 5, in the Heraeum τὸ ἀρχαιότατον (Ἥρας ἀγαλμα) πεποιήται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος, ἀνετέθη ἐς Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσου τοῦ Ἀργου, Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον καθήμενον ἀγαλμα οὐ μέγα. Clem. Alex. *Protrepl.* p. 41 P.

³⁸ Paus. 2. 22, 1 τῆς δὲ Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς τῆς Ἀνθείας ἐστὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Λητοῦς ἐν δεξιᾷ : cf. ¹³ c.

³⁹ Εἰλείθια : Hesych. s. v. Ἥρα ἐν Ἀργεῖ.

⁴⁰ Εὐεργεσία : Hesych. s. v. Ἥρα ἐν Ἀργεῖ : cf. Hera Zeuxidia ¹³ a.

⁴¹ Λέχερνα : Hesych. s. v. ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἢ θυσία ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

⁴² Hera Βασιλὶς at Argos, Kaibel, *Epigraph.* 822. *C. I. A.* 3. 172 : inscription of second or third century A. D. αὐτόθι (ἐν Ἀργεῖ) γὰρ κλειδοῦχος ἔφην βασιληίδος Ἥρης : cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 418 P., fragment from the Phoronis, Καλλιθόη κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλεῖης Ἥρης Ἀργεῖης.

⁴³ Paus. 2. 24, 1 ἀνιόντων ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν (Λάρισαν) ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν.

⁴⁴ *Id.* 2. 38, 2 : near Nauplia, πηγὴ Κάναθος καλουμένη· ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἥραν φασὶν Ἀργεῖοι κατὰ ἔτος λουμένην παρθένον γίνεσθαι· οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφισιν ἐκ τελετῆς, ἣν ἄγουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ, λόγος τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐστίν.

⁴⁵ Nemea : Schol. Pind. *Nem.*, Boeckh, p. 425 Νεμέα . . . οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀργου νεμομένων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, αἱ ἦσαν Ἥρας ἱεραὶ.

⁴⁶ a Elis : in the Altis : Paus. 5. 15, 11 θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσι καὶ Ἥρα τε Ἀμμωνία καὶ Παράμμωνι.

b Paus. 5. 15, 5 : in the Ἴππων ἄφεςις, ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀφέσεως κατὰ μέσον που μάλιστα Ποσειδῶνος Ἴππίου καὶ Ἥρας εἰσὶν Ἴππίας βωμοί.

c *Id.* 5. 14, 8 : near the altar of Olympian Zeus, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων βωμοί, καὶ Ἥρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ὀλυμπίας πεποιημένους τέφρας καὶ οὗτος.

⁴⁷ Temple of Hera Ὀπλοσμία in Elis: Lycoph. *Cass.* 613. Cf. Tzetz. *Lyc.* 858 ἐπίθετον Ἡρας τιμωμένης ἐν Ἡλίδι.

⁴⁸ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 31 P. τὴν Ἡραν τὴν ζυγίαν ἱστορεῖ (τοξευθῆναι) ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ αὐτὸς Πανύασις ἐν Πύλῳ ἡμαθόντι.

⁴⁹ Olympia: Paus. 5. 16, 2 διὰ πέμπτου ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἡρᾷ πέπλον αἱ ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τιθέασιν καὶ ἀγῶνα Ἡραϊά· ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν ἄμιλλα δρόμον παρθένους: festival founded by Hippodameia. Vide⁵. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5. 10 Ὀλυμπίασι βωμοὶ εἰσὶν ἕξ δίδυμοι . . . δεῦτερος Ἡρας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς.

^{49 a} Patrae: Paus. 7. 20, 3 τῆς τε Ἡρας τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πέραν πεποῖται: figure of Hera on coin of Hadrian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Peloponnese*, Patrae, p. 26, Pl. 5. 18.

^b Aegae: Paus. 7. 23, 9 Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τε ναὸς καὶ Ἡρας ἄλλος . . . τῆς δὲ Ἡρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ὅτι μὴ γυναῖξί, ἢ ἂν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχη, ἄλλω γε δὴ οὐδενὶ ἔστι θεάσασθαι.

Sparta.

^{50 a} In the Agora: Paus. 3. 11, 9 ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρας.

^b Paus. 3. 13, 9 τοῦ δὲ ἡρώου (τοῦ Πλευρώωνος) λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω, καὶ Ἡρας ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναὸς Ἀργείας . . . Ἡρας δὲ ἱερὸν Ὑπερχειρίας κατὰ μαντεῖον ἐποιήθη, τοῦ Εὐρώτα πολὺ τῆς γῆς σφίσις ἐπικλύζοντος· ξόανον δὲ ἀρχαῖον καλοῦσιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἡρας· ἐπὶ δὲ θυγατρὶ γαμουμένη νενομίκασι τὰς μητέρας τῇ θεῷ θύειν.

^c Hom. *Il.* 4. 50:

τὸν δ' ἡμίβειε' ἔπειτα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
ἢ τοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολλὸ φίλταται εἰσι πόλῃες,
Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγνια Μυκῆνη.

^d Αἰγοφάγος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ἡρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ. Paus. 3. 15, 9 Μόνους δὲ Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμονίοις καθέστηκεν Ἡραν ἐπονομάζειν Αἰγοφάγον καὶ αἶγας τῇ θεῷ θύειν . . . αἶγας δὲ αὐτὸν (Ἡρακλέα) θύσαι φασιν ἱερείων ἀπορήσαντα ἀλλοίων: also at Corinth, vide supra ^{50 a}.

^{51 a} Arcadia: Paus. 8. 22, 2 ἐν τῇ Στυμφήλῳ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Τήμενόν φησιν οἰκῆσαι τὸν Πελασγοῦ καὶ Ἡραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τήμενου τραφῆναι τούτου καὶ αὐτὸν ἱερὰ τῇ θεῷ τρία ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ ἐπικλήσεις τρεῖς ἐπ' αὐτῇ θέσθαι, παρθένω μὲν ἔτι οὔσῃ Παιδί· γημαμένην δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Τελείαν διενεχθεῖσαν δὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἐς τὸν Δία καὶ ἐπανήκουσαν ἐς τὴν Στύμφηλον ὠνόμασεν ὁ Τήμενος Χήραν. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 88 (ode sung at Stymphalus):

ἄτρυνον νῦν ἐταίρους,

Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡραν Παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι.

^b At Mantinea : Paus. 8. 9, 3 Καὶ Ἥρας πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ναὸν ἔθεασάμην· Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὴν τε καθημένην ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ παρεστῶσας ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖν καὶ Ἑβην παῖδα Ἥρας.

^c At Megalopolis : Paus. 8. 31, 9 ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἥρας τελείας, ὁμοίως καὶ ταῦτα ἐρείπια.

⁵² Heraea : *Brit. Mus. Cat. Pelop.* p. 181, Pl. 34. 1-5 : head of Hera on coins of Heraea, circ. 480 B.C. Paus. 8. 26, 2 τῆς δὲ Ἥρας τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ἐρείπια καὶ οἱ κίονες ἔτι ἐλείποντο.

Asia Minor.

⁵³ Kandara : Steph. Byz., χωρίον Παφλαγονίας . . . καὶ Ἥρας Κανδαρηνῆς ἱερόν.

⁵⁴ Amastris Paphlagoniae : on coin of Antoninus Pius, ΗΡΑ ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΝΩΝ, Hera standing with her right hand on a sceptre, her left hand extended, with a peacock at her feet, *Overb. K.M.* 2. p. 123, No. 4.

⁵⁵ Lydia, Dioshieron : coin with Zeus and Nero on the obverse, on the reverse Hera standing with sceptre, *ib.* p. 124, No. 5 ; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 549.

⁵⁶ Byzantium : Dionysius Byzant. excerpta in *Geogr. veter. Script. Graec. Minores*, Hudson, vol. 3, p. 2 Duae aedes Plutonis et Iunonis quarum solum nomen extat . . . Iunonia acra dicitur : ubi quotannis victimam primo anni die mactat gens Megarica.

⁵⁷ Phocaea : head of Hera on coin of fifth century, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* Pl. 5. 1, p. 209.

⁵⁸ Cyme : Ditt. *Syll.* 127, 134, 370.

⁵⁹ Halicarnassus : Hera, with phiale and sceptre, standing near Zeus on coin of Caracalla and Geta, *Overbeck, K.M.* 2, p. 124, No. 6 ; *Münztafel* 3. 6. Cf. ⁹ Hera and Zeus Panamaros at Stratonicea : at Lebedos ¹⁰.

⁶⁰ Termessos in Pisidia : priestess of Hera βασιλῖς, *C. I. Gr.* 4367 f. Cf. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 3, p. 336, No. 5 Ἥρα ἐπηκόω εὐχὴν Διομήδης.

⁶¹ Cyrene : *C. I. Gr.* 5143, list of priestesses of Hera.

⁶² Alexandria : Hesych. Miles. Müller, *Fragm. Hist.* 4, p. 161 λεπίδας χρυσᾶς κλέπτων τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῆς Ἥρας ἀγάλματος ἐφωράθη. Head of Hera Ἀργεία on coins of Alexandria of time of Nero : *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, p. 17, Pl. 1.

^{62 a} Inscription in time of Ptolemy Euergetes II, *C. I. Gr.* 4893 Σάτει τῇ καὶ Ἥρα, found on island of the Cataracts.

The Islands.

⁶³ Euboea : ^a Chalcis : (1) Head of Hera (?) on coins circ. B. C. 369-336, encircled with disk, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 304. (2) Head of Hera veiled and wearing stephane on coins circ. 197-146 B. C.; *ib.* p. 304, fig. 203. (3) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Central Greece*, Pl. 21. 1, p. 114, circ. 196-146 B. C., Hera with sceptre in quadriga; *ib.* Pl. 21. 12, p. 118, coin of Septimius Severus, Hera seated with patera and sceptre, wearing small calathus : cf. Gardner Types, Pl. 15. 27, p. 177.

^b Carystus : Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πόλις ὑπὸ τῇ Ὀχῆ ὄρει τῆς Εὐβοίας . . . ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀπὸ τῆς . . . τῶν θεῶν μίξεως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας. On fifth century coins of Carystus, the cow and the calf and the bull may refer to the worship of Hera on Mount Oche, Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 303. Veiled head of Hera on coins of Carystus, second century B. C., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Central Greece*, Pl. 19. 5.

^c Dirphys : Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ὄρος Εὐβοίας καὶ Διρφύα ἢ Ἥρα τιμᾶται.

^d Paus. 9. 3, 1 Ἥραν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ πρὸς τὸν Δία ὤργισμένην εἰς Εὐβοίαν φασιν ἀναχωρῆσαι.

^e The name of the island connected with Io the priestess of Hera and the birth of Epaphos, Strabo, 445.

Perinthus : vide ⁶⁵ h.

⁶⁴ Aegina : Pindar, *Pyth.* 8. 79 (ode to Aristomenes of Aegina) Ἥρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὧ' ριστόμενες, δάμασσας ἔργῳ : cf. Schol. *ib.* ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Ἥραιὸν ἀγομένον κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Ἀργεῖ ἀγῶνος' ἀποικοὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖον Αἰγινήται· Δίδυμος δὲ φησι τὰ Ἐκατόμβαια αὐτὸν νῦν λέγειν ἐπιχώριον ἀγῶνα διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

⁶⁵ ^a Samos : Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 384 Χηραμύνης μ' ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἥρῃ ἄγαλμα, inscription on very archaic statue of Hera.

^b Paus. 7. 4, 4 τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας εἰσὶν οἱ ἰδρύσασθαί φασιν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί πλείοντας, ἐπάγεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ Ἀργεῶν· Σάμιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τεχθῆναι νομίζουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν θεὸν παρὰ τῷ Ἰμβράσῳ ποταμῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ λύγῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἥραίῳ· εἶναι δ' οὖν τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἂν τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι τεκμαίροιο. Herod. 3. 60 τρίτον δέ σφι (Σαμίοισι) ἐξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ροίκος. Strabo, 637 τὸ Ἥραῖον, ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν καὶ νεὸς μέγας ὃς νῦν πινακοθήκη ἐστὶ . . . ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ (ἢ Σαμίων νήσος) Παρθενία πρότερον οἰκούντων Καρῶν. Paus. 5. 13, 8 Τέφρας γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Σαμίᾳ βωμός.

^c Hera Ἀρχηγέτις : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 2, p. 180, inscription found near temple of Hera, praising a citizen, εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα ἕς τε τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν Ἥραν καὶ Καίσαρα Γερμανικοῦ υἱόν.

^d Lactantius : *Inst.* 1. 17, quoting from Varro, simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur.

^e Athenae. 526 *περὶ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς Δούρις ἱστορῶν παρατίθεται Ἀσίου ποιήματα, ὅτι ἐφόρουσιν χλιδῶνας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσι καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες τῶν Ἑραίων ἐβάδιζον κατεκτενισμένοι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὸ μετάφρενον καὶ τοὺς ὤμους. Id. 672 καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀποκομίζεσθαι τὸ βρέτας ἐς τὴν ἡῶνα καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι ψαῖστά τε αὐτῷ παρατίθεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τόνοια τὴν ἑορτὴν ὅτι τόνοις συνέβη περιειληθῆναι τὸ βρέτας ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ ζητήσιν ποιησάμενων. Polyæn. *Strat.* 1. 23 μελλόντων Σαμίων θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑρας ἀνδρημον ἐν ἧ μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπόμπειον. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebrabantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.*

^f Schol. *Il.* 14. 296 φασὶ τὸν Δία ἐν Σάμῳ λάθρα τῶν γονέων ἀποπαρθεῦσαι τὴν Ἑραν· ὅθεν Σάμιοι μνηστεύοντες τὰς κόρας λάθρα συγκοιμίζουσιν, εἶτα παρρησία ποιοῦσι τοὺς γάμους. Athenae. 673 c θυμῆρες πίνοντες ὅπως Διὸς εὐκλέα νύμφην Μέλπωμεν νήσου δεσπότιν ἡμετέρης. Hera Ἰμβρασίη, *Apoll. Rhod.* 1. 187.

^g Steph. Byz. Ἰπνοῦς, χωρίον ἐν Σάμῳ ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Ἑρας Ἰπνοντίδος.

^h Samian Hera on coins of Perinthus : Overbeck, *K. M.* 2. 1, Pl. 1, 10.

⁶⁶ Paros : *Anth. Pal.* 7. 351, epigr. of Dioscorides, Ἀρχίλοχον, μὰ θεοῦς καὶ δαίμονας, οὗτ' ἐν ἀγναιῖς εἶδομεν οὗθ' Ἑρης ἐν μεγάλῳ τεμείει. *Inscr. publ.* Ἀθήναιον 5, p. 15 Ἑρασίπη Πράσωνος Ἑρῆ Δημητρί Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βαβοῖ.

⁶⁷ Ἀστυπαλαία : *C. I. Gr.* 2491 e Ἀριστόκλεια Κυρίου ἱερασαμένα Ἑρα.

⁶⁸ Amorgos : *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1, p. 342 ; *Ditt. Syll.* 358.

⁶⁹ Rhodes : ^a Diod. Sic. 5. 55 παρὰ δὲ Ἰαλυσίοις Ἑραν καὶ νύμφας Τελχινίας (προσαγορευθῆναι) παρὰ δὲ Καμειρεῦσιν Ἑραν Τελχινίαν. ^b At Lindos : Hera Basileia : Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 1867, 30, No. 71 Ἑρα Βασιλεία ἔθηκε τὸν βωμόν : at Ialysos Hera Ὠρόλυτος, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Crete : *C. I. Gr.* 2554, l. 179, 2555, head of Hera on fourth century coins of Cnossus and Tylisos, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Crete*, pp. 21 and 80, Pl. 5. 11 and 19. 15 ; vide Cnossus ^{17g} and ⁷.

⁷¹ Cyprus : Paphos, *C. I. Gr.* 2640 ; Amathus, *ib.* 2643. Hesych. s. v. Ἐλεία Ἑρα ἐν Κύπρῳ : cf. ⁸.

⁷² Cos : on coin of Antoninus Pius, Hera wearing veil, with sceptre and phiale in her left and right hand, standing on car drawn by peacocks, Overbeck, *K. M.* 2, p. 124, No. 6. Athenae. 262 c φησὶ γὰρ

Μακαρεὺς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Κωακῶν ὅτι ὁπόταν τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν οἱ Κῶοι οὔτε εἰσεῖσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν δοῦλος οὔτε γεύεται τιος τῶν παρεσκευασμένων. *Inscriptions of Cos*, Paton and Hicks, No. 38 Ἥρα Ἀργεία Ἐλεῖα βασιλεῖα δάμαλις κριτά: *ib.* No. 62 Ἥρα Οὐρανία.

⁷³ Lesbos: Schol. *Il.* 9. 129 παρὰ Λεσβίοις ἀγῶν ἄγεται κάλλους γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας τεμένει, λεγόμενος καλλιστεία. *Anthol.* 9. 189 ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης Λεσβίδες.

⁷⁴ Delos: Ditt. *Syll.* 358.

⁷⁵ Thasos: Littré, *Oeuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate*, 2, p. 716 ἡ κατέκειτο παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερόν.

⁷⁶ Corcyra: on coins of fifth century B.C., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Thessaly*, &c., p. 119, Pl. 21. 18; Thuc. 1. 24; 3. 75, 81, the Heraeon mentioned where the suppliants take refuge.

⁷⁷ Ithaca: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 336, sixth century inscription referring to the cults of Hera, Rhea and Athena.

Italy.

⁷⁸ Roehl, 543, sixth century inscription from Calabria to Hera, ἡ ἐν πεδίῳ: Kaibel, *Inscr. Ital. Sicil.* 643.

⁷⁹ a Crotona: Hera Lacinia, Paus. 6. 13, 1; Arist. *De Mirab.* 96 τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἥρας, εἰς ἣν συμπορεύονται πάντες Ἰταλιῶται. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Italy*, p. 353, coin with head of Hera Lacinia; vide Livy 24. 3, description of the grove round the temple with the sacred flocks.

b *Anth. Graec.* 6, Anathem. 265:

Ἥρα τιμήσσσα, Λακίνιον ἅ τὸ θυῶδες
πολλάκις οὐρανόθεν νεισομένα καθορῆς
δέξαι βύσσινον εἶμα, τό τοι μετὰ παιδὸς ἀγανᾶς
Νοσσίδος ὕφανευ θευφιλίς ἅ Κλεόχας.

c ? Styled Ὀπλοσμία in the Lacinian temple, *Lycoph.* 856:

Ἥξει δὲ Σίριν καὶ Λακινίου μυχούς,
ἐν οἷσι πόρτις ὄρχατον τεύξει θεᾶ
Ὀπλοσμία φυτοῖσιν ἐξησκημένον

referring to Thetis making a grant of the Lacinian territory to Hera (cf. line 614).

⁸⁰ Capua: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Italy*, p. 83, head of Hera on coin veiled and wearing stephane, with sceptre, ? fourth century B.C.

⁸¹ Venusia: *ib.* p. 152, head of Hera Lacinia on coin, with stephane and veil.

⁸² Hyria of Campania: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Italy*, p. 92, head of Hera with stephane, Lacinia ? fourth century.

⁸³ Neapolis ? : *ib.* p. 94, head of Hera Lacinia, ? fourth century.

⁸⁴ Pandosia : *ib.* p. 370, head of Hera Lacinia, ? fourth century.

⁸⁵ Phistelia (? near Cumae): Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 35, head of Hera, circ. 400 B.C.

⁸⁵ a Sybaris: *Ael. Var. Hist.* 3. 43 'Εν Συβάρει . . . ἐν τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ ἦν ἐπετέλουν τῇ Ἥρᾳ: cf. Athenae. 521 e: Steph. Byz. s. v. Σύβαρις.

⁸⁶ Metapontum: Pliny 14. 9 Metaponti templum Iunonis vitigineis columnis stetit.

⁸⁷ Strabo, 215 παρὰ τοῖς Ἐνετοῖς δύο ἄλση τὸ μὲν Ἥρας Ἀργείας δεικνυται τὸ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Αἰτωλίδος.

⁸⁸ Posidonia: Strabo, 252 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Σιλάριδος Λευκανία καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀργώας Ἰάσονος ἴδρυμα, καὶ πλησίον ἐν πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἡ Ποσειδωνία. ? Hera Areia or Argeia, vide Pliny, 3. 70.

Sicily.

⁸⁹ Syracuse: *Ael. Var. Hist.* 6. 11 ἐν τῷ τῆς Σικελίας Ἥρας ναφῷ ἔστηκε αὐτοῦ (Γέλωνος) εἰκὼν: cf. *C. I. Gr.* 5367.

⁹⁰ Hyblae: Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἵβλαι· τρεῖς πόλεις Σικελίας . . . ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων Ἡραία καλεῖται.

⁹¹ Thermae, head of Hera Lacinia with stephane circ. 405–350 B.C.: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 128.

⁹² Himera: head of Hera of Argive type: Overbeck, *Kunst. Mythol.* vol. 2, Münztaf. 2. 22.

⁹³ Selinus: inscription containing a prayer to Hera found in one of the temples: *Inscr. Graec. Sicil. et Ital.* 271.

⁹³ a At Acrae: *C. I. Gr.* 5424, list of names τῶν προστατευσάντων Ἥρα καὶ Ἀφροδίτη.

Monuments of Hera-worship.

⁹⁴ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 4. 40 P. τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἄγαλμα ἐν Θεσπία ἦν πρέμνον ἐκκεκόμμενον: cf. Arnobius, *Adv. Nation.* 6. 2 ridetis temporibus priscis . . . coluisse ramum pro Cinxia Thespios.

⁹⁵ *Id. Strom.* 1. 25 (p. 418 P.) γράφει γοῦν ὁ τὴν Φωρωνίδα ποιήσας Καλλιθὴ κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης Ἥρης Ἀργείης, ἡ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνουσι πρώτη ἐκόσμησεν περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης.

⁹⁶ *Id. Protrept.* 4. 40 P. τὸ τῆς Σαμίας Ἥρας (ἄγαλμα), ὡς φησιν Ἀέθλιος πρότερον μὲν ἦν σανίς, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἄρχοντος ἀνδριαντοειδὲς ἐγένετο: so also Callimachus in Eus. *Praef. Ev.* 3. 8.

⁹⁷ Archaic statue of Hera at Samos: Paus. 7. 4, 4 ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον Αἰγινήτου Σμίλιδος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου. Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 3. 8 Ἦρας δὲ καὶ Σάμιοι ξύλιον εἶχον ἔδος, ὡς φησι Καλλιμάχος,

οὐπω Σμιλικὸν ἔργον εὐξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμῶ
δηναιφῶ γλυφάνων ἄξοος ἦσθα σανίς.

Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 41 P. τὸ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἦρας ξόανον σμίλη τῇ Σμίλιδος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου πεποιῆσθαι Ὀλύμπιχος ἐν Σαμιακοῖς ἱστορεῖ: cf. Lactantius, quoted ⁶⁶ d.

⁹⁸ Paus. 2. 17, 4 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἦρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεισι δὲ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὀρας ἐπειργασμένας καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ροιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκήπτρον. . . κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθησθῆναι φασι, λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἦρα παρθένου τῆς Ἦρας ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι τὴν δὲ ἄτε παίγιονο θηρᾶσαι. . . λέγεται δὲ παρεστηκέναι τῇ Ἦρᾳ τέχνη Ναυκύδου ἀγαλμα Ἦβης, ἐλέφαντος καὶ τοῦτο καὶ χρυσοῦ.

⁹⁹ Schol. Theocr. *Id.* 15. 64 καὶ παρ' Ἀργείοις οἱ μέγιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιμῶσι τὴν θεὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἦρας ἐν τῷ ναφῷ καθήμενον ἐν θρόνῳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει σκήπτρον καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κόκκυξ.

¹⁰⁰ Anthol. *Planud.* 4. 216:

Ἄργεῖος Πολύκλειτος, ὁ καὶ μόνος ὄμμασιν Ἦραν
ἀθρήσας καὶ ὄσσην εἶδε τυπωσάμενος
θητοῖς κάλλος ἔδειξεν ὅσον θέμις· αἱ δ' ὑπὸ κόλποις
ἄγνωστοι μορφαὶ Ζηνὶ φυλασσόμεθα.

¹⁰¹ Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 14. 6 Ἦραν ἔδειξεν Ἀργεῖος Πολύκλειτος λευκώλενον, ἐλεφαντόπηχυν, εὐώπων, εὐείμονα, βασιλικήν, ἰδρυμένην ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου.

¹⁰² Tertullian, *de Corona* 7 Iunoni vitem Callimachus induxit. Ita et Argis signum eius palmite redimitum subiecto pedibus corio leonino insultantem ostentat novercam de exuviis utriusque privigni.

¹⁰³ Martial 10. 89:

Iuno, labor, Polycleite, tuus et gloria felix
Pheidiacae cuperent quam meruisse manus.

¹⁰⁴ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1, p. 67 R. γυναικα εὐειδῆ καὶ μεγάλην, ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ κεκοσμημένῃ, σκήπτρον ἔχουσαν, ὁποῖαν μάλιστα τὴν Ἦραν γράφουσι· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον φαῖδρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ σεμνόν.

¹⁰⁵ Anthol. *Graec.* 5, Erotica 94 Ὀμματ' ἔχεις Ἦρης, Μελίτη.

¹⁰⁶ Βοῶπις πότνια Ἦρη: Hesych. βοῶπις μεγαλόφθαλμος. Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 36 βοῶπις ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν μεγαλόφθαλμον (λέγει) cf. Varro, *de Re Rust.* 11. 5 Novi maiestatem boum, et ab his dici pleraque magna, ut . . . boopin.

CHAPTER X.

ATHENA.

THE meaning of the name remains unknown, and the different attempts of philologists to explain it and to base different theories as to Athena's origin on their explanations need not be here discussed. The word varies slightly, but the form 'Αθήνη appears to be as old as any; hence comes the feminine plural Athenae, the name of the Attic city, and 'Αθήναι Διᾶδες⁶², the name of a place in Boeotia^a; then by a reverse process the Attic city gave to its tutelary goddess the longer name 'Αθηναία, properly an adjective denoting the goddess of Athens. That this longer form is common in Homer is a sign of the great antiquity and celebrity of the Attic cult.

As in the earliest times we find the worship of Athena in very various parts of the Greek world, we can conclude that she was a primitive Hellenic divinity of the 'Achaean' period, and originally worshipped also by the Dorian and Ionic tribes, or adopted by them in their new settlements. This very antiquity and her singularly Hellenic character, which is scarcely tinged at all by any discoverable Oriental influence, are reasons that are strong against the theory that in Athena we have a disguised Oriental goddess imported from anterior Asia. As illustrations of the universality of her cult we have the testimony of Homer and many of the heroic legends, and the records^b of local cults afford ample proof.

^a Cf. many other similar forms of town-names in the Greek world: Alalcomenae, Potniae, Eleutheræ, Apellæ, which illustrate the origin of the city

from the local cult; it is possible that such names as Thespiæ, Syracusæ, are derived from forgotten cult-terms.

^b Vide *Geographical Register*.

Her worship was primeval in Attica, and it is here that we can best trace the primitive forms as well as the higher developments of her religion; in no other city of Greece was the character of her worship so manifold as at Athens, and in many of the demes, Colonus, Acharnae, Sunium, Phlye, special cults were consecrated to her, recognizing her under various aspects. At Sparta, before the Dorian invasion, there was the brazen house, or the temple of Athena Chalcioecus, a name derived from the Mycenaean style of wall-decoration; and she continued to be the war-goddess, the goddess of the council, the law-court and the market-place, in the Lacedaemonian state. In Argolis we hear of her temple on Mount Pontinus and on the Acropolis where Acrisius was buried in her shrine. She protects the Argive heroes in the Theban and Trojan war, and the story and the cult of Diomed is interwoven with this Argive religion. One of the chief personages of ancient Arcadian worship was Athena Alea. The cults of Athena *Ναρκαία* in Elis and *Ἀμαρία* in Achaea reveal the more primitive aspects of her, and the same may be said of her worships at Mothone in Messenia and on the Megarid coast, while her cult-title Aiantis in Megara seems to have connected her there with the Achaean period. At Corinth we find the legend of Bellerophon and the yoking of Pegasus associated with the worships of Athena *Χαλιῦτις* and Hippias; and the mysterious cult-title Hellotis was attached to her there. In North Greece, Thebes and Alalcomenae were famous centres of her worship; Athena Itonia protected the Boeotian league, and her name was the watchword of the Thessalians in battle. We find traces of Athena-cult in Phthiotis, Pallene, Macedon, Abdera and Byzantium; and probably before the time of Homer it had taken root in Ithaca and the western islands. There is record of its existence in Thasos, Lemnos, Samos and many of the Cyclades, in Crete, which was one of the countries that claimed to be the birth-place of the water-born goddess, in Cyprus, Carpathus and Rhodes. The last mentioned island, according to Pindar's beautiful legend, stood only next to Athens in the favour of the goddess, the Rhodians having through carelessness in their first act of

ritual offered ἄπυρα ἱερά, a sacrifice without fire¹¹⁷. On the coast of Asia Minor we have not far to look for the early traces of this religion. The Trojan women offer their prayers and a woven peplos to the goddess on their Acropolis, whom Homer and his contemporary Greeks identified with Pallas Athena, and whose cult doubtless belonged to the Mycenaean period. The legends concerning the heroes' disastrous return and the consequent migrations of families attribute much of their troubles to the wrath of the Trojan goddess whose temple had been profaned by Ajax, and we have sufficient evidence afforded by the Locrian rites that are mentioned below of the early influence of this Asia Minor worship in the Greek world. Also it was from Troy that two widespread primitive types of Athena-idols, the type of the Palladion and of the seated goddess, were supposed to be derived. Her cult became predominant in the later kingdom and city of Pergamon, and it was established in very many of the coast cities, and in some inland settlements of Asia Minor, both north and south. It travelled to Sicily, Magna Graecia, and even to Spain; and the cities and places that are recorded as possessing it, numerous as they are, are probably far fewer than the actual sites of her worship. This religion was too old for its birth-place to be remembered, and none of these cities or places can be regarded as its original seat, nor can we trace anywhere any definite line of its diffusion.

In dealing with the religious ideas of this worship, we find very few that are notably primitive or savage. The legend of the birth of Athena preserves some touches of a very early and rude imagination, such as the swallowing of Metis, and we have the record in Porphyry that at Laodicea human sacrifices were once offered to Athena^{1a}, but it is probable that the goddess to whom this ritual belonged was the semi-oriental Artemis. Also the story at Athens of the daughters of Cecrops, who were driven mad by the wrath of Athena, and who flung themselves down from the rock of the Acropolis has been with much probability interpreted as a legend of human sacrifice in her worship^a; for we have other

^a Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 12.

evidence of the leap from a rock being part of such ritual in other Hellenic cults. The same primitive fact may be discerned in the Locrian rites of atonement with which they tried to appease the wrath of Athena on account of the outrage done to Cassandra. From early times till about the middle of the fourth century, maidens were sent yearly from Locris to the Trojan shore, wearing only a single garment and no sandals, and with their hair shorn, to become priestesses and handmaidens in Athena's temple, where they performed secret rites by night. The first that were sent were met by the inhabitants and slain; their bones were burnt in a peculiar ceremonious way, and their ashes cast from a mountain into the-sea^{1b}. It is clear that this is no mere story of murder, but a reminiscence of certain piacular rites.

But the Hellenic worship of Athena had long been purified from this taint of savagery, and it was only in certain harmless ceremonials, such as the washing of the idol, that her religion preserved a primitive character. The Scholiast on Callimachus informs us that once a year the Argive women took Athena's image and bathed it in the Inachus⁵, and Callimachus' poem gives us a secular version of that religious act^a. At Athens the image of Pallas was yearly escorted by the Ephebi to the sea-shore at Phaleron, and brought back to the city with torches and great pomp⁴. There can be little doubt that the object of the journey was to wash it in sea-water, just as Iphigenia in the play of Euripides takes the Tauric image to the coast under this pretext, saying that 'the sea cleanses away all the ills of mortal life^b.' The image that the Ephebi escorted must have been the Palladion from the Attic court ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ; for it is called by Suidas and in the Attic inscriptions ἡ Πάλλας^{4 a, b}, a name appropriate to the Palladion, but not applied to the idol of Athena Polias. And this view is confirmed if we combine the evidence given by the Attic ephebi-inscriptions with the legend narrated by Pausanias concerning the origin

^a Possibly also the representation of Pallas bathing before the Judgement of Paris, on a fine fourth century vase in

Berlin, is an artistic motive drawn from the same source.

^b *Iph. Taur.* 1193.

of the court. We may reasonably suppose that the image was washed in the sea at Phalerum to wipe off the stain of homicide, and that it was borne along with an escort of armed youths and brought back in a torch-light procession to commemorate the night attack of Demophon and the armed Athenians upon Diomed and the friendly Argives, when the Palladion was captured by mistake. We must then distinguish this ritual from the Plynteria², about which we are only imperfectly informed, but which clearly referred to the Athena Polias and the cult of Aglauros on the Acropolis. The name does not refer to the washing of the idol^a—we do not hear that this ceremony took place at all on this occasion—but to the washing of Athena's peplos and other apparel by the official women called the Loutrides or Plyntrides^{2 d}. The solemnity was mournful and mythically connected with the death of Aglauros, the story being that out of sorrow for her the women of Attica went for a year with unwashed garments^{2 e, f, g}. The approaches to the temple were roped off, the idol was stripped of its raiment and muffled up, and the chief day of the feast was an unlucky one on which no important business could be done. It was this ominous day when Alcibiades returned from exile, and, as was afterwards believed, the veiled goddess turned her face from him^{2 a, b}. Originally the ceremony of cleansing the idol and its robes may well have been merely part of a fetish-ritual, in which the fetish-object is washed, oiled, and clothed as though it were a living person; but it was almost certain to acquire a moral significance, and Artemidorus explains all such rites as necessitated by human sin, which pollutes the temples or the images⁶.

On the whole there is no other leading Greek divinity to whom so little of crude and savage thought attached as to Athena, and though the moral ideas in her worship did not

^a The word *πλύνειν* properly refers to clothes; the account given by Mommsen (*Heortologie*, p. 429) of the Plynteria goes far beyond the evidence; he assumes that the idol was washed

in the Plynteria, which is not told us though very probable, and was taken down to Phaleron; he combines the Plynteria with the procession of the Ephebi without warrant.

altogether advance so far as those in the worship of Zeus, her ritual was wholly free of impurity and orgiastic extravagance of any kind. In fact, as will be noticed later, we observe a purifying tendency in the myth to preserve the maidenly character of the goddess. We may note as another possible reason of the comparative purity of her legend and rite, that there is in it little or no physical symbolism, although writers both past and present on Greek religion have found a superfluity of it. I have already tried to show the futility of any endeavour to deduce the whole of Athena's characteristics and functions from any one original physical concept, for one may grant that she was originally a personification of air, earth, water or thunder, and yet maintain that she acquired the various traits of her moral or human character independently. And we need not discuss at length all the reasons for and against Welcker's^a theory that she was aether, and Roscher's theory that she was thunder^b, and Ploix's theory that she was twilight^c: for these various theorists refute each other sufficiently. Such discussion is blocked by the larger question, is there any proof that Athena, as a goddess of the Hellenic religion, ever was a personification of some part of the physical world? To answer this we may inquire whether this was ever the view of the Greeks of any historic period; secondly, whether, in the hieroglyphics of ancient legend, or in the crystallized thought of ancient ritual, such an aspect of her is disclosed to us.

The first inquiry is easier than the second. In no historic period of actual Greek religion was Athena ever regarded as a personification of any physical element. It is interesting on other grounds to know that Aristotle regarded her as the moon^d; but this view has nothing to do with the people's creed, and Greek philosophy was even more reckless than the modern science of mythology in interpreting the figures of the

^a *Griechische Götterlehre*, I. p. 300.

^b *Ausführliches Lexikon*, s. Athena.

^c *La nature des dieux*, p. 213.

^d According to Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*

3. 31: cf. *Aug. de Civitate Dei*, 7.

ch. 16: Minervam vel summum aethera vel etiam lunam esse dixerunt: in a context where he is ridiculing the physical interpretation of Greek religion.

Hellenic Pantheon. In the ordinary legend and worship there is no department of nature with which Athena was especially concerned, though she might be active on occasion in a great many, availing herself of her privilege as a leading Olympian. She showed men the use of the olive, but she was not therefore the earth that produced nor the dew or heat that nourished it: else we might have to say that Apollo was the personification of mephitic gas, because he taught men a particular mode of divination.

At Mothone in Messenia we hear of a shrine of Athena *'Ανεμῶτις*⁷, but Athena was never regarded either by ancients or moderns as a wind-divinity, such as Aeolus or Boreas; any powerful deity, as in the mediaeval religion any leading saint, could give or avert a wind as easily as the witch in *Macbeth*. If that temple, which appears by the legend to have been prehistoric, stood on a windy promontory, as it seems to have stood, then in that locality the goddess would be specially consulted on the matter of winds. All that the legend says is that this part of the coast was troubled by frequent tempests, until Diomed prayed to Athena, placed an image in her shrine, and gave her the title *'Ανεμῶτις*. He probably did all this because she was his tutelary goddess, not because she signified for him the blue ether or thunder or dawn and therefore might be more or less remotely connected with tempest. Again we hear of an Athena *Ναρκαία*⁸ in Elis; and those who resolve her into ether might say that this epithet refers to the numbing effects of frost beneath a midnight sky in winter; and those who say that she is thunder and lightning might derive it from the petrifying effect of the lightning-flash. If *Ναρκαία* means the goddess who petrifies, this would denote the goddess who wore the gorgoneium in her aegis, and we need not go further for an explanation. But in the locality of Elis the people did not so translate the word, but told of a hero *Ναρκαῖος*, a son of Dionysos, who built a temple to Athena *Ναρκαία*. It is possible that here, as in many other instances, a fictitious hero has grown out of a misunderstood cult-name, or that on the contrary, Athena absorbed in this region the local

honours and title of a Dionysiac hero, whose name might have reference to the stupefying effects of drink^a.

Thirdly, in certain cults Athena has some obvious connexion with the water. In Strabo we hear of an Athena Νέδουσία, whose temple stood on the banks of the river Νέδων, that flowed from Laconia into the Messenian gulf; and she was worshipped by the same name in the island of Cos⁹. And Athena Itonia at Coronea perhaps gave her name to the brook that flowed beneath the hill¹⁰, which Alcaeus calls Κωράλιος, 'the brook of the maiden,' but which according to Strabo was called by the Boeotian settlers Κονάριος, a name that need have nothing to do with the goddess. But a lake Κορησία, and the worship of Athena Κορησία¹⁴, are mentioned by Stephanos as existing in Crete^b; and a lake in Lydia is said by Eustathius to have given her the name Γυγαία¹⁵. These facts give no proof at all that she was ever in historic or prehistoric times essentially a water-deity, though she may sometimes have been worshipped on the sea-coast as at Sunium, Calabria, and other places^{12, 13, 47c, 57}. They merely illustrate how a local cult could give as well as owe a name to surrounding objects of nature, whether hill, river or tree. The sea-gulls about the rock might account for the curious name Αἴθνια¹⁹, which attached to Athena on a crag of the Megarid coast, where possibly the goddess was in some way identified by the people with the bird, as Artemis was occasionally identified with the quail. But Athena is far less a water-goddess than Artemis, who much more frequently had

^a We have examples of both processes in Greek religion: e.g. Iphigenia developed from Artemis, Peitho from Aphrodite; on the other hand Zeus-Agamemnon, Athena Aiantis^{96 b}.

^b Another illustration that has been given of the same point of view is the passage in Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 3. 23: quarta (Minerva) Iove nata et Coryphe, Oceani filia, quam Arcades Coriam nominant, et quadrigarum inventricem ferunt: the whole context shows an unfortunate speculative attempt to apply the principles of logical division to mythology. If there is any genuine

myth here, it is full of foolish confusion: Pausanias⁷⁰ speaks of a shrine of Athena Κορία ἐπὶ ὄρους κορυφῆς, near Clitor; and Athena sprang from the Κορυφή Διός. Hence came the mother, Κορυφή. This may have been the name of an Oceanid; or there may be here a faint reminiscence of Tritogeneia, or of the Homeric theory that Ocean was the origin of all things. We find partly the same confusion in the genealogy given by the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*^{17 f}, who makes Athena the daughter of Poseidon and the Oceanid Koryphe.

to do with rivers and running water. Still more absurd would it be to say on these slight grounds that Athena was the watery thunder-cloud or watery blue ether.

We have then to consider the evidence of the word *Τριτογένεια*^a, a term occurring in poetry as early as Homer, and explained by many local myths, but scarcely found at all in actual worship^{16a}. That the name caused some embarrassment even to the ancients, is indicated by the fictitious explanation of the grammarians that the word meant 'head-born,' and the assumption of a Boeotian word *Τῆτο* meaning 'head.' This word has no analogies in Greek, and is probably a grammatical figment. From the analogy of such words as Triton, Amphitrite, and the name Tritonis applied to a nymph, and Triton to rivers and lakes, we may believe that the root of the word means water. And from a passage in Aristophanes we can be fairly certain that the term *Τριτογένεια* meant for the ordinary Greek 'born near or from some kind of water.' In the *Lysistrate*^{16c}, the women call to Tritogeneia to help them in bringing water, and the point of the mock invocation is clear. But the grammarians' attempt to show that the word meant 'head-born' is of some interest, because in the first place it indicates that they did not see why in the nature of things the word should mean what it probably did, namely, 'born from the water'; and, secondly, that they regarded the word as of Boeotian origin. Accepting, then, the ordinary explanation of the word as meaning 'water-born,' we have still to ask why this name was given to her. According to Preller it contains an allusion to the Hesiodic and Homeric theory that Ocean was the origin of all things. But why, then, were not all the divinities equally termed *Τριτογενεῖς*, just as they were named *Ὀυρανίωτες*?

A more far-fetched solution is that of Welcker's^b, who regarding Athena as the ether-goddess, explains the word

^a The article by F. Lenormant in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, p. 183, is full of wild symbolism. On the strength of the name *Τριτογένεια*, and the rare sign of the crab on her casque and her worship at certain maritime places, he

concludes that there was once a monstrous Athena with fish extremities, the sign of the crab alluding in some dexterous way to the Moon and the Gorgon.

^b *Griechische Götterlehre*, I, p. 312.

as 'born from ethereal water,' and sees in it an anticipation of a Heraclitean doctrine that light and water were cognate elements. But it is hazardous to interpret ancient cult-names through the medium of later philosophy, and it is first necessary to convince us that Athena was a personification of ether. Scarcely more convincing is Roscher's interpretation, which is devised to suit his theory about the thunder-cloud, that Tritogeneia denotes the goddess sprung from the far western watery limit of the world. He adds by way of confirmation that thunder-storms in Greece come generally from the West. One would like to know, however, from what meteorological report this latter observation is made: also where the proof is that 'Trito' ever in Greek had this fanciful geographical sense, and finally whether there is any valid reason for supposing that Athena was the thunder-cloud at all; for Roscher's interpretation of the doubtful word only meets the case if this last point is conceded. At the best any explanation of *Τριτογένεια* can only be probable; and the most probable appears to be that it was a cult-name that spread from Thessaly or Boeotia, Athena having been in prehistoric times worshipped in localities of those countries by water of that name. For the ordinary Greek associated the word usually with this part of Greece or with Libya: the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius mentions three rivers called Triton, one in Boeotia, one in Thessaly, and one in Libya, and it was in the Libyan that Athena was born ^{16 d}. When Pausanias is describing the ruined temple of Athena at Alalcomenae in Boeotia he mentions as near it the small winter-torrent named Triton, and implies that according to the popular belief this stream was really the place of her birth, and not the Libyan river ^{16 e}. Again, when he speaks of the altar and worship of Zeus *Λεχέαρης*, 'the God in child-bed' at Aliphera in Arcadia, he gives the local legend that Athena was born there, 'and they call the fountain Tritonis, appropriating the legend of the river Tritonis ^{16 f}.' The first of these passages in Pausanias shows that for him, as for Aeschylus ^{16 g}, 'the river Triton' meant properly the Libyan stream; and the second implies

that the Arcadians at Aliphera merely appropriated the Libyan legend. In this case, as in their legend of the birth of Zeus already noticed, we may suppose that, proud of their aboriginal antiquity, they were jealous to assert their country's claims to be the birth-place of Hellenic divinities. Now the belief which the passages just quoted express that Libya was the land with which the name *Τριτογένεια* was properly associated, is quite consistent with the theory that the term came into vogue first from Boeotia. For it is *prima facie* absurd that Homer should have called the goddess *Τριτογένεια* because of her association with a river in Libya: but he may well have given her this name because of the celebrity of her worship at Alalcomenae, where this was a sacred title arising from the stream Triton that flowed near her temple^a. It would appear from Homer that for the North Greeks the title *Ἀλαλκομενῆς Ἀθήνη* had an especial sanctity, and the no less famous worship of Athena Itonia flourished not far from this stream^b. The fame of these two worships may have spread the name *Τριτογένεια* over the rest of Boeotia, and then it may have been carried by the settlers of Cyrene, some of whom were mythically connected with the Minyae and Thebes, to their new city in Libya; and it is evidently from Cyrene that the tale of the Libyan Athena 'Trito-born' was diffused over the Greek world. For it is clear from Herodotus^{16 i} that the colonists found among the Libyans a worship of a goddess who was served by armed maidens and who was probably of a warlike character. This and her maidenhood suggested to them to identify her with their own goddess. She was also apparently a water-divinity like the Syrian Atergatis, or—as the Cyrenaic Greeks may have expressed it—a daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis^c. Whether the lake or river already had some Libyan name that recalled to the

^a Cf. the name of a fountain in Arcadia—*Ἀλαλκομενείας πηγή* Paus. 8. 12. 7.

^b So closely associated was this particular stream with Athena that there was an ancient tradition of a city that once existed on its banks, named *Ἀθήναι*—Strabo, 407 *οἱ δ' Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Ἀθήνας παρὰ τὸν Τρίτωνα ποταμὸν (ὑπελάμβανον*

οἰκίσθαι)—founded, according to the legend, by Cecrops, when he ruled Boeotia, and afterwards swallowed up. This seems like a fiction of the Athenians who recognized the great antiquity of Athena's worship on the Triton and desired to connect their own with that river.

^c Paus. 1. 14. 6.

colonists the name 'Triton' familiar to them in their own country, or whether, finding there a native goddess akin to Athena and worshipped by the water, they at once applied to the goddess and the water the names that were associated with Alalcomenae, is a question of slight importance. In either case the Greco-Libyan Tritogeneia would be an offshoot of the Boeotian ^a. We may even believe that if any country was associated with any legend of Athena, the name Tritonis or Triton would tend to attach to any lake or river there: as for instance we hear of a Tritonis in Pallene, the land of the Gigantomachy ^{16 k}; and when a city or locality claimed to be the birth-place of the goddess, a lake or river of this name would probably be found in the neighbourhood, from a desire to emulate Alalcomenae. Or the process may have been the opposite to this: in many parts of Greece water may have been so named from an old word that at any early time had disappeared from the ordinary language: then, when the river Triton and the worship at Alalcomenae had given rise to a celebrated sacred name of Athena, other localities would associate themselves with the legend of Athena where this common name for water occurred. To the instances already given others may be added; the Cretans, according to Diodorus Siculus, claimed that Athena was born from Zeus in their land in the sources of the river Triton, and was therefore called Tritogeneia, and the historian declares that there still existed a temple of this goddess by the fountain of the Cretan stream ^{16 l}. And we may suppose that the legend of Tritogeneia prevailed at a remote time in Achaea, where the city Triteia was associated by the local myth with Triteia a priestess of Athena, daughter of a certain Triton; probably the priestess was none other than Athena herself ^{16 p}. It may be that occasionally the title suggested some connexion with Poseidon; on the Acropolis of Pheneos in Arcadia, Pausanias found a ruined temple of Athena *Τριτωνία*, and on the same spot a bronze archaic statue of Poseidon Hippios; the legend said that the latter had been dedicated by Odysseus, who came to

^a This is more or less the view briefly suggested by C. O. Müller, *Orchomenos*, p. 355.

this neighbourhood in quest of some horses which he had lost and which he found again there^{16 m}. Pausanias does not suggest that there was any local connexion between the worship of Athena and Poseidon. But it is possible that the presence of Poseidon's statue suggested the title of Tritonia for the goddess.

In no part of actual Greek religion was there any connexion between Pallas and Poseidon that points to an original affinity of character. Where their cults existed side by side, as on the Acropolis at Athens, at the deme of Colonus and possibly at Sunium, at Troezen, Sparta, Asea, and probably Corinth¹⁷, we may suppose that in some of these places there had been a final reconciliation of two cults that were often in conflict at first. To say that the strife of Athena and Poseidon for the Attic land is a symbol of physical changes, an allusion to the sea encroaching or the sea receding, is very plausible but untrue: we have the analogy of the contest between Helios and Poseidon at Corinth, where the physical explanation appears even more natural and likely: but we know it to be wrong; for in the first place the territory in dispute between the two divinities was Acrocorinthus, a height which never in the memory of any Greek had been flooded or threatened by the sea, and secondly we have abundant evidence of the prevalence of a very ancient Helios-cult at Corinth, which paled before the later Ionic worship of Poseidon. No doubt there were physical reasons why Helios and why Poseidon should be worshipped at Corinth; but the Corinthian legend of this strife, the Delphic legend of the contest of Apollo and the Python, of Apollo and Heracles for the tripod, the Attic legend of the rivalry of Poseidon and Athena, and many other similar theomachies, probably all contain the same kernel of historical fact, an actual conflict of worships—an earlier cherished by the aboriginal men of the locality, and a later introduced by the new settlers. Athena was the older goddess of Attica, Poseidon the great god of the Ionians^a: the strife and the friendship

^a Vide *Revue des Études grecques*, Attique, R. de Tascher. A view which 1891, pp. 1-23; *Les cultes Ioniens en* is the exact opposite of that taken in

between the two deities on the Acropolis may have been the religious counterpart of the conflict and union of the old Attic and Ionic elements of the population.

It is interesting to note how the compromise with the new religion was there carried through. The older cult was too strong to suffer displacement: Poseidon ranks below Athena in the Attic religion. But he is reconciled and made of kin to the Athenians by a sort of adoption. Erechtheus was a figure that personified the ancient birth and growth of the State; and his cult was the heart of the city's life. Before the Erechtheum was an altar of Poseidon on which men sacrificed also to Erechtheus. The god also is present in more than one vase representation at the mystic birth of Erichthonius, the 'double' of Erechtheus, as a sympathetic observer; lastly, by a bold fiction, he is identified with Erechtheus^a, and the Boutadae, an agricultural clan who had probably already been charged with the worship of the land-hero Erechtheus, acquired the new priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus, which they maintained throughout the history of Athens^{17 a 3-4}. Thus, as Erechtheus in the form of Erichthonius is in a mystic sense the child of Athena, the worship of Poseidon is justified by affiliating him also to the goddess: and we can illustrate this process of adoption by the myth about the introduction of the worship of Asclepios and Dionysos. Moreover

the text appears to be held by Miss Harrison in *Mythology and Monuments*, p. lix: 'Poseidon had been in all probability established in Athens long before Athena came. One of the names of the great Ionian sea-god was Erechtheus,' cf. lxxvii, &c. I regret that I cannot find her arguments convincing. We do not know when Athena came to Athens; it is more reasonable to believe that there never was an Athens so called without Athena; and the fair interpretation of all the evidence is that she was there very long before Poseidon came. Nor is there any evidence that Poseidon was ever called 'Ερεχθεύς in his own right or anywhere else except

at Athens, for the mention in Homer of a King Erichthonius, son of Dardanos, 'richest of mortal men, who owned mares that Boreas loved' (*Il.* 20. 222), is too doubtful to be called evidence. If Erechtheus was the old agricultural god or hero of Attica, who afterwards lent his name to Poseidon, we can understand why he should be buried, as Dionysos and Adonis and other divinities of vegetation were; but why should he be buried, if he were Poseidon?

^a Vide Hesych., 'Ερεχθεύς Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις: Lycophron, 158, 431; Apollod. 3. 15. 1; *C. I. A.* I. 387 Ποσειδῶνι 'Ερεχθεῖ, cf. III. 805; Strabo, 9, p. 397.

the traditions that made Poseidon the father of Theseus and of Eumolpus seem to reveal him as an alien and immigrant god. For the Eumolpidae were regarded as an alien clan from North Greece bringing a new cult; and that there attached to this legend the consciousness of a rivalry between Pallas and Poseidon is shown in the strange fragment from Euripides' *Erechtheus*: the Attic king sacrifices his daughter to gain the victory over Eumolpus, saying, 'Eumolpus shall not plant on the city's foundations, in place of the olive and the golden gorgon, the upright trident, nor shall it be crowned with chaplets by the Thracian people, and Pallas nowhere be held in honour ^{17 a 9}.'

The joint cult of Pallas and Poseidon at Colonus, 'the land of fair steeds,' where Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippiia were worshipped at a common altar ^{17 a 6}, is the most noted instance in the land of Attica of this union of divinities. Welcker curiously ^a explains this as though she borrowed this name from Poseidon, because of that natural connexion of hers with water expressed in the name *Τριτογένεια*, and as though the latter title had been displaced by Hippiia. This seems in the highest degree improbable: his reasoning might lead one to expect that any of Poseidon's appellatives could be casually used for the goddess, whereas this is the only one, besides Soter, that they have in common. Again, in the myths that explain Athena Hippiia, there is rarely a reference to Poseidon. We read in Pausanias an Arcadian legend that makes no mention of Poseidon, but asserts that she won this name because she yoked horses to the chariot in her combat with Encelados in the battle of the Giants ^{93 a}. At Olympia, Athena Hippiia shared an altar not with Poseidon but with Ares Hippios ^{93 a}. In Attica men said that she had taught Erichthonius the use of the chariot ^b, and that though Poseidon, in that trial of their creative power which was to decide the issue between the two deities, had produced the horse with a stroke of his trident, Athena had yoked him

^a *Götterlehre*, 2. 291: 'Hippiia ist an die Stelle der Tritogenia getreten.'

^b Vide Aristides, *Panathenaica Schol.*

p. 62 (Dindf.) ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει ὀπίσω τῆς θεοῦ ὁ Ἐρεχθεὺς γέγραπται ἄρμα ἐλαύνων.

and bridled him. In the story of Corinth, the land of Poseidon, it was not the god but the goddess that bridled Pegasus or taught Bellerophon the art, and hence in Corinth she was worshipped as *χαλιβίτις*⁹⁵. We may believe then that she was regarded as powerful in this craft entirely in her own right either as a war-goddess or as the most skilled divinity in the arts; and as Poseidon, for independent reasons, was also called Hippios, it was natural that their worships should occasionally mingle.

At Troezen we have the same legend as on the Athenian acropolis of the rivalry of the two divinities, and the same explanation readily occurs; the reconciled divinities received common worship, Poseidon as Basileus, and Athena as Polias and Sthenias^{17 b}. The titles themselves seem to show that the whole story is innocent of any physical symbolism, and has merely a political and historical sense. The association of Athena *Ἀγοραία* and *Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφάλιος*^a in the temple at Sparta^{17 d}, and of Athena Soteira and Poseidon in the prehistoric shrine on Mount Boreion near Asea in Arcadia^{17 e}, is obviously not based on natural identity or affinity of character; and in the monuments to be noticed later which bring Poseidon and Athena together, or which represent the latter with some badge that alludes to the water, no recondite physical reference need be sought; these representations may simply allude to the fact that Athena was sometimes called Tritogeneia, that she was sometimes worshipped in the islands and by maritime peoples, and that her temple stood sometimes on the coast, or that her worship occasionally displaced or was reconciled with the cult of the sea-divinities.

If there had been any general sense of a natural affinity between Athena and Poseidon, it would have been strange that neither in the temple nor the precincts of the temple of the sea-god at Corinth, the most famed place of his worship

^a Mentioned by Pausanias among other temples held in common at Sparta by divinities who had no close natural affinity one with the other. Such common temple-holdings may often be explained by a merely local coincidence of

worship or by the dedication of a deity's statue for some special occasion in the temple of another, and have too often been used to prove this or that physical theory about the origin of Greek divinities.

in Greece, where common reverence was paid to so many divinities of Poseidon's circle, is there any mention of Athena under any name^a.

Other cult-names, found in different centres of her worship, that have been supposed to have had originally a physical sense, are Ἀλέα, Ἐλλωτίς, Ὀφθαλμίτις, and Ὀγγα. The worship of Athena Alea was in high repute in Arcadia¹⁸; her temple at Tegea was built and embellished with sculpture by Scopas, and remains of great worth have in recent years been discovered there. We hear of a monument erected to her near Amyclae, and of her shrines at Mantinea and Alea; and Pausanias gives many instances of the respect paid to her asylum.

The usual explanation of the word is that it means mild warmth, as ἀλέα is used for a sunny corridor, and that it was derived from a root that is found in ἔλλη; but this doubtful derivation would only have weight if we found anything in the rites or legends of Athene Ἀλέα that corresponded to this conception. As regards the rites, we know nothing except that she was served by a boy-priest, and that games called Ἀλεαῖα were held in her honour. But the legend of Auge Heracles and Telephos is connected partly with Athena Alea, and is supposed by Welcker and Preller to contain some allusion to the powers of light. This physical interpretation, however, is in the highest degree doubtful and confused, and as usual is discovered by etymological speculation on names; and the only connexion between Athena and this Arcadian legend of the birth, exposure, and migration of Telephos is the fact that Auge was her priestess and incurred her wrath by bearing a son in her temple. Now, granting that possibly some forgotten solar or astral meaning lies hidden in the legend, we can easily see how Athena could be brought into the myth about these personages without having any part in this physical symbolism. Telephos, whatever his original function may have been, came to be regarded at an early time as a national hero, the leader of an Arcadian migration: it was necessary then that he should be patronized in some

^a Vide Paus. 2. chs. 1 and 2.

way by one of the great goddesses of Arcadia, and so he was born in the temple of Athena Alea. At any rate, it is quite clear that the Arcadians in historical times did not consciously associate her with divinities of the sun or the moon or stars. In her own temple, which Pausanias describes, they grouped her with Asclepios and Hygieia, whose statues, carved by Scopas, stood close by the temple-image^{13 c}. Among all the passages in Pausanias and other writers that refer to her this is the only one that gives us any clue as to the character of Athena Alea; for it is clear that the goddess is regarded as having some relation with the divinities of health, and it may be that the title expressed this idea^a. From the same point of view we may with some probability explain her relations with Auge; it may well be that the latter was more than a mere daughter of the ancient royal house at Tegea, and was in fact an aboriginal goddess of Arcadia, connected possibly with Artemis. But why, because the word means in some sense 'light,' was she necessarily the moon? It is true that she was put into a boat by a ruthless parent and sent over the sea, and perhaps savages living near the sea have imagined that something like this happens to the moon. But if a moon-goddess, why was Auge identified with a goddess of child-birth, and why did her most ancient idol possess the form of a kneeling woman supposed to be in the act of bringing-forth, so that the Tegeatae named Eileithyia *Αὔγη ἐν γόνασι*^b? Very uncouth statues have been found a few years ago of this kneeling divinity^c, and if one such image was at any early period dedicated in the temple of Athena, this dedication, and the form of the image, and the desire to affiliate Telephos to some ancient goddess of the land, may have given rise to the aetiological myth of Auge bearing Telephos in the temple of Athena^d. And

^a Or 'Αλέα may have no characteristic sense at all: Aleos was an aboriginal hero of this locality, and Athene may have taken his name in order to adopt him and his children; vide Paus. 8. 4.

^b Paus. 8. 48, 5.

^c Vide Eileithyia, p. 614, note b.

^d The myth in its further course may also be aetiological: the Arcadian migration bears the worship of Auge across the sea to Mysia, and the myth tries to account for Auge traversing the sea. Vide Aphrodite-chapter, p. 638, note a.

the goddess of child-birth would naturally be regarded as a ministrant of Athena Alea interpreted as Athena Ὑγία. For some interpreters of Greek religion, a goddess of child-birth is inevitably also a moon-goddess. But in the case of Auge, a cautious person might abide by the lower and terrestrial sense, which has the advantage of being vouched for by some ancient authority. At least we are safe in saying that Athena Alea, so far as she is known to us, reveals none of the traits of a goddess of light.

Are these found in her worship as Ἐλλωπίς at Corinth, where under this name she was honoured with a torch-race^{20a b}? It has been thought by Welcker^a to belong to the same root as *Eίλενία*, or *Eίληνία*, a name attached to Athena at Metapontum in a worship connected by legend with Epeios or Philoctetes. The cult of Hellotis appears to have existed also at Marathon, and we might think that the epithet was here derived from the marshes^b. Another explanation connects these cult-names with the root of *σέλας* and *εἶλη*, denoting warmth and light, as we hear of torches in the ritual of Athena Hellotis. The explanations given by the scholiast on Pindar^{20a} are instructive. He tells us that the games Ἐλλώτια were held at Corinth in honour of Athena Hellotis, and that a torch-race formed part of them; for when the Dorians took Corinth, a maiden named Hellotis took refuge in Athena's temple; the conquerors set fire to it and she perished in the flames; the angry goddess sent a pestilence and demanded a new temple and propitiation. Hence originated the temple and games to Athena Hellotis. We have here the common process of a myth being fashioned to explain a name or rite. The scholiast suggests the alternative explanation that the worship came from the marshes of Marathon. Others referred it to the legend that Bellerophon captured (ἐλεῖν) Pegasus near this temple at Corinth.

The name *Eίλενία* is no less mysterious²¹. It appears in the present text of Aristotle in the form of Ἐλληνία, a very intelligible epithet of the Hellenic goddess; but this must be due to a change made by a later copyist who found the word

^a Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, I. p. 307.

^b Cf. Ἀφροδίτη ἐν ἔλοις.

unintelligible as Aristotle wrote it, for Aristotle's own explanation proves that he wrote *Είλευνία* or *Ελληνηία*, since he derives it from *εἴλειν* or *εἰλείσθαι* in the sense of being cooped up in a place, and he tells a story about Epeios being kept in Metapontum against his will and founding the temple. The same explanation of *Είλευνία* and much the same legend are given by the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, quoting from Lycophron, except that Philoctetes is the founder in this version.

One thing that is made quite clear from all this is that the Greeks themselves were quite ignorant of the meaning of these words: so that it cannot help us to answer in the affirmative the more important question whether in any historic period of Greek religion Athena was regarded as a light-divinity. Nor can it much increase our belief that she had originally something to do with the celestial lights. For even if the derivation from *σέλας* were sure, the words may refer to the fire kept burning in her temple, or to the use of fire in the handicrafts. The temple of *Είλευνία* at Metapontum seems to have been consecrated to the goddess of the arts, the legend recording that Epeios, the builder of the Trojan horse, raised it to propitiate Athena when she demanded from him the implements of his work. The use and attribute of fire in some way connects her with her fellow-craftsman Hephaestus; to find for it any non-terrestrial sense, we must travel beyond the limits of historic Greek religion. The most important of the torch-races at Athens were those run in honour of Prometheus Hephaestus and Athena, the divinities of the arts being honoured thus in the same fashion. It is safest, then, to consider that the fire of Athena refers usually to her arts or to her ritual^a. Or Athena might possibly have acquired this name *Ἐλλωρίς* by taking over the ritual of some sun-worship indigenous in Corinth; and thus the name, even if we were convinced that it designated the goddess of light

^a Note the passage in Aristides (Dind. 1, p. 50): *καὶ μὴν καὶ ἔμπυρὸς γε ἅμα Ἄθηνᾴ καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ γενόμενος (Διώνυσος)*. The offerings to Athena were usually *ἔμπυρα*, as the legend about the

Rhodians in Pindar shows: cf. Plutarch *Quaest. Graec.* 3, the priestess of Athena called *ὑπεκκανστρία*, *ὅτι ποιεῖται τινὰς θυσίας καὶ ἱερουργίας ἀποτροπαίους*.

and heat, need not have arisen from anything proper to the character of the goddess. But it is quite possibly non-Hellenic. Athenaeus and the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* connect the name and the feast with Europa, and the latter writer suggests that a Phoenician name ἔλλοτία, signifying maiden, is the source of the word; and there seems some force in Baethgen's theory^a that Athena Ἐλλωτίς represents the Syro-Arabian goddess Allat, the Phoenician Elloti, who is elsewhere identified with Athena. Non-Hellenic elements in the early religion of Corinth have already been noted; possibly the story of the maiden burnt alive in the temple preserves a vague reminiscence of human sacrifice by fire in the worship of Athena Hellotis, a rite derivable from Moloch-worship.

The title Ἀμαρία, which was once attached to Athena in Achaea, may have been derived from the association of her worship with Zeus Ἀμάριος, and need not in the first instance have been applied to her as a goddess of the bright sky. Even as an appellative of Zeus the term seems to have lost its physical sense at a comparatively early period^b.

Other arguments for interpreting Athena as originally a goddess of the light, or of the moon, are slender enough. The curious view attributed to Aristotle, that she was a personal form of the moon, appears also in a passage, that is scarcely meant to be taken seriously, in Plutarch's *περὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς Σελήνης*^c. This only illustrates what any philosopher might possibly say, and uncritical physical explanations of the personages of the Greek religion were common enough among the Stoics. According to Suidas the same view was held by the historian Istrus¹⁶ⁿ on the ground of some connexion between Athena and the Attic month, *Τριτογένεια* being connected with the third day of the month, and with the three phases of the moon; but no serious argument could be derived from such philology.

Of still less value for the purpose of this theory are the arguments drawn from the worship of Athena Ὀξυδερκής at

^a *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 59.

^b Vide Zeus²⁷, p. 43.

^c P. 938 *Ἐλλωτίς Ἀθηναίων λεγομένην καὶ οὖσαν*.

Argos and Ὀφθαλμίτις at Sparta, epithets referring to the 'keen-eyed' goddess^{23, 24}. The legends about these cults show no trace of any belief that the 'eye' was the eye of the sun or moon. The piercing brightness of the eye is part of the purely human conception of the goddess; and has nothing more to do with celestial phenomena than has the languishing eye of Aphrodite. And it is probable that Ὀφθαλμίτις and Ὀξυδερκής are cult-names derived from the appearance of the idols, which may have had the same γλαυκὰ ὄμματα as were seen in an archaic statue of Athena at Athens. The light-blue flashing eye seemed to Cicero to belong to the artistic ideal of Minerva²⁴. The explanatory legends would arise naturally from the cult-names themselves.

Actual evidence then of this lunar theory from ritual and worship does not exist^a; and the archaeological facts that Welcker quotes in support of it are quite trifling: for instance, a black-figured vase, on which Athena is depicted wearing a peplos embellished with stars, or certain coins of Athens showing the head of Pallas on the reverse and the owl with the crescent-moon. But the star pattern on the peplos is a mere mechanical device, and the crescent with the owl tells us nothing about the character of the Pallas on the other side of the coin, and may be merely a symbol of the bird of night. To say that it expresses the belief that Pallas was the moon-goddess^b is to contradict all the overwhelming negative evidence derived from the monuments and the literature of the fifth century.

It may be asked, why did this belief arise in certain later writers of antiquity, if there was nothing in native Greek literature cult or art to support it? It might naturally have arisen from the θεοκρασία of the last three centuries

^a Some conclusions have been drawn from the identity which two scholiasts assert (Schol. *Il.* 2. 722; Schol. *Soph. Phil.* 194, 1326) of Athena and Chryse the Lemnian goddess. But Chryse, in spite of her name, is not proved to have been a moon-divinity; and in any case she may have been a foreign goddess,

perhaps resembling Athena only in her warlike or maidenly character.

^b This view of Welcker's about the meaning of the crescent on Attic coins has not yet been wholly abandoned; M. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 121, maintains it still, but without any criticism.

B. C., that most unscientific tendency in Greek theory, and possibly from the confusion of Athena with Isis. Plutarch^a speaks of the temple of Athena in Sais, ἦν καὶ Ἰσιω νομίζουσιν, and the goddess at Sais seems to have been conspicuous for her wisdom and purity. Now Isis was sometimes regarded as the goddess of the lower world, but more often as a moon-goddess, and Plutarch explains her ἀγάλματα κερασφόρα in reference to the moon, and this lunar aspect of her is very obvious in the fervid descriptions of Apuleius^b.

It is interesting to read Eusebius' condemnation^c of the theorists of his day, who were always translating mythic personages into physical facts, βεβιασμένον καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ τῶν μύθων τὸν καλλωπισμὸν εἰσηγησάμενοι.

The stronghold of the physical theory has always been the two myths of the birth of Athena and the slaying of the Gorgon. The treatise of the Stoic Diogenes Babylonius *de Minerva*, in which according to Cicero he gave a physiological explanation of the birth, separating it from myth^d, has not come down to us. We need regret it only because it might have been interesting to see whether he was more successful in the 'physiology' of this matter than modern writers have been^e. What chiefly puzzles the unprepossessed inquirer, as Mr. Lang has observed, is the pliancy with which the myth of the birth can be adapted to suit many different interpretations. Whether Athena is regarded as the thunder or the lightning, the aether or the dawn, she can leap from the head of Zeus with equal appropriateness. But let any one take whichever he pleases of these various hypotheses and then work it out rigorously through point to point of the myth, and he will stumble on hopeless inconsistencies.

Now if, without any hypothesis to start with, one looks at the descriptions of the birth in the ancient poets and mytho-

^a *De Isid. et Osir.* § 9.

^b *Metam.* 11. 3.

^c *Praep. Ev.* 2. 16.

^d *De Nat. Deor.* 1. 15, 41.

^e The form of the myth given by Aristocles (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66),

who says that Zeus hid the unborn Athena in a cloud and then split it open with the lightning, is intended also no doubt to express a physical symbolism.

graphers, one is soon assured that they are not conscious of using language that could be taken to convey any allusion to a thunderstorm or to any other of the striking phenomena of nature. If we notice first the more embellished recitals of the great event, we find some fervid lines in the Homeric hymn to Athena: she is born from the holy head of Zeus 'holding the golden-gleaming weapons of war'; the gods stand astonished 'as she springs from the immortal head brandishing her keen spear'; heaven and earth are troubled, the sea rises up like a wall, and the sun stays in his course: until she lays aside from her shoulders the godlike weapons, and Zeus rejoices. The poet does not mention thunder, which would be a strange omission if he were trying to give a highly imaginative picture of a thunderstorm in personal metaphor. Of far higher poetry is Pindar's terse narrative, 'when through Hephaestus' arts and his bronze-bound axe, Athena sprang down the crest of her father's head, and shouted with an exceeding great cry, and heaven and mother earth shuddered before her' (*Ol.* 7. 38).

This is full of Pindaric splendour; but where is the remotest allusion to a phenomenon of nature, unless whenever a deity is said to cry aloud with an exceeding great cry, the speaker must be supposed to mean only that it thundered? Later on Pindar records the legend that at the goddess' birth Zeus snowed gold upon the Rhodians, who placed the miracle in their island and may well have explained their prosperity by saying that Zeus distributed largesse on the occasion. A lost poem of Stesichorus treated of this theme, as we are told by a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (l. 1310) that Stesichorus was the first who spoke of Athena springing in full panoply from the head of Zeus^a.

In Lucian's account the new-born goddess 'leaps and dances a war-dance and shakes her shield, and brandishes her spear, and is filled with ecstasy^b,' but there is no accompaniment of a storm.

Even Philostratos, in his turgid account of the picture of

^a The scholiast was either ignorant of the poem of 'Homer,' or considered it as a later work.

^b Θεῶν Διάλογοι, 8.

the 'Αθηνᾶς γοναί^a, fond as he is of finding remote allusions in his subjects and of searching after effective imagery, gives us hardly any meteorological phrases. He says, indeed, that her panoply was like the rainbow, but he fails to discover the secret. All the divinities are bidden to attend the birth, even the rivers and the nymphs, and they all stand astonished: Zeus pants with pleasure: even Hera shows no indignation.

In the dry account of Apollodorus there is clearly no symbolism intended.

I have dwelt at some length on this absence of any intentional second meaning in these accounts, because this is not made sufficiently clear in Preller and Roscher's comments. In the frequent artistic representations of the scene a physical symbolism is still less easy to discover: and if we raise a question about the imagination of the average Greek, there is not the faintest sign that he ever associated a thunder-storm when it occurred, or the blue sky when the weather cleared, with Athena or Athena's birth.

It may be admitted then that these poetical descriptions do not consciously express the physical fact to which they have been supposed to allude. Therefore, to make them serve Preller and Roscher's theory, we must regard their highly wrought phrases as mere survivals of an ancient poetical symbolic diction that did more clearly express it.

But what traces are there of any primitive account containing this symbolism and becoming stereotyped? Homer knew that Zeus was the sole parent, but he does not dwell on the occurrence. Hesiod gives a rather full narrative which will be noticed in detail directly, and which is altogether destitute of the imagery of the Pindaric ode or the Homeric hymn: there is no reference to the axe of Prometheus or of Hephaestos, none to the leaping forth of the goddess in full armour and with 'an exceeding loud cry.' In fact the symbolical language on which modern theorists partly rely is not found before the date of the Homeric hymn. Have we any right, then, to say that the phrases in that hymn or in the Pindaric ode are a survival of an older symbolism, or that

^a *Imagines*, 2. 27.

these poets were graced with a special revelation? It is more natural to say that, as the Greek imagination dwelt on the great epiphany of Athena, the poets tended to embellish it with the richest phraseology, to represent it as a great cosmic incident in which the powers of heaven and earth were concerned.

The form in which Hesiod^a presents the myth is the most instructive. He begins with the story of Zeus swallowing Metis, who is described merely as *πλείστα θεῶν εἰδύλιαν ἰδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*. In this Zeus was following the advice of Ouranos and Gaea, who warned him that Metis, who was then pregnant with Pallas, would bear after her a son who would be king over gods and men. Then Zeus, having persuaded *Μῆτις* 'by means of subtle words, deposited her in his maw.' It seems that Hesiod is alluding to some story that Zeus, by means of his subtle words, persuaded Metis to assume some form convenient for swallowing. According to a later legend she complacently took the shape of a fly. We hear nothing further of Metis, but Pallas Athena developed and sprang out through Zeus's head, no doubt in the older story without her weapons.

Now this very naïve, and, on the face of it, primitive recital, is the great stumbling-block in the way of such theories as Preller's and Roscher's; for no sane interpreter can find any phenomenon in the natural world corresponding to this drama of the primeval ways of Greek providence. And only a person ignorant of primitive folk-lore would maintain the Hesiodic version to be later than that of the Homeric hymn and the Pindaric ode. The swallowing story is a *jeu d'esprit* of very savage imagination^b, and comes from a period older than the Olympian religion. But it does not follow that in the very oldest form of this particular Greek story Zeus swallowed Metis without a motive, or for no other reason than because it was such an act as might be expected from a savage god. The clue to a possible explanation of the growth of this strange tale is given by the word

^a *Theog.* 886-900.

^b Vide Mr. Lang's chapter in *Custom and Myth* on Cronos, p. 53.

Metis. In what sense was this term used? As regards Hesiod himself, it is obvious that this name, personal as it is, connoted the abstract sense of thought, as he calls her 'the most knowing of the gods and men.' But Preller refuses to believe that this was the original meaning, partly because the primitive language does not deal with philosophic or abstract terms, and the physical and concrete precede the immaterial and abstract. This latter dictum may be true of the gradual human development from the beginning of time; but to apply it off-hand to the earliest period of Greek life, and to maintain that, by the time that the Greeks had become a distinct race, their ideas and speech were still confined to the range of the physical and concrete, is hazardous enough. The data are of course very scanty, but what there is should be allowed its weight. It is a mistake to suppose that in the mythology of primitive or savage people one must not expect any metaphysical or abstract idea underlying the personification; instances are rare, but are forthcoming. A very early pre-Homeric Greek was capable of imagining a being named 'Counsel' or 'Wisdom,' as he was of imagining a deity called Themis or Charis or Nemesis. The various stages in this process in Greek religion of personifying abstractions may be afterwards noted. For the present the undoubted antiquity of Themis is sufficient proof that to the pre-Homeric Greek *Μῆτις* might be a vague being whose name meant little more than Thought^a.

In the myths that mention her, it is as Thought or Counsel that she appears and operates; and Preller's belief that in the earliest story she is a purely physical being, a divinity of the water, so that after all it may be interpreted as a cloud-myth or sky-myth, is quite baseless. In the ancient records she is nowhere said to be an Oceanid; and we have no right to say that she is a being of this element because there is a sea-nymph called by the adjectival name *Ἰδυία*, 'the knowing one.' The fact that in this earliest and half-savage form of

^a Perhaps originally a Ge-Metis, as wisdom. In Hesiod it is Gaea who we hear of a Ge-Themis: the earth as helps Zeus against Cronos; in Apollodorus the fount of oracles is the source of dorus (I. 2, 1) it is Metis.

the legend Athena is the daughter of Metis is a sign that for these primitive mythopoeic Greeks their goddess was no mere personification of a part of nature, but was already invested with a moral and mental character, and especially with the non-physical quality of wisdom ; and of course her worship had long been in vogue, before it occurred to them to tell a myth about her origin. Again, her birth is assisted by Prometheus or Hephaestus ; if this detail belongs to the first period of the story we have another indication that Athena was already a goddess of the arts of life as she was associated with these divine artists. Lastly, the swallowing of Metis, inexplicable on any physical theory of the *'Αθηνᾶς γοναί* can be possibly explained from the other point of view. Suppose that Athena was already, before this story grew, the chief goddess of wisdom, as in the most primitive legends she always appears to be : and was also the maiden-goddess of war, averse to love : also the goddess that protected the father-right rather than the mother-right : and that then like all the other Olympians, whatever autonomy each one of them may have once enjoyed, she had to be brought into some relation with Zeus. Then upon these pre-existing ideas the Greek imagination may have worked thus : she has abundant Metis, and is the daughter of Metis ; she has all the powers of Zeus, and is the very daughter of him ; and she has no feminine weakness, and inclines rather to the father than the mother ; therefore she was not born in the ordinary way ; this might have been if Zeus swallowed her mother. Afterwards, as this swallowing-story gained ground, it received a new explanation, namely, that Zeus swallowed Metis to prevent her bearing any more children, as a son would else be born stronger than he. It seems very unlikely that this prophecy was part of the original story, leading up to the swallowing process ; for there would have been other and easier ways of cutting short the child-bearing career of Metis. But if the fact of Zeus swallowing her was already fixed in the imagination, then the story of the prophecy, which was floating about the paths of various myths, would do passably well as an explanation. It could be taken over from the Cronos-legend

where it was much more in place, and it was used again in the drama of Peleus and Thetis, where it was perhaps an epic addition to the Thessalian myth which only told of their national hero winning Thetis on his own account^a.

The above explanation is of course only given as a hypothesis: but it has the advantage over the other of being suggested by the most ancient form of the legend and the most ancient ideas concerning the goddess.

The other myth that is supposed to prove that Athena was originally some physical power is the Gorgon-myth. We need not raise the question whether the ordinary Greek, when telling this story, was aware of its hidden physical meaning, or had the moon or the thunder-cloud in his mind; for I believe no theorist has asserted or implied this. It is only asserted and generally believed that the story in prehistoric times had a meaning as a nature-myth. And Roscher maintains that the legend of the slaying of Medusa tells us of something which the primitive Greek believed to have happened to the thunder-cloud, and Preller thinks that it conveys to us some ancient opinion about the moon, though 'not the moon in its ordinary significance^b.' We may admit or reject any of those physical theories, without modifying our view concerning the original nature of Pallas Athena. For there is no proof at all derivable from the legend as given in the most ancient authorities that she is essentially and directly concerned with the slaying of Medusa. Hesiod is our first authority, and he does not mention Athena's presence or participation in the feat; nor did she appear in the representations of Medusa's death on the chest of Cypselus and the throne of Bathycles; though some of the earliest vases show her standing behind Perseus as he flies. Perseus is one of her favourite heroes, and she may be there merely to encourage him, as she is interested in all heroic achievements. In fact, the story of her interest in Medusa's death, and of her

^a Vide Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2. p. 46.

^b Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* 5. 676, also thought that the Gorgon meant the moon, and so did Plutarch. It is

possible that in some of the late picturesque representations of the Gorgon's head, the face is meant to have some faint resemblance to the face of the moon.

receiving the head from Perseus, is very probably an aetiological myth, invented to explain her wearing the Gorgoneum as a badge. Prof. Furtwängler, in his excellent article in Roscher's *Lexicon* on the types of the Gorgoneum in art, mentions the fact that this does not strictly appear in monuments earlier than the seventh century, and he doubts whether there is any earlier literary evidence than this that Athena wore it as a badge, or that it was ever used as an emblem of terror before the seventh century. For he regards the two passages in the *Iliad*, the one in Bk. 11. lines 35-36, where the Gorgoneum is mentioned on Agamemnon's shield^a, the other in 5. 741, where it is described as on the aegis of Athene, as interpolations though of comparatively early date. There are other reasons besides those which he urges against the claim of these passages to belong to the earliest form of the poem^b. Still the passage in the eleventh book must have been worked into the *Iliad* before the construction of the chest of Cypselus, for the artist who carved the figure of Agamemnon on this work appears to have been inspired by the Homeric description. In any case the view I have put forward about the reason of Athena's association with Medusa is tenable, for we have evidence that the Gorgoneum was used as an emblem of terror and was worn by Athena at least as early as the seventh century B. C. And we have no trace of any earlier legend or cult in which Athena was called Γοργοφόνος or Γοργώπις or brought into essential connexion with Medusa before she could have begun to wear her head as a badge on her breast.

That the Gorgon was originally merely the double of Athena herself, personifying the darker side of her character, is a view held by O. Jahn^c and recently maintained by Dr. Mayer^d. It rests on no other evidence than that Athena and Gorgo have some relations with Poseidon, and that Athena was once possibly called Γοργώ—namely, in a passage in the *Helene*^e of Euripides, 1315, of which the reading has been doubted.

^a Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις ἑστεφάνωτο, Δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμὸς τε Φόβος τε.

^b Vide Bergk, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 600.

^c *Annal. dell' Instit.* 1851, p. 171.

^d *Die Giganten*, p. 190.

^e ἃ δ' ἔρχει Γοργῶ πάνοπλος.

If the reading were proved sound, we could regard the word as an abbreviation of Γοργώπις ; or we could say that the badge has been put for the goddess, as in the fragment quoted above from the *Erechtheus*. Γοργώπις would be a natural epithet of the goddess who wore the Gorgon's head, which was originally given her by the early artists probably as an emblem of terror, because she was pre-eminently the war-goddess and the guardian of the city walls, on which similar emblems were sometimes hung. Thus we may explain the story that was told by the men of Tegea, a favourite city of the goddess, that Athena had given to their ancient king, the son of Aleos, a lock of Medusa's hair, whereby the city became impregnable^a.

The epithet Γοργοφόνος, which was never a cult-title, and the legend, recorded by Euripides^b and not known to be earlier than the fifth century, that Athena herself had slain the Gorgon, might naturally have arisen from the constant occurrence of the Gorgoneum on her breast, and from the patriotic pride of the Athenians who desired to exalt the fame of their goddess and ignored the Argive legend of Perseus. A vase-painting of the fifth century^c has perhaps been rightly interpreted by Heydemann as the pursuit of Medusa by Athena. Another legend which obviously arose from the mere artistic representation said that Athena's anger was kindled against Medusa because the goddess was jealous of her beauty ; but this story could not be earlier than the latter part of the fourth century, when Medusa's countenance had become invested with an ideal beauty, and was no longer an image of mere physical terror.

The aegis of Athena is another badge that has been supposed to allude to the thunder-cloud, but reasons have already been given against this supposition^d, and in favour of the belief that in the Athena-cult it was regarded merely as a battle-charm, and was a sacred object that was used for the purification of temples and as an aid to childbirth^e.

^a Roscher interprets this as a kind of 'thunder-magic': vide Paus. 8. 47, 5.

^b Vide Eur. *Ion* 987.

^c Lenormant, *Élite Cér.* 1. 75, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1868, p. 6.

^d Vide Zeus-chapter, pp. 97-100.

There appears, then, no evidence to convince us that Athena was ever worshipped merely as a nature-goddess, personifying or controlling a special part of the physical world. But it is also evident that at Athens she came into some contact with the earth-goddess, and acquired certain functions as a deity of vegetation. For in the first place, the epithets Ἄγλαυρος^a and Πάνδροσος were sometimes attached to her^{25 a, 26 a}. These are also the names of the daughters of Cecrops, who had been appointed to nurse the infant Erichthonios: the earth was his mother, and Ἄγλαυρος and Πάνδροσος are natural descriptive titles of the earth-goddess, who certainly enjoyed an ancient worship on the Acropolis of Athens. To reconcile her cult with Athena's, it may well have happened that the latter goddess was given two of her titles, and there is no reason to say that originally Pandrosos and Athena were the same. These daughters of Cecrops, whether originally nymphs of the earth or forms of the earth-goddess, are brought into religious connexion with Athena in more ways than one. The Arrhephori or Hersephori^b, the maidens trained in the service of Athena, and living near the temple of Athena Polias, ministered to her as well as to Pandrosos^{26 a}. And in the sacred rite which they performed for Athena, to whom they brought a mysterious offering by an underground passage from the temple of Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις^c, the fruits of the earth appear to have been in some way consecrated to her^{26 d}. In the shrine of Aglauros on the Acropolis, the Athenian ephebi took the oath of loyalty to the state, and thus the cult of Aglauros mingled with the city-cult of Athena Polias^d. And the curious ritualistic law mentioned

^a It is sometimes doubted whether the word is Ἄγλαυρος or Ἄγραυλος: both names could equally well refer to a goddess or nymph of vegetation; but there seems better authority for Ἄγλαυρος, as the inscriptions only give this form: vide *Corp. Ins. Gr.* 7716, 7718, but cf. Steph. Byz. Ἄγραυλῆ δῆμος τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος φυλῆς.

^b Miss Harrison's view expressed in the *Hellenic Journal* of 1891, p. 351,

that Herse is an unreal personage developed from the title of the Ἐρσηφόρος, is probable enough.

^c In *Mythology and Monuments of Athens* (Harrison and Verrall, pp. xxxiv, xxxv) it is suggested, for good reasons, that the sacred things which the maidens carried in the box were little images of the young of animals (ἔρση)—offerings to the earth-goddess to secure fertility.

^d Different forms of the oath or

by Harpocration^{26 b} illustrates once more the close connexion between Athena and the earth-goddess or the earth-nymph : 'if any one sacrifices an ox to Athena, it is necessary also to sacrifice a sheep to Pandora, and this sacrifice was called an ἐπίβοιον.' Pandora was a title of the earth-goddess ; but Bekker proposes the reading Πανδρόσφ for Πανδώρα, which is a probable emendation, for we have no other mention of Pandora in Athena's cult, and according to Aristophanes^{26 b} the sacrifice to Pandora would be the first rather than the second act in ritual. This double offering of oxen and sheep on the Acropolis is mentioned in the *Iliad*, and appears as part of the Panathenaic festival on the frieze of the Parthenon.

The bull and the cow, sheep, swine and goat are animals naturally offered to the agricultural goddess, and these were all sacrificed to Athena, the goat being usually tabooed but chosen as an exceptional victim for her annual sacrifice on the Acropolis¹¹⁷. The familiar serpent of Athena, occasionally identified with Erechtheus, may be supposed to have been a symbol of the ancient earth-goddess, whose worship was merged in that of Athena ; and we may support this view by the legend of the Κυχρείδης ὄφις, the serpent that was driven out of Salamis and entered the service of Demeter, the later form of Gaia^a.

These then are some of the reasons for supposing that the worship of Athena at a very early date absorbed many of the rites and ideas proper to the very ancient worship of Gaia in Attica^b; and this could happen without an original affinity of nature existing between the two goddesses but through

different parts of it are given by Pollux and by Plutarch^{25 c}. According to the former the formula was, 'I will not disgrace the arms entrusted me, I will not desert my comrade, I will defend the temples and holy things of the land alone and with others, I will obey the established ordinances. . . .' Plutarch's formula includes some curious words referring to the maintenance of agriculture, an oath appropriate enough in the worship of the earth-goddess.

^a Strabo, 393. Similarly, the Apolline

religion may have dispossessed a worship of the earth-snake at Delphi, where Gaia and Ge-Themis had reigned before Apollo, and religious atonement continued through later times to be made to the Python.

^b This is also the opinion forcibly expressed in Mommsen's *Heortologie*, pp. 5, 9, 10, and this is the least assailable part of his theory, which sometimes carries the physical interpretation of the Erechtheus-worship far beyond the evidence.

external historical causes. It is noticeable at the same time that none of the savage or cruel ritual commonly practised in primitive earth-worship to ensure fertility was ever associated with Athena. This agricultural character of hers is entirely at one with her civilizing function; according to Aristides^a it was she who taught men the use of the plough, and the rhetorician could have appealed to certain cults and cult-names to support his statement. He mentions the functionary called *βουζύγης*, 'the ox-yoker,' as belonging to the service on the Acropolis; and we are told by Aeschines that the priestess of Athena Polias was taken from the family of the Eteobutadae. According to a scholiast on Lycophron³², an Athena Boarmia, the yoker of oxen, was worshipped in Boeotia^b.

Lastly, the details given us about some of the ancient festivals at Athens, the *Πλυντήρια*, the *᾽Ωσχοφόρια*, and the religious rite of the *Προχαριστήρια*, afford many illustrations of the primitive agricultural life of Attica under the patronage of Athená. And we see how naturally her worship touches at many points with that of Demeter Persephone and Dionysos.

The *᾽Ωσχοφόρια*, about which we hear something from Athenaeus and Hesychius, appears to have been a ritual performed in the worship of Athena Sciras at Phaleron. 'Aristodemos tells us that at the feast of *Σκιρρά* there was a running-contest of youths at Athens: and they ran having in their hands a vine-spray with grapes, and the course was from the temple of Dionysos to that of Athena Sciras^c.' This is the statement of Athenaeus^{27 b 1}. According to Hesychius, the spot at Phaleron^d where the temple of Athena Sciras

^a Vol. i. p. 20 (Dindorf).

^b Cf. the epithet *Ταυροπόλος* attached to Athena³⁰.

^c Aristodemos appears to have confused the *Σκιρρά* with the *Oschophoria*; the latter could not have been part of the former festival, as they were held at different times of the year.

^d The temple at Phaleron may have been an offshoot of the temple and worship of Athena Sciras on Salamis^{27c}. Most probably the name refers to the

white chalk rock, and according to Strabo (393) the ancient name of Salamis was *Σκιράς*. These are the only two temples of Athena Sciras that can be proved to have existed. The supposed temple of Athena Sciras at Skiron on the sacred way to Eleusis has been shown by Prof. Robert, after a careful examination of the evidence, to be a fiction (*Athena Skiras und die Skirophorien*, Berlin). The best authorities are silent concerning it^{27a}, and it is only

stood was called the Oschophorium. That this rite in honour of Athena had a Dionysiac character may have been one reason that gave rise to the legend in Plutarch^a, who refers its institution to Theseus and Ariadne. Perhaps the epithet *Κισσαία*, by which Athena was known on the Acropolis of Epidauros²⁹, may also refer to some conjunction of Athene and Dionysos. The *προχαριστήρια*, if the records are correct, reveals this agricultural character of the goddess still more clearly. According to Suidas, 'at the end of winter, when the ear was beginning to grow, all the magistrates of Athens sacrificed to Athena, and the sacrifice was called *προχαριστήρια*: Lycurgus in his speech on the priestly office speaks of "the most ancient sacrifice commemorating the return of the goddess, and called *προχαριστήρια*²⁸.'" The *ἄνοδος τῆς θεοῦ* must refer to the return of Persephone, yet no doubt Suidas is right in connecting the sacrifice with Athena, for his statement is confirmed by the author in Bekker's *Anecdota*²⁸; Lycurgus only gives the occasion or season of the sacrifice to Athena, namely, 'the resurrection of Persephone,' that is, the sprouting of the corn.

During the feast of the Plynteria, the festival of Athena which has been already described, it was the custom to bear through the streets a string of figs, a ceremony called

mentioned by Pollux^{27 a 7} and by Eustathius (*Od.* 1397. 10), both drawing from the same source, probably Suetonius *περὶ παιδιῶν*; and it is mentioned by them as a resort of gamblers who played dice there. The statement is in itself incredible; Stephanus of Byzantium speaks only of the place called Skiros as a haunt of these bad characters, but does not mention any temple of Athena Sciras there; it is probable that Suetonius has confused the name of this place on the Eleusinian Way with the name of the temple at Phaleron. Prof. Robert further tries to show that there is no sufficient authority for connecting Athena Sciras directly with the Skirophoria or Skira festival at all: the scholiast on Aristophanes^{27 a 1}, who is the

only writer who explicitly connects her with it, admits that others regarded the Skirophoria as a festival of Demeter and Kore: his own opinion, and the more doubtful statement of Photius^{27 a 3}, weigh little against the authority of Lysimachides, whom Harpocration quotes^{27 a 2}, and who nowhere speaks of Athena Sciras in his account of this festival, but only of the priestess of Athena Polias who took part in the procession. The Skirophoria had certainly some connexion with Demeter and Persephone^{27 a 1}, 8, 11; and it appears that Athena Polias played her part in this as in other ceremonies connected with the divinities of vegetation.

^a *Theseus*, 23.

Ἥγητηρία²¹; and the cultivation of the fig-tree, elsewhere regarded as a gift of Demeter to Phytalos^a, appears to have been here attributed to the teaching of Athena.

But no art of cultivation is so closely bound up with the ancient Attic worship of Athena as the cultivation of the olive. No reason need be drawn from symbolism, such as Welcker attempts, or any other esoteric source to explain this; the produce of the olive-tree had an almost religious value for the men of Attica, and the physical side of Greek civilization much depended on it; also the wild olive grew on the Acropolis, the chief site of her worship. Therefore its cultivation was naturally considered as the boon of Athena to the people of the land, just as the other agricultural and civic arts of life were imputed to her. And the discovery of the olive furnishes a theme to one of the very few myths in Greek folklore that are really myths of creation; for Athena is supposed not only to have revealed the use of the olive to man, but to have created it³⁴, whether on the Acropolis or at Academia, or according to Euripides in Salamis, 'where Athena first revealed the spray of the grey-green olive, a divine crown and glory for bright Athens^b.' Outside Attica there are few places in Greece where the olive was so associated with the goddess^c, if we except those that may have borrowed the tradition from Athens.

So far the inquiry into the meaning of these feasts and ceremonies reveals the prehistoric life of the people of Attica, and exhibits Athena as the goddess to whom they offered sacrifice at the times of sowing harvest and vintage. And a strong conservative feeling attached to this side of her religion; so that the enemies of Themistocles were able to urge against his projects of maritime extension the time-honoured traditions of the worship of Pallas.

Of more importance to Greek civilization than these primitive ideas that were concerned with the physical wants of life was the political and civil character of Athena's cult. She is *par excellence* the political divinity; she alone shares

^a Paus. 1. 37, 2.

^b *Troades*, 798.

^c For instance at Sicyon, vide *Geogr. Register*.

with Zeus the function of Polieus as Athena Polias; and the morality expressed in her legends or cult-names, or in the religious utterances of poetry and prose, is always that of political or civil society. Nowhere else was this religion so interwoven with the city's life as at Athens, the very name and the growth of the city probably being due to the union of villages that worshipped Athena. Pausanias tells us that 'the whole city and the whole land was sacred to Athena, and that, whatever other worships were established in the demes, they all none the less held her in honour'³⁵; we have record of the cult in Academia, Colonus, Acharnae, Peiraeus, Sunium, Phlye, Pallene and Oropus, and no doubt it belonged to every district in Attica. Her most ancient statue was supposed to have fallen from heaven, and stood in her temple on the Acropolis 'that was formerly called the πόλις.' As the fire of Vesta was maintained at Rome, so the lamp was perpetually burning in the shrine of Athena Polias, as a symbol of the city's perpetual life. As Athena Ἀρχηγέτις she was the founder of the state and leader of colonies, to whom at certain times the cleruchs sent tokens of gratitude and worship^{35 i}. The same political sense attaches to the legends concerning her adoption of Erechtheus, the primeval ancestor of the race, who shared her shrine and worship on the Acropolis, and was supposed to be buried in her temple^{35 c, d}, and to the story of Theseus, who is at first the votary of new divinities, of Poseidon and Aphrodite, and attacks the Pallantids, the men of Pallas, but who in later myth becomes the founder of a new Athens and the friend of Athena.

The hope of Athens was the hope of Pallas; and in the *Supplikes* of Euripides Theseus exhorts his men in the battle against the Theban Sparti with the words, 'Sons, if ye stay not this stubborn spear of the earth-born men, the cause of Pallas is lost^a.' When the citizens deserted their city on the approach of the Persians, it was committed by the decree of Themistocles to Athena, 'the guardian of Athens'^{35 e}.

The foundation of the civic upon the primitive agricultural community was the great event commemorated by the greatest

^a *Suppl.* 711.

of the Athenian festivals, the Panathenaea; and the *Συνοικία* attributed by Thucydides and other writers to Theseus^a, the feast of civic union at which a bloodless sacrifice was offered to Peace, was perhaps a ceremony that initiated this, as it certainly preceded it³⁷. The earliest names of the mythic Attic community, Erechtheus and Theseus, were connected with the state festival of Athena, Pausanias ascribing to Theseus both its name and its political significance. And this significance was enlarged when Athens became an imperial city, when the Metics were obliged to perform certain menial services at the Panathenaea, and the allied cities were expected to send offerings^{36 g, h}. In the time of Pericles, when to the older athletic and equestrian contests had been added Homeric recitations and musical competitions, the festival stood high above all others as the full and perfect ritual consecrated to the civic goddess of war and the arts, and as the expression of the imperial power and artistic pre-eminence of Athens. Perhaps in its earliest institution it may have been also a thanksgiving festival for the crops, for it was celebrated at the close of the Attic year after the gathering-in of the harvest; the whole ceremony lasted four days or more, and the chief day was the twenty-eighth of Hekatombaeon^b. But in its later form there is scarcely any more allusion to this^c than the custom of the old men carrying evergreen olive-branches in the procession, and of awarding an amphora of olive oil as a prize in the contests^{36 k}. We may here discern a reference to the sacred gift of Pallas. But we cannot interpret the whole festival as originally a funeral solemnity held in honour of the dead

^a A. Mommsen is inclined to date the institution of the *συνοικία* or *συνοικέσια* after the time of Peisistratus; but Thucydides seems to assign its origin to a more remote time.

^b The date of the *μεγάλα Παναθήγεια*, which took place every four years, is fixed; and Mommsen (*Heortologie*, p. 129) gives convincing reasons for believing that the smaller yearly Panathenaea took place on the same day. No doubt the original festival was yearly, and the *μεγάλα*, of which the institution

is attributed with some probability to Peisistratus, was only an extension of the yearly one on a more magnificent scale^{36 e}.

^c The scholiast on Clemens^{36 i} declares that the *ειρεσιώνη*, a cluster of fruits and cakes, &c., fastened together with woollen fillets and hung up before the doors of the house, was offered to Athena Polias at the Panathenaea; but this is contrary to what the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Plut.* 1055) tells us.

corn-god Erichthonios, which, according to Mommsen, was its earliest form and meaning. This view rests on the single fact that, according to Lucian, the men were not allowed to wear garments of dyed colour during all or part of the festal period ^{a 36 e}. In fact, Mommsen appears to exaggerate greatly the reference to Erichthonios in the ritual; none of the rites are known to have referred to him, and it is useless to quote the later mythographers, who mention him as the founder of the Panathenaea or of one of the ἀγῶνες ^{36 b, v}. The passage in Lucian does not prove that the citizens wore mourning-garments; and if we knew that they did we should be only able to guess at the cause. The interpolated passage in the *Iliad* ^{35 c} would be of more importance for Mommsen's theory, if we were sure of the interpretation ^b. The two paradoxical views of this writer, that the festival commemorated in some way the death of Erichthonios, and in some way the birth of Athena, are both equally remote from the facts. But whatever its agricultural character may have been, it lost this at a remote date, and it must have always had an important political aspect. The countrymen from Attica gathered together to the sacred hill of Pallas, bringing with them the peplos to lay on the statue of Pallas ^c; for we may believe that this rite, which seems to have little to do with a harvest festival, goes back to the earliest times. The Trojan women in the *Iliad* bring the same offering to their Pallas. In the earliest form of the Panathenaea, the goddess was therefore already conceived as the patroness of the weaving arts. The weaving and embroidering the robe was the function of the ἐργαστίνας, among whom were the Ἀρρηφόροι ^{36 n, 100 h}; the function was of public importance, and skilful workwomen sometimes received a public vote of thanks ^d. Doubtless they had slaves to work under them, as the captive Trojan women in the *Hecuba* look forward to embroidering the scenes of the

^a *Heortologie*, p. 37.

^b Vide note on ritual, p. 320.

^c It is doubtful whether the πέπλος in later times was woven every year and was used for the μικρά as well as the μεγάλα Παιαθήνια, or every four years

for the latter only; the authorities are at variance about this ^{36 m}, but it is more probable that it was always a yearly custom.

^d Vide *Deltion Archaiologikon*, 1889, p. 15.

Gigantomachy on the robe of Pallas in Athens. When the city had lost its freedom and its self-respect^a, it sank so low as to weave on the peplos the figures of its Macedonian masters; and we hear of a decree being passed that the forms of Demetrius and Antigonus should be embroidered in the company of the deities^{36 n}.

Both the smaller and greater Panathenaea were essentially religious ceremonies, of which the central acts, performed doubtless every year^{36 z}, were the solemn procession to the Acropolis and the sacrifice offered there. The *πομπή* began at sunrise after a festal night and was ordered by the hieropoei, who appear to have been charged with all that belonged to the annual celebration, while what was peculiar to the quinquennial was arranged by the athlothetae^{36 d, z}. The whole people took part, marshalled by their demarchs and, at least in the earlier period, marching with shield and spear^{36 d}. The procession appears to have set forth from the Ceramicus to Eleusis and, returning thence, to have followed a course which is difficult precisely to determine^b, till it reached the Acropolis. The peplos was spread like a sail above a car that afterwards was constructed in the form of a ship, an innovation which was introduced perhaps in the fifth century in the time of the Athenian maritime supremacy^c; the image which it was designed to clothe was the ancient statue of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum. Cows were sacrificed on the great altar of Athena on the Acropolis, and special sacrifices were offered to Athena Hygieia and Athena Nike^{36 z}; at the same time prayers were proffered in behalf of the whole people, including the Plataeans out of gratitude for their aid at Marathon. Possibly also a simultaneous sacrifice was performed on the Areopagus. The flesh of the victims was then divided among the officials and the rest of the people.

^a The passage in Arist. *Eq.* 566, *ἄξιοι τοῦ πέπλου*, has been wrongly interpreted as meaning that this practice prevailed even in the days of the first Athenian empire.

^b Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 190, vide ^{36 n}.

^c It is first mentioned by Strattis, a comic poet of the latter part of the fifth century^{36 n}.

These were the chief religious acts in the ritual. But many of the agones possessed a religious character, or were connected by mythology with the cult of Athena. The pyrrhic dance, performed in her honour, was supposed to have been her own invention^{36 a}. The contest of the apobatae, the armed hoplites who sprang from the chariots, an athletic practice peculiar to the Athenians and Boeotians, was said to have been instituted by Erichthonios^{36 v}. The lampadephoria was performed, probably on the evening before the procession, by competing chains of runners, each passing the torch down its line^a, and was consecrated to Athena as one of the divinities of the arts for which fire was used^{36 m}. The *κυκλικὸν χορὸν*, the singing choruses, the competitions on the lyre and flute, were introduced by Pericles^{36 r}; the rhapsodical recitals of Homer were a fruitful innovation ascribed by Plato to Hipparchus^{36 s}.

The recognition which we find in the Panathenaea of the goddess as the ideal incarnation of the many-sided Athenian life finds expression also in many striking passages of the poets. 'Such a watcher,' Solon says, 'holds her hands above our city, Pallas Athena, the great-souled daughter of a mighty sire.' And in Aristophanes and Euripides we have the fullest lyrical utterance of this idea. 'O Pallas, the holder of our city, guardian of a land most holy of all lands, and surpassing all in war and poesy and power,' sing the chorus in the *Knights*; and a lyrical passage in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides, in a still higher key, has an unmistakable allusion to the Panathenaea. 'O lady, thine is the basement of our land, thine is the city, whereof thou art mother, mistress, and guardian; for rich service of sacrifice is ever fulfilled for thee, nor do the last days of the waning month pass by in silence, nor are the songs of the young and the choral strains unheard, and on the windy hill-top the maidens' voices in holy

^a Pausanias describes it differently as a race between single runners; it had probably come to be this by his time, when the competition between companies, which all the older authori-

ties and certain inscriptions prove to have been the rule in the earlier period, had been abandoned, perhaps because of its expense.

acclaim ring out while the feet beat the earth in the nightly dance ^{35 g}’

Public resolutions of great import, the cementing of an alliance or the declaration of a war, were often accompanied by prayers or vows to Athena Polias. The ephebi sacrificed to her at the conclusion of their military service; slabs incised with state decrees were set up near her temple, and fines incurred by certain public offenders were paid over to her. And the Athena of the Parthenon, who was also Athena Polias, was theoretically the guardian of the public treasury, from which sums were paid to support the other cults of the state and the naval and military administration ^{35 f}.

In many other Greek states besides Athens, the title of Πολιάς or Πολιοῦχος was attached to her, and her cult was often combined with that of Zeus Polieus. The goddess ‘of the brazen house’ at Sparta was styled according to Pausanias ^a the ‘holder of the city,’ and perhaps was worshipped also under the title of Ἀρχηγέτις as its founder ³⁹; and we hear of the Athena Polias of Megalopolis, of Troezen, and of Tegea, the city which she was supposed to have rendered impregnable by the gift of a lock from Medusa’s hair; at Daulis enfranchised slaves were consecrated to her; her city-cult existed at Phalanna in Perrhaebia, in Cos, Amorgos, and Ios; the island of Rhodes acknowledged her as Polias and gave her cult-titles derived from the names of its cities, uniting her with Zeus Polieus. The same political importance attached to her worship in Crete, and the treaty of alliance between Hierapytna and Lyctos was sworn in the name of Athena Polias. Many cities of Asia Minor possessed this cult, and it was in special repute at Pergamum and Ilium, where a yearly Panathenaic festival and games were held in her honour. We find it also at Heraclea in Magna Graecia ³⁸.

Besides the civic worship of Polias there are others that

^a The inscription found at Amyclae of the Roman period, mentioning the priest who performed the religious services of Poseidon Asphalios, Athena Chalcioccos, and Athena Πολιῶχος ^{38 b},

suggests that the two latter titles were theoretically distinct, but Pausanias may be right on the whole in maintaining that the two worships were identical.

were consecrated to her as the guardian of the land or of the people's union. At Anaphe we find in an inscription mention of the worship of Zeus Patrios and Athena Patria, and the cult-names 'Ομολώϊος and 'Ομολώϊς, attached to Zeus and Athena in Boeotia, may have signified the divinities of public concord ⁴². In the precincts of the temple of Artemis Laphria, the great goddess of Patrae, there was a shrine of Athena Παναχάϊς, a title which probably alludes to the Achaean league ⁴¹, as did her title 'Αμαρία in Achaea, which she derived from Zeus, and which, originally possessing a physical meaning, was changed into the form 'Ομαρία, and was given a political sense designating the goddess of the confederacy ^a. The functions of the city-goddess were probably much the same in these places as in Athens; she inspired counsel, and her cult was the pledge of the continuity and security of the state, her temple the storehouse for the state archives. In certain localities other worships might come to possess the same political character; but it belonged to Zeus and Athena alone by the essential right of their nature.

Two Boeotian cults belonging to this class remain to be considered. At Thebes Athena was honoured as a divinity of the city under the name 'Αθηνά 'Ογγα or 'Ογκα ^b, the meaning of which word is unknown. During the attack of the Argives, the chorus pray to her as 'Onka, holy queen, whose home is so near our gates.' We learn from Pausanias that there was no temple erected for this cult, but an altar and an image in the open ⁶⁰; and her worship there was not according to the legend indigenous, but introduced by Cadmos, who slays the serpent and then does penance for the slaughter, as Apollo did for the Python's. We have probably here, as in so many other legends, an allusion to a conflict of two worships, an older worship of the earth with that of Athena; for the serpent, although spoken of as the child of Ares, is a symbol of the earth ^c.

^a Vide Zeus-cults, p. 43.

^b The name may contain the same root as the Boeotian town 'Ορχηστός, where a Poseidon-cult existed; but at

Thebes no association with Poseidon can be discovered (vide Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 1891, p. 235).

^c One might fairly conjecture that the

Of the political significance of the cult of Athena Itonia, whose temple at Coronea was the meeting-place of the Panboeotian confederacy and festival, something has already been said; and we have some ancient evidence of the special character of this worship⁶¹. It associated Athena in some mystic manner with the god of the lower world who is called Hades by Strabo, but in Pausanias, who must be speaking of the same cult, is named Zeus. If this association is not due to some local accident, it may be that Athena Itonia had at Coronea something of the character which in her primitive worship she had at Athens, and that she was a goddess who fostered the growths of the earth and who therefore had some affinity to the chthonian deities. Also we may conclude from a fragment of Bacchylides that Athena Itonia was not only a war-goddess, but a goddess of the arts of peace, especially poetry. The poet, who is preparing for the musical contest of the Itonia, exclaims, 'It is not a task for sitting still or tarrying, but we must fare to the well-carved temple of Itonia of the golden aegis and show forth some delicate device of song.' We hear of her festival at Crannon, and her worship was indigenous in Thessaly, whence it probably travelled to Boeotia, and where she was the chief divinity of war; it was in her temple between Pherae and Larissa that the shields were hung which were won from the Gauls in the last victory of Greece over barbarism. Finally the prevalence of the cult of Itonia is proved by its adoption at Athens and Amorgos^{61 c, d}.

This survey of the political religion of Hellas explains why Plato consecrates the Acropolis of his ideal state to Athena Hestia and Zeus^a, and why in Aristides' summary of her character it is said that cities are the gifts of Athena⁴⁹. The Palladia that guard the cities' heights are among the oldest idols of which Greek tradition tells; and her title 'Ακρία⁵⁰ refers to her temples on the Acropoleis^b. Among the many

serpent was here an ancient totem; the four survivors of the Sparti are named after the serpent; and Cadmos and Harmonia are changed to serpents.

^b As she was not by nature a goddess of the wilds, it is rare to find the lonely mountain-top consecrated to her, as it often was to Zeus.

^a *Laws*, 745 B.

instances recorded of these one of the most prominent was the temple near Elatea of Athena *Κραναία*⁵⁸, the goddess worshipped on 'the head' of the hill; her temple-statue was carved by the sons of Polycles, and represented her in warlike pose and guise, her shield being carved in imitation of that of Athena Parthenos in Athens. A peculiar trait in her ritual is that she was served by boy-priests. We have two inscriptions referring to this cult, the one containing the decree of an alliance between Elatea and Tenos which was to be preserved in her temple.

As a city-goddess she is also interested in the life and growth of the family; the Athenian bride was led up to the Acropolis and consecrated to her⁶³. Hence comes her name *'Απατουρία* or *Φρατρία*, containing a reference to the feast of *ἀπατούρια* solemnized by the *φρατρία*i of the Ionic tribes^{64e}. At Athens, indeed, it would appear that Zeus stood in a still closer relation to the 'gentes' than did Athena; but at Troezen Athena seems to have been specially regarded as the goddess who protected the clan and who gave offspring in marriage; for this must be the meaning of the custom recorded by Pausanias^{64b} that maidens on the eve of marriage dedicated their girdle to Athena *'Απατουρία*. The name was misunderstood and connected with *ἀπάτη*, and a legend invented that told how Athena had deceived Aithra; just as a similar story based on the same misunderstanding was told to explain the worship of Aphrodite *'Απάτουρος* at Phanagoria^a. The Athenian rite which we may compare with the Troezenian custom was the visitation of the priestess of Athena bearing the aegis to houses of newly married people. The cult of Athena Phratria with Zeus *Φάτριος* is recorded also at Cos^{64d}.

Another title which presents Athena in the same light, and by which she appears as one of the *θεοὶ κουροτρόφοι*, is *'Αθηνᾶ Μήτηρ*⁶⁶, the strange name by which she was honoured in Elis. When the land was barren of men according to the story, the women prayed to Athena, and, owing to the goddess's favour, their marriages became most prolific. The title gives no hold

^a Strabo, 495.

to a theory which some have maintained, that the goddess's maidenly character was a later development, and that in certain myths, such as Aithra's union with Poseidon, Auge's with Heracles, and in the story of Erichthonios' birth, we have an ancient view of Athena as a goddess-mother. But the theory breaks down at every point. There is no proof that Aithra and Auge are doubles of Athena, unless we can prove that they are names for the Aether and that Athena is the Aether-goddess; the legend about the birth of Erichthonios shows clearly that the primitive conception of Athena's maidenhood was too strong to allow of the Athenian imagination having its way completely in its desire to affiliate the mythical parent of the Ἐρεχθεΐδαι to their country's goddess; and the story about Aithra is a later aetiological story. Although Athena may have received no public worship under the name of Parthenos^a, yet the dogma that maidenhood was essential to her nature was rooted in myth and popular feeling; this prevailed, not so much because the goddess, like Artemis, embodied the ideal of chastity, but probably because of her masculine and warlike temperament, which kept her free from the ties and weakness of womanhood. Athena Μήτηρ need mean little more than Athena the nurse or fosterer of children, just as the nurses who reared the infant Zeus in Crete were worshipped under the name of Μήτρες^b. She protects children because of her interest in the state, but she is not directly concerned with assisting at child-birth, and the epithet Λοχία is only metaphorically applied to her by Aristides in connexion with the probably late myth that she provided for the safe delivery of Leto⁶⁷. A passage in Hippocrates that mentions Athena Κτησία by the side of Zeus Κτήσιος may refer to some actual cult, in which she was worshipped as the guardian of the family property, taking her name from Zeus⁶⁵.

Her political character is further shown in her power of

^a An inscription records a private dedication to Athena Parthenos in the fifth century; and ἡ Παρθένος is her title in one state decree about 420 B.C.⁶⁹

The Parthenos worshipped at Halicarnassus and elsewhere in Asia Minor is not Athena.

^b Diod. Sic. 4. 79.

inspiring counsel and in her title *Βουλαία*⁷². In the *ἱερόν* of the council-chamber at Athens men prayed to her and to Zeus *Βουλαῖος*, and the terms *Ἀμβούλιος*⁷³ and *Ἀμβουλία*, which were applied to the two divinities at Sparta, must have designated the deities of wise deliberation. At the latter city they were known and worshipped also as *Ἀγοραῖοι*⁷⁴, a word that refers probably to their shrines in the Agora, and indirectly to the presidency of the law-courts and the power of persuasion. The aspect of Athena as the counsellor is vividly presented in the *Odyssey* and in Greek mythology generally.

Her worship is also of some importance for the development of legal ideas, at least in regard to the law of homicide. As Zeus *Προστρόπιος* and *Μειλίχιος* seems to have been specially concerned with the moral ideas about the shedding of kindred blood, so Athena protected the involuntary or righteous homicide from the blood-feud of the kinsmen and from the Eumenides. The whole trial of Orestes is an illustration of this: the goddess institutes the court and the humane rule that if the votes were equal the accused was acquitted, and abolishes the old retributive principle⁷⁴. The constitution and the legend about the foundation of the court called *τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ* at Athens illustrate the same amelioration in the law of homicide, which again is indirectly connected with Athena. It was instituted to try cases of involuntary bloodshedding; and Pausanias gives us the legend that explains why this court was put under the patronage of Pallas. Diomed, who was bringing home the Palladium from Troy, landed by night and ignorantly on Attic territory. Demiphon attacked them, not knowing who they were, slew some of them and captured the Palladium; and on his return he happened to trample to death one of the Athenians under his horse: he was then put on trial for the deaths of the Athenian and the Argives, and the court was said to have been first composed of fifty Athenians and as many Argives.

The legend, of which a slightly different version has been preserved by Harpocration, has evidently been invented to explain the nature of the court at Athens and the presence

in it of the image of Pallas. As Zeus was ultimately the source of justice and right, his worship also comes to be connected with this Palladium-court, and we hear of a worship of Zeus ὁ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου^{74a}. Once a year the statue, which was certainly a wooden ξόανον, was taken down to Phaleron and dipped in the sea, a rite which probably had in the later period the moral intention of purifying the image from the miasma of the court of homicide. Müller^a collects many legends concerning these Palladia, that speak of outrage and wrong associated with them, and that attribute the origin of the Trojan image to the blind infatuation of the gods or of Athena herself^b, who slew her playfellow Pallas and erected an image of her. The conclusion might seem to be that certain dark and cruel conceptions about the goddess herself attached to her most ancient idol. It is strange then that it should have given its name to a law-court of more advanced equity. Those legends in fact do not lead to that conclusion; they are mostly aetiological: invented, for instance, to explain why the image had fallen from heaven upon the hill of Ate, why it was the image of Athena and yet called after Pallas, why it had closed eyes, why it was set up in a court to try involuntary homicide; the stories of Cassandra and the suppliants only prove the extreme sanctity of the image, to which women and suppliants would naturally but often fruitlessly resort.

There was also in all probability some religious connexion between Athena and the Eumenides of the Areopagus, where the most sacred of all the Athenian courts was held; at the end of the play of Aeschylus the goddess says to the Eumenides, 'With my handmaidens, who guard my image righteously, I will escort you with the light of gleaming torches to your nether habitations.' The reference is to their cave on the Areopagus, and almost certainly to some religious ritual in which the priestess of Athena Polias went thither in solemn procession^{74c}.

The older view of Athena as a goddess of pure retribution may have been expressed by the title Ἀξιόποινος⁷⁵, under which

^a Pallas Athena, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 207-209.

^b Apollod. 3. 12, 3.

she was worshipped near Sparta. But the legend once more associates this cult with the idea of justifiable homicide, viewed in this case as lawful vengeance; and the epithet probably has a legal reference. At Athens, in the later period, she seems to have been identified with Themis, as the personification of Justice⁷⁷.

It was probably as the goddess who foresees and advises for the public interest that Athena won the name *Πρόνοια*. The history of this word as an epithet of the goddess is peculiar. As applied to a divinity it could apparently mean either 'prescience' or 'providence': but it inclined to the latter signification, although Sophocles^a once uses it in reference to an oracle. In the *Oedipus Coloneus* (l. 1180) the *πρόνοια τοῦ θεοῦ* probably is an expression for God's providence, and it must have been often used to denote this either in philosophic or common language before *πρόνοια* could have denoted 'providence of God' without any qualifying word, as it did in the Stoic vocabulary^b. In this sense, then, the word could be attached in a quasi-adjectival sense to Athena, so as to form a compound name like Athena Nike or Aphrodite Peitho; and as she was before all others the goddess of wise ordinance, the term and the cult might have arisen naturally. But it is almost certain that they were suggested by a confusion with *Προναία*, which was one of the epithets of Athena in the worship of Thebes. This title can only have a local meaning, denoting the goddess that 'stands before the shrine,' and we learn from Pausanias^{78 a} that a statue of Athena *Προναία*, wrought by Scopas, actually stood before the temple of the Ptoan Apollo, where several fragments of pottery have been found with the inscription 'Αθάνας Προναίας. At Delphi we hear both of an Athena *Προναία* and *Πρόνοια*^{78 b, 79}, and it has been made a question which of the two is the original form of the name in this Delphic worship. Now we know that

^a *Trach.* 824; cf. Democritus, ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς πρόνοιαν ἔφασαν δεῖν ἐπιζητεῖν (Stobaeus, περὶ φρονησ. 3. 51).

^b 'Mens mundi prudentia vel providentia appellari potest. Graece enim

πρόνοια dicitur;' Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 58. Perhaps also in Euripides: ᾧ Τύχη, Πρόνοιά θ' ἡμῆ, σῶσον οὖς ἐγὼ θέλω *Iph. Aul.* 864.

there was a shrine of the goddess there, standing before the temple of Apollo, and we should expect the more obvious and natural title to be earlier than the more artificial. And the two earliest authorities who mention this Athena, Aeschylus and Herodotus, give us the form *Προναία*. Speaking of the local deities who were worshipped near the Pythian oracle, Orestes says *Παλλὰς Προναία* 'has precedence in report,' and Herodotus speaks of the *Παλλάδος προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι*. But Demosthenes, or the author of the doubtful oration against Aristogeiton, believes that the Delphic goddess was *Πρόνοια*, saying that 'near the Delphic Apollo stood a very large and beautiful temple of Athena *Πρόνοια* just as you enter the main shrine.' And Pausanias also calls this the temple of Athena *Πρόνοια*, and the passage in Photius well illustrates the confusion of the two epithets: 'Some think the epithet (*Πρόνοια*) was given her because she stands before the shrine at Delphi, others because her providence provided for Leto's delivery.' The latter part of this curious explanation is illustrated by a statement in Macrobius that a temple was erected to Athena *Πρόνοια* in Delos because of her sagacity which aided the birth of Apollo and Artemis^{79 b}. This Delian worship may have been an offshoot of the same cult at Prasias in Attica^{79 c}. That the title *Πρόνοια* came into common use in later times seems clear, as in a fictitious account of Greek worships instituted on the banks of the Hyphasis, given in Philostratus' life of Apollonius^a, an altar to Ἀθηνᾶ *Πρόνοια* is mentioned together with those of Apollo Delphos Zeus Ammon and others. It is probable that it was from Delphi that the name was diffused, and that it arose from *προναία* some time after the Persian wars. Perhaps the change of name was suggested through the part that Athena played in repelling the Persian attack on the temples; for it is noteworthy that Diodorus, after narrating the miraculous terrors which made the Persians recoil from the precincts of the temple of Athena *Προναία*, goes on to say, τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖσι μαντείον δαιμονία^{*} τινὶ προνοία τὴν σύλησιν διέφυγεν^b.

^a Bk. 2, *sub fin.*

^b Diod. Sic. II. 14.

From the ideas contained or implied in *πρόνοια*, the power and function of prophecy might naturally have attached to Athena. She was worshipped at Erythrae as *Φημία* by the side of Zeus *Φήμιος*, as the goddess of omens⁸¹; but as far as we hear she had nowhere any *μαντείον*, and Aristides, who evidently tries to give a complete account of the goddess, says no more concerning her prophetic character than that Apollo made her guardian of his own oracles and bade men sacrifice first to her⁸⁰; he is obviously referring to Athena *Προναία* at Delphi. A certain kind of divination by means of pebbles was attributed to her, as a goddess of invention, by Zenobius, but this was not recognized by any cult⁸².

Her warlike character was inseparably blended with her political and social; and it is hard to say which of the two was the original. Some of the Palladia mentioned belonged to pre-historic times, and they served as symbols of war and of the city's security. In fact, the goddess under whom men were brought together into a community of villages or clans, and who guarded the *πόλις*, must have been a deity of battle; and Alalcomenae in Boeotia, one of the oldest cities that cherished her worship and that arose by means of it, is itself a name derived from Athena *Ἀλαλκομένη*, 'the helper in battle^a.' The two divine aiders of Menelaos in Homer are the Argive Hera and Athena *Ἀλαλκομενής*; and from the form of the latter word we may believe that it was derived immediately from the Boeotian town. Strabo records the legend of the birth of the goddess at Alalcomenae, and adds that the city, though small, and having no advantage of position, had remained always secure through the sanctity of the cult⁸³. As a goddess of war she appears conspicuous in Homer and Hesiod: 'The dread goddess, the arouser of the battle, the leader of the host, who delighteth in the din of strife and the contest^b.' It is she who marshals the ranks in company with Ares in the relief-work on the shield of Achilles. The legend of the Gigantomachy, in which Zeus, Athena, and Heracles are the

^a The cult of Athena *Ἀλαλκομένη* is recorded also in Chios, and we have pro-

bable evidence of it in Ithaca^{83, 83^b}.

^b *Theog.* 924.

chief combatants, and from which she won the poetical title *γυγαντοφόνος*, and, according to one version, the cult-name of *Ἰππία*; the countless myths in which she is spoken of as befriending the heroes in their battles; and, lastly, the numerous public cults of Greece, bear testimony to the aboriginal prevalence of this aspect of her. We hear of a temple of Athena *Προμαχώρμα*, 'who fights before the ranks,' on the mountain of Bouporthmōs, not far from Troezen; of a temple at Plataea and of an altar at Athens dedicated to Athena *Areia*, mythically connected with the trial of Orestes on the Areopagus, but probably referring directly to the goddess of war. The oath of alliance between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians (about 271 B. C.), and that between the Smyrnaeans and Magnesians, were taken in the name of Athena *Areia*; and the same title occurs in the oath sworn by Eumenes of Pergamon, where she is mentioned by the side of Ares⁸⁵. The title *Hippia* found in the cults of Attica, Tegea, Corinth, and Olympia, belongs to this class⁸⁵, and to these we may add the Macedonian cult of Athena *Ἀλκίδημος*, to whom Perseus sacrificed before the struggle with Rome⁸⁶. She is also the goddess who gives the spoil, and the epithet *λήϊτις*, that occurs in Homer and in the worship at Olympia, is illustrated by many inscriptions that dedicate to her the tithes of the spoil⁸⁷, and by the passage in Sophocles' *Ajax*, where the chorus suggest that the cause of Ajax' trouble may have been his remissness in offering spoil to the goddess.

But there is a marked contrast between the character and worship of Athena as a war-goddess and of Ares, who, perhaps because of his Thracian origin, personified the savage lust of strife, at all times abhorrent to the Greeks, and with whom^a Athena is very rarely associated either in poetry or cult. It is civilized valour and the art of war that was embodied in the goddess. Of much interest from this point of view is the story of the death of Tydeus before Thebes, whom Athena had befriended through all his career and intended to raise to immortality, but abandoned in his dying moments through

^a For instances see ^{85a} and ^{86a}: a statue of Athena stood in the temple of Ares in Athens.

disgust at his savagery, when he fixed his teeth in the skull of his slayer. The old Greek myth-maker, to explain why Tydeus failed at last to obtain the reward of his great life, invents a motive which would have pleased Dante or a Norse saga-poet. The hostility between Athena and Ares, which appears in the *Iliad*, is also alluded to in the legend of Cadmos, who with her help slays the serpent, the fosterling of Ares. Moreover, none of the arts of war were ascribed to Ares as their inventor, but many to Athena. For instance, the Pyrrhic dance, a measured movement in full armour, which at Sparta was considered a necessary part of military drill, and was said to be the discovery of a Spartan named Πυρρικός^a, is in some accounts attributed to Athena^{36a}. When she has sprung full-armed from the head of Zeus she dances the Pyrrhic; or after the Gigantomachy she teaches it to the Dioscuri, a story which would accord with the claims of the Spartans that it originated among them. The Cretan legend of the Kouretes' hoplite dance, which was part of the ritual of the Zeus worship in the island, is a close parallel to this, as in both an important advance in the art of war is explained by a religious myth^b. Aristides, who usually advances beyond the popular belief, goes so far as to say it was Athena who had taught infantry tactics to the Athenians and Egyptians, and that there was a district in Egypt sacred to her, where shields were dedicated^c. The rhetorician may have had in his mind such a worship as that which existed in Epidaurus^{90b}, where the goddess appears to have been styled Στοιχεία, 'the marshaller of the ranks,' if we may give to this name, as to that of Zeus Στοιχεύς, a military significance^d. The epithet Ζωστηρία, attached to her in one of her cults at Thebes and at Athens, and explained in the former city by the legend that Amphitryon armed himself for the war against Euboea near the temple where she was worshipped under this name, seems to express the belief that men girt themselves in the harness of war under her auspices

^a Athenae. *Deipnosoph.* 14. 7: invented as an ἄσκημα τῶν νέων ἐπὶ τὰ στρατιωτικά.

^b Vide Plato's *Laws*, 796 B.

^c Aristides, vol. 1, p. 18 (Dind.).

^d Vide Zeus 156 o.

or at her teaching. The invention of the trumpet was sometimes attributed to her, and a temple was dedicated to Athena Σάλπιγξ⁹¹ at Argos by the son of Tyrsenos; and Athena Ἐγκέλαδος may be interpreted as the goddess of the battle-shout or the battle-music⁹².

As gymnastic was considered, at least at Sparta, as a fore-training for war, in some legends and perhaps in one of her cults Athena was given a certain interest in it. According to one authority^a she taught Theseus wrestling and she assisted Tydeus in his athletic contests at Thebes, and Odysseus in his quoit-throwing among the Phaeacians. These instances, however, only show an incidental concern natural to any divinity when a favourite hero was engaged; and usually the Palaestra was under the patronage of Hermes and Heracles. At Sparta only was the worship of Athena connected with athletics. There were three temples dedicated to her there under the name of Κελευθεία, standing near the road called Ἀφέτα, and both names were explained by the story of the foot-race that Icarion arranged so as to decide among the suitors of Penelope. Odysseus won, and consecrated these temples and a statue to Athena Κελευθεία, the divine 'starter' of the race. It may be that the legend and the explanation are later, and the word originally had a military sense, applied to the goddess 'who gives the word of command,' and we might then compare this cult of hers with that of Zeus Κοσμήτας.

Though he alone is the divinity to whom the trophy was erected, Athena shares with him the power of dispensing victory, and bears the title Νικηφόρος, by which the Athena Polias of Pergamon and of the Attalid dynasty was known far and wide^{38 m, 97}. Her pre-eminence as a victory-goddess is specially attested by the fact that Νίκη was a second name of Athena herself, and when personified as a separate being was her constant companion, being in all probability originally an emanation from her.

The view expressed by Kekulé, that Nike is a mere creation of the formative art working at the trophy, can certainly not be defended^b, for the personified idea of victory existed before we

^a Istros, Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 89.

^b Vide Kekulé, *Athena Nike*, p. 3.

have evidence of the existence of the trophy. In Hesiod's *Theogony*^a Nike assists Zeus against the Titans, and she is called the daughter of the Titan Pallas. But Hesiod, in his sacred chronology, is inclined to antedate these personifications, and that Nike could not have figured in the older Greek religion seems disproved by Homer's silence about her. We may explain the curious parentage that Hesiod assigns her in this way: it may have been that in the imagination of his contemporaries Nike was associated with Pallas, that is to say Athena, but he wished to find for her an earlier place in his theological system than he gave to the latter goddess; therefore he could not present Nike as the daughter of Zeus or as another form of Athena, but he related her to the giant or Titan Pallas, who was perhaps merely a fictitious being brought into the theogony for a special purpose. If Nike were already related to Athena in the time of Hesiod, we can understand why the former should be prominent in the Titanomachy as the latter was in the battle with the giants^b.

We have at least some evidence that Athena Nike was known both to Greek religion and Greek art before the winged figure that personified victory became a prevalent artistic type. As regards this latter we can almost determine the date of its introduction if we accept the statement of the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds*, ascribing the first representation of the winged Victory, that is, of the personification, to the archaic sculptor Archermus^{125 b}. Even if the winged Victory of Archermus was really Iris, as has been suggested^c, yet the statement of the scholiast, which cannot be purely fanciful, implies that there were statues known to the later Greeks and regarded as earlier than the period of Archermus representing a personage whom they called Wingless Victory;

^a l. 383.

^b Since the above was written a monograph has appeared by Baudrillart on *Les Divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie*: his theory as to the origin of Nike agrees on the whole with mine. The arguments against M. Baudrillart's

position brought forward by Mr. Sykes in the *Classical Review*, 1895, p. 280, are not convincing. The latter does not seem to give sufficient weight to the evidence afforded by Hesiod and by the scholiast on Aristophanes.

^c *Classical Review*, 1895, p. 282.

and this was no doubt only a name that described Athena Νίκη; for the goddess Athena, whether in her character as Νίκη or in any other, was naturally regarded as wingless. This Athena Nike enjoyed many local worships, at Erythrae for instance, and on the Acropolis of Megara, where Pausanias found three temples, one to Athena, another to Athena Nike, and a third to Athena Aiantis; but the most celebrated cult was that on the Acropolis of Athens⁹⁸. In Pausanias the name of Wingless Victory is given to the deity of the temple on the right of the ascent to the Propylaea; but her original and official name was Athena Nike. For Harpocration gives us a description of the type of the Nike Athena, 'a wingless wooden idol, holding a pomegranate in her right hand, and in her left a helmet'; and he tells us that his account is derived from the first book of Heliodorus ὁ περιηγητῆς περὶ ἀκροπόλεως¹²⁵. This then is the ξόανον of the little shrine mentioned by Pausanias; and an inscription has been found near the Propylaea containing a decree about a sacrifice ordained τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ^{36 z}. Another inscription speaks of a crown offered to her from the spoil won in war; a third refers to the part played by the ephebi at her sacrifice, who assisted in a procession held in her honour^{96 a}. The goddess is invoked by these names by poets of the fifth century^{96 a}; by Euripides in the *Ion*, and by Sophocles in the *Philoctetes*, where Odysseus appeals 'to Nike Athena Polias, who saves him ever.' The worship and the title evidently express in part the peaceful character of the goddess, who has laid aside her helmet after battle.

As a goddess of peace she is pre-eminently a goddess of the arts, and it remains to consider her briefly under this aspect. In the earliest literature this side of her is presented as well as her warlike nature; in Homer the skilful craftsman is regarded as a man dear to her, 'He whose hands had all the carver's cunning, for Pallas Athene loved him above all men^a.' She was the goddess who taught the daughters of Pandareus to be accomplished in the arts^b; it is she who was supposed

^a *Il.* 5. 59.

^b *Od.* 20. 78.

to have added the soul to the clay out of which Prometheus fashioned men. And in the strange myth of Pandora, one of the few in which the Greek divinities are presented as creative powers, it is Athena and Hephaestus who fashion and embellish the form of the mysterious maiden; and Athena again who gives her the gifts of the arts wherewith better to beguile the souls of men. There are many confused ideas in this story which it is not to the present purpose to try to disentangle. That the gods were not the friends of man, but begrudged him happiness, is an ancient view of the Divine providence which is here presented. But Athena's disposition towards man is not in question here, because she has nothing to do with the moral purpose of this creation, but is merely the skilled artist that produces the marvel. And the story, which Hesiod could not have entirely invented, though he may have distorted its meaning, shows how early was the belief that it was Athena who taught women the arts in which they excel. Before the time of Homer she must have been recognized as the goddess of weaving, as the woven shawl was the offering specially meet for her, and it was she who wrought the peplos of Hera. At Athens she was the patroness of the potter's art, and at Colonus and Academia she was worshipped in union with Prometheus and Hephaestus the fire-gods^{98, 99}. Hence she was given the title 'Ηφαιστία at Athens, and Plato declares that the whole race of craftsmen were sacred to Hephaestus and Athena, and that he who defrauded a workman dishonoured Zeus Πολιούχος and Athena^a. The feast of Χαλκεία at Athens was consecrated in later times chiefly to Hephaestus, but the Athenacult played some part in it and probably was connected with it from the beginning, for another name for it was Ἀθήναια, and on the day of this feast the embroidering of the peplos began^{100 h}. Pausanias in many places mentions the cult of Athena Ἐργάνη, and in one passage he says that the Athenians were the first to give her this title. The text is here mutilated, and it is supposed that he was going to speak of a temple dedicated to her under this name on the

^a *Laws*, p. 920 D, 921 C.

Acropolis^{100b}. But Dr. Dörpfeld^a has shown that this supposition wants evidence and is improbable: inscriptions have indeed been found on the Acropolis to Athena Ἐργάνη, but these may have been dedicated in the temple of Athena Polias^b. But Pausanias records a temple of this goddess at Sparta, an altar at Olympia on which the guild that called themselves the descendants of Pheidias sacrificed, a Herme-statue at Megalopolis, and a group of Athena Ergane and Plutus at Thespieae; and we have evidence of a cult of Athena Ὀργάνη at Delos as well as at Athens, of Ἐργάτις at Samos and Καλλιέργος at Epidaurus, of Μαχανίτις at Megalopolis¹⁰⁸. Perhaps the strange worship of Athena Τελχινία—interpreted as Athena Βάσκανος—may refer to the goddess of the arts, and the reputation for magic attaching to the primitive artist¹⁰⁴.

We have noticed how some of the arts of agriculture, the skill of the handicraftsmen, and some warlike inventions were attributed to her teaching or influence; but with the fine arts of music and poetry she had less concern. The music of the flute alone was, in the Boeotian myth, an art that Athena practised and taught, and Apollo himself was among her pupils according to Corinna. The titles Ἀηδών and Βομβυλία may have been attached to the goddess in Pamphylia and Boeotia^{105, 107} as the inventress of the flute, and the legend recorded by Pindar in the twelfth Pythian ode^c and explained by the scholiast, gives as usual a dramatic motive for the invention. The words τέχνη τῶν ποτε Παλλὰς ἐφεῦρε θρασειᾶν Γοργόνων οὐλιον θρήνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθῆνα refer

^a *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. Ath.* 1889, 3. p. 305, and cf. *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, Harrison and Verrall, pp. 414-418.

^b The only evidence of a recognized cult of Ἐργάνη at Athens are the lines in the fragment of Sophocles^{100b}, who summons the people of the handicrafts into the public ways, 'who worship Athena Ergane with winnowing-fans set upright.' Miss Harrison is perhaps right in explaining the winnowing-fans as a memento of the primitive agricul-

tural Athena; but I think she goes too far in saying that Ἐργάνη could have been a name referring to the working of the land (*Classical Review*, 1894, p. 270). Possibly by the time of Sophocles the λίκνος, from its convenient form, had come to be used as an ordinary receptacle for cereal oblations. Hesychius defines λίκνα as κανᾶ, which was a word referring to ritual rather than to agriculture^{100b}.

^c ll. 6-12.

to the curious story that the two Gorgons uttered various cries of lamentation over their dead sister, and Athena in a callous way imitated their lugubrious sounds on the flute: hence a particular motive on the flute was called *νόμος πολυκέφαλος*, the changeful air to which the sobbing of the Gorgon sisters was set; and Diodorus Siculus states definitely that Athena invented flute-music in general^{100 a}.

This story admits of a very simple explanation; we may suppose that flute-playing was part of the worship of the Boeotian Athena, and that there was a pantomimic representation on the flute of the death of the Gorgon, just as we hear of musical representations of the slaughter of the Python at Delphi. Then the myth would arise that the goddess invented the instrument and discovered that particular strain on it to commemorate the death of Medusa and her sisters' lamentations. We are familiar with a rival myth at Athens. It appears from the story about Alcibiades that the Athenians had a natural dislike to flute-playing, because it was unbecoming to the features; they also had a still greater dislike of the Boeotians, who were fond of the flute. So they told a story how that Athena had practised a little on it, but had flung it away in disgust and laid a curse upon it; it then fell into the hands of inferior persons like Marsyas. In all this there is probably a malicious reference to Boeotian worship.

The evidence of the recognition in cult of the artistic character of the goddess appears scanty, yet combined with the indirect evidence from the Panathenaic and Itonian festivals it is proof that the poetical phrase of Aristides, 'The Graces stand around her hands¹⁰⁸,' is appropriate to her worship. An expression of this feeling was the statue of Minerva by Demetrius, mentioned by Pliny, 'quae musica appellatur¹²⁷,' if the reading is sound.

The last worship that need be mentioned here is that of Athena Hygieia¹⁰⁹, which seems to have been in vogue in Athens before the close of the sixth century^a. A statue

^a The earliest monument that records it is the inscription on the potsherd dedicated by Callis to Athena Hygieia^{109 a}. The basis of her statue,

bearing this title stood on the Acropolis dedicated by the Athenian people, and an altar at Acharnae was consecrated to this worship that seems scarcely to have existed outside Attica. The statue on the Acropolis was a cult-statue, for an oblong basis was placed in front of it for sacrificial purposes. The same idea is expressed in the epithet *Παιωνία*, applied to her in Athens and at Oropus¹¹⁰, of which the interpretation is made certain by the context in Pausanias. It is probable, then, that before the introduction of the worship of Asclepius at Athens, the chief divinity of health, by the side of Apollo, was Athena, the Athenians in this as in other matters attributing to their goddess all that tended to the physical amelioration of life. A sacrifice to Athena Hygieia was part of the Panathenic ritual^{36 z}. It was Sophocles who first celebrated the praises of Asclepius in verse, and who was supposed to have introduced his worship, to which the conservative Aristophanes manifests a certain repugnance; and it may have been on the occasion of the great plague that the Epidaurian cult passed over to Athens. The new worship was then taken under the patronage of the goddess, and a temple to Asclepius was erected on the Acropolis, in which Athena was occasionally associated with him^a. In the rest of Greece this affinity between Asclepius and Athena seems scarcely to have been recognized^b; and in the temple near Epidaurus and in its precincts the dedications to Athena are all of a late period. And even in Athens itself the importance of Athena for the art of healing seems to have declined before the great advance of the Asclepius cult^c. But it may be that Hygieia, the daughter and constant companion of the god of health,

dedicated according to Plutarch by Pericles, is preserved with the inscription, which proves the monument to have been raised by the whole Athenian people and the sculptor's name to have been Pyrrhos (vide Löwy, *Künstler-inschriften*, 53; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5. 96). In the *Mittheilungen*, 16. pp. 156-160, Wolters shows on architectural grounds that this dedication was after the death of Pericles.

We have also an inscription of the second century A.D. on the basis of a statue of Athena Hygieia from Hiero near Epidaurus^{100 c}.

^a Vide Girard. *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* 1877, p. 164.

^b There appears to have been some association between Athena and Asclepius at Tegea^{18 a}, and perhaps at Aliphera^{16 f}.

^c We have one late inscription referring

was merely an emanation from the Attic goddess, a part of Athena's nature detached and personified; in fact, if Koepf's theory^a could be proved that Hygieia arose first at Athens, it would be almost certain that she arose thus. The evidence is in any case only negative: we do not hear of her until a very late period in the circle of Asclepius at Epidauros^b, and in most cases where her worship is mentioned in other parts of Greece there are reasons for supposing it to be later than the earliest cult of Athena Hygieia at Athens.

The one myth of which I am aware that expresses the healing power of Athena is the myth about the daughters of Proetus, who were cured of their madness by Hermes and Athena^c; and to some such virtue of hers in dealing with supernatural forms of disease we may suppose the words of Aristides to apply—'Priests and expounders of religion call her the cleansing goddess'¹¹².

The character of Athena, both in the religion and in the myths, appears, then, to be the reflex of the civilized Hellenic polity. She was, it is true, sometimes identified with foreign goddesses—Egyptian, Asiatic, Colchian, or Iberian—probably because of the maidenly or warlike nature common to them with her; but we cannot say that her worship, like that of Artemis or Dionysos, was tainted with Oriental or barbaric ideas, with orgiastic excess, with impure symbolism or mystery. The great indictment of Arnobius Eusebius and Augustine against paganism is drawn from other parts of the religion. The tradition of Athena remained pure and clear in spite of the Alexandrine confusion of religions, and in spite of the later Orphic literature.

probably to Athena Ἰγία: *Deltion Archaiologikon*, 1888, p. 206:

Ἀθηναία Μενεία ἀνέθηκεν

Ὅψιν ἰδοῦσ' ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ

which is interpreted with much probability by Reinach, in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 11. p. 261, as meaning that Meneia had seen a vision of Athena and been healed by her 'virtue.'

^a *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. Ath.* 1885, p. 260.

^b Thraemer (Roscher's *Lexicon*, s. v. HYGIEIA) assumes that she must from ancient times have belonged to the Epidaurian Asclepius cult, but he fails to bring forward any real evidence or any strong reasons against the theory of the Attic origin of Hygieia. Her worship at Titane was perhaps early, but cannot be proved to be as old as the Athenian potsherd (Paus. 2. 11. 6).

^c Apollod. *Bib.* 2. 1, 5.

And her religion is eminently political, growing and waning with the Greek πόλις: her πρόνοια was the 'providence' of the city-community in war and peace. The poets sometimes placed her, indeed, by the side of Zeus as his peer in power and works^a, and she borrowed many of his titles¹¹⁶; but her public worship and the religious utterances of the poets concerning her are less rich in spiritual content, less satisfying to the private conscience or to individual morality. The virtues she inspires and approves are, according to the panegyric of Aristides^b, the public virtues of political wisdom, courage, concord, discipline, and self-restraint. The latter term, σωφροσύνη, conveys no meaning of ideal personal purity; for though both in myth and religion she was the maiden-goddess, she had nothing to do with chastity as an ideal of conduct; the sin of the lesser Ajax she was supposed to punish merely as an outrage against her altar and asylum. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles, which embodies the average Greek conception of Pallas Athena, she demands a σωφροσύνη or εὐσέβεια, which was a cautious moderation of act and speech in regard to gods and men, and she is no goddess of forgiveness or pity. Her worship, then, had elements of nobility as the incarnation of public law and of the virtues on which that rests. But any advanced thought or very profound religious consciousness in Greek speculation, where it is not purely impersonal, is concerned rather with Zeus and Apollo than with the other personages of Greek polytheism.

^a Cf. Hom. *Od.* 16. 263, and Pindar, *Frag.* 112, with the Orphic line, δεινῆ

γὰρ Κρονίδαο νόου κράντερα τέτυκται.

^b Aristides, vol. 1, pp. 27, 28 (Dind.).

NOTE ON RITUAL.

As a rule the Greek goddess was served by priestesses, and worshipped with sacrifice of female victims; but in the ritual of Athena¹¹⁷, as of Aphrodite, we find not infrequently the male victim and the priest. In the case of Athena this is probably due to her masculine character, and to her frequent connexion in cult with Zeus. We hear of the priest of Athena Πολιᾶτις at Tegea, at Phaselis and Amyclae, and Lindos, the boy-priest of Athena Κραναία, at Elatea. As regards her sacrifice, it was rarely cereal or bloodless; we may conclude that this was the case at Rhodes, where no fire was used in her ritual; but in other places the usual oblation was the slaughtered animal, the cow and sheep most commonly, but sometimes the pig and the goat. At Ilium the sacrificial victims were both male and female; and we may conclude that the bull was sometimes offered her, as she was called ταυροπόλος, and according to the legend Theseus sacrificed the bull of Marathon to her. Therefore there is no accuracy in the dictum of Eustathius and the scholiast on the *Iliad* (2. 546) that the victims to Athena must be female. This dictum was used by them, and has been used by some modern critics, to show that μὴν in that important passage refers to Erechtheus and not to Athena; the facts show that this argument is valueless. My own view is that the sacrifice of bulls and sheep referred to there belonged to Athena and not to Erechtheus; grammatically, and in respect of the rhythm of the sentence, one view is as tenable as the other; but it is strange that the interpolator should speak in the one line of the birth of Erechtheus, and then without a pause at once refer to his death; and if, as A. Mommsen holds, the interpolator was Peisistratus and the sacrifice is the Panathenaic, then there is all the more reason for thinking that the sacrifice of bulls and sheep must be referred to the Athena-cult. For it would be very strange that in the time of Peisistratus the Panathenaic offering should be spoken of as a sacrifice to Erechtheus, and that in the authorities and records from the fifth century downwards it is always regarded as consecrated to Athena, while Erechtheus is scarcely mentioned.

CHAPTER XI.

MONUMENTS OF ATHENA-WORSHIP.

AMONG the monuments that illustrate the worship of Athena, we find the coin-representations in some respects the most important. Not only do they give us manifold testimony of the character that belonged to her in the national religion, but they also prove more clearly than any other monumental evidence the very wide diffusion of her cult.

The very large number of vases upon which her figure appears have more to do with mythology than with public worship; perhaps the only type of the goddess, preserved in vase-paintings, which can be certainly recognized as connected with cult is that of the warlike Athena holding her shield and brandishing her spear, the type of the ancient Palladia and probably of the Athena Polias.

As regards the works of sculpture, those to which any definite cult-name can be attached are very few; but many, and especially those that can be connected with the creations of Pheidias, are of very great value for the history of religious art. We have no proof of the prevalence of wholly aniconic images of Athena^a, and it has been shown that the religion of Pallas contained comparatively few 'survivals' of primitive thought and primitive ritual. The earliest monuments that have come down to us express ideas that are already relatively advanced. So far as we can judge the most archaic images did not represent her as a nature-goddess, but were either of the type of the Palladia, embodying the war-goddess, or of the seated type characteristic of the goddess of

^a The words of Tertullian¹¹⁸ seem to refer to some formless *ἄγαλμα* in Attica, of the existence of which we know nothing.

the state, and Homer appears to have been aware of both forms. But the monuments that illustrate her association with the powers of Nature, though not demonstrably the most primitive, may be conveniently considered first.

We cannot quote from the earliest period any assured representations that illustrate the cult-connexion of the goddess with Poseidon. The bronze-statue of Poseidon on the site of Athena's temple at Pheneos appears to have been archaic^{16 m}; and Pausanias informs us that the ancient coinage of Troezen bore for its usual device the trident of Poseidon and the head of Athena, with reference to the worship of the two divinities there^{17 b}. And it must surely be Athena's head that we see on two fifth-century coins of Troezen, published by Professor Gardner in his *Numismatic Commentary*^a: the one has faint traces of archaism in the hair and lip; the other is a very noble work of fifth-century style (coin Pl. A 21), allied to the Pheidian; the broad cheek, the majestic eyebrow, and the large chin are forms that accord well with the masculine dignity and the deep earnestness of the expression. A few of these coins, according to Professor Gardner, show us the same head wearing earrings, and therefore they do not represent a male divinity, and of no other goddess is the countenance so characteristic as of Athena. 'The goddess of strength,' as she was styled at Troezen, could scarcely be more vividly depicted than by such forms and such expression.

On the Acropolis of Athens we know that Pallas and Poseidon were associated in the Erechtheum or its immediate vicinity by actual communion of cult as well as by religious myth and mythic representation. And this religious association is most strikingly presented by a black-figured vase of advanced archaic style, painted by the Athenian vase-painter Amastris^b, on which the two divinities appear in solemn hieratic pose, standing over against each other, the goddess holding up her hand: the drawing is masterly

^a P. 47, Pl. M, 1 and 2.

^b Lenormant, *Élite Céram.* I. Pl. 78; *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, Taf. 39, 4-5; Klein,

Die Griechischen Vasen mit Meister-signaturen, p. 43.

PLATE XIII

a



b



in the delicacy of its detail (Pl. XIII. A). In at least one representation of the birth of Erichthonios Poseidon is present; for instance, on a relief in the Louvre, of which the central figure is Athena receiving the infant from the arms of Ge, we can recognize the sea-god in the figure seated on the left with wild matted hair and half-bare body, holding a trident or sceptre^a.

It is hard to separate the cult of the two divinities on the Acropolis from the story of their strife for the land, and from the various monuments that represented that religious drama. A sacred spot in Athens, probably on the Acropolis and near to the place in the precincts of the Erechtheum where Poseidon's trident was stamped on the rock, was called 'the voting-place of God^b.' The Greek title seems to suggest that here Zeus took the votes of the various divinities concerning the rival claims of Poseidon and Athena to the country. Such a version of the story is presented to us on the alabaster relief in Smyrna^c of the first century A. D., on which we see on the left the figure of Poseidon with his left foot on a stone, his left hand on his thigh and his right resting on his trident: opposite him is Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet and leaning on her spear; above and behind each divinity are olive-trees. In the centre is an altar with Athena's snake coiled round it licking her robe, and the twelve divinities are grouped on each side, while Nike is taking the votes from an urn that stands on the altar.

The subject was differently rendered by certain monuments on the Acropolis of Athens. Pausanias saw, probably not far from the Erechtheum^d, a group of Athena and Poseidon, the goddess represented as creating the olive, the god as causing a salt spring to well forth. Also in the west pediment of the Parthenon he saw the great group of which only fragments have survived, and which he interprets as the strife of the two divinities. Whether it was the strife itself or the moment

^a *Mon. dell' Inst.* I. xii. 1.

^b Διὸς ψῆφος or Διὸς Πέσσοι: vide Cratinus, *Archilochoi Frag.* 4 (Meineke 2, p. 18), Suidas s.v. Διὸς ψῆφος, He-

sych. Zeus¹⁰⁷¹.

^c *Mitt. d. deut. Inst.* 1882, p. 48, Pl. I. Fig. 2.

^d I. 24, 3.

of triumph that was shown, what was the precise action of the two protagonists, who were the subordinate personages, are questions that have given rise to long and intricate discussion which may here be omitted. Our only trustworthy evidence—and even that is difficult to interpret—is Carrey's drawing^a, made before the destruction of the central figures. And we can conclude from it that it was the moment of victory that was represented there, for the goddess is moving rapidly to the left with triumphant gesture, as if to claim her own, while Poseidon starts back in anger. By what token or by what beneficent creation the strife had been adjudged the drawing does not help us to decide. On the Acropolis of Attica, we can hardly suppose that the token of Athena's right would be anything but the olive, and it has been held that traces of the olive-tree survive in the centre of the pediment.

In other representations of the same sacred myth, which have been supposed to afford a clue to the reconstruction of the Parthenon group, the olive appears as a significant emblem^b. For instance, the well-known vase in St. Petersburg^c from Kertsch shows us the olive-tree in the centre between the two rivals, both of whom appear about to strike downwards with their weapons, the spear and the trident. No final interpretation has as yet been given of this action of Pallas and Poseidon; it is very doubtful what he is striking and with what purpose, nor is it easy to say why she should be wielding her spear as she is after the olive-tree has already been produced, nor why Dionysos with his panther and thyrsos should apparently be running to her aid. The value of the vase as a clue to the motive of the Parthenon representation has been very much exaggerated;

^a Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, 121. the loom, described by Ovid, Pallas weaves the story of her strife with

^b In her contest with Arachne at Poseidon:

Percussamque sua simulat de cuspidē terram

Prodere cum bacis foetum canentis olivæ

Mirarique deos.

Met. 6. 80.

^c Published by Stephani, *Comptes Rendu*, 1872, Pl. 1; *Hellenic Journal*, 3, p. 245; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1395.

PLATE XIV

a



b



but it may preserve certain reminiscences of the Pheidian group, especially in the figure and drapery of Athena.

Of still more importance as a surviving copy of the Athena of the western gable is the statuette from Epidauros, now in Athens, representing the goddess moving rapidly to her right with her right arm outstretched and her shield on her left; the gesture and the movement seem full of fire and life, and the Pheidian style appears in the drapery and forms ^a.

We have also a number of late Attic coins ^b, which illustrate the public value and prevalence of this myth, but do not help much to settle the question about the figures on the Parthenon. They bear upon their obverse the figures of Poseidon and Athena, standing over against each other, the god on the left and the goddess on the right, and between them the olive-tree, upon which her owl is seated and around which coils her snake threatening Poseidon, who stands raising his right hand with a menacing gesture. Athena bears the spear and shield in her left hand, and holds out her right as if pointing to the tree as her sign. In composition the scene presents very little resemblance to the central motive of Carrey's drawing, and it may, for all we know, be a reproduction of the free group that Pausanias saw on the Acropolis.

In these representations the deities are at strife. On the black-figured vase mentioned above their meeting seems peaceful, and on two other coins ^c, where they are seen standing with the olive-tree in the middle, there is no sign of contest, but possibly a scene of reconciliation and concord, just as on a cameo published in the *Gazette Archéologique* ^d we find them jointly engaged in forming the vine (Pl. XIV. a).

Besides her association with Poseidon, we have other monumental record of her relations with the water and sea-faring. On some of the coins of South Italy, Thurium, and

^a Published in *Mythol. and Mon. Museum Catalogue of Coins: Attica*, *Anc. Ath.*, Harrison and Verrall, 17. 4.

Pl. 46. ^c *Num. Comm. Paus.*, Z. 15. and

^b Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Z. 11. 12. 14. 16; *British* 17.

^d 1886, Pl. 3. 1.

Heraclea^a, the head of Athena is found wearing a helmet on which a Scylla, sometimes holding a rudder, is incised (Coin Pl. A 22). To explain these we need not follow Lenormant^b in his strange fancies about an original monstrous shape of an Athena Τριτογένεια with a fish-tail; we do not even know that this coin-type represented Τριτογένεια at all. All that we need say is that in maritime localities Athena acquired occasionally a maritime character and symbols, as any other divinity might; and we may vaguely apply the term Τριτογένεια to the Pallas of the coin-types mentioned above. But though originally this was probably a cult-title, we do not know what the type was, if there was any, that was specially chosen for the images of that cult. The blue-eyed statue of Athena in the Ceramicus^{98 c} certainly did not allude to the story of her birth from the blue water, as Pausanias imagined. The bronze statue at Aliphera¹¹⁹, wrought by Hypatodorus, was probably a representation of Athena Τριτογένεια, but Pausanias only remarks on its size and beauty, and saw nothing in it specially characteristic. The Rospigliosi statue in Rome, published by Gerhard^c, shows us an Athena with her left hand enveloped in her large mantle and resting on her hip; at her feet is a female Triton, at her left the owl; her aegis is adorned with stars, and her face wears a languid sentimental expression. But this is a late work, and scarcely to be regarded as a monument of public cult. And it is absurd to argue^d from this that every Pallas with a similar expression and with starry aegis or robe is Tritogeneia. The pose and the sentiment are merely the signs of the later age, and the stars may be simply a conventional decoration, or at least are no symbols of the water-born divinity.

A few monuments may be quoted illustrating Athena's association with the earth, with Dionysos, and the powers of fertility. The representation on the fine cameo quoted above, in which she is seen by the side of Poseidon assisting the vine

^a *Guide to the Coins of the Brit. Mus.*
3. C, 17; 4. C, 16; Head, *Hist. Num.*
p. 59, Fig. 35; p. 72, Fig. 48.

^b *Gazette Archéol.* 1880, p. 183.

^c *Minervens Idole: Akad. Abhandl.*
24. 4.

^d As Hettner argued, *Annali dell' Inst.*
1844, pp. 115-132.

to grow, is a unique motive which illustrates the ὄσχοφορία, the festival of the grape-cluster at Athens. On the vase of St. Petersburg discussed above, we find Dionysos coming to her aid, possibly as Dionysos Δευδρίτης, who was interested in her new-created olive-tree.

We may regard the scene on certain black-figured vases in Munich^a which represent Athena mounted in her chariot preceded by Apollo playing the lyre, and by Dionysos who looks back upon her, as alluding to some association between these divinities in cult and festival. Athena herself stands playing the lyre by Dionysos^b on an archaic vase published by Gerhard, and possibly the vase-painter may have thought of the Oschophoria the festival in which Dionysos and Athena Sciras were jointly honoured^c.

This affinity of the goddess with the divinities of vegetation might explain the attribute of the cornucopia, which was sometimes placed in her hand in later representations, although, as Müller suggests, she may have acquired this from her later identification with Tyche, the Fortune of the state. But there appears to have been some representation belonging to the Greek period of Athena holding in her hand an apple, which was the usual symbol of fertility, for an epigram in the *Anthology* seems clearly to describe a statue of this kind¹²⁰; and the female figures in terracotta^d recently found on the Acropolis, holding a shield on the arm and an apple or pomegranate in the hand, have been supposed with good reason to represent Athena, and belong to the archaic period. It has been suggested above that the cult of Athena Itonia may have regarded her partly as a divinity of vegetation, and for this reason have associated her with the powers of the lower world. We should

^a O. Jahn, *Vasensammlung*, 112, 353, 784, 1131.

^b *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, 1. 37.

^c Gerhard's further attempts to discern a Dionysiac element in the worship and festival of Athena Sciras are futile; the gems and terracotta relief which he publishes (*Akad. Abhandl.* 25. 7, 8, 10, 13), on which he finds

Maenads claspings or dancing before the image of Athena are wrongly interpreted (vide Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 214 a): there is no evidence of an orgiastic character in the festival of Scirra, nor is it certain that it was consecrated to Athena.

^d *Athen. Mittheil.* 1894, p. 491.

possess an interesting monument of this cult if we could interpret the figures on a large gem published by Müller^a as those of the Coronean worship (Pl. XIII. b). We see an Athena seated on the left, and the god of the lower world with Cerberus on the right, and the goddess is pouring a libation over the flame of the altar that stands between them. That this is Athena Itonia and the Zeus-Hades of Coronea is the view of Overbeck^b and other archaeologists, and Wieseler's objections and his own interpretation lack weight. The representation is unique, and we have the literary record of the unique cult of the two divinities at Coronea. And as there is no other cult that explains the monument, the interpretation offered by Müller and Overbeck is at least a valid hypothesis.

The local cults of Athena Alea at Tegea and Hellotis at Corinth, in which the goddess has been supposed without much reason to have been worshipped as a physical or elemental power, have left no monuments at all that might prove or illustrate the precise meaning of these terms. Of the Oriental Athena Hellotis of Corinth we have no representation, and the Tegean coins that bear on their obverse the head of Alea^c give us no way of distinguishing between this and any other type of the goddess.

On a late vase of South Italy we see a comic rendering of the myth of Heracles and Auge^d: above them is the statue of a goddess on a column, holding a patera in her right hand and a garland in her left, and wearing a high-girdled chiton. As Auge was surprised in the temple of Athena Alea, we might suppose that we have here a reproduction of the temple-image; but the attitude is too foolish and the attributes too meaningless to allow us to take the figure seriously.

The attempt to discover among the monuments some representation of Athena Sciras has been equally unsuccessful. A statue of mysterious and ghostly form exists in the Villa Albani^e, in which we can discern the outlines of an Athena armed with helmet and shield, and enveloped from

^a *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, 2. 226.

^b *Kunst-Mythologie*, I. p. 47.

^c *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 90.

^d *Mon. dell' Inst.* 4. Taf. 12.

^e Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. 24. 3.

head to foot in an ample mantle. The explanation of this enigmatic appearance of the goddess which Gerhard gives is that the statue conveys an allusion to the procession of the Scirophoria, in which he supposes the image of Athena Sciras to have been covered and sheltered from the heat. The difficulty is that, so far as we know, a sunshade was used on that occasion, not a covering such as this; nor did the idol of Athena Sciras play any part in that procession. It is more probable that the sculptor was alluding to the veiling of the image of Athena Polias in the Plynteria.

The cult-statue of Athena Sciras was probably a xoanon of archaic type, as it had to submit to the primitive fetish ritual of being daubed with white earth^{27 b 3}, which was supposed to be good for olives^a.

We hear of a process of divination, practised at Sciros on the Eleusinian Way, by means of dice or draughts; and if we believe that a scene on a vase published by Gerhard^b represents two warriors seated above a board and divining their lot in this manner, it might seem that he was justified in giving the name Athena Sciras to the goddess with the spear and the star-embroidered vestment that stands behind them; but even so we should not have discovered the type of the idol, for in another similar representation^c she has the form of the Pheidian Parthenos, and the connexion between the dice-players at Sciros and Athena Sciras is unproved and unlikely^d.

It has already been said in anticipation that the monuments give no sign whatever that Athena in Greek religion was ever identified or by kinship connected with the moon or the lights of heaven. The stars on the robe mean nothing at all, for we find them also on the robe of Creon in one vase-scene. The half-moon on the coins of Athens in no way reveals Athena as a moon-goddess, as has been shown already; the crescent moon is a not uncommon shield-device, and is

^a Cf. the practice of smearing the statue of Artemis Alpheionia with clay from the Alpheus.

^b *Akad. Abhandl.* 26. 9. Cf. *Etruskische und Campanische Vasenbilder*,

Taf. 19. s. 29, 13; also Raoul-Rochetté, *Mon. Inéd.* Taf. 56.

^c On a vase published *Jahrb. d. d. Inst.* 1892, 102.

^d Vide p. 291, note ^d.

sometimes found on the shield of Pallas; where it appears on the aegis it need only be regarded as a charm to avert danger, for which purpose it was sometimes used^a.

Archaeological evidence has been found by Roscher to support his theory that Athena was the personification of the thunder-cloud, namely, in certain coin-types of Macedon, Athens, and Boeotia^b, that show the goddess striding forward brandishing the lightning in her right hand. We can scarcely call this evidence, for these coins are all of the later period, and may all be influenced by the Macedonian coin-type, which represents Athena Alkis. But we do not know that this divinity was recognized as a thunder-goddess in Macedon; on the coins of Pella she merely wields the spear^c; and the coins of Antigonus and Philip V that give her the thunderbolt need only allude to the common idea expressed in Homer and Pindar that 'Athena sat nearest to the lightning,' that is to Zeus, and might sometimes wield his weapon; but it is only in later art and for the sake of variety that the thunderbolt takes the place of the spear in the hands of Athena Alkis or Promachus.

Nor, lastly, in the monuments that deal with the Gorgon-myth is there any suggestion of the various physical forces or facts that Athena has been supposed to embody. The archaeological evidence in support of the theory that Medusa personified the baneful side of Athena herself is even slighter than the literary. A bronze in Syracuse and a marble relief in Messina have been quoted representing an armed Medusa^d: but if these works are rightly interpreted they prove the

^a Hesych. *s.v.* *σεληνίς φυλακτήριον ὅπερ ἐγκρεμάται τοῖς παιδίοις*. Vide O. Jahn, Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten, *Berichte d. K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1855, pp. 42, 52. Wieseler's discussion (*Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*, 2. p. 168) of this lunar symbolism applied to Athena is sceptical and sane.

^b Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 203, Fig. 146; on third-century coins of Athens, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Attica*, Pl. 15. 2; on coins of Pyrrhus struck at Syracuse Pallas holds

shield and spear but the thunderbolt is in the field, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Thessaly, &c.*, Pl. 20. 12; on later coins of Boeotia we have a winged Athena Nike brandishing the thunderbolt, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Centr. Greece*, Pl. 6. 3; on certain coins of Phaselis she stands on a ship's prow bearing the aegis as a shield and wielding the thunderbolt, Müll.-Wies., *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*, 2. 223.

^c *Brit. Mus. Cat. Macedon*, p. 90.

^d P. 287.

caprice of the artist, but do not prove that he or any one else believed Athena was Medusa. Even the larger view taken by O. Müller in his *Hyperboreische Studien* of a double Athena, a malevolent and benevolent goddess, lacks sound archaeological support^a.

The monuments that represent the city-goddess and the goddess of war are by far the most important. We cannot keep the two ideas always distinct, for the goddess who guarded the city, in far the greater number of the monuments that may be supposed to represent Athena Polias, appears to be guarding it with the spear and the shield.

But there is an important distinction of type that divides the representations of Polias into those of the seated divinity, in peaceful and tranquil pose that might symbolize the stability of the state, and those of Pallas erect and threatening with her weapons.

We can conclude from Homer that the earliest idol of Athena in Troy, to which the Trojan women bring the peplos to lay on the knees, was seated on a throne; the scholiast was struck with this, and the comments of Strabo imply that the usual images of Athena Polias were standing; but he adds that the seated form occurred in Massilia, Phocaea, Rome, and many other places^{121 a}. Pausanias^{121 b} tells us of a seated statue of Athena on the Acropolis, the work of Endoeus, and mentions also the shrine at Erythrae of Athena

^a In a paper published in the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1890 (pp. 1-6, Πίν. 1), another attempt has been made to show a sort of duality in the cult of Athena and other divinities by Mylonas, who quotes the worship of Polias and Parthenos (?) in Athens, of Polias and Sthenias in Troezen, of Alea and Hippias in Tegea, the δύο ἀγάλματα Ἀθηνῶν in Aegium of Achaea (Paus. 7. 23, 7), the two temples of Athena at Thebes. But how do we know that there were just two cults and no more than two in Thebes and Tegea? We know there were more than two in Athens and Troezen. The monuments he quotes

and the relief he publishes show no distinction between the forms that might correspond to a real duality of concept: the cases where the figure of Athena appeared twice on the same monument or in the same temple may be explained sometimes by the artistic desire of symmetry, sometimes by the dramatic necessity of reproducing the same personage in different parts of the same scene, sometimes by the simple fact that there happened to be two dedications of two images. Nearly every Greek divinity had many sides, but neither two nor three is a holy number in Greek religion.

Polias and in it the temple-image of the enthroned goddess holding a spindle in each of her hands, and wearing a 'polos' or upright crown, a work which he attributes to the same sculptor.

Long discussion has been spent on the question whether the ancient image of Athena Polias in her temple on the Acropolis of Athens, carved from olive-wood¹²², was of the sitting or standing type. The latter view was strongly maintained by Jahn^a, and held also by O. Müller^b and Prof. Curtius and later archaeologists; but Prof. Furtwängler, in his article on Athena in Roscher's *Lexicon*^c, pronounces for the former. There is little value in his argument that because Phocaea and Erythrae mythically and questionably traced their origin to Athens, therefore the type of their city-goddess, who was seated on her throne, was borrowed from the mother-city; but there is more weight in his contention that the seated figures of terracotta and marble found on the Acropolis and in Attic tombs reproduce Athena Polias: and he considers that this form of a peaceful maternal goddess is most in keeping with the ancient Pelasgic cult. This may be so, although Arnobius declares that the statues of Athena on the Acropoleis of her cities were always of virginal form^{123 e}. But even if there were no strong arguments against Prof. Furtwängler's view, as there are, there is too scanty evidence for us to pronounce positively in its favour. There is no proved connexion between Athena Polias and the Attic burial ritual, although Gerhard on general grounds thinks that there ought to have been; we only hear of the eccentric and probably exceptional death-tax levied by Hippias, who enacted that for each dead citizen a small sum should be paid to the priestess of the city-goddess by way of compensation^{64 f}. Again, the evidence from the Attic tombs is very slight indeed; for some of the seated figures published by Gerhard^d are not demonstrably Athena at all, or are not known to have been interred. One of the most striking of these, discovered in an

^a *De Antiquiss. Minerv. Poliad. simulacris.*

^b Müller, *Ancient Art*, § 96, 24; cf. § 96, 9.

^c P. 689.

^d *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. 22.

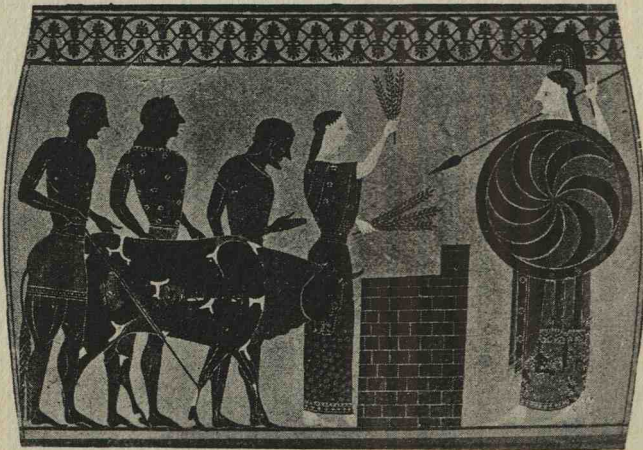
a



b



c



Attic tomb ^a, is a small coloured terracotta representation of the goddess, seated and clad in ample drapery that conceals her arms, wearing a blue polos on her head, and an aegis painted blue upon a red mantle (Pl. XV. a). But if far more of these figures were in existence, and were known to have been buried with the dead, why must they be copies of the ancient temple-idol? We might believe them to be so, if this type of the seated divinity were most common among the ancient monuments of Athens, and if we urged, as we well might, the argument that the ancient form of the Polias idol would fix itself most tenaciously upon the imagination of the people, and would be most frequently reproduced. But the argument fails, for this type is far less usual among the various existing monuments than that of the erect and energetic goddess of war ^b. Besides the few terracottas which may be mentioned, there is the marble statue, often described and often published, found on the north side of the Acropolis, which belongs as regards style to the sixth century ^c and might be the actual work of Endoeus, the image of Athena mentioned by Pausanias seated before the door of her own temple. But this is no cult-image. The only representation, so far as I am aware, in which the seated Athena is receiving sacrifice and worship is on a black-figured vase in Berlin, on which the goddess is seen on her throne wearing no aegis, and holding the helmet in her left hand and a cup in her right (Pl. XIV. b). This is an interesting type of the peaceful and beneficent divinity who, in her own city, can lay aside her helmet, but no one maintains that it is the image of Athena Polias: whether it could be supposed to reproduce in some measure the xoanon of Athena Nike, which was preserved in the shrine on the Acropolis, is a question that will be raised later. The seated idol, then, was

^a I cannot find a direct testimony as to its 'provenance'; but Stackelberg tacitly vouches for it, *Gräber der Hellenen*, Taf. 57.

^b Vide *Jahrbuch d. deut. Inst.* 1893, p. 142.

^c The two inscriptions containing the name of Endoeus belong to the latter

part of the sixth century; M. Lechat finds reasons for assigning the seated Athena on the Acropolis to the period after the Persian invasion; but it is almost incredible that Pausanias should have connected a fifth-century sculptor with the mythic Daedalus. *Rev. des Ét. Grec.* 1892, p. 386, and 1893, p. 23.

evidently in some vogue at Athens; and if it were the general custom, which is far more than we can say, to inter an idol of Athena with the dead, this tranquil type would accord better with the peace of the grave than the armed, erect, and threatening figure, though this latter were the form and pose of the very temple-image of the most ancient city-worship.

And that the actual form of Athena Polias was the erect and armed figure is proved by cumulative evidence both from literature and monuments. We can draw a very probable conclusion from the words of Athenagoras, who contrasts the seated figure of Athena, carved by Endoeus at Athens, with the ancient city-idol of olive-wood; there is no sense in the words unless they express a contrast between a seated and an erect Athena^a, the latter being the ancient xoanon^{121 b}. There are also certain passages in the Greek dramatists which Jahn has collected, and which point clearly to the same conclusion. Two of the most striking are in the *Electra* of Euripides and the *Birds* of Aristophanes^{122 c, d}. In the former Orestes, after his mother's murder, is bidden to go to Athens to the sacred image of Pallas Athene, and clasp it in his arms—'for she will keep back the Furies . . . that they touch thee not, and will hold above thy head the round shield with the Gorgon's face.' The poet must be supposed to be speaking of the chief and most sacred *βρέτας* of Athena, most familiar to all his audience; the image of Athena Polias, who could hold her shield over Orestes' head if she were erect with her shield raised on her left arm, but not if she were seated in peaceful attitude. Still more convincing is the passage in Aristophanes. The bird-city of the Clouds is complete, and they want a goddess to guard it (*Πολιοῦχος*): 'for whom shall we card the wool of the peplos?' asks Epops. 'Why not allow Athena Polias her usual right? But how could a city be well-governed, when the goddess, being a woman, stands in full armour, &c.?'

How these words could have been written, unless the statue of Athena Polias at Athens were erect and armed, is hard to understand: for Dr. Furtwängler's explanation that

^a Athenagoras seems to attribute both some corruption in the words, the force of Endoeus: granting there may be of the whole passage is not invalidated.

the Attic poets were always thinking of Homer's energetic Pallas Athena, never of their own city-idol, seems very unnatural. The whole point of Aristophanes' joke is lost, unless the goddess 'standing in her panoply' is the very Athena Polias of the temple on the Acropolis.

The sacred temple-image of Athens was fabled to have fallen from heaven ^{122 a}, like the Trojan Palladium; and it was probably easier, even for the naïve imagination of early men, to conceive of a stiff log-like idol descending thence than of a seated divinity shot from the sky, throne and all. We may note also that in Alciphron Athena Poliuchos is addressed as *Πρόμαχος*; the prayer would be naturally to Athena Polias, who is elsewhere called Poliuchos, and she could not well be styled Promachus unless she were erect and in warlike attitude ^{122 e}.

Also there is forcible evidence supplied by actual monuments of cults. A black-figured cylix in the British Museum, of very archaic style (Pl. XV. b), has been published by Mr. Cecil Smith ^a, which contains a representation that he has interpreted as a bridal procession bringing a bull as an offering to Athena Polias on the *προτελεία ἡμέρα*, the day of the preliminary marriage-rites. The interest taken by the goddess of the state in the marriages of her people has been already noticed; and there can be no doubt of the name and character of the divinity who stands behind her altar, receiving her worshippers in warlike pose with uplifted spear and shield. If the vase-painter's imagination had not been dominated by the form of the idol in the city-temple of the goddess to whom the sacrifice was due, it is inconceivable that he should have chosen a type so much out of accord with the peacefulness of the ceremony. Behind her the olive and her serpent are sketched, and her temple is indicated by a single Doric column; all these symbols placing beyond a doubt the reference of the rite to Athena Polias.

Another representation, easier to interpret and pointing to

^a *Hellenic Journal*, 1, p. 202, Pl. 7. Dr. Murray (*Classical Review*, 1887, p. 315) explains it as a sacrifice after a dithyrambic contest, an explanation

that does not appear quite so probable; but in any case we have a sacrifice to the goddess of the city.

the same conclusion, is found on a black-figured amphora of the Berlin Museum^a, that shows worshippers bringing a cow to an altar, behind which stands the shielded goddess with the spear uplifted in her right hand (Pl. XV. c). The altar is the large altar that stood before the Erechtheum, out of which Athena Polias must be supposed to have come to receive her sacrifice.

A third sacrificial scene appears on a relief in the Acropolis Museum^b. A group of worshippers are bringing a sow as an offering to the goddess, whose form is certainly different from that seen in the two monuments last mentioned; for there is nothing warlike in her attitude or attributes, except for the helmet on her head. What concerns the present question is the erect pose of the figure, by which the sculptor was able to convey a casual allusion to the type of Athena Polias. We may believe that the sow, an animal very rarely used in the ritual of Athena, is offered to her here because of her association in certain rites and festivals with the goddesses of earth; and this votive slab may have been connected in some way with the Arrhephoria.

We have then direct evidence from Attic monuments that the type of the erect and warlike Athena appears in cult-scenes that are most naturally connected with the worship of Athena Polias: and we have no such evidence as yet forthcoming as regards the goddess seated on her throne. Also the former type was far more in vogue than the latter in Athens, appearing on the very large group of Panathenaic vases, and also on Attic coins, and reproduced in some votive bronze figures found on the Acropolis, and on marble reliefs^c. And, finally, there is much reason for Jahn's view that the Dresden Pallas, an important monument of this type, is a copy of the idol on the Acropolis; for alone among statues of Athena this is wrought with the embroidered peplos, in the small squares of which are scenes from the battle of the gods and giants, the

^a The vase has been well described by Miss Harrison in *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 457.

^b *Ib.* Fig. 76, p. 519.

^c Vide *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 459, Figs. 55 and 56; Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Taf. 8.

myth which we know was woven on the actual peplos that the maidens wrought each year for the State-goddess.

These are reasons then for believing that this was the form of the ancient idol in the oldest temple of Athena, which, according to Herodotus, was burnt by the Persians: and there is no evidence that before this, or by the side of this, there existed in the same temple the cult-figure of the seated divinity of more peaceful and maternal form. Nor is it surprising that the Polias-image should have borne so near a resemblance to the ordinary Palladium; for this latter was also in many places an image of the city-goddess, and in the Cyclic legend the sacred idol which Diomed and Odysseus bore away was the 'luck' of the state.

Looking at the other Greek states, in which we can gather from numismatic and other evidence that the worship of Athena Polias existed, we find the type very wide spread of the armed goddess, striding forward or standing erect and threatening.

Pausanias gives us some account of the statue of the Athena 'of the brazen house' at Sparta, carved by Gitiadas^{38 b}: and he speaks of certain mythic scenes wrought in relief 'upon the bronze.' Looking merely at the text, we might be in doubt whether these were carved upon the bronze-plated walls of the temple or upon the surface of the statue itself. But a Lacedaemonian bronze coin of the period of Gallienus shows us the figure of the goddess armed with uplifted spear and shield, and clad strangely in a chiton of which the lower half is divided by horizontal parallel bands, and on which small figures are indicated in relief (Coin Pl. A 23). As Professor Gardner rightly observes^a, this unique coin-device is explained by the text of Pausanias and helps to explain it. The city-goddess of Sparta then was armed and warlike, and of the type of the ancient Palladia.

It is probable that the cult-statue of Athena Itonia of Thessaly, whose name was the war-cry of the Aleuadae, and whose worship fostered the political union of Boeotia, was the figure of the fighting Pallas, for we find this stamped on many

^a *Num. Com. Paus.* p. 58, N. 13.

Thessalian coins (Coin Pl. A 24). On a coin of Melos, and on a marble relief found in that island ^a, we see the armed goddess in the usual pose of the Palladion, but resembling the idol of the Ephesian Artemis in the Herme-shape of the lower part of the body. And the coinage of Pella, which has been mentioned above, presents us with the form of Athena Alkis—striding forward with spear and shield—as she appears also on the coins of Himera, Camarina, and Mesembria ^b. Occasionally, as we have seen, the thunderbolt takes the place of the spear in her hand without much change in the pose or probably in the idea.

We find at times a more peaceful pose or more peaceful attributes chosen for the city-goddess, although in the earlier monuments her warlike character is most marked. The idol of New Ilium, according to the description of Apollodorus ^{123 b}, held the spindle in one hand, while otherwise it preserved the forms of the older Palladia: and his account accords with the device of a later coin of this city on which Pallas appears with the *πίλος* or soft Phrygian cap on her head, with the spear held in her right hand on a level with her shoulder and with the spindle in her left ^c.

At Priene, where we hear of a temple dedicated to Athena Polias by Alexander ^{38 1}, the image carved for the worship probably presented her in peaceful attitude; for a coin of the city of the imperial period, bearing the figure of Athena standing with her serpent coiled before her, shows us probably the type of the temple statue ^d. The chryselephantine masterpiece of Pheidias, the Athena Parthenos, which will be afterwards described, may well have given vogue to the more peaceful type of the Athena Polias; but, so far as the evidence can decide, the militant must still be regarded as the dominant type of the city-goddess, even in the later period.

A very kindred conception, but differently expressed in art, was that of Athena Nike. In considering the monuments to which this name can be given, we can put aside the

^a Vide Jahn, *op. cit.*, Taf. 3. 7 and 8.

^b *Brit. Mus. Cat., Sicily*, pp. 81, 207; *ib. Thrace*, p. 133.

^c Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* 24. 12.

^d Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 508.

ingenious suggestion of Jahn^a, that the trophy may be sometimes regarded as her *βρέτας* or rude image; for none of his proofs suffice for the theory^b, and we have noticed reasons for interpreting the trophy always as the *ἄγαλμα* of Zeus. Nike, the personification of Victory, was in all probability an emanation from Athena herself, but in the monuments must be distinguished from her; nor is it difficult to distinguish them, for the goddess who personifies the abstraction is usually winged, wears none of Athena's attributes, and can be recognized generally by her action: she is pouring a libation to a warrior or a god, or is crowning the successful athlete, or decking the trophy, or leading animals to the sacrifice as a thank-offering for a triumph won. But it is more difficult to say by what marks we can recognize Athena Nike, the goddess revered by that name in actual cult in Megara, in Aegina, and on the Acropolis of Athens. We may, of course, say that the large group of representations of the goddess bearing the Victory in her hands, the great Pheidian statue of the Parthenon for instance, and its near or remote descendants present us with the idea of the victorious goddess. Yet none of these are actual cult-types of Athena Nike. But we have no reason to doubt^c that the statue described by Harpocration of the goddess 'holding the pomegranate in her right hand and the helmet in her left,' is the xoanon for which the chapel, called in later times the temple of Nike Apteros, was built on the top of the southern wall of the Propylaea at Athens. It is usual to explain the pomegranate in this case as the emblem of fertility, as Athena was revered at Athens as the giver of the kindly fruits of the earth; and this explanation is more natural on the whole than Bötticher's, who sees here, as always, an allusion in the pomegranate to bloodshed and death; for surely the goddess who has laid aside her helmet is more properly to be regarded

^a *De Minerv. Simulac.* pp. 23-24.

^b The slight resemblance that the wooden post with the helmet, shield, and spear upon it bears to the Palladion is accidental. The coin of Pergamon, published by Jahn (*ib.* 3. 4),

bearing a trophy and the inscription 'Αθηνᾶς νικηφόρου, may show that in this case the trophy was a thank-offering to Athena, not that it was regarded as her image.

^c Vide p. 313.

as the peaceful dispenser of blessings. An unpublished black-figured vase, mentioned by Prof. Furtwängler^a, has upon it the seated figure of the goddess holding the pomegranate but wearing the helmet; and another, published by Gerhard and Jahn^b, contains the scene of a sacrifice brought to Athena, who is seated and holding the cup in one hand and the helmet in the other. That any of these are reproductions of the statue in the shrine of Wingless Victory or Athena Nike, is somewhat improbable; not because they must be earlier than this^c, but because the latter was probably a standing figure; since the statue of Athena Nike at Olympia by Calamis was of the same type, and we may conclude from the context in Pausanias, who mentions it, that the latter work represented the goddess erect⁹⁶^c. Besides, a seated Nike is a most unusual type, and the figure of Athena Nike must in some way have resembled the standard form of Nike, else it is hard to see why men should have forgotten that it was the goddess herself, and have believed that it was the personification, and have commented on the winglessness.

This, then, is the one well-attested representation of Athena Nike belonging to a public cult; and the question is what criteria it gives us to judge whether the name may be applied to other monuments that have survived. In no later work is Athena found bearing the symbol of the pomegranate; and it is doubtful whether the figure of the bare-headed Athena is always to be interpreted as Athena Nike^d. But where the helmet is held out in her hand there may be reason

^a Roscher, *Lexicon*, p. 689.

^b *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, 242, 1-2; *De Antiquiss. Minerv. Simulacr.* I. I.

^c The term *έάρα* which is applied to it raises the suspicion that it was an archaic wooden idol, but this term is also applied to the great chryselephantine works of Pheidias, which contained a kernel of wood. The motive of the work seems too elaborate for us to be able to impute to it a very remote antiquity; although it may well be older than the actual temple, as the chronological difficulty would be serious,

if it were carved simultaneously with the construction of the temple, and if we accept the story that a statue at Olympia was wrought in imitation of this by Calamis, a sculptor whose 'floruit' belongs to an earlier period.

^d For instance, the bare-headed Athena on the Olympian Metope need have no special name given her; this is simply a natural type of the goddess in a peaceful situation, and appears also on vases of the earlier part of the fifth century: vide Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 14 (Engl. ed.), note 5.

PLATE XVI



for naming the figure as the xoanon described by Harpocration was named; and we may recognize an Athena-Nike on the beautiful relief of Pentelic marble in Lansdowne House, of which an illustration is here given (Pl. XVI). The figure has the measured stateliness of a temple-statue, the Doric chiton falling down into columnar folds after the manner of the austere religious sculpture of the fifth century. The owl and the olive seem to show the Attic origin of the work. The surface of the body is wonderfully warm, and the details of the flesh and the drapery are very carefully wrought. The cheeks are still broad, as in the fifth-century type of head, but are beginning to be rounded. The relief belongs to the earlier part of the fourth century, when the tradition of the older religious art was still strong, but when the features and form and drapery were beginning to be more softly and lightly rendered. The representation gives a profound expression of victorious peace.

It may be that Athena Nike was sometimes characterized by the absence of helmet and aegis; a very beautiful relief^a of Pheidian style and noble expression, now in the Acropolis Museum, shows us the fragments of three figures, a naked ephebos standing before a winged Nike, who raises her left hand to crown his head and rests her right arm round the neck of another goddess, who in such a group can scarcely be other than Athena though she lacks all the usual attributes; the Nike who is here almost one with her would probably give her own name to this Athena, and explain her peaceful garb.

An entirely different but scarcely less certain representation of Athena Nike is seen on the Boeotian coins mentioned above with the type of the winged goddess wielding the lightning, and on an Attic drachm, probably of the earlier part of the fourth century^b, that shows us the winged goddess wearing the helmet and carrying the Palladium. The goddess cannot be merely Nike, for representations of Victory, the mere personification, bear none of the arms or other attributes of

^a Harrison and Verrall, *Mythol. and Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 367. p. 136. Cf. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm. d. A. K.* 2. 220.

^b *Num. Comm. Paus.* Pl. AA, 24.

Pallas. And this rare type of the winged Athena was already known in the archaic period, for it is found on the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi^a. We can only account for the wings by supposing that she borrowed them from Nike.

Of the other political conceptions that attached to Athena and were recorded in the literature, only a few can be illustrated from surviving monuments. We might interpret a figure on the coins of Alexandria (Coin Pl. B 25) as that of Athena Ἀρχηγέτις, the leader of colonies, because she carries an owl in her hand and this is the motive which, according to the scholiast of Aristophanes, was appropriated to the goddess bearing this title³⁵¹. But as Wieseler has pointed out^b, the description of the scholiast is too slight to help us to discover this cult-type with certainty. It is most natural that Athena should bear the owl; and there are many such representations of her on Athenian coins, and among them we are not able to decide which of them, if any, is the special type of Athena Ἀρχηγέτις. It may be that one in which she holds the corn-stalks in her other hand, or that in which she grasps the spear; for both symbols would be appropriate to the goddess who planted the colony in the new land.

The commerce of the state was protected by Athena under the name of Σταθμία⁷⁶, and on coins of Alexandria we find the goddess wearing helmet, aegis, and chiton, and holding the scales of 'right measure,' and the cornucopia^c.

It is an interesting question whether we have any characteristic representations surviving of Athena Ἀγοραία, the goddess who presided in the market-place over the assembly and council of the people. One such monument is elaborately described by the Byzantine historian, Niketas Chthoniata¹²⁴, a bronze statue of Athena thirty feet in height, that stood in the forum of Constantine at Byzantium. She was clad in a long and elaborately folded chiton, and wore aegis and helmet. Her long neck was bare, and produced, according to the historian, an 'overpowering impression of voluptuous delight'

^a *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 190. discussed with negative result.

^b Müller-Wieseler, *D. d. A. K.* 2. ^c *Brit. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, Pl. 4, 219^a, where the whole question is 643.



(ἄμαχον εἰς ἡδονὴν θέαμα ἦν); the lips were half open, as if her soft voice was passing through them, her eyes were languishing, her hair was luxuriantly arranged, and her left hand was pressed against her body and gathering together some of the folds of her garment, while her head was inclined in the same direction as her outstretched right hand was pointing. In spite of the vague verbiage of this account, we have no reason to doubt its accuracy. A clear type is presented to us of an Athena Ἀγοραία, full of the incongruous and excessive sentiment of the later Alexandrine period^a. Now, the leading traits of this type, the one hand outstretched and the other pressed against the folds of the robe, the sideways turn of the head, the parted lips, and the expression of languishment, are found together in one surviving work, the Athena 'Mediatrice,' in the Louvre^b, a work of early Graeco-Roman period, but probably derived from an Alexandrine original (Pl. XVII). The statue in many essential respects strikingly agrees with that described by Niketas, only that here it is the left hand that is stretched out and the right is pressed against the side; but its general character and sentiment are the same, and the reasons are strong for calling this also an Athena Ἀγοραία. And the small bronze statuette published by Müller^c is of the same type on the whole, and may claim the same title.

The type of the Athena of the law-courts was certainly in one case at least that of Pallas in the traditional fighting pose, for one of the law-courts at Athens, as we have seen, took its name from the Palladium. But for monumental illustration of this function of the goddess we must go to the representations of Orestes' trial, of which the most important is perhaps the beautiful Corsini cup^d. Among the figures wrought in relief upon it, Athena is recognized by her helmet, though she wears no aegis, and by her action. She stands over the urn

^a The pose and expression make strongly against the identification, to which Mr. Stuart Jones inclines, of this work with the Pheidian 'Promachus' (vide Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture, p. 78).

^b Fröhner, *Sculpture Antique*, 121.;

Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Pl. 320, 871; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm. d. A. Kunst*, 2, Pl. 20, 217.

^c *Ib.* no. 207.

^d Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Class. Alterth.* p. 1119.

dropping into it the casting-vote. The cup is generally regarded as a copy of one of the two that bore the same scene carved by Zopyrus in the time of Pompey; but there is much in the style and forms of the figures that suggests an earlier period than this.

Of Athena, who protected the union of the clan or family, Athena Apaturia or Kurotrophos, we have no certain monument. The vase-representations, showing the goddess receiving the infant Erichthonios, may convey an allusion to this function of hers; and the statue in the Berlin Museum of Athena bearing the child in her aegis, may be intended to express the same idea. But these are merely mythological representations^a.

She appears more frequently in the monuments as the goddess of the arts, both of war and of peace. Athena Hippias, who taught the use of the chariot, was worshipped at Colonus, and though we cannot safely apply this cult-title to every representation in which she appears driving the chariot, we may attach it to the figure of the goddess on the silver cup and on the Attic coin published by Müller^b, and on the Athenian relief published by Schöne^c. As the last-named monument was found on the Acropolis, and represents her in solemn pose erect in her car, we may suppose that it does not refer to any myth, but is a monument of the cult.

The goddess of the peaceful arts was worshipped, if not at Athens yet at Sparta and Olympia, under the title of 'Ergane'; the spindle in the hands of Athena Polias at Erythrae and at Ilium alluded to this function. But we have no existing representations that can with security be connected with the actual cult. The representation on the gem, published by Müller^d, of Athena riding on

^a Müll.-Wies., *D. d. A. K.* 2. 236. It is impossible to interpret the Berlin statue as Athena *Φαρπία* holding a new-born Athenian child, for it is evidently derived from the same source as the statue found in Crete, and not long ago acquired by the Louvre, which represents an Athena of almost identical

form holding in her aegis the sacred chest from which the serpent Erichthonios emerges. *Mon. Grecques*, 1895, pl. 12.

^b *Op. cit.* 2. 240, 240^a.

^c *Griechische Reliefs*, No. 136.

^d *D. d. A. Kunst*, 2. 225.

PLATE XVIII

a



b



c



the ram, has been supposed to allude to her interest in wool-work and the arts of the loom, but it more probably has a sacrificial reference. The statue in Florence ^a of an Athena standing with something rolled round her right arm, which has been taken for a snake but may be a skein of wool, is a work of doubtful interpretation. We have more than one representation of the goddess assisting at the fabrication of the ship ^b, but we cannot say that such scenes alluded intentionally to the cult or the name of Ergane. The potter who brings a thank-offering for success in his art, on a fifth-century vase of Athens, is making offering to an Athena whose form is that of the Pheidian Parthenos ^c; but had there been at Athens any cult-type or accepted representation of Athena Ἐργάνη, the goddess of the crafts, we should have expected to find it here. We have an allusion to the patroness of the potter's skill on a rude vase in the Berlin Museum ^d, showing Athena standing by a potter's oven; also perhaps to her interest in the lampadephoria, the ritual of fire consecrated to the three divinities who taught and fostered the arts of life, in a gem which contains the figures of Athena standing and Hephaestus seated under a tree ^e, both gazing earnestly at some spectacle (Pl. XVIII. b). Once the goddess herself appears as a potter, on a Berlin vase that represents her forming the clay model of a horse, possibly with some allusion to the work of Epeios, who constructed the wooden horse for the capture of Troy with the aid of her teaching.

The most interesting monument showing the popular conception of the creative power of Athena is the beautiful and well-known cylix in the British Museum, on which Pandora appears as a scarcely animate figure between Athena and Hephaestus, while the goddess is adding the last touch to complete her dangerous beauty ^f; and the idea

^a Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* 37. 4.

^b E. g. Müller-Wieseler, *D. d. A. K.* 2. 238.

^c Published and described by Miss Harrison, *Mythol. and Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 461, Fig. 58.

^d *Beschreibung der Vasensamml.* 801.

^e Müller-Wieseler, *D. d. A. K.* 2. 235: this is Wieseler's probable interpretation.

^f Published in Harrison and Verrall, *Mythol. and Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 450, Fig. 50.

expressed in this is also illustrated by a sarcophagus-relief in the Capitoline Museum, on which Athena is presented inserting the soul in the form of a butterfly into a small human body that Prometheus is fashioning^a. Lastly, the association of Athena with the art of the flute, which appears in Boeotian myth and cult, is illustrated by a series of monuments^b; which, however, mainly refer to the myth of the goddess and Marsyas, who took up the flutes that she threw away and the curse with them; and in none of them has her figure any religious significance.

We cannot then derive any type of Athena Ergane from the group of monuments just examined, or find in them any clear reference to the particular cult. And as regards the statue called Athena Musica¹²⁷, attributed by Pliny to Demetrius, it is difficult to speak positively as to its type, and it would be useless to search for any copy of it among existing monuments.

On the other hand, the cult of Athena Hygieia has left us two undoubted monuments. The first is the statue^c in the Central Museum of Athens, found at Hieron near Epidaurus, upon the basis of which is the inscription mentioned in the former chapter. The goddess wears the helmet, and bears her shield on her left arm and her aegis on her breast; her right arm is stretched out in front of her, and she is moving rapidly to the right while turning her head back. It is the type of Athena charging in front of the battle, and wholly inappropriate to the goddess of health; and we must suppose that the sculptor has chosen the first traditional representation of her that occurred to him, and he gives us no clue for discovering the type of Athena Hygieia among other existing works. Nor can we derive from the second monument^d any special characteristic of the type; this is one of the ex-voto reliefs

^a Baumeister, *Denkm. des Class. Alterth.* Fig. 1568.

^b Müller-Wieseler, *D. d. A. K.* 2. 239^{abc}, and Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, I. Fig. 50: cf. vase in Berlin, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, 2418; and the

vase published in the *Annali dell' Instit.* 1879, Tav. d'Agg. D.

^c Published in *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst.* 1886, p. 314; and Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.* p. 392, Fig. 23.

^d *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1877, p. 164, no. 34.

PLATE XIX



found in the Asclepieion on the Acropolis, on which we see her by the side of Asclepios, and therefore we must name her Athena Hygieia; but she is armed in the usual way with helmet, aegis, and shield, on which her left hand rests; and there is nothing here appropriate to the idea of the worship. A statue^a of Hygieia in the Belvidere of the Vatican has been wrongly restored with a head that probably belonged to a statue of Athena the health-goddess (Pl. XIX). The severity of the outline of the face, the arrangement of the hair in a long straight mass behind, the thoughtful expression, indicate an Athena; but instead of her helmet she wears a stephane with a gorgon's head worked in relief in the centre, and two serpents symmetrically carved in horizontal position on each side of it, and we may most naturally regard these latter as symbols borrowed from Hygieia for this type of Athena, for they are found arranged in the same way on the stephane of an undoubted Hygieia formerly in the Villa Ludovisi^b. The style of the Vatican head does not seem to be markedly Attic; we see rather the severer and more maidenly type of Athena's head with sharper lines and less rounded surfaces, that originated probably in the Peloponnese but penetrated also into Athens some time after the Pheidian period. We have no clue for testing the suggestion that the Vatican head is copied from the original statue carved in the time of Pericles by Pyrrhos. But the work is of great interest because it is the only monument in which the forms and expression proper to one ideal of Athena are combined with symbols of Hygieia, so that the double name is justified. Another though very inferior representation of the same divinity, that seems to be trustworthy, is found on a gem published by Müller^c, that shows the goddess wearing the helmet and holding a spear and in the same hand the serpent that Hygieia usually holds, and standing before the seated Zeus (Pl. XVIII. c); the same figure appears among the types of Etruscan art^d. We may also give the name of Athena Hygieia

^a *Mon. dell' Inst.* 9. 49; *Annali*, 1873,

^c Müller-Wieseler, *D. d. A. K.* 2. no.

p. 5.

226ⁿ.

^b Vide Helbig, *Führer*, 870.

^d Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. 34. 4.

to the representation of the goddess that appears in relief on a candelabra of the Vatican ^a; her helmet with its sphinx and Pegasoi recalls that of the Pheidian Parthenos, and she is holding a cup for her serpent to drink from after the usual manner of Hygieia. The conjecture of Loeschke that we have here a copy of the Athena Hygieia of Pyrrhus is not wholly groundless. The work of this sculptor might naturally have preserved in certain details a reminiscence of the Parthenos, and it is not easy to say how he could have expressed the idea that he wished to embody otherwise than by associating Athena with the snake, the symbol of the divinities of health. The religious character of the Vatican relief has been pointed out by Wolters ^b.

But we may conclude from the paucity of the monuments that the statues of this cult of Athena were comparatively rare, and the discovery of the numerous ex-voto reliefs in the Asclepieion may incline us to believe that the goddess who personified health, the daughter of Asclepios, took the place at Athens of Athena Hygieia.

The monuments of Athena to which some definite cult-name may with certainty be attached are found to be few in number; but the record both of the literature and art is enough to prove her high importance for the national cult, especially at Athens, where her worship was linked most closely with the hopes and sorrows of the people, their fortunes and public life. The Attic monuments are most expressive of this, and it may be well to put together here by way of conclusion a few that illustrate some of the ideas already examined, and especially the character of Athena Polias and Boulaia. The Parthenon frieze-reliefs, though they do not belong to the group of cult-monuments, still afford the most striking monumental illustration of the most imposing ceremony of the state-religion in honour of the city-goddess. There can be no reasonable doubt but that the

^a Helbig, *Führer*, 210-211; Hauser, *Die Neu-Attischen Reliefs*, p. 63, nos. 92-93, pp. 151-154, 169; published in Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano descritto*, 5. 28.

^b *Bausteine*, 2124-2129; he also notes that many of the figures including that of Pallas stand on a separate basis, like separate statues.

PLATE XX



subject represented is the Panathenaic procession treated with a due observance of certain artistic laws. The correspondence of certain scenes on the frieze with the written record concerning the details of the ceremony is, as Overbeck and others have pointed out^a, sufficiently conclusive. We find the sacrificial animals offered by the state and by the allies, the scaphephori and the carriers of the water-pots, the chariots with their armed apobatae (perhaps the most peculiar feature in the whole ritual), and possibly the 'thallophori' or the band of elderly men bearing branches; and although the representation is undoubtedly incomplete, we cannot prove that anything essential is omitted. To say this, however, implies the conviction that the group which forms part of the centre of the whole frieze clearly alludes to the bringing of the peplos, the leading motive of the whole service. It would be out of place here to discuss the many divergent opinions that have been expressed concerning this vexed question. It may be sufficient to state the chief reasons of my own conviction, which are two: in the first place, it appears incredible that Pheidias, in a representation which we are compelled for many reasons to interpret as the Panathenaic procession, should have omitted the chief feature of that procession: secondly, it is inconceivable that the greatest sculptor of the city should have placed in the centre of his frieze next to Athena herself the figures of a priest and a boy, holding between them a garment or piece of drapery which is too large for human wearing and perfectly agrees with our conception of the sacred peplos, and which would inevitably be taken for the peplos by the average spectator, but was intended by the sculptor to be something quite different. The belief that it is the peplos gives a deeper national significance to the whole scene^b.

Turning to other Attic monuments illustrative of the part played by Athena in the public life, we may select as perhaps

^a *Gesch. Griech. Plast.* 1893, p. 438.

^b The most recent discussion of the question is an article in the *Classical Review* (1895, p. 268), by Dr. Furt-

wängler, whose arguments against Miss Harrison's theory that the object in question is a *στρωμνή* appear to me convincing.

the most interesting of all the reliefs found on the Acropolis, and certainly the most mysterious, that one which was discovered on the south of the Parthenon in 1888, and is now in the Acropolis Museum. A slab about half a metre in height contains the figure of Athena wearing helmet and Doric diplois in a strangely pathetic pose, and with an expression of melancholy in her face (Pl. XX). She stands by a small column leaning on her spear, her head drooping, and her right hand resting on her hip. The drapery is arranged in rigid columnar folds and shows a slight touch of archaism, of which there is also a faint trace in the eye and the contour of cheek and chin. Such indications lead us to assign the monument to the middle of the fifth century or slightly earlier, and though such expression of pathos is very rare in the art of this age, yet other instances of this are found^a. What is unique and unparalleled is that a work of this austere period should represent the sorrow of a divinity, and that divinity the conquering Athena. This can be no ordinary grave-relief: she cannot here be mourning over some single citizen. The belief forces itself upon one that some great national disaster is here commemorated, such as the battle of Tanagra or the fall of the Athenian citizens in Egypt; and that Athena is mourning over those whose names may have been written on the lower part of the slab now lost. The relief and the inscription with the names may have been dedicated on the Acropolis as a testimony of the public grief in accordance with a vote of the people.

We have also a series of historic reliefs that refer to alliances or political relations between Athens and other states; most of these are of the fourth century and filled the upper part of the stone upon which the inscription of the decree was written. The Athenian state is represented by Athena, in whose form we can usually trace the influence of the Pheidian masterpiece, the other city by the male or female

^a M. Cavvadias, *Deltion Archaeol.* 1888, p. 103, assigns it to the period immediately before Pheidias; Mr. E. Gardner to the later years of the Peloponnesian war (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1889, p. 267). The earlier date appears to me after examination of the original far the more probable.

PLATE XXI

a



b



figure that personifies it or by its tutelary divinity or hero. The most interesting and beautiful of this series is perhaps a relief that adorns an inscription^a dedicated on the Acropolis in the year 403-402 B.C. (Pl. XXI. b), and expresses the gratitude of Athens in her last distress to those of the Samians who remained faithful to the Athenian democracy. Athena clad in a low-girt Doric chiton and mantle, and equipped with Attic helmet, aegis, spear, and shield, stands on the right, grasping the hand of a stately female figure, who also wears chiton and mantle and holds a sceptre upright in her left hand. She wears the stephane above her forehead, but is more probably a personification of Samos than Hera the tutelary goddess of the island. The history of Athens in the first half of the fourth century is also illustrated by similar reliefs; for instance the alliance of Athens with Corcyra about 375 B.C., by a representation^b of Athena and a male figure personifying the demos of that island (Pl. XVIII. a); her alliance with the Arcadians and Eleans^c in 362, by a relief on which she stands by Zeus and a maidenly figure who probably personifies the Peloponnese. On a monument of the same kind^d published by Schöne, we see her extending her hand to a goddess of lesser stature, wearing a calathos, whose name Παρθένος, 'the maiden,' is inscribed above her, and the inscription refers to a treaty between Athens and Neapolis, the Thracian coast-city, or the city in Pallene, where the worship of 'the Maiden' must have prevailed (Pl. XXI. a). A decree offering hospitality, προξενία, to another city is commemorated by such a representation as that which Schöne^e has published of Athena in an attitude and form immediately derived from the Pheidian Parthenos, standing before a male figure who is half-clad in a himation and leaning on a staff, and who personifies the Demos of the friendly state.

A few of these reliefs allude to her close connexion with the Boulé at Athens, and her title Βουλαια as the

^a Sketched in *Delt. Archaeol.* 1888, p. 124; for inscription vide *ib.* 1889, pp. 27-29.

^b *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1878, Pl. 11, 12.

^c *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, Taf. 15. 1, 2.

^d Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, no. 48. Cf. 50, Athens and Methone.

^e *Griechische Reliefs*, no. 62.

divine counsellor of the state. A majestic and matronly figure, whom the inscription proves to be a personification of *βουλή*, is seen standing by the side of Athena^a, while a citizen is raising his hand to them in prayer. This is an ex-voto relief, and the representation may refer to the ritual of the *εἰσιτήρια*, the sacrifice and prayers that preceded the meeting of the council. On other reliefs it is Athena who appears giving the crown to the distinguished soldier, the victorious athlete, or to the girl-priestess who had fulfilled her duties well^b.

These Attic monuments prove then how deeply this worship was rooted in the hearts of the people, who consecrated to her so much of their public and private life, and whose devotion invested her with a character deeper and more manifold than she possessed in the older literature.

^a *Griech. Reliefs*, 94.

^b *Ib.* 81, 85.

a



b



CHAPTER XII.

IDEAL TYPES OF ATHENA.

THE sculptor who surpassed all others in dealing with this type is Pheidias, and the greatest monuments of her worship are associated with his name. To understand these, it is necessary to remember what had been accomplished by the archaic and transitional period. Enough, perhaps, has already been said about her form in the archaic art; her predominant character there is warlike, although the peaceful and even the maternal idea appeared in some of the monuments, such as the seated figures found on the Acropolis: and already the older art had depicted her as the goddess of victorious peace, and the fertility that peace brings, under the type of Nike Apteros. Within its own narrow limits of expression it had sometimes been able to show the maidenly aspect of the war-goddess; but usually the forms and proportions are scarcely distinct from those of other goddesses, and the face has rarely any clear or individual character. Nor does the drapery add much to the ideal; in the later archaic period she wears often an Ionic chiton with sleeves, and over this a mantle which is looped up on one shoulder, and falls down from beneath the aegis in stiff parallel zigzag folds, as we see it on the form of Athena from the western Aeginetan gable, a work that represents the utmost that archaic art could do in rendering this type (Pl. XXII. a). The girdling and the Doric chiton, which are used with significant effect in the Pheidian works, are scarcely known in the period before the fifth century. Sacken and Kenner^a have published a statuette of

^a Broncen, Taf. 8. 1.

Athena at Vienna of the late archaic period (Pl. XXII. b), wearing a diploidion girded with a serpent under the aegis, so that the drapery down to the waist is divided into three fields, as we see it on the Pheidian Athena. We find a similar effect of girdling on a bronze of Athena Promachus in the British Museum, published by Dr. Murray^a, which shows an archaic scheme of drapery and an archaic treatment of the hair, but a more advanced and noble type of features with broad surfaces and serious expression; there is no sufficient reason for connecting it with the early art of Pheidias, as Dr. Murray does; it is probably of the pre-Pheidian period, retaining much of the archaic style (Plate XXIII. a).

The earliest artists made their meaning clear simply by symbols and pose or action. As regards the period immediately preceding Pheidias, we have no great monumental work attributed to any well-known artist of this age, except the Athena Nike at Olympia carved by Calamis, which has been mentioned and discussed above. But a few works that have survived from the first half of the fifth century show us a marked advance towards ideal characteristic rendering. The earlier of the two coins of Troezen presents us with a type of features broad, strong, and earnest, and a severe, almost masculine, arrangement of the hair (Coin Pl. A 21); and on a red-figured vase of the Louvre of fine severe style we have a striking representation of Athena in peaceful pose, holding the spear and olive-branch. An interesting remnant of the sculpture of this age is the metope from the temple of Zeus Olympios at Olympia, on which Heracles is represented cleansing out the Augean stables in the presence of Athena. The goddess wears an 'Attic' helmet, and her shield is on the ground by her feet; there is little expression in her face except of sombre earnestness, and her eye has something of the triangular formation, and the centre of her face the flatness, of the archaic type. But it is in the drapery that a new and austerer style, aiming at simplicity and nobility, is manifest; she wears a Doric chiton, a diploidion, of which the upper fold falls from the shoulders to just above the waist,

^a *History of Greek Sculpture*, vol. 2. Pl. 10.

PLATE XXIII

a



b



where there appears the delicately traced edge of the fold which is formed by a part of the chiton being drawn up over the hidden girdle. We have here one of the earliest instances of that beautiful and stately disposition of the chiton which we see on some of the figures of the Parthenon frieze and the Caryatids of the Erechtheum, and which continued in use after Pheidias, chiefly for religious and ceremonial purposes^a.

Another still more interesting monument of the pre-Pheidian period has already been mentioned: the relief on which Athena is represented in pensive attitude, and which shows more careful sculpture and far warmer rendering of the surface than the Olympian metope. No preceding sculptor had put so profound an expression of thought into the maidenly countenance; and the drapery, a Doric diploidion girt about the waist, has a fascinating simplicity and lightness appropriate to the martial goddess. We find such an arrangement of the dress, though somewhat richer, on the masterpieces of Pheidias.

One work that appears to belong to the period before Pheidias, and has even been thought to illustrate the earlier style of the great master himself^b, is the small bronze of Athena from Portici, now in the Museum of Naples (Pl. XXIV. a). She stands with her weight resting chiefly on her right foot, her right hand holds forth a libation-cup, and her head, that is guarded by the high-crested Attic helmet, is turned and slightly inclined to this side; her left hand is held up on a level with her head, and was grasping a spear. Her drapery is the same in its arrangement as that of the Olympian Athena, except that the Doric chiton here has sleeves and the fold overhanging the girdle is smaller. But in softness and richness of execution it is far superior. There is a trace of the old stiffness in the attitude, for, though the lower limbs are well posed and there is a distinction that produces a fine effect of balance between the leg that supports and that which is

^a We find it on one of the female figures, probably a divinity, carved on the drum of the Ephesian column in the British Museum.

^b Conrad Lange, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 35, Taf. 2.

free from the weight, yet this distinction is not carried out as it should be in the upper body and in the marking of the hips. But the face shows the broad surfaces, the strong chin, the large eyebrow and eye-socket of the Pheidian type; the few locks of hair that appear beneath the helmet on the temples are drawn back at right angles to the face, half revealing the ear. The face has no longer the sombreness that darkens the countenances of the transitional art, but is maidenly, thoughtful, and benign. The whole is most impressive for its reserved and stately beauty; and we may believe that this is a miniature copy of a temple-statue that was consecrated to the peaceful Athena dispensing blessing^a.

We gather from the records of Pheidias' work that no less than seven statues of the goddess are ascribed to him. If we may trust Pausanias, his earliest temple-image of her was the chryselephantine statue in a shrine near Pellene of Achaea¹³⁴; but we can conclude from Pausanias' words that it was only the local legend, no inscription or direct evidence, that ascribed it to Pheidias, and that he himself was struck by a certain archaic character that marked it. Now we find a type of Athena on Roman imperial coins of Pellene^b, which show the goddess in warlike pose with uplifted shield and spear, but with her lower limbs tightly encased in a closely drawn chiton that is divided into different sections by means of horizontal bands. If this archaic type of idol reproduces the temple-image, the local legend that claimed Pheidias for its sculptor may well have astonished Pausanias. But his honesty saves us from the embarrassment in which we should be placed if we believed the story.

We may regard as the earliest temple-image of Athena that can with certainty be ascribed to Pheidias, the Athena

^a Another work that appears to be of the same age may be compared with this, the small bronze statuette of Athena that is published in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1881. Pl. 7; the pose of the limbs and the inclination of the head are much the same, and the drapery closely resembles that of the Portici figure,

except that the Doric diploidion is not drawn up over the girdle; her arms are held out rather stiffly—the left might be holding a spear, the right a cup; the expression of the face is earnest and pure.

^b Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 91, Pl. S. 10.

a



b



Areia dedicated in her temple at Plataea¹²⁵ in commemoration of the victory of Marathon; a tithe of the spoils defrayed the cost of the statue, of which the body was formed of a kernel of wood laid over with gold, and the head and feet of Pentelic marble, a unique combination of materials. No numismatic or other copy of this statue has survived, but as she was worshipped in her temple there as the goddess of war, and the dedication of her image commemorated the battle, she would probably be represented in warlike attitude, advancing with spear and shield.

But the greatest of his works that presented Athena under this aspect was his colossal bronze statue on the Acropolis^{126 a}, which has been called by modern writers Athena Promachus, though there is no ancient authority for attaching this name to it, except that of the scholiast on Demosthenes. Error has arisen from the misunderstanding of a passage in the Byzantine historian Zosimus^a, who recounts that Alaric when sailing to the sack of Athens saw the 'fighting Athena moving upon the walls armed and as one about to charge the enemy, as one may see her in her statues.' What Alaric was supposed to see, then, was no statue, but a vision of the actual goddess. In fact no ancient writer gives us any clear clue at all as to her pose^b; we learn from Pausanias that she bore the shield, which was subsequently chased with a representation of the Lapiths' contest with the Centaurs, and she was armed with helmet and spear, of which the crest and the point could be seen, according to Pausanias, as you sailed from Sunium to Athens. The proper designation of this famous work is simply 'the bronze Athena on the Acropolis,' where it stood in the open air between the Erechtheum and the Parthenon, immediately facing the old approach through the Propylaea.

Now in discussing its motive and pose, one must discard the illegitimate title of Promachus, and the conclusions that might be drawn from it. One thing seems clear:

^a *Hist. Nov.* 5. 6, 2.

^b The epigram of Julianus^{126 a} seems to allude to the warlike pose of the

statue, but it is doubtful whether this refers to the Polias or to the 'Promachus' statue.

the spear must have been held with its butt end resting on the ground, and its point in the air, for otherwise Pausanias could not have believed that the voyagers from Sunium could see in the distance the point and the helmet together. But was the shield poised on her arm or resting on the ground by her feet? The dimensions of the statue's basement, which has been discovered, and of which the depth exceeds the breadth, makes for the former view; for if the shield had been originally placed on the ground, the breadth would at least have been equal, or—as was the case with the basis of the Parthenos—even greater than the depth. And these conclusions about the pose of the spear and shield are supported by evidence from late Attic coins. We have a small number from the age of the Antonines^a that actually give us a rude sketch of the Acropolis rock, the steps leading up to it, the Parthenon and the Propylaea, and a colossal statue between the two buildings that certainly ought to be the bronze Athena. But the examination of them is most disappointing; for the die-cutter has been too careless to distinguish between this statue and the Parthenos, and at least in two cases he puts the Nike into her extended right hand, which the Parthenos held and the 'Promachus' certainly did not. All that we can conclude from these is that the right arm was held so that the forearm was at right angles to the body; and they tell us nothing tangible about the pose of the spear or the disposition of the drapery.

But we have a few other coins of a different type^b, on which Athena appears standing *en face*, but with her head turned to her right, and holding the shield on her left arm at right angles to her body, and her spear on the ground, but not parallel with the body (Coin Pl. B 26). It is this figure that has with great probability been regarded by Lange^c as showing the type of the 'Promachus.' For it agrees in all essentials of the type with the torso Medici^d in the Louvre (Pl. XXIII. b), with a torso in the Central Museum of Athens^e, and with

^a Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus. Z.* 3-6.

^b *Ib. Z.* 1. 2.

^c *Arch. Zeit.* 1891, p. 197.

^d *Mon. dell' Inst.* 3, Taf. 13.

^e *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst.* 1880, Taf. 5.

a figure of Athena on a relief found on the Acropolis^a. The goddess on these three last monuments wears, besides the aegis and girded Doric diploidion which we see on the coins, an under garment and a mantle over her shoulder, which on the coins are omitted probably from want of space; the general effect of the drapery with the long columnar folds of the chiton *ποδήρης* is the same, and shows the special manner of Pheidias and the austere majesty that belonged to a temple-statue of his hand. The motive of the arms of the coin-figure agrees with the theory maintained above concerning the 'Promachus'; the shield is held up on the left forearm, and the butt end of the spear is on the ground; its oblique position may be a trait of the original, or may be an innovation due to the desire better to fill up the field of the coin: the same position of the arms is seen on the relief, while the torsos in Athens and Paris might be naturally so restored, though of this we cannot speak with certainty. Again, we find on the coins the head turned aside to her right: and Lange interprets this as a trait derived from the 'Promachus,' whose form fronted the Propylaea, but whose face was turned so that she appeared gazing down towards the Ceramicus; this motive is fainter but still discernible in the relief-figure and in the torsos, when we look at what remains of the muscles of the neck and at the inclination of the shoulders. The balance of the body is the same in all; the weight is thrown on the left leg, and the right is free and the right knee is bent. We can say then that these plastic works and the figure on the two coins are derived from the same original; the drapery of the torso Medici suggests that this was of bronze, and the style of all of them points to some masterpiece of Pheidian sculpture. This could not have been the Parthenos, nor the Athena in the gables of the Parthenon. But next to the Parthenos, the most famous Pheidian representation of Athena in Athens was the bronze Athena, which would naturally have tempted later sculptors to copy it, and of which the records well agree with the belief that the works just examined are reproductions of it. Of these the only one of high artistic

^a *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst.* 1880, Taf. 5.

merit is the torso Medici in the École des Beaux Arts; it preserves the breadth and large fullness of form, the strength and stateliness of pose, and the *decor* in the folds of the drapery, that would belong to a Pheidian original famous throughout Greece.

There are strong reasons for believing that this bronze Athena on the Acropolis was also called Κλειδοῦχος, 'the guardian of the gates,' an epithet naturally applied to one who stood armed before the entrance. The statue called by this mysterious name is mentioned among the bronze works of Pheidias cited by Pliny ^a, and by all the laws of context the Cliduchus should certainly be an Athena, and if it is not the colossal work on the Acropolis, then Pliny is strangely silent about this great monument. An objection has been brought ^b against this interpretation of the word on the ground that no Athena could be represented holding a key, which is a symbol of the divinities of the lower world. But the objection vanishes if we understand the epithet—as we well may in accord with its constant usage in Greek—not literally, but in the sense of the 'warder of the gate.' Not only, then, is this a natural epithet for Athena 'Promachus,' who stood before the Propylaea, but we have the express testimony of Aristophanes that it was applied to the goddess at Athens: 'the maiden in whose hand alone is our city and visible power and might, and who is called the warder of the gate ^{35 g}.'

In the Pheidian statues of Athena hitherto examined the warlike character predominated. But in his masterpiece, the gold and ivory temple-statue of the Parthenon, the ideal form of Athena which was accepted by the whole Greek world, the expression was more manifold and profound. The statue was dedicated in the year 438 B.C. ^c; the most detailed

^a Pliny, 34. 54 'Ex aere (fecit Pheidias) . . . Minervam tam eximiae pulcritudinis ut formae cognomen acceperit. Fecit et Cliduchum et aliam Minervam . . .'

^b By Preller in *Ersch und Gruber Allg. Encyclop.* sec. 3, vol. 22, p. 195, who considers the Cliduchus to have

been a statue of a priestess of Athena Polias; the word is applied to a priestess in Aesch. *Supp.* 299 (cf. *Iphig. Taur.* 1463). For the key borne by the priestess vide Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter*, 44.

^c ^{156 b} Schol. Arist. *Pax* 605, accepting the correction Θεοδώρου for Πυθοδώρου (ἄρχωντος).

account of it that has come down to us is given by Pausanias^{136 b}, who tells us that it was an upright figure clad in a chiton that reached to the feet, and wearing a helmet, in the centre of which was a sphinx and under each of the side-crests a griffin: on her breast was the Gorgon's head wrought of ivory, in her one hand was a Nike four cubits in height, in the other a spear; a shield lay at her feet on the same side as her spear, and near it was coiled the serpent, the symbol of Erichthonios; the birth of Pandora was wrought on the base of the statue in relief^a. The flesh-parts would be of ivory, the drapery and the sandals of gold; we learn from Plato that the pupils of the eye were of precious stones, so that the eyes gained a distinct expression, which at the height of nearly twenty-six cubits could not have been given them, had they been of the same material as the rest of the face. An inscription^b proves that Nike herself was wearing a golden crown; her form was probably of gold and ivory, as Athena's was, but constructed perhaps of thin plates upon a wire framework, so as to secure lightness^c. We gather something more of the general impression of the work from the account in Maximus Tyrius, who describes the Parthenos as a 'beautiful maiden of high stature and gleaming eyes, wearing a crested helmet, girt with an aegis, and bearing shield and spear^{136 b}.'

Thus conceived and represented, the Athena no less than the Zeus of Pheidias was thought to realize the ideal of Homer, being, as Maximus Tyrius says, 'in no way inferior to the goddess in Homer's poetry.' We might rather say that the Homeric portrait of her falls short of this by Pheidias, who gives us the ideal goddess of the Attic religion, and

^a Pliny's description^{136 b} adds little and the text is evidently corrupt; 'sub cuspidē' could only mean under the point of her spear, and this is an unnatural expression when no spear had been mentioned; and the serpent no more than the sphinx could be said to lie under the point of the spear; 'aerial' sphinx is nonsense; the best emendation is 'sub casside' and 'auream.' Pliny writes as if he had never seen the

statue; all that we learn from him is that the battle of the Amazons was wrought on the convex side of the shield, and the contest of the gods and giants on the concave: 'adeo momenta omnia capacia illi artis,' 'every inch of the material was to him an opportunity for art.'

^b *C. I. G.* i. 130.

^c Vide Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, p. 280.

whose work possessed the minds of later writers and sculptors. The vision of Athena that Aristides^a saw is a vision of the Pheidian goddess: her full and perfect form having been present, according to another ancient writer, to the imagination of the sculptor and rendered with great art worthy of her. And the Parthenos was ranked among the great works of Greek religious sculpture next to the Zeus Olympios, that Pheidian masterpiece of which the creation was thought to have added something to the received religion.

Yet, although we have high testimony to its surpassing merit, we have no distinct record, such as we possess concerning the Pheidian Zeus, of the spiritual qualities that he gave to the work or of the forms of the countenance by which he expressed the nature of his ideal. But we can gather much from a consideration of her attributes. The warlike character that could never be wanting to a complete presentation of Athena was there undisguised; the helmet, spear, and shield tell of it, and in the great battle of the gods and giants wrought on her shield she was certainly taking a prominent part. Yet this is merely accessory; the shield and spear lie at her feet, and her whole pose, as she stood holding the Victory in her hand, must have been peaceful; and we can gather that the whole work was dominated by the idea of triumphant peace won after battle against the powers that threaten order. For such is the meaning, in artistic symbolism, of the contest of the gods and giants, the Lapiths and Centaurs, the Greeks and Amazons. She was presented also as the goddess of hidden wisdom, typified by the sphinx on her helmet; and as the goddess of creation, whose power was shown in the scene of the birth of Pandora, and perhaps in the olive, her product, which may possibly have supported her right hand^b: while in the Medusa head on her breast and the Pegasi, which, as will appear, Pausanias wrongly calls 'griffins,' we have an allusion to her sympathy with heroic achievement and possibly to the legend that she taught Bellerophon the art of bridling the horse^c.

^a Vol. I, p. 475, ed. Dind.

^b Vide infra, p. 365.

^c It would be merely to commit an anachronism to search in this case for

PLATE XXVI



But most clearly did this monument reveal in her the character of guardian of Athens, the keeper of its imperial wealth that was stored behind her in the Opisthodomos, the treasure-chamber of the temple^a. The serpent by her shield was regarded as a form of Erichthonios, the mythic ancestor; and the worship of Athena in her relation to Erichthonios was, like the cult of Hestia, the religious symbol of the continuous city-life. As his guardian and foster-mother, she was Athena Polias, whose archaic xoanon stood in the temple hard by, and whose name was sometimes attached to the Parthenos herself. In fact there is no distinction between the Parthenos and the Polias Athena, and the Parthenon was no mere treasure-house or festival-edifice, as was supposed by Bötticher, but the shrine of the chief worship of the city.

Most fortunately we have other than written records of this great work. In the first place we have the well-known marble statuette found in the Peiraeus (Pl. XXVI), which can be proved to be a very faithful, though dull and unimaginative, copy of the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias: it is a miniature that almost entirely agrees with Pausanias' account, and it has omitted none of the accessories except the relief-work on the base and on the shield; and the copyist has faithfully preserved the proportions of the original, as the Nike which she carries in her right hand bears to the whole figure the proportion of four to twenty-six, and on the back of the statuette are discerned three points for measuring. The helmet also shows the rich ornamentation natural to chryselephantine technique. The deep sharp-cut folds and edges of the chiton display the forms of metal work, and only the main lines and courses of the drapery have been given, the copyist having followed the original in avoiding the smaller more delicate cross-lines that would have been lost in the reflection of the

any physical meaning or symbolism in the sphinx or Pegasus or Medusa. The sphinx may have once in Egypt denoted the sun, Pegasus and Medusa may once have been the lightning or rain or moon; but this had been very long ago.

^a Vide Boeckh, *Economy of Athens*, 3. 20: who shows that the Opisthodomos which held the treasure of the confederacy must have been that of the Parthenon, not of the Athena Polias temple.

dazzling material of gold. He has also tried to reproduce something of the splendid effect of colour which he saw in the original. We note traces of red in the hair of the plume, on the face of the sphinx and on the border of the shield; and yellow colour on the hair of the goddess, of the sphinx, and of the Gorgon, as well as on the manes of the winged horses and on the edges of the drapery. The eyes are bordered with red, the iris is tinged a blue-black. The statuette also enables us to supplement, and in one respect to correct, the account of Pausanias. He speaks of griffins on the helmet, and the copy shows us winged horses under the two side-plumes; now the evidence of Attic coins and other works that reproduce more or less faithfully the helmet of Athena Parthenos proves that the copyist was correct in this detail^a. Still Pausanias is not known to have been short-sighted, and though he omits much in his account, he would not positively state that he saw something on a statue which was not there; and as some coins show the griffin distinctly^b, and the foreparts of this fabulous animal are seen above the visor of Athena Parthenos on the medallion of St. Petersburg, which will be mentioned again later, it is probable that it was carved in low relief on the side of the helmet^c. In fact the helmet was laden most richly with imagery, for it is probable that over the visor other animal-forms were carved, namely, the foreparts of horses that may have alluded to her title of Hippias^d: possibly even the owl found a place in this accumulation of ornament^e. And, lastly, further to enhance the richness of the work, the neck and ears were no doubt adorned with necklace and earrings, as we see

^a Vide Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 127; late silver coins, Pl. Y. 23; gem of Aspasios, *Jahrb. d. deut. Inst.* 3. Taf. 10. 10; St. Petersburg medallion, Pl. XXIV. b.

^b Beulé, *Monnaie d'Athènes*, p. 51.

^c The griffin is chiefly associated with Apollo and Artemis; it is doubtful if it has any symbolic meaning at all, or any other than a mere decorative value on the helmet of Athena. Boeckh mentions the dedication of griffins to Athena

in the Parthenon; *Staatsh. d. Ath.* 2. p. 252, l. 15.

^d We find them on the coins of Alexandria (*Num. Comm. Paus.* Y. 25), on the gem of Aspasios, on the visor of the Athena of the Villa Albani, and traces of them on the visor of the Athena Antiochus.

^e It appears on the St. Petersburg medallion, but this is in all probability a freedom that the goldsmith allowed himself.

them on the gem of Aspasio, the St. Petersburg medallion, and on the Minerve au Collier in the Louvre.

Again, the statuette has been supposed to add something to our knowledge of the structure of the whole: it shows us the pillar, about which Pausanias and the other writers are silent, supporting the right hand of Athena. Now it has been thought that some such support under the outstretched hand, in the palm of which stood a statue of gold and ivory, was an architectural necessity; and it is seen not only in the statuette but on more than one relief containing a reproduction of the Parthenos, as well as on a leaden tessera of Berlin^a, where it is difficult to find an explanation for the support appearing under the hand of the Pheidias figure that is copied there, unless it had been seen in the original work. And it has been urged that some support would be artistically desirable also as some counterpoise to the weight of attributes on her left. But would Pheidias, if he found some support necessary, have been content with a mere architectural pillar, heavy and awkward in itself, and contributing nothing to the meaning of the whole? This would have seriously marred the perfection of his work; and if the arm really needed something to rest on, we can advance a more attractive theory than that which accepts the pillar; for a coin of Cilicia of the fourth century, on which a fairly exact copy of the Parthenos appears, presents the support not in the form of a meaningless column but of an olive-tree^b; and Dr. Murray maintains that this coin-representation reveals to us how Pheidias was able to combine architectural necessity with the ideal artistic principle of making each part of the whole significant. Certainly an olive-tree would be better than a bare unadorned pillar. But it is very singular that no ancient authority should have mentioned so conspicuous an object as the olive-tree, which must have been some sixteen feet in height: although it is open to us to say that it was mentioned in the text of Pausanias at that point in the description where there is an obvious lacuna in the MS. On the other hand we may fairly

^a *Arch. Zeit.* 1857, Taf. 105; *Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 127.

^b *Num. Comm. Paus.* Y. 22.

maintain that Plutarch^{136 b} does actually refer to the pillar-support, when he says that Pheidias carved 'the golden statue of the goddess' and that his name was inscribed 'on the pillar': for the context suggests that this 'stele' was a part of the whole monument^a. Sir Charles Newton's view, maintained and developed by Dr. Waldstein^b, that no support at all was necessary, as the figure of Nike might have been poised and secured on the hand of Athena by some mechanism of bars and weights hidden within the statue, is reasonable in itself; but these writers do not sufficiently explain Plutarch's statement or the presence of the column in the copies.

The last contribution of the statuette to our knowledge of the external motive of the whole statue is its evidence in regard to the position and action of Nike. The written records leave us doubtful whether the Victory was turned towards Athena as if hailing her as the goddess of perpetual triumph, or turned away from her as if dispensing victory from her to her people. Either pose can be illustrated from the monuments^c that reproduce the work: but there are very serious objections against accepting either as the real Pheidian motive. If she were fronting Athena, she would be turning her back on the spectator, and the effect would certainly be ungainly; and if she were standing with her back to the goddess, she would seem to be flying away from her, and the whole composition would lose in unity. The statuette shows, no doubt, the original position and testifies to the skill of Pheidias; for Nike is placed obliquely so that she could be looking up to Athena and yet not wholly turning her face from the spectator or from the successful athlete, whom it may have been the custom to bring up to the statue

^a That *στήλη* could not be used by a late writer in this sense is not clear, though *κίον* would be the more usual word.

^b Vide Newton, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2. pp. 2-4; Waldstein, *Art of Pheidias*, pp. 275-281, who tries to account for the presence of the column on the reliefs and the marble statuette. The same explanation may be given for

the balance of Nike on the outstretched hand of Zeus Olympios, where there is no hint of any external support.

^c Turned towards Athena on Attic coins, *Num. Comm. Paus.* Y. 18, 20; also on fourth-century coins of Cilicia, Duc de Luynes, *Numismatique des Satrapies*, Pl. 3. 5-6; turned away from Athena and crowning an athlete, Michaelis, *Parthenon*, Pl. 15. 7.

to receive his crown. And, lastly, the statuette proves that in addition to the crown which, according to the Attic inscription already mentioned, Nike was wearing on her head, she held a garland in her hands, raising it towards the goddess as an emblem of her triumph.

As regards the drapery, the statuette is no doubt an accurate copy: we see the same girded Doric diplois as appeared on the figure of the bronze Athena, and which is attested by the coins that reproduce the Athena Parthenos, and which belongs to the austere maidenly character of the goddess; it is so arranged that the whole front-surface of the body is divided into four fields, and the heavy straight folds below perform the function of columnar supports, and give the solemnity or *σεμνότης* proper to the temple-statue.

We may gain also a fairly accurate idea of the proportions and pose of the original. The head is to the body in the normal ratio of one to seven, yet the massive helmet gives to the upper parts the appearance of some excess; but in the original this need not have been felt, for it was necessary for Pheidias to take into account the great height of his image, and to emphasize the upper parts, lest diminished by distance they should seem out of proportion with the lower.

As regards the pose, the weight is thrown on the right and the left knee is bent, and the one side is as free as in the Polycleitean statue, and the whole form has something of the same quadrilateral or four-square outline that we see and the ancients noted in the Doryphorus. But the fine rhythm and supple balance discernible in the 'canon' is not found here; for although the body leans its weight on the right leg, the hips are level and the left shoulder is only very slightly higher than the right. And here, too, we may believe that the copyist was accurately following his model, and that Pheidias, in determining the pose of his colossal temple-image, which was an architectural construction as well as a great work of religious sculpture, intentionally preserved something of the rigidity of the ancient style; of which a trace appears also in the symmetrical disposition of the locks of hair on the shoulders. It is incredible that this should be due to lack of skill or

knowledge: the Parthenon frieze, the work of his genius if not of his hand, would refute such a belief. The face also is of a somewhat more archaic type than the other Pheidian heads, for its form is more four-square than the heads of the Parthenon, the central plane being as it were distinct from the two sides; and though the cheeks are full, the forms have a certain architectural severity; the line of the eyebrows is very precise, and the parts about the nose and mouth lack modulation. These qualities might be thought to show an earlier style, or they might also show the judgement of the sculptor, who reckoned with the effect of height and with the nature of the material. But when we examine other reproductions of the Parthenos head, we begin to suspect the accuracy of the statuette in its treatment of this part of the original.

The copyist has, in fact, especially failed in his rendering of the countenance, which lacks spiritual expression and *ethos*, and is only a blank scheme of forms. Yet the statuette allows us to feel the austere solemnity of the original, the impressiveness of the measured pose of the limbs, and the purity of the drapery.

To gather an impression of the face of the Parthenos, we should examine two other copies of far greater technique and imagination.

A head has recently been found in Athens (Pl. XXV), which has not yet been published, and which is the most remarkable instance yet known of a marble reproduction of a gold and ivory original; it is undoubtedly a head of Athena, although the helmet is wanting, and a copy of the Pheidian masterpiece. The marble is polished so as to resemble ivory; and we note the traces of gold on the red-coloured hair; the eyeballs were of a different material and have fallen out.

As regards the features, this fragment serves to correct the impression given us by the statuette: there is no mathematical scheme of four-square outlines here; the contour is a full, rounded oval, and the traits of the face are eminently Pheidian, an epithet with which the work on the Parthenon frieze furnishes us to describe the dominant type of the grandest style of Attic sculpture. The forehead

PLATE XXV



a Roman work, false in forms and expression; the features are small and lack grandeur or breadth, and the teeth are showing. The gem of Aspasios, a work of the later period, is important for the representation of the helmet, but the face lacks expression, although the forms of the face appear to be correctly reproduced.

It might be expected that so great a work as the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias would have left many copies of itself, and two statues at least may be quoted that may be regarded as free reproductions of it: the Athena formerly in the Villa Ludovisi, by a sculptor of the late Attic school, whose name may have been Antiochus^a, and the statue known as the Minerve au Collier of the Louvre. The former agrees with the statuette in the pose of the lower and upper limbs, in the arrangement of the drapery, and, on the whole, in the contour of the face; the arms are restored, but doubtless the right hand was holding the Nike and the left resting on the shield; the helmet has lost the adornment of figures which it originally had, and the style proper to metal-work does not appear so much in the drapery as in the arrangement of the hair, which is twisted into a series of concentric rings above the forehead. The statue in the Louvre shows the same balance and pose of the limbs^b, and is probably nearer to the original in the motive of the arms. But the drapery, though in other respects the same as that of the statuette, is modified by the addition of the upper garment. The face has been much restored, and we can scarcely draw any conclusion from it as to the fidelity of the copyist; but the helmet retains part of the original rich decoration, and we see the symmetrical disposition of the curls over the shoulders. The statue has preserved something of the stateliness of the original, but the sculpture is cold and dull, and dates from the Graeco-Roman period.

The Albani Pallas (Pl. XXVII) is a work that deserves notice among the ideal types of Athena; and the question arises how far it can claim affinity with the Pheidian original. It surely cannot be derived from a type created in the period

^a *Mon. dell' Inst.* 3. 27.

^b Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. 22. 211.

PLATE XXVII



before Pheidias, as has been supposed^a. For the pose of the body shows some advance in the direction of greater freedom and ease beyond that of the Parthenos statuette, for though the weight is thrown on the same side, the motive is continued in the upper body as it does not appear to be in the statuette, the right shoulder of the Albani figure being lower than the left, and the head is turned to the side on which the weight is poised. She wears an Ionic chiton with sleeves, of which the delicately traced parallel folds appear at the feet, and over this a thick double himation, which is looped up over the right shoulder, and of which the large upper fold falls back again over most of the body, leaving the left breast free; its open borders are marked with the wavy line of the older severe style, but this severity contrasts with the fine freedom of some of the other folds, and we have an effective distinction between a stronger and milder style in the drapery. But here the Pheidian idea is entirely lost: in the place of the girt Doric sleeveless chiton, so appropriate with its severe simplicity and columnar folds to the temple-image of the armed maiden goddess, we have an arrangement of costume that is majestic and stately, but which aims at imperial display rather than expression of character; it is matronly rather than maidenly. The face, too, has little of the Pheidian form, but has the sharp mathematical lines and angles of the Peloponnesian type, and nothing of Pheidian expression. The countenance is severe, almost sombre, and this is enhanced by the lion's muzzle, the curious and unique device on her head which takes the place of her helmet, an innovation of the sculptor, who may have been thinking of Heracles, or who wished to allude vaguely to her heroic character^b. The whole

^a For instance by Dr. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, pp. 695, 696. The examples he quotes merely prove that the peculiar arrangement of the drapery can be traced back to the late archaic period: we see it in germ on vase-figures of Athena of the red-figured transitional style, e.g. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, 116. 147. 143. 18, but the effect

is entirely different; the bronzes that show the same arrangement as the Albani statue are all of the post-Pheidian and some of the Roman period, e.g. Sacken and Kenner, *Bronzen*, Taf. 8. 4 and 7, Taf. 9, Taf. 5. 4.

^b Dr. Furtwängler maintains in his *Meisterwerke*, p. 80 (Engl. ed.), note 1, that it is a wolf's or a dog's muzzle that

figure has less effect of height than of squareness; at the same time it impresses us strongly, and it has an historic interest as the statue which, above all others, appears to have inspired Winckelmann with his conception of the 'grand style' of Greek sculpture. It is probably a copy of an original wrought at the end of the fifth century, possibly under Polycleitean influence.

A different and very interesting representation of Athena by Pheidias was the famous Lemnian statue, which was dedicated on the Acropolis by the inhabitants of Lemnos¹³⁶ c. Pausanias tells us merely that this was the most remarkable of the works of Pheidias, and that it was called the 'Lemnian' Athena—ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων, that is, because its dedicators belonged to the island. These have been usually and very naturally regarded as the Attic colonists, who, as Prof. Kirchhoff^a skilfully argues from epigraphical and other evidence, were allotted cleruchies there between 451 and 448 B. C. Now the view put forward by Prof. Loeschke, that the monument was erected on the occasion of their departure, is probable, but cannot on the existing evidence be proved; it is *a priori* quite as likely that the settlers sent this token to Athens some years afterwards as a thank-offering for their prosperity in their new home. The ancient records about this work are unfortunately vague. Besides Pausanias, the only other writer who explicitly mentions it is Lucian, who borrows traits from it for his type of the ideal maiden, praising in particular the 'contour of its face, the tenderness of its cheeks, and the symmetry of its nose'; and he evidently regarded it as the most perfect achievement of Pheidias' art. We gather from Pausanias that it stood on the Acropolis, not far from the Propylaea. This is all that we are expressly told about it. It seems, however, most natural to refer to this work the statement in Pliny that Pheidias 'wrought a Minerva of bronze of such surpassing beauty that it received the title of "formosa" (?)'; and nearly every writer has assumed that this refers to the Lemnian Athena, who may have been styled Καλλίμορφος or some such name. We should gather,

covers the head; and refers to the cap of Athena in the worship at Coronea.
of Hades, and the chthonian character ^a *Abhandl. d. Berlin. Akad.* 1873, p. 33.

then, that the Lemnian was a bronze work. And we should at once accept this identification, assuming that Lucian's judgement was also the judgement of antiquity, but for one difficulty: if the Lemnian Athena on the Acropolis was of bronze, how came it that the Athena Promachus was generally known as 'the bronze Athena' on the Acropolis, while there was there another statue of the same goddess by Pheidias also of bronze? We may still reckon the balance of probability in favour of the belief that Pliny, Pausanias, and Lucian are speaking of the same statue. But in any case we cannot say with absolute certainty that we know even the material of which the Lemnian Athena was carved, still less can we be sure of the form and motives of the statue, so far as the literary record can teach us. The quotation from Himerius, placed by Overbeck among the records of the Athena Lemnia, is mere hazy verbiage, and can give no scientific evidence: the rhetorician takes pains to inform us that 'the natural powers of Pheidias were strengthened by the discovery of new forms. He did not always carve Zeus, nor cast in bronze the maiden with her arms, but devoted his art to other divinities and adorned the maiden-goddess; infusing a blush into the cheek, that instead of the helmet a blush might serve as a covering for her beauty.' Is there any reality behind these words? If they signify anything they ought to mean that Pheidias carved a new type of the unarmed Athena without her helmet; it is far too much to conclude that this was the Lemnian. Lastly, we are supposed to have an allusion to a Pheidian type of Athena without her arms in the inscription found near the site of Paphos, of the second century B. C., mentioning a statue of Athena dedicated to Aphrodite^{136 c}. But unhappily the text is corrupt just at those points where the theory might have been tested: the second line, by a probable restoration, would mean that she did not need her arms when coming to visit Cypris; but the first line mentions shield or aegis and Nike, and the dative *χερί* that occurs in it cannot be accommodated to any restoration of the text that would make this line mean that she had left behind her these tokens of war. Therefore we do not find here any sure allusion to an

unarmed type of the goddess; nor any certain reference to a work of Pheidias at all, for the last line which describes the dedication as Φειδιακὴν χάριτα need merely signify that the monument possessed 'a Pheidian grace.'

Therefore we learn nothing definite from literature about the Lemnian Athena, and it is for this reason difficult to pursue with any effect the question whether we can discover the type of it among existing monuments. All that we can say about the character of the work is that the quality of formal beauty which appeared in the 'Parthenos' was evidently enhanced in the Lemnian statue, yet certainly, as Pheidias was the sculptor, without any excessive striving after effect^a. The figure of Athena on the Parthenon frieze is another interesting type of Pheidias' creation; for she is seated there as the peaceful goddess without her helmet, carved in forms of simple maidenly beauty; the arrangement of the drapery, a single ungirt Doric chiton, has nothing of the severity of the temple-image; the short unbound hair is in keeping with the *naïveté* of the figure^b.

A terracotta statuette from Salamis in Cyprus has been published by Prof. Gardner and by Ohnefalsch-Richter, affording further illustration of the unarmed type^c. The pose resembles that of the Parthenos, the weight falling on the right side, and the left knee being bent. Her left hand rests on the shield which lies on the ground, and the right is half enveloped in the himation and holding an Attic helmet. Her flowing locks fall on the shoulders, and there is no emblem of terror on her breast. Neither does the drapery suggest the war-goddess: above the chiton hangs the mantle, and no girdling is visible, but the light diploidion falls down to the waist, and the columnar folds of the drapery at her feet are softly modulated. The features seem large and full. The whole figure combines dignity with great delicacy, and might well be a copy of a later work of Pheidian style.

^a See Appendix B.

^b We have an exact copy of the Parthenon figure in a small terracotta of the Louvre, noticed and published by

Dr. Waldstein in his *Art of Pheidias*, Pl. 9. p. 214.

^c *Hellenic Journ.* 2, p. 326, Pl. 16; *Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst.* 6, p. 250.

The chryselephantine work of Pheidias completely expressed the ideal that the Attic religion had developed of the victorious goddess of war and peace, the guardian of the city-life, whose maidenly form was combined by him with an almost maternal fullness of countenance, and with an expression profoundly earnest but still free of severity. But great as was the influence of this masterpiece, a different type, which originated in the fifth century, had considerable vogue in the fourth, and became the most prevalent in the later periods. It is distinguished from the former externally by the taller and slimmer Corinthian helmet, and essentially by a different cast of features: the face is longer and thinner, the bone-structure is more strongly marked, the mouth is very firm and severe; what is expressed in the face is austere, self-centred wisdom and strength; the power of intellectual thought and the virginal character, which had been sufficiently expressed by Pheidias, predominate in this other representation of her, to the exclusion of the deeper Attic conception of the beneficent goddess of the people. The Pheidian ideal was that of Athena Polias; this other expresses the Parthenos, the maiden-goddess of war and wisdom. The idea is narrower, but rendered in forms of exceeding beauty and purity. The type originated in the fifth century, but its birthplace is not known. We find the Corinthian helmet on her head and a broad type of features and severe arrangement of the hair on a coin of Cyzicus of about 430 B.C. It is commonest in the coinage of Corinth and her colonies; but it cannot be called exclusively Doric; for it penetrated later into the coinage of Athens and of the Attic colony of Thurii, where the type of the goddess with the Attic helmet and the Attic countenance had prevailed^a.

Perhaps the most beautiful instance of it is on the silver coins of Syracuse, of which a specimen is here given (Coin Pl. B 30); the same type is also strikingly presented on coins of Ambracia and Leucas (Coin Pl. B 27, 28).

The most striking example in sculpture of this Athena with

^a Vide Carelli, 165-167, Athena of the later 'Corinthian' type on coins of Thurii.

the Corinthian helmet and the corresponding expression, is the statue from Velletri in the Louvre, which represented her with her right hand raised and resting on her spear, her left holding out a cup. The face is very slim and long, and Peloponnesian in the severity of its outlines and its rectilinear character, with which the arrangement of the hair accords. The surface of the face has lost its life from the working of a later chisel upon it, but the expression remains in it of high seriousness, purity, and intellectual force.

In the later Alexandrine period, as the free city-life decayed, we can note a decay in the representations of the city goddess; the face becomes charged with sentiment or with excess of thought, the Corinthian type being preferred: to this period the original of the Athena Agoraia of the Louvre may be referred.

APPENDIX A.

SINCE the account given in the text of the Athena 'Promachus' was written, the statue itself and the records concerning it have received a searching analysis from Dr. Furtwängler in his *Meisterwerke* (pp. 27-36, Engl. ed.). He has entirely abandoned the opinion which he cursorily expressed in Roscher's *Lexicon* (p. 700) against the affiliation of the torso Medici with the 'Promachus'; his present view agrees in the main with that which I have been led to adopt. What is novel in his theory is that the elder Praxiteles and not Pheidias was the sculptor of the 'Promachus.' A writer of very doubtful authority, the scholiast on Aristides (Overbeck, *Schriftqu.* 640), ascribes the 'Promachus' to Praxiteles, and Dr. Furtwängler accepts this statement, understanding by Praxiteles the elder sculptor of that name, the contemporary of Pheidias; the explicit statement of Pausanias that it was a work by Pheidias' own hand he tries to invalidate on the ground that Pausanias was usually reckless in ascribing works to Pheidias. But this is hard to prove. Pausanias was cautious about the Athena of Pellene; he maintains, as against Pliny, that the statue of the 'Magna Mater' at Athens was a work of Pheidias, and there is no reason for saying that he was wrong: he states that Pheidias carved the Nemesis of Rhamnus, and if he was in error here, he erred in company with greater authorities than himself. Dr. Furtwängler does not notice that Ovid and even Aristides himself implicitly corroborate Pausanias' statement (Overbeck, *op. cit.* 639, 643). There is no reason at all for believing that the 'Promachus' was not inscribed with the sculptor's name. Dr. Furtwängler presses Lucian's statement about the Lemnian Athena, that Pheidias deemed this work worthy to inscribe his own name upon, into meaning that no other work of the sculptor, at least on the Acropolis, bore his signature; but the phrase of Lucian may have been suggested merely by the literary gossip about great sculptors allowing their works to appear under other

names. The whole theory about an elder Praxiteles appears very unsubstantial ; there is no valid reason why any one of the works ascribed by recent criticism to the supposititious elder Praxiteles could not have been carved by the famous sculptor of the fourth century as the ancients believed ; the Praxiteles of the younger Attic school could have replaced the charioteer of Calamis with a better designed figure, and could have built the statue for the Plataean temple of Hera after the restoration of the city by Philip ; when the Thebans first destroyed Plataea in the early period of the Peloponnesian war, it is scarcely likely that they would have commissioned an Athenian sculptor to carve the image. We should never have heard of an elder Praxiteles, if it had not been for the mysterious statement in Pausanias (i. 2, 4) about an inscription written in pre-Euclidean letters on the wall of the temple of Demeter at Athens, ascribing to Praxiteles a group that was there consecrated ; but for many reasons the statement is altogether too eccentric to be used in evidence. If there was an elder Praxiteles who achieved all that in the last ten years has been imputed to him, the ancient authorities on the history of sculpture were either strangely ignorant of this distinguished man, or preserved ' a conspiracy of silence.'

The rest of Dr. Furtwängler's theory will probably be accepted, namely, that the 'Promachus' was a later work than the Parthenos. Lange had already maintained this ; and Dr. Furtwängler, starting from the same evidence, the Medici torso, shows by a minute analysis the marks of a style that in respect of the drapery and in certain details of the pose was somewhat in advance of that which is revealed in the Parthenos.

APPENDIX B.

THE recent investigations of Dr. Furtwängler and his supposed discovery of the Lemnian type have given rise to a question of the very highest importance for modern archaeology to decide. By a very brilliant and fascinating combination, he has arrived at the conviction that the Bologna

head, hitherto misnamed the head of Ephebos or Amazon, or even a modern forgery (*Meisterwerke*, Pl. 3), and the two statues in Dresden (*ib.* Pl. 1 and 2), are to be connected as copies from the same original, and that this is the Lemnian Athena of Pheidias. This theory has been accepted with enthusiasm, and certainly most would confess that they desire it to be true; but no one except Dr. Furtwängler himself appears yet to have tested it by searching criticism; an adverse article concerning it in the *Monuments Grecs* (1895) by M. Jamot is full of weak points, some of which Dr. Furtwängler successfully exposes in a reply in the *Classical Review* of June, 1895. The theory in the *Meisterwerke* involves two separate and distinct points. The first is a real and fruitful discovery, to which others have contributed something, but of which the greatest credit is due to Dr. Furtwängler; he has proved, namely, that the head of the Dresden statue (Pl. 1) really belongs to the figure, that it is a replica of the Bologna head, and that the latter exactly fits into the torso of the second Dresden statue on Plate 2, from which an entirely alien head has been removed. The authorities of the Dresden Museum guarantee these facts after careful experiments made at Dr. Furtwängler's suggestion; as there is no reason to suppose they have deceived themselves, we must accept the evidence as certain. The head of the first statue (Pl. 1) has been rightly restored and set again on the figure, and the whole appears to me, judging from the cast, to be in admirable harmony. We have then recovered, thanks to Dr. Furtwängler, a remarkable and beautiful type of a bare-headed Athena, and the original must have been a famous work, for we have at least four copies of it in sculpture—the two Dresden statues, the third to which the Bologna head belonged, and the ill-restored Cassel statue (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. 210)—and Dr. Furtwängler has published a gem with an Athena bust of the same type, which suggests that the sculptor of the original work represented her holding her helmet in her right hand (*Meisterwerke*, p. 6, Fig. 1): the left arm was held out almost at right angles to the shoulder, and was no doubt resting on the spear. This is the type of the peaceful goddess

which was in vogue with the earlier painters of the red-figured vases, being especially used in scenes where Athena is greeting another person (Lenormant, *Élite*, I. 80, 82, 86), and was evidently still popular at the close of the fifth century, as we gather from the Lansdowne relief. There is reason to believe that this is a specially Attic type, though it may have travelled to other art-centres.

So far Dr. Furtwängler's study of these works leads to scientific results of great value; and the Bologna head is no longer a waif among monuments. But the second point of his thesis is that this type is the type of the Lemnian Athena, and that the Dresden statues and the Bologna head are exact copies. Here the method of his research appears to me to be at fault. In that part of archaeology which consists in the discovery of lost antiques among existing copies, scientific certitude is almost impossible unless we are helped by clear literary record or by inscriptions. Now Dr. Furtwängler assumes throughout that we know that the Lemnian Athena was without helmet, and that she was carved of bronze; as I have shown in the text, the last point is only probable, and of the first there is no evidence at all. In his reply in the *Classical Review* to M. Jamot, he is slightly less dogmatic; he states his theory not as a proved certainty, but as a combination of most extreme probability, such as that which has led us to discover the Doryphorus of Polycleitus or the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus. It is doubtful if we can grant him quite so much as this; for we know at least that the Doryphorus was carrying a spear, and that the Apoxyomenos was using the strigil, and these are important clues: but no one tells anything so clear about the Lemnian Athena. 'Beautiful contour, tender cheek, symmetrical nose,' are found in many ancient heads, and are words therefore that give little clue: nor have we any right to conclude from Lucian's words that she had or had not a helmet.

Nor again can we argue by elimination, so as to prove, for example, that as these statues reveal a Pheidian type, and this cannot be the Parthenos or the Promachus, therefore it must be the Lemnian. Such argument is useless unless we

know that we have a complete list of the sculptor's works ; and of what ancient sculptor do we know this ? And if all Pheidias' works were mentioned by one writer or another, there is still the ' *alia Minerva* ' mentioned by Pliny, evidently well known in Rome.

Nor does Dr. Furtwängler make it clear that these monuments prove an original by the hand of Pheidias. The drapery resembles that of the Parthenos as regards the main forms and partly in the treatment of the folds, but he notes himself very important differences : the lower part from the knees downwards does not resemble the disposition of the drapery on the Parthenos statuette, or on the female figures of the Parthenon ; certainly there is a general style in the treatment that may be called ' Pheidian,' but this may have been used by other artists in Athens, and even elsewhere. But the real test is the countenance ; and after a long study of the cast and of Dr. Furtwängler's analysis of the features, which is penetrating and correct, I can only conclude that we have no right to attribute such a head to Pheidias' hand. For our only direct evidence of his work are the Parthenon sculptures and—of less value—the Parthenos statuette. Now Dr. Furtwängler admits that in its essential features this head in Bologna does not resemble these. It has an oval top, while the heads of the Parthenon tend to show at the top a horizontal line ; its cheeks are not broad, while the breadth of theirs is conspicuous and imposing ; the angle of the nose with the chin is different, and the chin slightly recedes, while theirs is firm and straight ; nor is there any mouth on the Parthenon frieze that resembles this, with its firm closed lips and its expression of cold reserve. The breadth of shoulders recalls the Parthenon style, but we should have expected more indication of the collar-bone. The countenance is very earnest and self-contained, and though there is an impress of Attic character upon it, yet it has not wholly the expression that is stamped upon the authentic Pheidian faces.

The ideal of the goddess presented to us in this type is narrower than that which the Parthenos embodied ; it is the ideal of the young and half-developed maiden deity,

self-contained and cold ; the face has neither the full rich life that the heads of the Parthenos reveal, nor the keen intellectual traits of the latter slimmer type. One might at first be tempted to place it after the Parthenos in point of time, and to regard it as pointing the transition from that to the later ideal. But Dr. Furtwängler's argumentation is strong in support of the view that it preceded the Parthenos by some few years. A few details may indeed suggest a somewhat later origin ; the visage of the Gorgon has less of the archaic grimness, the drapery at the back by the girdle and the flaps under the right arm are treated with much more softness and pliancy than is seen in the surface of the Parthenos statuette at these places, and there is more free rhythm achieved in the inclination of the shoulders ; but, as Dr. Furtwängler has pointed out, the Parthenos as a temple-statue required more austerity and solidity of pose. On the other hand, the rather broad centre of the face of the Bologna head, and the deep reserve impressed upon the countenance, remind us of the style of the earlier transitional period. And lest we should think that this girlish type could not be so old as 440 B. C., we may bear in mind the relief-figure of the mourning Athena, which is still earlier, and is almost as youthful and simple.

REFERENCES FOR CHAPTERS X–XII.

¹ Primitive ritual or cult :

^a Human sacrifice at Laodicea. Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 56 ἐθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν τῇ Ἀθηναῖ κατ' ἔτος παρθένοσ, νῦν δὲ ἔλαφοσ. Cf. 25 d.

^b Schol. Tzetz. *Lycophr.* 1141 φθορὰ δὲ καὶ λιμόσ . . . ἔσχε τὴν Λοκρίδα διὰ τὴν ἐσ Κασσάνδραν ἀθεμιτομιξίαν τοῦ Αἴαντοσ. Ἐχρησε δ' ὁ θεόσ, ἰλάσκεισθαι Ἀθηναῖ τὴν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐπ' ἔτη χίλια, δύο παρθένοσ πέμποντασ ἐπὶ κλήρῳ καὶ λαχῆσει. Πεμπομένησ δὲ αὐτάσ προυπαντῶντεσ οἱ Τρῶεσ, εἰ κατέσχον, ἀνῆρουν, καὶ καίοντεσ ἀκάρποισ καὶ ἀγρίοισ ξύλοισ τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ Τράρωνοσ, ὄρουσ τῆσ Τροιάσ τὴν σποδὸν εἰσ θάλασσαν ἔρριπτον, καὶ πάλιν οἱ Λοκροὶ ἐτέρασ ἀπέστελλον. Εἰ δὲ τινεσ ἐκφύγοιεν, ἀνελθοῦσαι λάθρα ἐσ τὸ τῆσ Ἀθηναῖσ ἱερόν, ἰερεῖαι ἐγένοντο· ἔσαιρον δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔρραινον· τῇ δὲ θεῶ οὐ προσήρχοντο, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οὐκ ἐξήρχοντο, εἰ μὴ νύκτωρ. Ἦσαν δὲ κεκαρμέναι, μονοχίτωνεσ, καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι. . . . Χιλίων δὲ ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο τῆσ τοιαύτησ θυσίασ, ὡσ φησι Τίμαιοσ ὁ Σικελόσ. Μέννηται δὲ τῆσ ἱστορίασ καὶ ὁ Κυρηναίοσ Καλλιμάχοσ.

² Feast of Πλυντήρια at Athens :

^a Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4, 12 κατέπλευσεν ἐσ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα ἣ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλισ, τοῦ ἔδοσ κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆσ Ἀθηναῖ, ὃ τινεσ οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶσ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρα οὐδενόσ σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ἄψασθαι.

^b Plut. *Alicib.* 34 ἔδρατο τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ θεῶ· δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαί Θαργηλιῶνοσ ἕκτη φθίνοντοσ ἀπόρρητα τὸν τε κόσμον καθελόντεσ καὶ τὸ ἔδοσ κατακαλύψαντεσ.

^c Hesych. s.v. Πραξιεργίδαί· οἱ τὸ ἔδοσ τὸ ἀρχαίον τῆσ Ἀθηναῖ ἀμφιεννύντεσ.

^d Phot. *Lex.* p. 231. 11 Λουτρίδεσ· δύο κόρραι περὶ τὸ ἔδοσ τῆσ Ἀθηναῖ· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ πλυντρίδεσ. οὕτωσ Ἀριστοφάνησ. Cf. *Et. Mag.* κατανίπτησ· ἱερωσύνῃ Ἀθήνησι, ὃ τὰ κάτω τοῦ πέπλου τῆσ Ἀθηναῖ ῥυπαινόμενα ἀποπλύνων.

^e Phot. *Lex.* p. 127 Καλλυντήρια· καλλυντήρια καὶ πλυντήρια, ἐορτῶν ὀνόματα· γίνονται μὲν αὐταὶ Θαργηλιῶνοσ μηνόσ, ἐννάτη μὲν ἐπὶ δέκα καλλυντήρια,

δευτέρα δὲ φθίνοντος τὰ πλυντήρια· τὰ μὲν πλυντήρια φησὶ διὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγλαύρου ἐντὸς ἑνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι ἐσθῆτας.

^f Hesych. *s. v.* Πλυντήρια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ (τιμὴν) ἄγουσιν.

^g Athenag. *Leg.* I καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηναῖοι μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἄγουσι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ.

^h Pollux, 8. 141 περισοχίῃσαι τὰ ἱερὰ ἔλεγον ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσει, καὶ τὸ παραφράζει, οἷον Πλυντηρίοσι.

ⁱ Hesych. *s. v.* Ἡγητηρία· παλάθῃ σύκων· ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ (παρὰ) πλυντηρίων, φέρουσι παλάθην συγκειμένην ἐξ ἰσχάδων.

³ Πλυντήρια in Paros *C. I. Gr.* 2. 2265.

^{4 a} *C. I. A.* 2. 469, 10 ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι . . . ἐξήγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Παλλάδα Φαληροὶ κακίεθον πάλιν συνεισήγαγον μετὰ φωτὸς μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας. Cf. 470, 11; 471, 11.

^b Suidas, 4. p. 1273. 7 οἱ δὲ νομοφύλακες . . . τῇ Παλλάδι τὴν πομπὴν ἐκόσμουον ὅτε κομίζοιτο τὸ ξόανον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

^{5 a} Schol. Callim. *Lavacr. Pall.* I ἐν τινι ἡμέρᾳ ὠρισμένη ἔθος εἶχον αἱ Ἀργεῖαι γυναῖκες λαμβάνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ Διομήδους (σύκος) καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴναχον κάκει ἀπολούειν.

^b Paus. 2. 23, 5 λέγουσι γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι . . . ἄγαλμα κείσθαι παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἐκομισθῆν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ ἄλωνα ποιῆσαν Ἴλιον.

⁶ Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 2. 33 ἐκμάσσειν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἢ ἀλείφειν ἢ καθαίρειν ἢ σαροῦν τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων . . . ἡμαρτηκῆναι τι εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνους σημαίνει.

⁷ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀνεμῶτις in Mothone: Paus. 4. 35, 8 ἐν Μοθῶνῃ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀνεμῶτιδος· Διομήδην δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ θεῷ φασὶ θέσθαι.

⁸ Athena Ναρκαία in Elis: Paus. 5. 16, 5 Φυσκῶν δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου τεκεῖν παῖδα Ναρκαιῶν (λέγουσι)· τοῦτον, ὡς ηὔξῃθη, . . . Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπέκλησιν Ναρκαιᾶς . . . ἰδρύσασθαι.

^{9 a} Athena Νεδουσία in Laconia: Strabo, 360 παρὰ δὲ Φηρᾶς Νέδων ἐκβάλλει ῥέων διὰ τῆς Δακωνικῆς . . . ἔχει δὲ ἱερὸν ἐπίσημον Ἀθηνᾶς Νεδουσίας. Καὶ ἐν Ποιαέσση δ' ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Νεδουσίας ἱερὸν.

^b In Ceos: Strabo, 487 τὸ τῆς Νεδουσίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν.

¹⁰ Strabo, 411 κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον.

¹¹ Athena Λαρισαία: Paus. 7. 17, 5 Ἀχαιοὶς δὲ ὄροι καὶ Ἡλείοις τῆς χώρας ποταμὸς τε Λάρισος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ναὸς ἐστὶ Λαρισαίας.

¹² Athena Σουινιάς: Paus. 1. 1, 1 ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ λιμὴν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ, καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουινιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας.

¹³ Strabo, 281 ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν, καὶ ὁ σκόπελος, ὃν καλοῦσιν ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν (on the Calabrian coast).

¹⁴ Athena Κορησία: Steph. Byz. s. v. Κόριον. τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀπὸ κόρης τινός . . . καὶ Λίμνη Κορησία. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Κορησίας.

¹⁵ Athena Γυγαία, by the lake Gygaea in Lydia: Eustath. II. 2. 864–866, p. 366 ἔτεροι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν Γυγαίαν αὐτόθι τιμᾶσθαι φασιν.

^{16a} Athena Τριτογένεια: *Delt. Arch.* 1889, p. 118 ὁ δεῖνα ἀ]νέθηκε Βο ιτες Παλλάδι Τριτογενεῖ.

b Τριτογένεια in *Iliad*, 4. 515; 8. 39; 22. 183.

c Arist. *Lysisistr.* 346 Καὶ σε καλῶ σύμμαχον ὦ Τριτογένεια . . . φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

d Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 109 Τριτωνὶς ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὅτι ἐν Τρίτῳ ἐγενήθη τῷ Λιβυκῷ. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο Τρίτωνες, εἷς μὲν Βοιωτικὸς ἕτερος δὲ Θεσσαλικός.

e Paus. 9. 33, 7, near Alalcomenae in Boeotia, ῥεῖ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγας χεῖμαρρος· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τραφῆναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτῳ ἔχει λόγος, ὡς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Λιβύων.

f *Id.* 8. 26, 6 Ἀλιφηρεῦσι δὲ . . . ἱερὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν θεῶν σέβονται μάλιστα, γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτὴν λέγοντες· καὶ Διὸς τε ἰδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου βωμὸν ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος, καὶ κρήνην καλοῦσι Τριτωνίδα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Τρίτῳ οἰκειούμενοι λόγον. τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα πεποίηται χαλκοῦ, Ὑπατοδώρου ἔργον, θεᾶς ἄξιον μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἐς τὴν τέχνην. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ πανήγυριν ὄτω δὴ θεῶν δοκῶ δὲ σφᾶς ἄγειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ.

g Aesch. *Eum.* 292:

ἀλλ' εἶτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικῆς,
Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου,
τίθησιν ὄρθον ἢ κατηρεφῆ πόδα (Ἀθηνᾶ).

h Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1306 ἀλλά σφεας ἐλέηραν ἀμηχανῆ μινύθοντας ἰρῶσσαι, Λιβύης τιμήροιο, αἶ ποτ' Ἀθήνην, ἦμος ὅτ' ἐκ πατρὸς κεφαλῆς θύρε παμφαίνουσα, ἀντόμεναι Τρίτωνος ἐφ' ὕδασι χυτλώσαντο.

ⁱ Herod. 4. 180 (in Libya) οἱ Μάχλυνες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι . . . Ὅρθῃ δὲ ἐνανσίῃ Ἀθηναίης οἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενεῖ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. . . πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τὰδε ποιεῦσι κοινῇ παρθένον τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἐκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνὴ τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες, περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλω.

^k Ov. *Met.* 15. 356:

Esse viros fama est in Hyperborea Pallene
Qui soleant levibus velari corpora plumis
Cum Tritoniacam novies subiere paludem.

^l Diod. Sic. 5. 72 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι. διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ἐπονομασθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι παρὰ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ἱερὸν ἄγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης. Cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66.

^m Paus. 8. 14, 4, at Pheneos in Arcadia: ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Τριτωνίας· ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα, καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ἐπωνυμίαν Ἴππιος.

ⁿ Suidas, *s. v.* Τριτομηνίς· τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς . . . δοκεῖ δὲ γεγενῆσθαι τότε ἢ Ἀθηναῖα. Ἴστρος δὲ καὶ Τριτογένειαν αὐτὴν φησι λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Σελήνῃ νομιζομένην.

^o Schol. *Il.* 8. 39 Τριτογένεια . . . ὅτι τρίτη φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη. Cf. Callisthenes, *Frag.* 48 Geier τρίτη τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγεννήθη· διὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἢ τρίτη ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς.

^p Worship of Athena and legend of Triton in Triteia of Achaea: Paus. 7. 22, 8, 9 Τριτεία θυγατρὶ Τρίτωνος· ἱεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τὴν παρθένον . . . ἐν Τριτεία . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ναὸς.

Athena-cult associated with Poseidon.

^{17 a} ¹ In Athens: Paus. 1. 26, 6 (on Acropolis) ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον . . . ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὶ θύουσι ἐκ τοῦ μαντεύματος.

^a ² Plut. *Quaest. Conyiv.* 9. 6 ἐναυθα (at Athens) καὶ νεῶ κοινωαῖ (Ποσειδῶν) μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ βωμός ἐστι Λήθης ἰδρυμένος.

^a ³ Apollod. 3. 15, 1 τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου Βούτης (λαμβάνει).

^a ⁴ Himer. *Eclog.* 5. 30 οἶος ὁ τῆς Παλλάδος νεὸς καὶ τὸ πλησίον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τέμενος· συνήψαμεν διὰ τῶν ἀνακτόρων τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὴν ἄμειλλαν.

a⁵ Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* 843 E: Lycurgus' family κατήγον τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Βούτου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως . . . καὶ ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ καταγωγὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερασαμένων τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐν πίνακι τελείῳ, ὃς ἀνάκειται ἐν Ἐρεχθείῳ . . . τὸν δὲ πίνακα ἀνέθηκεν Ἄβρων, ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, λαχὼν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην, καὶ παραχωρήσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυκάφρονι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεποιήται ὁ Ἄβρων προσιδιούσ αὐτῷ τὴν τρίαῖναν.

a⁶ At Colonus: Paus. I. 30, 4 βωμὸς Ποσειδῶνος Ἴππίου καὶ Ἀθηνῶς Ἴππίας.

a⁷ In the Lakiadas deme: Paus. I. 37, 2 Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμάς.

a⁸ At Sunium vide¹³, cf. Arist. *Equit.* 559:

δεῦρ' ἔλθ' ἐς χορόν, ὃ χρυσοτρίαν', ὃ
δελφίνων μεδέων, Σουνιάρατε.

a⁹ Eur. *Frag. Erechtheus*, 362:

οὐκ ἔσθ' ἐκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἀνὴρ
προγόνων παλαιὰ θέσμι' ὅστις ἐκβαλεῖ,
οὐδ' ἀντ' ἐλάας χρυσεάς τε Γοργόνος
τρίαῖναν ὄρθην στάσαν ἐν πόλεως βάθροις
Εὐμολπος οὐδὲ Θράξ ἀναστέψει λεῶς
στεφάνοισι, Πάλλας δ' οὐδαμῶ τιμήσεται.

b At Troezen: Paus. 2. 30, 6 Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀμφισβητήσαι λέγουσι περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἀμφισβητήσαντας δὲ ἔχειν ἐν κοινῷ προστάξει γὰρ οὕτω Δία σφίσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ Σθηνιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα βασιλέα ἐπικλήσιν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρίαῖναν καὶ Ἀθηνῶς πρόσωπον.

c ? at Corinth: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 115 (in the legend of Bellerophon and Pegasus):

ὅταν δ' εὐρυσθενεῖ
καρταίποδ' αὐερύη Γεαόχῳ,
θέμεν Ἴππία βωμὸν εὐθὺς Ἀθῆνα (κελήσατο).

d At Sparta: Paus. 3. 11, 9 τὸ δὲ (ἱερὸν) Ἀθηνῶς Ἀγοραίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ὃν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἀσφάλιον. Cf. ³⁸ b. At Pheneos in Arcadia, vide ¹⁶ m.

e At Asea: Paus. 8. 44, 4 ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους σημεῖά ἐστιν ἱεροῦ ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶ τε Σώτειρι καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Ὀδυσσεά ἐλέγετο ἀνακομισθέντα ἐξ Ἰλίου.

f *Et. Mag.* p. 479. 30 Ἴππία ἐκλήθη οὕτως ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ. ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς μεθ' ἵππων ἀνήλατο, ὡς ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὕμνος δηλοῖ. ἢ ὅτι Ποσειδῶνος οὖσα θυγάτηρ καὶ Κορυφῆς τῆς Ὠκεάνου, ἔχουσα ἄρμα, οὕτως ἐγεννήθη. ἢ ὅτι

* Ἄδραστος Θήβηθεν φεύγων, ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ στήσας τοὺς ἵππους, Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἄθηναν ἱππίους προσηγόρευσεν.

¹⁸ Athena Ἀλέα: ^a Paus. 8. 45, 3-4 Τεγέταις δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἄλεος. . . ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν πόλῳ δὴ τῶν ναῶν ὅσοι Πελοποννησίοις εἰσὶν, ἐς κατασκευὴν προέχει τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐς μέγεθος.

^b Paus. 8. 46, 1 τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἀρχαῖον . . . ἔλαβεν ὁ Ῥωμαῖον βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος . . . τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται ἐλέφαντος διὰ παντὸς πεποιημένον, τέχνη δὲ Ἐνδοίου. Herod. 1. 67 αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐται, ἐν τῆσιν ἐδέδεατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

^c Paus. 8. 47, 1 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐκομίσθη μὲν ἐκ δήμου τοῦ Μανθουρέων, Ἰππία δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Μανθουρεῦσιν εἶχεν ἐπίκλησιν . . . Ἀλέαν μὲν τοι καλεῖσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἔς τε Ἑλλήνας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς Πελοποννησίοις ἐκνείκηκε. τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῇ μὲν Ἀσκληπιῶς τῇ δὲ Ὑγίεια παρεστῶσα ἐστὶ λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Σκόπα δὲ ἔργα Παρίου.

^d *Ib.* 3 ἱεράται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἠβάσκειν καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην. . . .

^e *Ib.* 4 τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω στάδιον χῶμα γῆς ἐστί, καὶ ἀγουσιν ἀγῶνας ἐνταῦθα, Ἀλεαῖα ὀνομάζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

^f Near Amyclae: Paus. 3. 19, 7 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἀλέας.

^g At Mantinea: Paus. 8. 9, 6 Σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀλέαν καὶ ἱερόν τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀλέας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς.

^h At Alea in Arcadia: Paus. 8. 23, 1 θεῶν δὲ ἱερά αὐτόθι Ἀρτεμίδος ἐστὶν Ἐφεσσίας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀλέας.

¹⁹ Athena Αἰθῦια: Paus. 1. 5, 3 (Πανδίοι) πρὸς θαλάσση μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς Αἰθῦίας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ.

²⁰ Athena Ἑλλωτίς at Corinth: ^a *El. Mag.* p. 332. 42 Ἀθηνᾶ οὕτω καλουμένη, ἐτίματο ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἑορτὴ Ἑλλωτία . . . ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνα ἔλους ἐν ᾧ ἱδρύται. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56 Ἑλλωτία ἑορτὴ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ· Δωριεῖς μετὰ Ἑρακλειδῶν ἐπιθέμενοι Κορινθίοις καὶ Κόρινθον χειρωσάμενοι ταύτην φλογὶ ἔκαιον· φυγοῦσαι οὖν αἱ Κορινθίων παρθέναι εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναόν, ὅπως σωθῆιεν, αἰσθόμενων Δωριέων καὶ πῦρ ἐμβalόντων εἰς τὸν ναόν, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τῶν παρθένων ἔφυγον, Ἑλλωτία δὲ . . . κατεφλέχθη. λοιμοῦ δὲ ὕστερον γενομένου ἔχρησεν Ἀθηνᾶ μὴ πρότερον παύσεσθαι τὸν λοιμὸν πρὶν τὰς τῶν κατακαιεῶν παρθένων ψυχὰς ἐξιλάσονται καὶ ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἑλλωτίας ἰδρύσονται.

^b Athenae. p. 678 a, b Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν ταῖς γλώσσαις Ἑλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι τὸν ἐκ μυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον, . . . πομπεύειν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλωτίων ἑορτῇ. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὄσῳ κομίζεσθαι, ἣν ἐκάλουν Ἑλλωτίδα· ἀγεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλώτια.

^c *Et. Mag.* p. 332. 40 Ἑλλωτία· ἡ Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο· ἢ ὅτι οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν παρθένον ἑλλωτίαν καλοῦσιν.

²¹ Athena Ἑλληνία: ^a Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* p. 840 a περὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν καλουμένην Γαργαρίαν, ἐγγὺς Μεταποντίου, Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν εἶναι φασιν Ἑλληνίας, ἔνθα τὰ τοῦ Ἐπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἀνακείσθαι ὄργανα. . . φανταζομένην γὰρ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀθηναῖν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἀξιούν ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ὄργανα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βραδυτέρας τυγχάνοντα τῆς ἀναγωγῆς εἰλεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκπλεῦσαι· ὅθεν Ἑλληνίας Ἀθηναῖς τὸ ἱερὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι.

^b *Et. Mag.* p. 298. 25 Εἰλενία, πόλις· καὶ Εἰλενία Ἀθηναῖα. Φιλοκτῆτης γὰρ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἰδρύσατο Εἰλενίας Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ συγκεκλείσθαι τῷ τόπῳ. . . ἐν ὑπομνήματι Λυκόφρονος.

²² Athena Ἀμαρία, vide Zeus ²⁷ a.

²³ Athena Ὀξυδερκής at Argos on the Acropolis: Paus. 2. 24, 2 ἱερὸν Ἀθηναῖς Ὀξυδερκοῦς καλουμένης, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα, ὅτι οἱ μαχομένῳ ποτὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφείδεν ἢ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

²⁴ Athena Ὀφθαλμίτις at Sparta: Paus. 3. 18, 2 ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖς Ὀφθαλμίτιδος· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Λυκούργον λέγουσιν ἐκκοπέντα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν ἕτερον. Cf. Plut. *Lycurg.* 11 . . . τοὺς γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτίλους οἱ τῆδε Δωριεῖς καλοῦσι. Cf. Cic. *De Deor. Nat.* 1. 83 isto enim modo dicere licebit Iovem semper barbatum . . . caesios oculos Minervae.

²⁵ Athena Ἀγλαυρος: ^a Harpocrat. s. v. ἡ θυγάτηρ Κέκροπος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηναῖς· vide Suidas, s. v.

^b Philochorus, *Frag.* 14 ἰέρεια γέγονεν ἡ Ἀγραυλος Ἀθηναίων (legendum Ἀθηναῖς). Cf. Hesych. s. v. Ἀγλαυρος . . . ἰέρεια τῆς Ἀθηναῖς.

^c Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 438 τίς ὁ . . . τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον (ἀναγιγνώσκων); cf. Pollux, 8. 105 καὶ ὤμμον (οἱ ἐφηβοὶ) ἐν Ἀγραύλου· οὐ καταισχυῶ τὰ ὄπλα, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τὸν παραστάτην, ᾧ ἂν στοιχῶ· ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν. καὶ τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω, . . . καὶ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμένοις πείσομαι . . . καὶ τὰ ἱερά τὰ πάτρια τιμῶ. Ἱστορες θεοί, Ἀγραυλος, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρης, Ζεὺς, Θαλλῶ, Αὐξῶ, Ἠγεμόνη. Plut. *Alc.* 15 τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀγραύλου προβαλλόμενον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὄρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιοῦν. Ὁμνίουσι γὰρ ὄροις χρῆσασθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυροῖς κριθαῖς ἀμπέλους ἐλαίας οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ καρποφόρον.

^d Porph. *De Abst.* 2. 54 ἐν τῇ νῦν Σαλαμῖνι . . . μνηὶ κατὰ Κυπρίου

Ἄφροδισίῳ ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ . . . ὑφ' ἓνα δὲ περιβόλον ὃ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὸς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους.

²⁶ Πάνδροςος : ^a Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 440 θυγατέρες Κέκροπος Πάνδροςος καὶ Ἀγραύλη, ἐκ τῆς Πανδρόσου δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ Πάνδροςος καλεῖται.

^b Philoch. *Frag.* 32 (Harpocr. *s. v.* ἐπίβοιον) : Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ φησὶν οὕτως . . . Ἐὰν δέ τις τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ θύῃ βοῦν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τῇ Πανδώρα (Bekker Πανδρόσῳ) θύειν ὄιν (μετὰ βοῆς), καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον. Hesych. *s. v.* Πανδώρα· ἡ γῆ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ζεῖδωρος καὶ ἀνησιδώρα. Aristoph. *Av.* 896 πρῶτων Πανδώρα θύσαι λευκότεριχα κριόν.

^c *C. I. A.* 3. 887 τὴν ἐαυτῶν θυγατέρα Ναυσιστράτην ἐρρηφορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ ἀνέθηκαν. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 1383.

^d Paus. I. 27, 3 τῷ ναῶ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἔστι Πάνδροςος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀνάιτιος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνη. . . . παρθένου δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶιοι σφᾶς ἄρρηφόρους· αὐταὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιαύτῃ. ἀναθεῖσθαι σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἡ διδούσα ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδυῖα, οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις—ἔστι δὲ περιβόλος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγατος αὐτομάτῃ· ταύτῃ κατίασιν αἱ παρθένου. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσι, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφίαισιν ἤδη τὸ ἐντεῖθεν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν.

^e Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 643 τῇ γὰρ Ἔρση πομπεύουσι, τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰστρος. Cf. Moeris, *s. v.* ἐρρηφόροι . . . αἱ τὴν δρόσον φέρουσαι τῇ Ἔρση.

^f *C. I. A.* 3. 318 Ἐρσηφόροι Γῆς Θεμίδος.

Σκιροφόρια and Athena Σκιρίας.

^{27 a} ¹ Schol. Aristoph. *Eccles.* 18 Σκίροις· Σκίρα ἐορτὴ ἐστὶ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς. Σκιροφοριῶνος Ιβ'. οἱ δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐν ἧ ὁ ἰερεὺς τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως φέρει σκιαδέιον λευκὸν ὃ λέγεται σκίρον.

^a ² Harpocrat. *s. v.* Σκίρον. Σκίρα ἐορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ μὲν Σκιροφοριῶν. φασὶν οἱ γράψαντες περὶ τε μηνῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν Ἀθήνησι . . . ὡς τὸ σκίρον σκιαδέιον ἐστὶ μεθ' οὗ φερόμενοι ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως ἔς τινα τρόπον καλούμενον Σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰέρεια, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἰερεὺς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἥλιου. Κομίζουσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἐτεοβούταδαι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ Σκιράδα τιμῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι.

^a ³ Photius, *s. v.* Σκίρος· ἐορτὴ τις ἀγομένη τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὅτι σκιαδέιον

ἐφρόντιζον ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος· σκίρα δὲ τὰ σκιάδια. οἱ δὲ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Σκίρων Ἀθηνᾶν. *Ιθ.* Σκιροφοριῶν· μὴν Ἀθηναίων *Ιβ'*. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς.

^{a 4} Suidas, *s. v.* Διὸς κῶδιον, vide Zeus¹³⁸.

^{a 5} Paus. *i.* 36, 4. On the sacred way χωρίον Σκίρον ἐπὶ ταιῶδε καλούμενον. Ἐλευσινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα ἀνὴρ μάντις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκίρος ὃς καὶ τῆς Σκιάδος ἰδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ Φαλήρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν.

^{a 6} Strabo, 393 Σκίρας (ἐκαλείτο Σαλαμῖς) . . . ἀφ' οὗ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ τε λέγεται Σκίρας καὶ τόπος Σκίρα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ ἱεροποιία τις.

^{a 7} Pollux, *9.* 96 Σκιάφεια δὲ τὰ κυβευτήρια ὠνομάσθαι διότι μάλιστα Ἀθήνησιν ἐκύβευον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ ἐν τῷ τῆς Σκιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ: cf. *El. Mag.* 717. 30; Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Σκίρος . . . ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ σκιραφεῖον, ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν οἱ κυβευταὶ συνίασι. καὶ ὁ σκιροφόρος (σκιραφός Meineke) ὃ σημαίνει τὸν ἀκόλαστον καὶ κυβευτήν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Σκίρῳ διατριβόντων. Σκίρα δὲ κέκληται, τινὲς μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ Ἀθηνᾶ (libri Ἀθήνησι) θύεται, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γινόμενων ἱερῶν Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ κέκληται (leg. ἅπερ σκίρα κέκληται). *Harpor.* *s. v.* Σκιάφια ἔλεγον τὰ κυβευτήρια, ἐπεὶ διέτριβον ἐν Σκίρῳ οἱ κυβεύοντες, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ἵ ὑποσημαίνει. Photius, *s. v.* Σκιάφια· ἐν τῷ τῆς Σκιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ ἔπαιζον οἱ κυβευταί: *s. v.* Σκίρον· τόπος Ἀθήνησιν, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ μάντιες ἐκαθέζοντο.

^{a 8} Schol. Lucian published by Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* 25. 548 θεσμοφορία (sic) ἑορτὴ Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια περιέχουσα, τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Σκιροφορία καλεῖται. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 14 P ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες ποικίλως κατὰ πόλυ ἑορτάζουσι θεσμοφόρια, Σκιροφόρια, Ἀρητοφόρια πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγωδοῦσαι ἄρπαγὴν.

^{a 9} Schol. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 841 ἀμφότεραι ἑορταὶ γυναικῶν τὰ μὲν Στήγνια πρὸ δυεῖν τῶν θεσμοφοριῶν Πυανεψιώνος Θ', τὰ δὲ Σκίρα λέγεσθαι φασὶ τινας τὰ γινόμενα ἱερά ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ. οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐπίσκυρα (leg. ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ) θύεται τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ.

^{a 10} *C. I. A.* 3. 57 τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν Σκίρων = τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ Σκιροφοριῶνος (?).

^{a 11} Plut. *Coniug. Praecep.* 42 Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσιν, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα.

^{b 1} Athena Σκίρας at Phaleron: Athenae. 495 f Ἀριστόδημος ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Πινδάρου τοῖς Σκίροις φησὶν Ἀθήνησι ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων δρόμον· τρέχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἀμπέλου κλάδον κατάκαρπον, τὸν καλούμενον ὄσχον, τρέχουσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου μεχρὶ τοῦ τῆς Σκιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ, καὶ ὁ νικῆσας λαμβάνει κύλικα τὴν λεγομένην πενταπλόαν καὶ κω μίζε μετὰ χοροῦ.

b² Hesych. *s. v.* ὠσχοφόριον τόπος Ἀθήνησι Φαληροῖ ἔμβα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. Cf. Plut. *Thes.* (vide Aphrodite¹⁰⁴).

b³ Paus. I. 1, 4, at Phaleron, Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναός ἐστι. Plut. *Thes.* 17 Φιλόχορος δὲ παρὰ Σκίρου φησὶν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος τὸν Θησέα λαβεῖν κυβερνήτην μὲν Ναυσίθου, πρῶρα δὲ Φαίακα . . . Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις ἡρώα Ναυσίθου καὶ Φαίακος εἰσαμένου Θησέως Φαληροῖ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Σκίρου ἱερῷ (= τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ). Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 921 Ἀθηνᾶ Σκιρρὰς οὕτω τῇ λευκῇ χρίεται.

c Athena Σκιράς at Salamis: Herod. 8. 94 ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνης κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος. Cf. Plut. *Solon.* c. 9 ἄκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον in Salamis.

²⁸ Προχαριστήρια: Suid. *s. v.* Προχαριστήρια, ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντες, ἀρχομένων καρπῶν φύεσθαι, λήγοντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἔθου τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ (Sauptje Kόρη). τῇ δὲ θυσία ὄνομα προχαριστήρια. Δυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱρῶσύνης. τὴν τοίνυν ἀρχαιοτάτην θυσίαν διὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τῆς θεοῦ, ὀνομασθεῖσαν δὲ προχαριστήρια. Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 295 προσχαριστήρια (leg. προχαριστήρια) ἡ μυστικὴ θυσία τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν φυομένων καρπῶν.

²⁹ Ἀθηνᾶ Κισσαία on the Acropolis of Epidaurus: Paus. 2. 29, 1 τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ξάνον θεάς ἄξιον Κισσαίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν.

³⁰ Athena Ταυροπόλος: Hesych. *s. v.* Ταυροπόλαι ἢ Ἄρτεμις καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Cf. Suidas, *s. v.* Schol. Arist. *Lysistr.* 448 νῆ τὴν Ταυροπόλον: οὕτω τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐκάλον . . . ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οὕτω καλοῦσιν ὡς Ξενομήδης ἱστορεῖ. Ταυροβόλος Suidas, *s. v.* ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ.

³¹ Aesch. *παραπρῆσθ.* § 147 Ἐτεοβουτάδαις . . . ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἐστὶν ἱέρεια. Cf. ¹⁷a³, and ^a5. Cf. Aristid. *Ath.* I. p. 20, Dind. Βουζύγης τις τῶν ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως.

³² Athena Βοαρμία: Schol. Lyc. 520 οὕτω δὲ τιμᾶται παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς.

³³ Athena Βούδεια (?): vide *Geograph. Register*, p. 420.

³⁴ Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 1001 αἱ ἱεραὶ ἐλαίαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει μοριαὶ ἐκαλοῦντο. Suidas, *s. v.* Μοριαὶ ἐλαίαι ἱεραὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἔλαιον ἔπαθλον τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Παναθήναια. Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 705 περὶ Ἀκαδημῶν . . . τῶν ἐκεῖ μορίων παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἰδρυμένων. Apollod. 3. 14, 1 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (Ποσειδῶνα) ἤκεν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα, ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν, ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσίῳ δέικνυται.

³⁵ Athena Πολιάς.

At Athens: vide ⁶¹a. ^a Paus. I. 26, 7 ἱερά μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἢ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ. καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλοις ἐν τοῖς δήμοις σέβειν, οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὸ δὲ ἀγίατατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνήλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων, ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς

ἀγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει, τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . λύχρον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν Καλλιμαχος ἐποίησεν. ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχρον, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν· ἔλαιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνονται. Vide ²⁶ d.

^b Strabo, 396 ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἱερὸν ὃ τε ἀρχαῖος νεῶς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ παρθενῶν ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτίος.

^c Hom. *Il.* 2. 546:

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, εὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
 δῆμον Ἐρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα,
 καδ' ἐν Ἀθήνησ' εἴσεν ἐφ' ἐνὶ πίοι νηῶ,
 ἐνθά δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνείοις ἰλάονται
 κούροι Ἀθηναίων περιελλομένων ἐναυτῶν.

^d Herod. 8. 55 ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτη Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἐνι. 5. 82 οἱ δὲ (Ἀθηναῖοι) ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐλαίην, ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσιν (οἱ Ἐπιδαῦριοι) ἔτεος ἐκάστω τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῇ Πολιάδι ἰρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεῖ. Apollod. 3. 14, 7 Ἐριχθονίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηναίων. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 39 P τί δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκῆδευται.

^e Plut. *Themist.* c. 10 ψήφισμα γράφει (Θεμιστοκλῆς) τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ἀθηναίων μεδουσίᾳ.

^f *C. I. A.* 2. 57 b, inscription referring to alliance of Athens with the Arcadians, Eleans, Achaeans, and Phliasians, before the battle of Mantinea, εὐξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μάλα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς, ἂν συνενείγκῃ Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, θυσίαν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσεσθαι. *Ib.* 332 ἀναγράψαι (τὴν συμμαχίαν) . . . ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ καὶ στήσῃ ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων τῆς Πολιάδος. Cf. 464. *Ib.* 481. 59 ἔθυσαν δὲ οἱ ἔφηβοι τὰ ἐξιτητήρια ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τῇ τε Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ καὶ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ. 1. 32 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . Καλλίας εἶπε· ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἀπενήνεγκται ἐς πόλιν ἃ ἐψήφιστο νομίσματος ἡμεδαποῦ. ἀποδιδόναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐστὶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐψήφισμένα, τὰ τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ὄντα νῦν καὶ τὰλλα . . . ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀποδοδομένα ἢ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ χρήματα, ἐς τὸ νεώριον καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς περιούσι χρησθαι χρήμασιν. 2. 11 ἂν δὲ ἐκβῆναι δοκῇ τὰ ἐψήφισμένα, ὀφειλέτω μυρίας δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ.

ε Solon, Ὑποθήκαι, 4 τειή γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει. Arist. *Equit.* 581 :

ὦ πολιοῦχε Παλλὰς, ὦ
τῆς ἱερωτάτης ἀπα-
σῶν πολέμῳ τε καὶ ποιη-
ταῖς δυνάμει θ' ὑπερφερού-
σης μεδέουσα χώρας.

Arist. *Thesmoph.* 1136 :

Παλλὰδα τὴν φιλόχορον ἐμοὶ
δεῦρο καλεῖν νόμος' ἐς χορὸν
παρθένον, ἄζυγα Κούρην,
ἢ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει,
καὶ κράτος φανερόν μόνη,
κληροδούχος τε καλεῖται.

Eur. *Heracl.* 770 :

ἀλλ', ὦ πότνια, σὸν γὰρ οὐδας
γᾶς, σὸν καὶ πόλιν ἄς σὺ μάτρη
δέσποινά τε καὶ φύλαξ . . .
ἐπεὶ σοὶ πολύθυστος αἰεὶ
τιμὰ κραίνεται, οὐδὲ λάθει
μηνῶν φθινὰς ἡμέρα,
νέων τ' αἰοδαὶ χορῶν τε μολπαί.
ἀνεμῶντι δὲ γᾶς ἐπ' ὄχθῳ
ὀλολύγματα παννυχίοις ὑπὸ παρ-
θένων ἰάκχει ποδῶν κρότοισι.

Aesch. *Eum.* 997 :

χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς λεῶς, ἕκταρ ἡμενοὶ Διός,
παρθένου φίλας φίλοι σωφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ,
Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς ὄντας ἄζεται πατήρ.

^h Athena Πολιοῦχος at Athens : archaic inscription *Eph. Arch.* 1883, p. 35. 5 Δεκάτην Ἀθηναίᾳ Πολιοῦχῳ Ἱεροκλείδης μ' ἀνέθηκεν.

ⁱ Athena Ἀρχηγέτις : *C. I. Gr.* 666 add. Παλλὰς Ἐρεχθειδᾶν ἀρχαγέτι σὸν κατὰ ναὸν ἄδε τοι ἰδρύθη Φιλτέρα Ἡράκλειος inscription on base of statue of priestess dedicated to Athena Polias. *C. I. A.* 3. 65 ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν δοθεισῶν δωρεῶν ὑπὸ Γαίου. Cf. *ib.* 66 Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος θεοῦ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρχηγέτιδι. *C. I. Gr.* 476 Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρχηγέτιδι . . . Ἐρμο . . . Γαργήτιος τὸν (βωμόν), inscription on fragment of altar at Athens, ? second century B.C. Plut. *Alc.* c. 2 ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . . . ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πατρῶος Ἀπόλλων ἐστί. Cf. Schol. Arist. *Av.* 515 τῆς Ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα γλαῦκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ χειρί.

³⁶ *Panathenaea* : ^a Paus. 8. 2, 1 Παναθήναια κληθῆναι φασιν ἐπὶ Θησεῶς, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐτέθη συνειλεγμένων ἐς μίαν ἀπάντων πόλιν.

^b Harpocr. *s. v.* Παναθ. διττὰ Παναθήναια ἤγετο Ἀθήνησι, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πεντητηρίδος, ἅπερ καὶ μεγάλα ἐκάλουν. . . ἤγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόσιος ὁ Ἡφαιστου, καθὰ φησιν Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων, ἑκάτερος ἐν α' Ἀθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθήναια ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἰστρος ἐν γ' τῶν Ἀττικῶν.

^c Schol. Aristid. p. 323, Dind. τὰ δὲ μεγάλα (Παναθήναια) Πεισίστρατος ἐποίησε.

^d Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 37 οὔτοι δὲ (οἱ δήμαρχοι) τὴν πομπὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐκοσμοῦν. Thuc. 6. 58 μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν.—Ἀθλοθέται for the μεγάλα Παν. Pollux, 8. 93 ἀθλοθέται δέκα μὲν εἰσιν, εἷς κατὰ φυλὴν· δοκιμασθέντες δὲ ἄρχουσι τέσσαρα ἔτη, ἐπὶ τῷ διαθεῖναι τὰ Παναθήναια, τὸν τε μουσικὸν καὶ τὸν γυμνικὸν καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν.—Ἱεροποιοὶ for the μικρά, vide ³⁶ z. Cf. Arist. *Athen. Polit.* c. 54.

^e Lucian, *Nigrin.* 53 ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Παναθηναίων ληφθέντα . . . τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην ὅτι βαπτὸν ἔχων ἱμάτιον ἐβέβηκε.

^f Herod. 6. 111 θυσιάς Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγυρίας τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντητηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι, λέγων, γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι.

^g Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 385 ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθεῖσαι πόλεις βούν τυθησόμενον ἔπεμπον.

^h Harpocr. *s. v.* σκαφηφόροι· Δείναρχος . . . φησὶ “οἱ ἀντὶ σκαφηφόρων ἔφηβοι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβήσονται, οὐχ ὑμῖν ἔχοντες χάριν τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τῷ τούτου ἀργυρίῳ.” ἀντὶ τοῦ μέτοικοι. . . Δημήτριος γοῦν ἐν γ' Νομοθεσίας φησὶν ὅτι προσέταττεν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μετοίκους ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοὺς μὲν σκάφας φέρειν, τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας αὐτῶν ὑδρεία καὶ σκιάδια. Cf. Pollux, 3. 55.

ⁱ Schol. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 9 P. (Dindorf, vol. 1. p. 417) ἐρίῳ τὴν λεγομένην εἰρεσιώνην φησὶν ἦν οὕτως περιειλούντες ἐρίοις καὶ ταινίαις ὑφασμάτων λινέων—ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς Μορίας ἐλαίας—καὶ ἀκροδρούσι παντοίοις περιαρτῶντες ἀνῆγον εἰς Ἀκρόπολιν τῇ Πολιάδι Ἀθηναῖοι Παναθήναια.

^k Xenoph. *Sympos.* 4. 17 θαλλοφόρους γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηναῖ τοὺς καλοὺς γέροντας ἐκλέγονται. Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 542 ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις, οἱ γέροντες θαλλοὺς ἔχοντες ἐπόμπειον.

^l Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 701 ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν τὰ Παναθήναια, ἐλαίου τοῦ ἐκ μορίων γινομένου δίδοσθαι φησι: so also Pindar *Nem.* 10. 65.

^m Harpocr. *s. v.* λαμπάς. τρεῖς ἄγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὰς λαμπάδας, Παναθηναίοις καὶ Ἡφαιστείοις καὶ Προμηθείοις.

ⁿ Eur. *Hec.* 466:

ἡ Παλλάδος ἐν πόλει
τῆς καλλιδίφρου θεᾶς

ναίουσ' ἐν κροκέῳ πέπλω
 ζεύξομαι ἄρματι πώλους,
 ἐν δαιδαλέασι ποικίλλουσ' ἀνθοκρόκοισι πήναις,
 ἧ Τιτάνων γενεάν,
 τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρῳ
 κοιμίζει φλογμῷ Κρονίδας;

Cf. Schol. *ib.* οὐ μόνον γὰρ παρθένου ὕφαινον, ὡς φησὶν Ἀπολλόδορος . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τέλειαι γυναῖκες, ὡς Φερεκράτης ἐν Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ . . . τοῦτον δὲ ἀνιέρουν διὰ πενταετηρίδος ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις. Harpocr. πέπλος. τοῦ πέπλου τοῦ ἀναγομένου τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τοῖς μεγάλοις Παναθηναίοις. Schol. Arist. *Eq.* 563 ἰδία παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πέπλος τὸ ἄρμενον † τῆς Παναθηναϊκῆς νεώς, ἣν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατασκευάζουσι τῇ θεῷ διὰ τετραετηρίδος. ἧς καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμικοῦ ποιοῦσι μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου. . . Οὐ ἐγγράπτο Ἐγκέλαδος, ὃν ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Ἀθηναῖα . . . ἐπεσκευάζετο οὖν ὁ πέπλος καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. *Diod. Sic.* 20. 46 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γράψαντος ψήφισμα Στρατοκλέους ἐψηφίσαντο χρυσᾶς μὲν εἰκόνας ἐφ' ἄρματος στήσαι τοῦ τε Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου . . . ἐνυφαινότων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀθηναῖας πέπλον καθ' ἐνιαυτόν. *Plut. Demet.* 10 ἐνυφαίνεσθαι δὲ τῷ πέπλῳ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς (Δημήτριον καὶ Ἀντίγονον) ἐψηφίσαντο. *Hesych. s. v.* Ἐργαστίναί· αἱ τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσαι.

° *C. I. A.* 2. 314 Διελέχθη δὲ Φιλιππίδης καὶ ὑπὲρ κεραιάς καὶ ἰστοῦ, ὅπως ἂν δοθῇ τῇ θεῷ εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια τῷ πέπλῳ ἡ ἐκομισθῆ ἐπ' Εὐκτήμορος ἄρχοντος. *Strattis, Meineke, Frag. Com. Graec.* 2. 772 τὸν πέπλον δὲ τοῦτον ἔλκουσ' ὄνεύοντες τοπεῖοις ἄνδρες ἀναρίθμητοι εἰς ἄκρον ὡσπερ ἰστίον τὸν ἴστον. *Paus.* 1. 29, 1 τοῦ δὲ Ἀρείου πάγου πλησίον δεικνύται ναὺς ποιηθεῖσα ἐς τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων πομπήν.

P *Philostr. Vita Soph.* 2. 1, § 5 (*Kayser*, p. 236) κάκεινα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τούτων ἤκουον πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆφθαι τῆς νεώς . . . δραμῆν δὲ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπογείοις μηχαναῖς ἐπολισθάνουσαν, ἐκ Κεραμικοῦ δὲ ἄρσαν χιλία κόπη ἀφείναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμείψαι τὸ Πελασγικόν, κοιμζομένην δὲ παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἔλθειν οἱ νῦν ὄρμισται. *Ag. Athen. Polit.* c. 54 τὰ Ἐλευσίνιαδε Παναθήναια. *Thuc.* 1. 20 τῷ Ἰπάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι.

q *Schol. Arist. Nub.* 984 Ὁρχοῦντο τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἐν ὄπλοις οἱ παῖδες· cf. *ib.* 985 Τριτογενεῖς. εἶδος ὀρχήσεως ἡ καλεῖται ἐνόπλιος· διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰς Ἀθηναῖαν ταύτην τελείσθαι Τριτογένεια καλεῖται. *Lysias* Ἀπολογ., Δωροδοκ. p. 700 R Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς ἐχορήγουν πυρριχισταῖς ἀγειεῖοις. *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 2. 127 ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν φησὶ τοῖς Διοσκοούροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον νόμον ἐπαυλῆσαι. *Dionys. Halic. Antiqu. Rom.* 7. 72 Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάλαιον ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐν ὄπλοις ὄρχησις ἡ καλουμένη Πυρρίχη, εἴτ' Ἀθηναῖας πρώτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῷ χορεύειν καὶ

ὀρχεῖσθαι σὺν ὄπλοις τὰπνίκια ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξαμένης, εἶτε παλαιότερον ἔτι Κουρήτων αὐτὴν κατασθησάμενων. Beulé, *l'Acropole d'Athènes*, 2. p. 313
 ΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΝΙΚ . . . ΡΒΟΣΣ = πυρριχισταῖς νικήσας Ἄταρβος. Cf. *ib.* Pl. 4 relief showing two groups of four dancers with shields. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 965 b πασιὺν πυρριχισταῖς βούς.

† Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 971 Φρῦνις . . . δοκεῖ πρῶτος κιθαρίσαι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ νικήσαι Παναθηναίοις ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος (B.C. 456). Plut. *Pericl.* 13 ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψηφίστατο μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἄγεσθαι καὶ διέταξεν αὐτοὺς ἀθλοθέτης αἰρεθεῖς καθότι χρή τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ἄδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. Heliod. *Aeth.* 1. 10 Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων, ὅτε τὴν ναὺν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ πέμπουσιν, ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἐφηβέων, ἄσας δὲ τὸν εἰωθότα παιᾶνα τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὰ νεομοιμένα προπομπεύσας, ὡς εἶχον στολῆς, αὐτῇ χλαμύδι καὶ αὐτοῖς στεφάνους ἔρχομαι οἰκάδε.

§ Lycurg. κατὰ Λεωκρατ. p. 209 R οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν (τὸν Ὅμηρον) ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν βραβεύεσθαι τὰ ἔπη. Plat. *Hippiarch.* 228 B Ἰππάρχῳ, ὅς . . . τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηρί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς βραβεύδους Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι.

‡ Lysias, Ἀπολογ. Δωροδοκ. p. 698 ἐπὶ Διοκλείους Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς κυκλικῷ χορῷ τριακοσίας (δραχμὰς ἀνήλωσα).

‡ Pollux, 4. 83 Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ συναυλία τις ἐκαλεῖτο συμφωνία τις αὐλητῶν, ἐν Παναθηναίοις συναυλοῦντων.

‡ Harpocr. s. v. Ἀποβάτης . . . ὁ ἀποβάτης ἵππικόν τι ἀγώνισμα . . . τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γινόμενα δηλοῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ κ' τῶν νόμων. χρῶνται δέ, φησί, τοῖσδε μόνου τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοί. Cf. Eratosth. *Cataster.* 13 Ἥγαγε (ὁ Ἐρεχθεὺς) δὲ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ Παναθηναῖα καὶ ἅμα ἠνίοχος ἔχων παραβάτην ἀσπίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τριλοφίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Dionys. Halic. *Ani. Rom.* 7. 73 ἐτερόν τε, παρ' ὀλίγαις ἔτι φυλαττόμενον πόλεσι Ἑλληνίσιν ἐν ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἀρχαῖκαῖς, ὁ τῶν παρεμβεβηκότων τοῖς ἄρμασι δρόμος. Cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 968 ἄρματι πολεμιστηρίῳ (νικήσας).

× Boat-races. *C. I. A.* 2. 965 νικητήρια νεῶν ἀμίλλης. Plato, Meineke, *Com. Graec.* 2. p. 679, referring to the tomb of Themistocles, ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος . . . χωπόταν ἄμιλλ' ἢ τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

‡ Time and date of the festival: Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 469 τὰ δὲ Παναθηναῖα ἦν ἑορτὴ Ἀθηναῖς, πάντων Ἀθηναίων συνιόντων ἐκείσε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τέσσαρας ἡμέρας πανηγυριζόντων. Procl. *in Tim.* p. 9 τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα (Παναθηναῖα) τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐγίνετο τρίτῃ ἀπῴοντος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἰστόρηται. Cf. Schol. Plat. *Rep.* 328 A. Demosth.

Κατὰ Τιμοκρ. ρ. 708 δωδεκάτῃ (τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς) τὸν νόμον εἰσήνεγκεν . . . διαπραξάμενος . . . καθίξεσθαι νομοθέτας διὰ ψηφίσματος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων προφάσει.

^z C. I. A. 2. 163 (Rang. 814), Panathenaic inscription—? during the administration of Lycurgus—ὅπως ἂν . . . τελεσθῇ ἡ πομπὴ παρεσκευασμένη ὡς ἄριστα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ κατ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ διοικῆται περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἀγομένην τῇ θεῷ καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν, ἐψηφίσθαι τῷ δήμῳ . . . θύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τὰς μὲν δύο θυσίας τὴν τε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ὑγείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἄρ (? εἰφὶ πάγῳ θυομένην οἱ ἀρχαίῳ νεφὶ θυομένην) καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ νεύμαντας τοῖς πρυτάνεσι πέντε μερίδας καὶ τοῖς ἑννέα ἄρχουσιν . . . καὶ ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ μίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς μίαν καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις . . . τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηναίοις μερίζειν . . . οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ μετὰ τῶν βοωνῶν πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῇ θεῷ θύοντων ταύτας τὰς βοῦς ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ μεγάλῳ, μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Νίκης προκρίναντες ἐκ τῶν καλλιστεουσῶν βοῶν καὶ θύσαντες τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ . . . τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοικοῦντας τὰ Παναθηναία τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποεῖν τὴν παννυχίδα ὡς καλλίστην τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ζημοῦντας τὸν μὴ πειθαρχοῦντα ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας.

³⁷ The feast of Συνοικία: Thuc. 2. 15 νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἑκάστους ἄπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἡνάγκασε (Θήσευς) μᾶ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι ἢ ἀπάντων ἤδη συντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γινομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα καὶ συνοικία ἐξ ἐκείνου ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσι. Plut. *Thes.* 24 καταλύσας οὖν τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πρυτανεία καὶ βουλευτήρια καὶ ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ποιήσας ἅπασιν κοινὸν ἐνταῦθα πρυτανεῖον καὶ βουλευτήριον ὅπου νῦν ἴδρυται τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας προσηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθηναία θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν. Ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ Μετοικία τῇ ἔκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἣν ἔτι καὶ νῦν θύουσι. Schol. Arist. *Pax* 1019 φασὶ γὰρ τῇ τῶν συνοικεσίων ἑορτῇ θυσίαν τελεῖσθαι Εἰρήνῃ τὸν δὲ βωμὸν μὴ αἵματοῦσθαι, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς ἔκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀθηναί . . . φησὶ Χάραξ ὅτι ὁ Θῆσευς τὰς ἑνδεκα πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συνοικίσας εἰς Ἀθήνας συνοικία ἑορτὴν κατεστήσατο.

³⁸ Athena, the city goddess.

^a At Troezen, vide ¹⁷ b. At Tegea: Paus. 8. 47. 5 Τεγέταις δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάτιδος· ἑκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ ἔτους ἱερεὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσεισι τὸ τοῦ Ἐρύματος ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσι, λέγοντες ὡς Κηφέϊ τῷ Ἀλεοῦ γένοιτο δωρεὰ παρὰ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνάλωτον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον εἶναι Τεγέαν. καὶ αὐτῷ φασὶν ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀποτεμοῦσαν τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τριχῶν τῶν Μεδούσης.

^b At Sparta: Paus. 3. 17, 2 Ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πεποίηται, Πολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοίκου τῆς αὐτῆς. . . Γιτιάδας δὲ ἐργάσατο (τὸ ἄγαλμα) ἀνήρ ἐπιχώριος. Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἄσματα Δῶρια ὁ Γιτιάδας ἄλλα τε καὶ ὕμνον ἐς τὴν

θεόν. ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους. Cauer, *Delect.*² 17 Δαμόνον ἀνέθεκεν Ἀθαναΐα Πολιάχο νικιάς ταῦτ' ἄτ' οὐδὲς πεποκα τοῦ νῦν. Polyb. 4. 35 κατὰ γὰρ τινα θυσίαν πάτριον ἔδει τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων πομπεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνῶν τῆς Χαλκιοῦκου νεών. *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 23 : inscription found at Amyclae mentioning ὁ ἱερεὺς Ποσιδάωνος Ἀσφαλίου Ἀθωνῶν Χαλκιοῦκου Ἀθωνῶν Πολιάχου.

^c At Megalopolis : Paus. 8. 31, 9 ἐρείπια δὲ Ἀθηνῶν ἱεροῦ Πολιάδος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ.

^d At Daulis : Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1523 μὴ καταδουλιξίστω δὲ μηδεὶς τούτους οὓς ἀνέθηκε Κάλλων καὶ Δαμῶ τῷ Ἀθωνῶν τῷ Πολιάδῃ. In Rhodes⁴⁵.

^e Crete : at Hierapytna, inscription of treaty between Hierapytna and Lyctus : Cauer, *Delect.*² 117 (*C. I. Gr.* 2555) Ὀμνῶ τὰν Ἀθωνῶν Ὠλερίαν . . . καὶ Ἀθωνῶν Πολιάδα καὶ Ἀθωνῶν Σαλμωνίαν. At Dreros : Cauer, *Delect.*² 121 Ὀμνῶ τὰν Ἀθωνῶν τὰν Πολιοῦχον. At Priansus : *C. I. Gr.* 2556 στασιάντων δὲ τὰς στάλας . . . οἱ μὲν Ἱεραπύτνιοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰς Ἀθωνῶν τὰς Πολιάδος, καὶ οἱ Πριάνσιοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰς Ἀθωνῶν τὰς Πολιάδος. At Cnossus : Paus. 9. 40, 3.

^f At Chios : Herod. 1. 160 ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ἐξ ἱεροῦ Ἀθωνῶν Πολιοῦχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη.

^g At Amorgos : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 582 ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Διὶ τῷ . . . καὶ Ἀθωνῶν τῷ Πολιάδῃ.

^h At Ios : *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1891, p. 172 Διὶ τῷ Πολιοῦ καὶ τῷ Ἀθωνῶν τῷ Πολιάδῃ (?). Cf. *C. I. Gr.* 2263 c.

ⁱ At Cos : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 220 Ἀθωνῶν Πολιάδῃ οὖν τελείαν.

^k At Erythrae : Paus. 7. 5, 9 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς καὶ Ἀθωνῶν Πολιάδος ναός.

^l Priene : inscription in British Museum, *C. I. Gr.* 2904 Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθωνῶν Πολιάδῃ. Paus. 7. 5, 5 ἡσθείης δ' ἂν . . . Ἀθωνῶν τῷ ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῷ . . . τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔνεκα.

^m At Pergamum : Athena Πολιάς καὶ Νικηφόρος. Inscriptions in *Ergebnisse d. Ausgrab. zu Pergam.* 1880, pp. 76-77 ὁ δῆμος Ἀσκληπιάδα Εὐάνθου τὴν γενομένην ἱερίαν τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ Νικηφόρου Ἀθωνῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκάτοις Νικηφορίοις εὐσέβειας ἔνεκα. Cf. *C. I. Gr.* 3553 ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Κλαυδίαν . . . μητέρα Κλαυδίας ἱερείας Νικηφόρου καὶ Πολιάδος Ἀθωνῶν. Cf. Polyb. 4. 49.

ⁿ At Ilion : Dion. Halic. *Ant. Rom.* 6. 69 ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν τοῦ

γένους Ναύτιος ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Αἰνείᾳ στείλάντων τὴν ἀποικίαν, ἦν Ἀθηναῖς ἱερεὺς Πολιάδος.

ο At Phaselis: *C. I. Gr.* 4332 ἱερατεύσαντα τῆς προκαθηγέτιδος τῆς πόλεως θεᾶς Ἀθηναῖς Πολιάδος καὶ τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν.

ρ At Phalanna in Perrhaebia: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 1330 Ἀθάνᾳ Πολιάδι οἱ πτολιάρχοι ὀνέθεικαν.

σ At Heraclea in Magna Graecia: *C. I. Gr.* 5774-5 Ἀθάνᾳ Πολιάδι: on the Tabulae Heraclenses.

τ At Istros: *C. I. Gr.* 3048 ἀναγράψαι τὸ δόγμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Πολιάδος. Macedonian period.

³⁹ Athena Ἀρχηγέτις at Athens, vide ³⁵ i. At Sparta: *Aristid.* 1. p. 608 (Dindorf) ἡ κοινὴ μὲν ἀρχηγέτις ἄμφω, ταῖν πόλεων (Athens and Sparta). ? At Lemnos: *C. I. Gr.* 2155 according to Boeckh's restoration.

⁴⁰ Athena Πατρία at Anaphe: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1892, 143, No. 27 Ζηρὸς Πατρίου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Πατρίας.

⁴¹ Athena Παναχαΐς at Patrae: Paus. 7. 20, 2 τοῦ περιβόλου δέ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ναὸς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Παναχαΐδος. ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ.

⁴² Athena Ὀμολοῖς: Schol. *Lycoph.* 520 Ὀμολοῖς δὲ τιμᾶται παρὰ Θηβαίοις.

⁴³ Athena Δημοκρατία: *C. I. A.* 2. 1672 Ἀθηναῖς Δημοκρατίας on altar, first century B.C.; 3. 165, same inscription on base of a statue (?) that stood near the Parthenon, period of Herodes Atticus.

Titles from cities and localities:

^{44a} Ἀρακυνθιάς from the mountain in Boeotia (*Geogr. Register*, p. 419).

b Athena Ἀσσησία: Herod. 1. 19 ἡοῦ Ἀθηναίης . . . ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀσσησίης. . . *Ibid.* τὸν ἡγὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῶ.

⁴⁵ Athena Ἰαλυσία in Rhodes: *Rev. Arch.* 1867, p. 30, No. 71 (ἱερεὺς Ἀθάνας Λινδίας καὶ . . . Ἀθάνας Ἰαλυσίας Πολιάδος καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως Καμειράδος: imperial era. Athena Λινδία at Physcos in Caria, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 31, No. 10.

⁴⁶ Athena Ἰλιάς: ^a Herod. 7. 43 Ξέρξης ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη . . . θεασάμενος δὲ . . . τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χιλίας. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1, 4; Plut. *Alex.* 15; Strabo, 13, p. 593 τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλεῶν τῶν νῦν τῶος μὲν κόμην εἶναι φασι τὸ ἱερόν ἔχουσαν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἀναβάτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ νίκην ἀναθήμασί τε κοσμήσαι τὸ ἱερόν.

^b *C. I. Gr.* 3595, decree in honour of Antiochus I, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν μὲν ἱερείαν καὶ τοὺς ἱερονόμους καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις εὐξασθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰλιάδι . . . τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ συντελεσάτωσαν τὴν νομιζομένην καὶ πάτριον θυσίαν.

^c *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 153, inscription from Ilium containing a decree in honour of a citizen of Gargara, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πόλεων (third century B. C.).

^d Ἰλίεια: Hesych. *s. v.* ἐορτὴ ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἐν Ἰλίῳ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰλιάδος καὶ πομπὴ καὶ ἀγών.

^e Panathenaea at Ilium: τὰ μικρὰ *C. I. Gr.* 3601. Cf. 3599 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προσόδου γίνεσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐν τῷ Παναθηναίῳ ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν πομπὴν καὶ θυσίαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.

^f Appian: Mithrad. Bekk. I. p. 365 τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος ὃ Παλλάδιον καλοῦσιν καὶ διοπετές ἡγούνται νομιζοῦσιν εὐρεθῆναι τότε ἄθραυστον (in the destruction of Ilium by Fimbria).

^{47 a} Athena Ἰππολαίτις at Hippolas on south coast of Laconia: Paus. 3. 25, 9 πόλεως ἐρείπια Ἰππολάς ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Ἰππολαΐτιδος.

^b Athena Κραστία: vide *Geograph. Register*, p. 422.

^c Athena Κυρρησις: vide *Geograph. Register*, p. 423.

^{48 a} Athena Λινδία, vide ⁴⁵, at Lindos: Strabo, 655 ἱερὸν δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Λινδίας αὐτόθι, ἐπιφανὲς τῶν Δαναϊδῶν ἱδρυμα. *C. I. Gr.* 2103 e Ἀθηνᾷ Λινδία Ποσιδέος Ποσιδέου χαριστήριον: Rhodian inscription in the Tauric Chersonese.

^b Athena Μαγαρσις: vide *Geograph. Register*, p. 422.

⁴⁹ Aristid. vol. I, p. 17, Dind. εἰσὶν αἱ πόλεις δῶρα Ἀθηνᾶς . . . Πολιοῦχος ἅπασι κέκληται.

⁵⁰ Athena Ἀκρία at Argos: ^a Hesych. *s. v.* ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐπὶ τινὸς ἄκρας ἱδρυμένη ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἀκρίσιος ὠνομάσθη· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἥρα καὶ Ἀρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη ἐν Ἀργεῖ κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπ' ἄκρῳ ἱδρυμένα.

^b Paus. 2. 24, 3 ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλήσιν Λαρισαίου ναὸς . . . καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιος.

^c Clem. Alex. 39 P ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρισίου.

⁵¹ Aristid. vol. I, p. 15, Dind. πόλεων δὲ πασῶν τὰς κορυφὰς ἔχει κατὰ κράτος.

⁵² At Agrigentum: Polyb. 9. 27 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔκτισται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου.

⁵³ At Scep̄sis: Xen. *Hell.* 3. 1, 21 ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει.

⁵⁴ Paus. 6. 26, 3, in Elis, ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἡλείων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ. εἶναι μὲν δὴ Φειδίου φασὶν αὐτὴν, πεποιήται δὲ ἀλεκτρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει, ὅτι προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρῶνες.

⁵⁵ At Corone in Messenia: Paus. 4. 34, 6 χαλκοῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, κορώνην δὲ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα.

⁵⁶ At Megara: Paus. 1. 42, 3 ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος . . . καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος.

⁵⁷ Athena Κορυφασία: Paus. 4. 36, 2, on the promontory of Coryphasion in Messenia, ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κορυφασίας.

⁵⁸ Athena Κραναία near Elatea: Paus. 10. 34, 7 Ἐλατείας δὲ ὅσον σταδίου εἴκοσι ἀφέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κραναίας ἱερὸν. . . ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόφῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται . . . τὸν δὲ ἱερέα ἐκ παίδων αἰροῦνται τῶν ἀνέβων . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο Πολυκλέους παῖδες, ἔστι δὲ ἐσκευασμένον ὡς ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἐπέεργασται τῇ ἀσπίδι τῶν Ἀθήνησι μίμημα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς καλουμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Παρθένου. Cf. inscriptions in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1887, p. 318 Ὀνησιφόρον ἱερητεύσαντα Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Κραναία. *Ib.* (decree of alliance with Tenos) ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ . . . τὸ ψαίφισμα ἀναθέμεν . . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθανᾶς ἐν Κραναίς (? fourth century B. C.).

⁵⁹ ^a Athena Κυπαρισσία near Asopus on the Laconian coast: Paus. 3. 22, 9 Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κυπαρισσίας ἐπὶ κλησιν. τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια καλουμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων.

^b At Larissa in Thessaly: Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 345 (in letter from Philip V concerning extension of civic franchise) (τὸ ψάφισμα) ἐν στάλλας . . . ὀγγράψαντας κατέμεν ἐν τὰν ἀκρόπολιν ἐν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθανᾶς.

⁶⁰ Athena Ὀγκα at Thebes: Aesch. *Sept.* 501:

πρῶτον μὲν Ὀγκα Παλλὰς ἧδ' ἀγχίπτολις
πύλαισι γείτον' ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν
εἶρξει.

Ib. 164:

σύ τε μάκαρ' ἄνασσ' Ὀγκα, προφρόνως
ἐπάτυλον πόλεως ἔδος ἐπιρρύου.

Paus. 9. 12, 2, at Thebes, ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ Κάδμον λέγουσι . . . Ὀγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται. Steph. s. v. Ὀγκαία. πύλι Θηβῶν . . . Ὀγκα γὰρ ἡ Ἀθηνᾷ κατὰ Φοίνικας. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 670 ὁ μὲν Στησίχορος ἐν Εὐρωπείᾳ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐσπαρκένας τοὺς ὀδόντας φησί.

⁶¹ Athena Ἰτωνία. ^a Near Coronea: Paus. 9. 33, 1 τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν . . . καὶ ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνίασιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σύλλογον. ἐν δὲ τῷ

ναφ̄ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἰωνίης καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. τέχνη δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου. Strabo, 411 κρατήσαντες δὲ (οἱ Βοιωτοὶ) τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰωνίης Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἰδρῦσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον λέγων, “ὦ νασσὶ Ἀθανία πολεμαδόκος ἃ ποι Κορωνίης ἐπὶ πίσεων ναῦν πάροιθεν ἀμφιβαίνεις Κωραλίῳ ποταμῷ παρ’ ὄχθαις.” (Bergk, Alcaeus, frag. 9) ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιώτια συνετέλουσαν συγκαθιδρυταὶ δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὁ Αἰδης κατὰ τινα, ὡς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν. Bacchylides frag. 23 οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ’ ἀμβολᾶς ἀλλὰ χρυσαργίδος Ἰωνίης χρῆ παρ’ εὐδαίδαλον ναὸν ἐλθόντας ἀβρόν τι δεῖξαι.

^b Athena Ἰωνία in Thessaly: Paus. I. 13, 3 τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὄπλα τῶν Κελτικῶν ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰωνίης Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς

τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθᾶνα
Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν.

Paus. IO. I, IO τὸ γὰρ σύνθημα . . . ἐδίδοτο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰωνίης. Schol. ap. Rhod. I. 551 τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ Ἰωνίης περὶ ἧς Ἐκαταῖος τε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει. At Crannon: Polyaeen. 2. 54 ἐορτῆς οὔσης τῶν καλουμένων Ἰωνίων, ἐν ἧ πάντες Κραννώνιοι παίζουσιν.

^c Athena Ἰωνία worshipped at Amorgos: Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ and the festival τὰ Ἰώνια mentioned in inscription found there, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1891, pp. 589–590.

^d At Athens: *C. I. A.* I. 210 Ἀθηναίας Ἰωνίης (latter part of fifth century B. C.).

^e At Thaumakoi in Phthiotis: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* No. 1459 μῆνος Ἰωνίου.

⁶² Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀθηναίαι πόλεις· κατὰ μὲν Ὀρον πέντε κατὰ δὲ Φίλωνα ἕξ . . . ἕκτη Εὐβοίας . . . ταύτας δ’ Ἀθήνας Διάδας λέγεσθαι.

Cults referring to the family.

⁶³ Photius, *s. v.* προτελείαν ἡμέραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν ἧ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν γαμουμένην παρθένον ἄγουσιν οἱ γονεῖς ὡς τὴν θεὸν καὶ θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

⁶⁴ Athena Ἀπατουρία οἱ Φρατρία. ^a At Athens: Schol. Arist. *Acharn.* 146 ἀπατούρια ἔθνον Διὶ Φρατρίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ. *C. I. A.* 2. 844: inscription probably referring to the Ἀπατούρια. Plato, *Euthyd.* p. 302 Δ Ζεὺς δὲ ἡμῖν . . . ἐρκείος δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ φρατρία.

^b At Troezen: Paus. 2. 33, 1 (on the island just off the shore) ἰδρῦσατο μὲν διὰ τοῦτο Αἶθρα ναὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀπατουρίας . . . κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Τροιζηνίαι παρθένοις ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμον τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ.

- ^c At Syros: *C. I. Gr.* 2347 q 'Αθηνᾶς Φρα(τρίας).
- ^d At Cos: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 224 Διὸς Φρατρίου 'Αθαναίας Εὐρυνακτιδᾶν (? fourth century B. C.).
- ^e Herod. 1. 147 εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' 'Αθηνῶν γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσιν ὄρτην. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων.
- ^f Cf. Aristot. *Oecon.* p. 1347 τῇ τε ἱερεία τῇ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος φέρειν χοῖνικα κριθῶν καὶ πυρῶν ἑτέραν καὶ ὄβολόν, καὶ ὄφ' ἂν παιδάριον γένηται, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο (ἐκέλευσεν Ἴππίας).
- ⁶⁵ Athena Κτησία: Hippocr. *περὶ ἐνυπνίων*: Kuhn, 2, p. 10 ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἀγαθοῖσιν Ἥλιφ Διὶ Οὐρανίφ Διὶ Κτησίφ, 'Αθηνᾶ Κτησίη, Ἐρμῆ Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχέσθαι.
- ⁶⁶ Athena Μήτηρ: Paus. 5. 3, 3 τῶν δὲ Ἡλείων αἱ γυναῖκες . . . εὐξασθαι τῇ 'Αθηνᾶ λέγονται . . . καὶ ἡ εὐχή σφισιν ἐτελέσθη, καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μητρὸς ἰδρύσαντο.
- ⁶⁷ ? Athena Λοχία: Aristid. 1, p. 21, Dind. Cf. Suidas, s. v. αἰγίς ἡ δὲ ἱερεία 'Αθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα πρὸς τὰς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο.
- ⁶⁸ ? Athena Γενετυλλίς: vide Niketas Epitheta θεῶν, Westermann, *Myth. Graec.* p. 355.
- ⁶⁹ Athena Παρθένος: *C. I. A.* 1. 374 Παρθένω Ἐκφάντου μὲ πατὴρ ἀνέθηκε καὶ υἱὸς ἐνθάδ' 'Αθηναίη μνήμα πόνων Ἄρεος . . . Κρίτιος καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποιήσατῃν. ἡ Παρθένος in State-decree circ. 420 B. C., *C. I. A.* 1. 51.
- ⁷⁰ Athena Κορία near Cleitor in Arcadia: Paus. 8. 21, 3 πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὄρους κορυφῆς σταδίους τριάκοντα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα 'Αθηνᾶς Κορίας. Cf. Κορησία¹⁵.
- Political titles.
- ⁷¹ Athena Εἰρηνοφόρος: *C. I. Gr.* 6833, on base of statue, cult-title.
- ⁷² Athena Βουλαία at Athens: Antiphon, p. 789 R ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς Βουλαίας ἱερὸν ἔστι. Cf. *C. I. A.* 3. 272 ἱερέως Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς Βουλαίας. Cf. 683.
- ⁷³ Athena Ἀμβουλία at Sparta: Paus. 3. 13, 6 Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς ἔστιν Ἀμβουλίας βωμός.
- ⁷⁴ Athena Ἀγοραία, vide¹⁷ d.
- ^a 'Αθηνᾶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ and ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ Δηριονείῳ mentioned in fifth century Attic inscription containing schedule of religious funds, *C. I. A.* 1. 273. *Ib.* 3. 71 ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ Βουζύγης, χρήσαντος τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι χρῆ ἕτερον ἔδος τῆς Παλλάδος κατασκευάσασθαι, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόησας τοῖς τε θεοῖς τῇ τε πόλει ἀνέθηκεν. ? Second century A. D.

^b Paus. I. 28, 8 ὅποσα (δικαστήρια) ἐπὶ τοῖς φονευσίῃ ἐστιν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀποκτείνασιν ἀκουσίως κρίσις καθέστηκεν. Cf. Pollux, 8. 118; Harpocrat. s. v. ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ: Demosth. κατὰ Ἀριστοκρ. § 71. Cf. 4^a and 4^b.

^c Aesch. *Eum.* 1022:

Πέμψω δὲ φέγγει λαμπάδων σελασφόρων
 ἐς τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κάτω χθονὸς τόπους,
 σὺν προσπόλοισιν, αἵτε φρουροῦσιν βρέτας
 τοῦμὸν δικαίως.

Cf. Rang. *Inscr.* 814. 8.

^d Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1469:

ἔξέσσωσα δὲ
 καὶ πρὶν σ' Ἀρείοις ἐν πάγοις ψήφους ἴσας
 κρίνας', Ὀρέστα, καὶ νόμισμ' ἐς τοῦτό γε,
 νικᾶν, ἰσῆρεις ὅστις ἂν ψήφους λάβῃ.

⁷⁵ Athena Ἀξιόποιος at Sparta: Paus. 3. 15, 6 Ἀθηναῖς Ἀξιοποιῶν καλουμένης ἱερὸν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀμυνόμενος Ἡρακλῆς Ἰπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετῆλθε κατ' ἀξίαν, ὧν προὔπηρξαν, ἱερὸν Ἀθηναῖς ἰδρύεται.

⁷⁶ Athena Σταθμία: Hesych. s. v. ἐπίθετον Ἀθηναῖς.

⁷⁷ Athena Θέμις: C. I. A. 3. 323 Ὀληφόρου (? Οὐλοφόρου) Ἀθηναῖς Θέμιδος: on seat in Attic theatre.

Athena Προναία and Πρόνοια.

^{78 a} Athena Προναία at Thebes: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1887, p. 5 inscriptions on fragments of pottery and bronze Ἀθάνας Προναίας. Paus. 9. 10, 2 ἔστι δὲ λόφος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν πυλῶν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. . . . πρῶτα μὲν δὴ λίθου κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδὸν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόνοιοι. ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φειδίας, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναῖς λέγεται Σκόπας. μετὰ δὲ ὁ ναὸς ὠκοδόμηται.

^b At Delphi: Aesch. *Eum.* 21

Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται.

Herod. 1. 92 Κροίσω δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλά . . . ἐν δὲ Προμηθῆς τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίδος χρυσῆ μεγάλη. Aeschin. κ. Κτησιφ. 108 (499 R) ἀναρεῖ ἢ Πυθία πολεμῆν Κιρραίοις καὶ τὴν χώραν . . . ἀναθεῖναι . . . τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Προναία. Hesych. s. v. Προναίας. Ἀθηναῖς τέμενος ἐν Δελφοῖς. Harpocr. s. v. ὀνομαζέτο τις παρὰ Δελφοῖς Ἀθηναῖς Προναία διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἰδρῦσθαι. Plut. *Praec. Ger. Rei.* p. 825 B ἱκετεύοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προναίας. Curtius, *Anecd. Delphi. inscr.* 43 and 45 Ἀθάνη τῇ Προναία.

⁷⁹ Athena Πρόνοια. ^a At Delphi: Paus. 10. 8, 4 ὁ τέταρτος δὲ (ναὸς) Ἀθηναῖς καλεῖται Προνοίας. Demosth. κ. Ἀριστογ. Α. p. 780 εἰσὶ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις βωμοὶ καὶ νεῶ πάντων τῶν θεῶν, ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Προνοίας Ἀθηναῖς ὡς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης θεοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος νεὸς εὐθύς εἰσιόντι ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. Photius, s. v. Πρόνοια Ἀθηναῖ· οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστάναι αὐτήν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι προνοήσεν ὅπως τέκη ἡ Δητώ. Diod. Sic. 11. 14 οἱ δὲ (Πέρσαι) ἐπὶ τὴν σύλησιν τοῦ μαντείου πεμφθέντες προήλθον μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηναῖς . . . τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον δαιμονία τινὶ προνοίᾳ τὴν σύλησιν διεφύγεν.

^b At Delos: Macrob. 1. 17, 54, referring to the birth of Apollo, diu intervenit Iuno . . . sed divinae providentiae vicit instantia, quae creditur iuisse partum. Ideo in insula Delo ad confirmandam fidem fabulae aedes Providentiae, quam ναὸν Προνοίας Ἀθηναῖς appellant apta religione celebratur.

^c ? At Prasiae in Attica: Bekk. *Anecd.* 299 Προναία Ἀθηναῖ· ἀγάλματος ὄνομα τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἰδρυμένου. Πρόνοια δὲ Ἀθηναῖ ἐν Πρασιαῖς τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἱδρύται ὑπὸ Διομήδους.

⁸⁰ Aristid. 1, p. 23, Dind. ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων τῶν αὐτοῦ χρησμοφιδίων ταύτην προσστήσατο καὶ προθύειν ἐπέταξεν. *Id.* p. 26 Μόνη δὲ Ἐργάνη καὶ Πρόνοια κέκληται.

⁸¹ Athena Φημία at Erythrae: Dittenberg. *Sylloge.* 370, l. 27 Ζηνὸς Φημίον καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Φημίας . . . ἐπώνιον Γ.

⁸² Zenob. 5. 75 Ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν Ἀθηναῖν εὐρεῖν τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικὴν.

Epithets of the war-goddess.

⁸³ Athena Ἀλαλκομένη: ^a Hom. *Il.* 4. 7:

Διοαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρηγόνες εἰσὶ θεαίων,

Ἥρη τ' Ἀργεῖη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηῖς Ἀθήνη.

Paus. 9. 33, 4 Ἀλαλκομεναὶ δὲ κόμη μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη . . . γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀλαλκομενέως, ἀνδρὸς αὐτόχθονος, ὑπὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθηναῖν τραφήναι λέγουσιν . . . Ἀπωτέρω δὲ τῆς κόμης ἐπεποιήτο ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον ἐλέφαντος. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀλαλκομένηον. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 12. 57 (περὶ τεράτων τοῖς Θηβαίοις προφαινομένων, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν ἄγοντος) τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τῆς καλουμένης Ἀλαλκομενηίδος ἄγαλμα αὐτομάτως κατεφλέχθη. Strabo, 413 (Ἀλαλκομεναὶ) . . . ἔχει δ' ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν Ἀθηναῖς σφόδρα τιμώμενον, καὶ φασὶ γε τὴν θεὸν γεγενῆσθαι ἐνθαδὲ . . . καὶ ἀπόρρητος αἰεὶ διετέλεσεν ἡ πόλις, οὔτε μεγάλη οὐσα οὔτ' ἐν εὐερκεῖ χωρίῳ κειμένη.

^b In Chios: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1877, 82, No. 8 Ἀθηναῖ Ἀλακκομένη δὲ θυρετρικὸν πῆγμα ἀνέθηκεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιβόλου κατασκευῆς.

⁸⁴ Athena Προμαχόρμα: Paus. 2. 34, 8, near Hermione, ἐν Βουπόρθμῳ δὲ πεποιήται μὲν ἱερὸν Δῆμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός, πεποιήται δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ θεῷ προμαχόρμα.

⁸⁵ Athena Ἀρεία. ^a At Athens, on or near the Areopagus: Paus. 1. 28, 5 βωμός ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρείας, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν (Ὀρέυτης) ἀποφυγὼν τὴν δίκην. *C. I. A.* 2. 333 ὁμόσαι Ἀθηναίους μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἥλιον, Ἀρη, Ἀθηναῖν Ἀρείαν (circ. 271 B. C.).

^b At Plataea: Paus. 9. 4, 1 Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἐπίκλησιν Ἀρείας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν. ᾠκυδομήθη δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἅ τῆς μάχης σφίσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Μαραθῶνι ἀπένεμαν.

^c At Smyrna: *C. I. Gr.* 3137, in the oath dictated by the Smyrnaeans to the Magnesians, Ὀμνύω Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον Ἀρη Ἀθηναῖν Ἀρείαν (period of Diadochi). Athena-worship at Smyrna, *id.* 3154.

^d At Pergamon: Fränkel, *Inschr. von Pergamon*, vol. 1, No. 13, oath of Eumenes, Ὀμνύω Δία . . . Ἀρη Ἀθηναῖν Ἀρείαν.

⁸⁶ Athena Ἀλκίδημος: Liv. 42. 51 Ipse (Perseus) centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcideimon, facto.

⁸⁷ Athena Δηίτις at Olympia: Paus. 5. 14, 4 τέταρτα καὶ πέμπτα Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι καὶ Δηίτιδι Ἀθηναῖ, ἕκτα Ἐργάνη. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 10. 460
καὶ τὰ γ' Ἀθηναίῃ ληϊτίδι διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
ὕψος' ἀνέσχεθε χεῖρι καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἠῦδα.

⁸⁸ Collitz, *Dialect. Inschr.* 3001 Megara Τοῖδ' ἀπὸ λαίας τὰν δεκάταν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναῖ (circ. 450 B. C.).

^{89a} Athena Ζωστηρία at Thebes: Paus. 9. 17, 3 Πλησίον δὲ Ἀμφιτρύωνος δύο ἀγάλματα λίθινα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναῖς ἐπίκλησιν Ζωστηρίας. λαβεῖν γὰρ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα.

^b At Athens: *C. I. A.* 1. 273 Ἀθηναῖας Ζωστηρίας Η. . . τόκος (fifth century B. C.). Cf. Paus. 1. 31, 1 ἐν Ζωστήρι δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμός Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Δητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὐ φασι λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστήρα ὡς τεξομένην.

^c Hesych. *s. v.* Ζώστειρα' Ἀθηναῖς ἐπίθετον ἐν Βοιωτία.

^{90a} Athena Στρατία: Plut. *Praec. Rei. Ger.* 801 E Ἄρεος Ἐνναλίου καὶ Στρατίας Ἀθηναῖς.

^b Στοιχεῖα at Epidaurus: Cavvadias, *Epidaurae* 90, dedication Ἀθανῶς Στοιχειάς.

⁹¹ Athena Σάλπιγξ at Argos: Paus. 2. 21, 3 Ἴ�θηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερόν φασιν Ἡγέλεων.

⁹² Athena Ἐγκέλαδος: Hesych. s. v. ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ.

⁹³ ^a Athena Ἴππία at Tegea: Paus. 8. 47, 1 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Τεγέᾳ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐκομίσθη μὲν ἐκ δήμου τοῦ Μανθουρέων, Ἴππία δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Μανθουρέωσιν εἶχεν ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτι τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ γινομένης τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸς Γίγαντας μάχης ἐπήλασεν Ἐγκελάδῳ Ἴππων τὸ ἄρμα. At Acharnae in Attica: Paus. 1. 31, 6 τὴν δὲ Ἴππίαν Ἀθηνᾶν ὀνομάζουσι. Cf. inscription found at Menidi: *C. I. A.* 2. 587 ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἴππίᾳ. At Olympia: Paus. 5. 15, 6 τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἔμβολον καλούμενον ἐσόδου τῇ μὲν Ἄρεως Ἴππίου τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἴππίας βωμός. Cf. ¹⁷ a ⁶, ¹⁷ c, ¹⁷ g.

^b Athena Κελεύθεια at Sparta: Paus. 3. 12, 4 τοῦ δὲ τῶν βιδιαιῶν ἀρχείου πέραν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν Ὀδυσσεύς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα λέγεται καὶ ὀνομάσαι Κελεύθειαν, τοὺς Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρας δρόμῳ νικήσας. ἰδρύσατο δὲ τῆς Κελεύθειας ἱερὰ ἀριθμῶ τρία, διεστηκότα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

⁹¹ Athena Παρεία at Sparta: Paus. 3. 20, 8 τὴν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστηκεν ἐπίκλησιν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.

⁹⁵ Ἀθηνᾶ Χαλινίτις at Corinth: Paus. 2. 4, 1 Χαλινίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶν γὰρ . . . φασὶ καὶ ὡς τὸν Πήγασόν οἱ (Βελλεροφόντη) παραδοίη χειρωσαμένη καὶ ἐνθείσα αὐτῇ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλινόν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οἱ τοῦτο ξόανον ἐστὶ, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ ἄκροι πόδες εἰσι λευκοῦ λίθου.

⁹⁶ Athena Νίκη ^a at Athens, called later Ἄπτερος: Paus. 1. 22, 4 τῶν δὲ προπυλαίων ἐν δεξιᾷ Νίκης ἐστὶν Ἀπτέρου ναός. Cf. ¹²⁵ a b, vide supra ³⁶ z. *C. I. A.* 1, p. 74 Ἀθηναίας Νίκης στέφανος χρυσοῦς. *Ib.* 2. 471, 14 συντελουμένης δὲ καὶ τῆς θυσίας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ συνεπόμπευσαν καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως βούν συμπέψαντες ἦν καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ θεῷ. *Ib.* 2. 678 A 1, 15 Ἀθηνᾷ Νίκη στέφανος ἀπὸ ληϊῶν. *Soph. Phil.* 134 Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνα Πολιάς ἧ σώζει μ' αἰεῖ. *Et. Mag.* 605. 50 ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾷ Νίκη προσαγορεύεται. *Eur. Ion* 1528:

μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασιν ποτε
Νίκην Ἀθηνᾶν Ζητὴ γηγενεῖς ἔπι.

Cf. *Ion* 453:

ἐμᾶν

Ἀθανᾶν ἱκετεύω
Προμαθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευ-
θείσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας
κορυφᾶς Διός, ὧ Πότνα Νίκα.

Arist. *Eg.* 581:

ὧ Πολιοῦχε Παλλὰς . . .
δεῦρ' ἀφικου λαβοῦσα τὴν

ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις
ἡμετέραν συνεργὸν
Νίκημ.

^b At Megara: Paus. I. 42, 4 ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηναῖς πεποιήται καλουμένης Νίκης καὶ ἄλλο Διαντίδος. At Olympia: *Id.* 5. 26, 6 παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πεποιήται Νίκη· ταύτην Μαντιεῖς ἀνέθεσαν . . . Κάλαμις δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσαν πτερὰ ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομιμούμενος τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἀπτέρου καλουμένης ξόανον.

^c At Erythrae: Dittenberg. *Syll.* 307. 27.

⁹⁷ Athena Νικηφόρος at Pergamum, vide ³⁸ m, cf. decree of the Aetolians: Collitz, *Dialect. Inscr.* 1413 καθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἀνακαλεῖ τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἀθάνης τῆς Νικηφόρου τὸ ποτὶ Περγάμῳ ἄστυλον καθὼς κα ὀρίξῃ, συναποδεδέχθαι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἄστυλον εἶμεν αὐτὸ τὰ ἀπ' Αἰτωλῶν.

⁹⁸ Athena as goddess of the arts.

^a Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 56, at Colonus and in the Academia, συντιμᾶται (ὁ Προμηθεὺς) τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἥφαιστος. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ παλαιὸν ἱδρυμα καὶ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς θεοῦ. Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ βᾶσις ἀρχαία κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐν ἣ τού τε Προμηθέως ἐστὶ τύπος καὶ τοῦ Ἥφαιστου (quoting from Apollodorus). Cf. Paus. I. 30, 2 ἐν Ἀκαδημία ἐστὶ Προμηθέως βωμὸς καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας.

^b Plato, *Latws* 920 D Ἥφαιστου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν γένος.

^c Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, 18, ch. 12 in templo Vulcani et Minervae quod ambo unum habebant Athenis. At Athens: Paus. I. 14, 6 ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοῶν τὴν καλουμένην βασιλείον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἥφαιστου· καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμά οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηναῖς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐπιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὀρών τῆς Ἀθηναῖς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὔρισκον.

^d Solon, 13, l. 49, Bergk:

ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἥφαιστου πολυτέχνεω
ἔργα δαεῖς χειροῖν συλλέγεται βιοτόν.

⁹⁹ Athena Ἥφαιστία: Hesych. s. v.: cf. *C. I. A.* 2. 114 b.

¹⁰⁰ Athena Ἐργάνη: ^a Diod. Sic. 5. 73 Ἀθηναῖα δὲ προσάπτουσι τὴν τε τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἡμέρωσιν καὶ φυτεῖαν παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν τῆς ἐσθήτος κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν τεκτονικὴν τέχνην, ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις εἰσηγήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν κατασκευὴν . . . καὶ τὸ σύνολον πολλὰ τῶν φιλοτέχνων ἔργων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἐργάνην αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι.

^b At Athens: Paus. 1. 24, 3 πρώτοι μὲν γὰρ (Ἀθηναῖοι) Ἀθηνῶν ἐπωόμασαν Ἐργάνην. Soph. *Frag.* 724 βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λέως οἱ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπι' Ἐργάνην στατοῖς λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε. Hesych. *s.v.* λείκνοισι προστρέπεσθαι λείκνα . . . ἄ ἐστι κανᾶ ἐφ' οἷς τὰ λήια ἐπετέθετο, ἄπερ εἰσὶ κάρποι πύρνοι.

^c C. I. A. 2. 1434, inscription found on the base of a statue on the Acropolis, ? latter part of the fourth century B.C., Χερσί τε καὶ τέχνας ἔργων τὸλμεις τε δικαίαις θρεψαμένη τέκνων γενεὰν ἀνέθηκε Μέλιννα σοὶ τήνδε μνήμην, θεὰ Ἐργάνη, ὧν ἐπόνησεν μοῖραν ἀπαρξάμενη κτεάνων, τιμῶσα χάριν σὴν. C. I. A. 2. 1329 Βάκχιος τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τεῖ Ὀργάνῃ ἀπαρχὴν ἀνέθηκεν στεφανωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν θιασωτῶν, inscription found near the theatre of Herodes.

^d At Sparta: Paus. 3. 17, 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτόθι Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐργάνης ἱερόν.

^e At Olympia: Paus. 5. 14, 4 ἕκτα (θύουσι οἱ Ἡλείοι) Ἐργάνη. ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ Φαιδρινταῖ, γέρας παρὰ Ἡλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθιέρειν, οὔτοι θύουσι ἐν ταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται.

^f At Megalopolis: Paus. 8. 32, 3 εἰσὶ δὲ . . . θεοί, παρέχονται δὲ καὶ οὔτοι σχῆμα τετράγωνον, Ἐργάται δὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίκλησις, Ἀθηνᾶ τε Ἐργάνη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγικεύς.

^g At Thespieae: Paus. 9. 26, 8 τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνῶν τὴν Ἐργάνην καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ Πλοῦτόν οἱ παρεστηκότα ἐποίησε. *Et. Mag.* p. 369. 51 Ἐργάνη ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιστατεῖν, ταύτης εὐραμένης τὰς τέχνας.

^h Χαλκεῖα: Suidas, *s.v.* ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι, ἃ τινες Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν. . . ὅσπερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων ἤγετο τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅτι Ἡφαιστος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ χαλκὸν εἰργάσατο. ἔστι δὲ ἔνη καὶ νέα τοῦ Πυανεψιδῶνος, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἱέρεια μετὰ τῶν ἀρρηφόρων τὸν πέπλον διάζονται. . . Φανόδημος δὲ φησιν οὐκ Ἀθηνᾶ ἄνεσθαι τὴν ἐορτήν, ἀλλ' Ἡφαιστῶ: cf. Harpocr. *Et. Mag.* *s.v.*

¹⁰¹ Athena Ἐργάτις at Samos: Hesych. *s.v.* παρὰ δὲ Σαμίους ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ.

¹⁰² Athena Ὀργάνη at Delos: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 351 ΑΘΗΝΑΗΣ ΟΡΓΑΝΗΣ, ? fifth century.

¹⁰³ Athena Καλλιέργως at Epidaurus: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 28, Inscr. 72 Ἀθηνᾶς καλλιέργωσ Ἀπολλώνιος Δωραι (ἢ Δωραίου) πυροφορήσας (= πυρφορήσας) τὸ ΖΡ¹ ἔτος: imperial period.

¹⁰⁴ Athena Τελχινία at Teumessos: Paus. 9. 19, 1 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Τευμησῶ Τελχινίας ἔστιν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον. Cf. Stobaeus, *Florileg.* 38. 56 ἐκ τῆς Νικολάου ἐθῶν συναγωγῆς. Τελχίνες ἄνθρωποι . . . τεχνῖται δὲ ὄντες καὶ

τὰ τῶν προτέρων ἔργα μωμησάμενοι Ἀθηνᾶς Τελχινίας ἄγαλμα πρῶτον ἰδρύσαντο, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγοι Ἀθηνᾶς βασκάνου.

¹⁰⁵ Athena Ἀηδών: Hesych. *s.v.* ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Παμφυλίου.

¹⁰⁶ ? Μουσική at Athens: *C. I. A.* 2. 69 τῆς μουσικῆς (Ἀθηνᾶς coniec. Boeckh). Cf. ¹²⁷.

¹⁰⁷ Athena Βομβυλία: Hesych. *s.v.* ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ. Plut. *De Mus.* 1336 Β ἡ δὲ Κόρινθα καὶ διδαχθῆναί φησι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπ' Ἀθηναίας αὐλεῖν. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 12. ll. 6-12 ἡ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ εὗρε τὸ μέλος τῆς αὐλητικῆς.

¹⁰⁸ Athena Μαχανίτις: Paus. 8. 36, 5, at Megalopolis, ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Μαχανίτιδος ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὐρέτις. Arist. vol. 1, p. 24, Dind. Χάριτες δ' αὐτῆς περὶ χεῖρας ἴστανται.

¹⁰⁹ Athena Ὑγίεια ^a at Athens: Paus. 1. 23, 5, on the Acropolis, θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγείας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγείας. Arist. vol. 1, p. 22, Dind. Ἀθηναίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ Ὑγείας Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸν ἰδρύσαντο. *Mitt. d. d. Inst. Ath.* 1887 (xii.), p. 388: cf. p. 154 ΘΕΝ . . . ΝΓΙΕΙ . . . ΑΛΛΙΣ ΕΓΟΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΑΝΕΘ = Ἀθηναίᾳ Ὑγείᾳ Κάλλις ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκε. Cf. fifth century inscription published in *Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολ.* 1888, p. 95. 3 . . . αν (Η) υγίεια . . . Ευφρονιος (μ' ανεθεκε)ν (Ηο) κεραμευς απαρχεν παιδι Διος μεγαλο. *C. I. A.* 1. 335 Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγείᾳ Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίος. Cf. Plut. *Pericl.* 13 ἐπὶ τούτῳ (on the occasion of the recovery of his workman) καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν (ὁ Περικλῆς) ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσι. *C. I. A.* 2. 163, vide ^{36z}.

b At Acharnae: Paus. 1. 31, 6 Ἀθηνᾶς βωμὸς ἐστὶν Ὑγείας.

c At Hieron near Epidaurus: Cavvadias, *Epidaurae* 49, inscription second century A.D., Ἀθηνᾶ Ὑγείᾳ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ Μάρκος Ἰούμιος Δαδοῦχος.

¹¹⁰ Athena Παιωνία at Athens: Paus. 1. 2, 5 ἐν ταῦτά ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα Παιωνίας.

¹¹¹ At Oropus: Paus. 1. 34, 2 Ὠρωπίοις ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου . . . παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη . . . τετάρτη δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας, ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦς καὶ Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας.

¹¹² ? Athena Καθάρσιος: Arist. Dind. vol. 1, p. 26 προφῆται δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖς Καθάρσιον αὐτὴν ἐπικαλοῦνται.

¹¹³ Athena Ἀποτροπαία ^a at Erythrae: Dittenberg. *Syll.* 370. l. 70, 115 Διὸς ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀποτροπαίας.

^b At Rome : 'Αθῶνα ἀποτροπαία ex oraculo *C. I. Gr.* 5939.

¹¹⁴ Athena Σώτειρα ^a at Asea : vide ^{17e}.

^b At Athens : *C. I. A.* 2. 305 ἔθουν τὰς τε θυσίας τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ τῇ Σωτείρᾳ. Cf. 325, 326, 469. 21. *Ib.* 1387 'Απολλωνίαν . . . θυγατέρα κακηφορήσασαν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Διὶ σωτῆρι καὶ 'Αθηνᾷ σωτείρᾳ ἀνέθηκαν. Cf. inscription on seat of Attic theatre, *C. I. A.* 3. 281.

^c Athena Σώτειρα in Delos : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1882, 22, inscription containing temple-accounts, τῷ τοῦς στεφάνους πλέξαντι εἰς θυσίαν 'Απόλλωνι 'Αρτέμυδι Λητοῖ Διὶ Σωτῆρι 'Αθηνᾷ Σωτείρᾳ (second century B.C.).

¹¹⁵ Athena Σαίτις near Lerna : Paus. 2. 36, 8 ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους (τοῦ Ποντίνου) ἱερόν τε 'Αθηνᾶς Σαίτιδος ἐρείπια ἔτι μόνα.

Cult-titles and cults shared with Zeus.

¹¹⁶ ^a Athena Συλλανία at Sparta : Plut. *Lyc.* 6 Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς Συλλανίας ἱερόν ἰδρυσάμενον.

^b Athena Ξενία at Sparta : Paus. 3. 11, 11 ἔστι καὶ Ζεὺς Ξένιος καὶ 'Αθηνᾷ Ξενία.

^c Athena 'Αποτροπαία with Zeus 'Αποτροπαῖος at Erythrae ¹¹³.

^d Athena 'Υπερδέξια : Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Υπερδέξιον. χωρίον Λέσβου, ἐν ᾧ Ζεὺς 'Υπερδέξιος καὶ 'Αθηνᾷ 'Υπερδέξια.

^e Zeus Σωτήρ and 'Αθηνᾷ Σώτειρα, ^{110b}.

^f Zeus Κτήσιος and Athena Κτησία, ⁶⁵.

^g Zeus Πάτριος and Athena Πατρία at Anaphe, ⁴⁰.

^h In the Peiraeus : Paus. 1. 1, 3 θέας δὲ ἄξιον τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ μάλιστα 'Αθηνᾶς ἐστὶ καὶ Διὸς τέμενος· χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφότερα τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν σκῆπτρον καὶ Νίκην ἡ δὲ 'Αθηνᾷ δόρυ.

ⁱ At Delos : Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 343 Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον σωτήρα . . . Ἀρείος Πτολεμαίου 'Αλεξάνδρου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην Διὶ Κυνθίῳ καὶ 'Αθηνᾷ Κυνθία.

^k 'Αθηνᾷ Λινδία and Ζεὺς Πολιεύς, vide ⁴⁵; Athena Polias with Zeus at Amorgos, ^{88g}; at Ios, ^{88h}.

^l Zeus Φήμιος and Athena Φημία, ⁸¹.

^m Ζεὺς 'Ομολώϊος and Athena 'Ομολώϊς in Boeotia, ⁴².

Ritual.

¹¹⁷ Diod. Sic. 5. 56 φασὶ τοὺς μὲν 'Ηλιάδας διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐπιλαθομένους ἐνεγκεῖν πῦρ ἐπιθεῖναι τὰ θύματα, τὸν δὲ τότε βασιλεύοντα τῶν 'Αθηναίων

Κέκροπα ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς θῦσαι ὕστερον. διόπερ φασὶ διαμένειν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὸ κατὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἴδιον ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐν αὐτῇ καθιδρῦσθαι. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 48. Worship of Athena Alea, ^{18d}; Πάνδροσος and the ἔρρηφόροι, ²⁶; Scirophoria, ²⁷; Προχαριστήρια, ²⁸; Panathenaic ritual, ^{36n, o, z}; priest of Athena Πολιᾶτις at Tegea, ^{38 a}; of Athena Lindia at Carpathos, *Geogr. Reg.* p. 421; priest of Athena at Phaselis, ^{38 o}; at Amyclae, ^{38 b}; boy-priest of Athena Κραναία at Elatea, ³⁸. Sacrificial animals, *Iliad* 11. 728 Αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη γλαυκώπιδι βοῦν ἀγελίην. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 754 Mactatur vacca Minervae. Sow on votive relief, *Eph. Arch.* 1886, Πίν. 9. Schol. *Il.* 2. 547 θήλεα δὲ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ θύουσιν: cf. ^{35c}, ³⁶ⁱ: cf. Eust. *Il.* p. 283. 34. Bull-sacrifice, Suidas, *s.v.* Ταυροβόλος: Paus. 1. 27, 10 τὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ταῦρον ὕστερον Θησεὺς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλάσαι καὶ θύσαι λέγεται τῇ θεῷ. Male and female victims in the sacrifice at Ilium, *C. I. Gr.* 2. p. 889. Eust. *Il.* p. 1752. 24 καὶ τὴν ἱερίαν δέ, φασὶ, τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἔθος ἦν οὐ θύειν ἀμνῆν. Sacrifice of goats on the Acropolis, vide Zeus-ritual, p. 100. Varro, *De re Rust.* 1. 2, 19 ut Minervae caprini generis nihil immolarent propter oleam . . . hoc nomine etiam Athenis in arcem non inigi praeterquam semel ad necessarium sacrificium.

Cult-monuments.

¹¹⁸ Tertullian, *Ad Nat.* 1. 12 quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica et Ceres Raria quae sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno prostant.

¹¹⁹ At Aliphera: Athena Tritogeneia by Hypatodorus, ^{16 f}. Cf. ^{98 c}.

¹²⁰ *Anth. Pal.* 9. 576:

Παρθένε Τριτογένεια, τί τὴν Κύπριν ἄρτι με λυπεῖς
Τοῦμόν δ' ἀρπαλέα δῶρον ἔχεις παλάμῃ;

σὸν δόρυ καὶ σάκος ἐστίν· ἐμόν δὲ τὸ μῆλον ὑπάρχει·
ἀρκεῖ τῷ μῆλῳ κείνος ὁ πρὶν πόλεμος.

Seated Athena.

¹²¹ At Ilium: ^a Strabo, 601 τῆς Ἀθηναίας τὸ ξόανον νῦν μὲν ἐστηκὸς ὁράται, Ὅμηρος δὲ καθήμενον ἐμφαίνει . . . πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ἀθηναίας ξοάνων καθημένα δεικνύνται, καθάπερ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ Μασσαλία Ῥώμη Χίψ ἄλλαις πλειούσι.

^b Paus. 1. 26, 4, at Athens on the Acropolis, καθήμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθηναίας ἀγαλμα, ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον ὡς Καλλίας μὲν ἀναθεῖη ποιήσῃε δὲ Ἐνδοῖος.

^c *Ib.* 7. 5, 9 Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίας Πολυᾶδος ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα ξύλου μεγέθει μέγα καθήμενόν τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἡλακᾶτην ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πύλον, τοῦτο Ἐνδοίου τέχνην ἔτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι. Cf. Athenag. *Leg. pro Christ.* c. 14 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρ-

τέμδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς . . . καὶ τὴν καθημένην Ἐνδοῖος εἰργάσατο μαθητῆς Δαίδαλου.

d Seated Minerva in Rome: Suet. *Calig.* 25 Iuliam Drusillam Minervae gremio imposuit, alendamque et instituendam commendavit.

¹²² Athena Polias' image at Athens: ^a Paus. 1. 26, 6: vide ⁸⁵.

b Schol. Demosth. *Androt.* p. 597 R τρία γὰρ ἀγάλματα ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν διαφόροις τόποις, ἐν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενόμενον ἐξ ἑλαιᾶς, ὅπερ ἐκαλεῖτο Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς εἶναι τὴν πόλιν.

c Arist. *Av.* 826:

EY.

τίς δαὶ θεὸς

πολιοῦχος ἔσται, τῷ ξαναῦμεν τὸν πέπλον;

ΠΕ. τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἔωμεν Πολιάδα;

EY. καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν εὐτακτος πόλις,

ὅπου θεὸς γυνὴ γεγονυῖα πανοπλία

ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα Κλεισθένης δὲ κερκίδα;

d Eurip. *Eléc.* 1254:

Ἐλθὼν δ' Ἀθῆνας, Παλλάδος σεμνὸν βρέτας

πρόσπτυξον εἶρξει γὰρ νιν ἐπτοημένας

δεινοῖς δράκουσιν, ὥστε μὴ ψαύειν σέθεν,

γοργῶφ' ὑπερτείνουσά σου κάρα κύκλον.

e Alciph. *Ep.* 3. 51, 4 ἐμοὶ γένοιτο, πρόμαχε Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πολιοῦχε ἄστεος Ἀθήνησι καὶ ζῆσαι καὶ βίον ἀπολιπεῖν.

¹²³ Palladia: ^a Schol. *Il.* 6. 88 φασὶ τὸ διοπετὲς ἀνδρὸς (? αἰγὸς) δорὰν ἡμφιέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ στέμματα καὶ ἡλακᾶτην, ἐν δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλιν (? πόλον) καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ δόρυ.

b Apollod. 3. 12, 3 ἦν δὲ (τὸ διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον τῷ μεγέθει τρίπηχον, τοῖς δὲ ποσὶ συμβεβηκός, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ δόρυ διηρμένον ἔχον, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα ἡλακᾶτην καὶ ἄτρακτον.

c Strabo, 264, speaking of Troike, the port of Hæraclea, τῆς τῶν Τρώων κατοικίας τεκμήριον ποιοῦνται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ξόανον ἰδρυμένον αὐτόθι, ὅπερ καταμῦσαι μυθεύουσιν ἀποσπωμένων τῶν ἰκετῶν . . . καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Λαουινίῳ καὶ ἐν Δουκερία καὶ ἐν Σιρίτιδι Ἰλιάς Ἀθηνᾶ καλεῖται ὡς ἐκέῖθεν κομισθεῖσα.

d At Amphissa: Paus. 10. 38, 5 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναὸς σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, κομισθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Θόαντός φασιν αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου καὶ εἶναι λαφύρων τῶν ἐκ Τροίας.

e Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 4. 16 Nonne vides in Capitoliis omnibus virginis esse species Minervarum et inuptarum his formas ab artificibus cunctis dari.

f Schol. Ar. *Acharn.* 546 Παλλάδια ἐν ταῖς πρόφραις τῶν τρυήρων ἦν ἀγάλματα τινα ξύλινα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθιδρυμένα ὧν ἐπεμελοῦντο μέλλοντες πλεῖν.

¹²⁴ Athena Ἀγοραία at Byzantium: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* Niketas Chthoniata, pp. 738-739 τὸ ἔστος ἐπὶ στήλης ἐν τῷ Κωνσταντινεῖῳ φόρῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἀνέβαινε μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄρθιον ὡς ἐς τριακάδα ποδῶν . . . ποδηρῆς δὲ ἦν ἡ στολή· μήτρα δ' Ἄρεος τὴν ἰξὺν διειληφύια ἰκανῶς αὐτὴν περιέσφιγγεν. εἶχε δὲ καπὶ τοῖς στέρνοις . . . αἰγιδωδὲς ἐπένδυμα . . . ὁ δὲ γε αὐχὴν ἀχίτων ὧν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δολιχόδειρον ἀνατεινόμενος ἄμαχον εἰς ἡδονὴν θέαμα ἦν . . . τὰ χεῖλη δόξαν παρέιχον ὡς εἰ προσμένει τις μείλιχον φωνὴν ἐνωτίσεται . . . τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἰμέρω παντὶ ῥέομενον . . . ἵππουρις δ' ἐπικειμένη τῇ κεφαλῇ δειῶν καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν . . . τῶν δὲ χειρῶν ἡ μὲν λαῖα τὰ συνεπτυγμένα τῆς ἐσθήτος ἀνέστελλε, ἀτέρα δ' ἐκτεινόμενῃ πρὸς κλίμα τὸ νότιον εἶχε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠρέμα πως ἐγκλινομένην ἐκεῖ.

¹²⁵ Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ: ^a Harpocrat. s. v. ὅτι δὲ Νικῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥόαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κράνος, ἐτιμᾶτο παρ' Ἀθηναίους, δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιοδώρος ὁ περιηγητῆς ἐν α' περὶ ἀκροπόλεως.

b Schol. Arist. *Av.* 573 νεωτερικὸν τὸ τὴν Νίκην καὶ τὸν Ἐρωτα ἐπτερωσθαι· Ἄρχεννον γάρ φασιν . . . οἱ δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶντα πτηνὴν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν Νίκην.

¹²⁶ Athena (? Ἀρεία) at Athens: Paus. i. 8, 4 Ἄρεώς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κείται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λοκρός.

¹²⁷ Athena Μουσική: Pliny, 34. 77 Demetrius (fecit) Minervam quae musica? (libr. myctica) appellatur; dracones in gorgone eius ad ictus citharae tinnitu resonant.

^{128a} Paus. 9. 40, 3 ξόανα ἐν Κρήτῃ . . . Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Κνωσίοις, work of Daedalus.

b At Cleonae: Paus. 2. 15, 1 ἔστιν ἱερόν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη καὶ Διποίνου, μαθητᾶς δὲ εἶναι Δαιδάλου σφᾶς . . . (ἐθέλουσι).

¹²⁹ At Olympia in the temple of Hera: Paus. 5. 17, 1 τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κράνος ἐπικειμένην καὶ δόρυ καὶ ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν Λακεδαιμονίου λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι Μέδοντος (leg. μὲν Δόντα).

¹³⁰ Athena Alea by Endoeus, ^{18b}.

¹³¹ Athena Σθενίς by Callon: Paus. 2. 32, 5, at Troezen, αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης.

¹³² Löwy, *Inscr. Griech. Bildhauer*, 38 Καλλι[as] καὶ [“Ο]ψιω(s) ἀνεθέτην [τῇ Ἀθ]ηναίᾳ ἀπαρχὴν Ὠᾶθεν. Κρίτι[os] καὶ Νησ[ι]ώτης ἐποίησάτην.

¹³³ At Samos in the temple of Hera: Strabo, 637 τρία Μύρωνος ἔργα

κολοσσικά ἰδρυμένα ἐπὶ μιᾷ βάσεως . . . τὴν Ἀθηῶν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα. τὸν δὲ Δία . . .

Pheidias' works.

¹³⁴ Athena at Pellene in Achaëa: Paus. 7. 27, 2 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀθηῶν λίθου μὲν ἐπιχωρίου ναός, ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ· Φειδίαν δὲ εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φασὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα.

¹³⁵ At Plataea: vide ⁸⁵b; Paus. 9. 4, 1 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα ξυάνον ἐστὶν ἐπίχρυσον, πρόσωπον δὲ οἱ καὶ χεῖρες ἄκραι καὶ πόδες λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιον εἰσί· μέγεθος μὲν οὐ πολὺ δὴ τι ἀποδεῖ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκῆς . . . Φειδίας δὲ καὶ Πλαταιεῖσιν ἦν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηῶν τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας.

¹³⁶ At Athens: a bronze Athena on the Acropolis: Paus. 1. 28, 2 ἄγαλμα Ἀθηῶν χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Μήδων τῶν ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀποβάντων, τέχνη Φειδίου· καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος Δαπιθῶν πρὸς Κενταύρους (μάχην) καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐπειρασμένα λέγουσι τορευσαί Μῦν· . . . ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηῶν ἢ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῆ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνους ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέουσιν ἐστὶν ἦδη σύνοπτα. Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* p. 428, § 272 Ὀλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησί . . . παρὰ τὴν χαλκὴν τὴν μεγάλην Ἀθηῶν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἔστηκεν, ἦν ἀριστεῖον ἢ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, δόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκεν. Schol. Demosth. *Androt.* p. 597 τὸ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ μόνου (ἄγαλμα Ἀθηῶν) ὅπερ ἐποίησαν νικήσαντες οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο Προμάχου Ἀθηῶν. *Anthol. Graec. Planud.* 4. 157:

εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔνοπλον Ἀθηῶν

τίπτε Τριτογένεια κορύσσειαι ἄστει μέσσω;

εἴξε Ποσειδάων· φείδεο Κεκροπίης.

^b Athena Parthenos: Paus. 1. 24, 5 αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποιήται. μέσσω μὲν οὖν ἐπίκειται οἱ τῷ κράνει Σφιγγὸς εἰκὼν . . . καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῦ κράνους γρυπές εἰσιν ἐπειρασμένοι . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηῶν ὀρθόν ἐστὶν ἐν χιτῶνι ποδῆρει, καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον ἢ κεφαλῇ Μεδούσης ἐλέφαντός ἐστιν ἐμπεποιημένη, καὶ Νίκην ὅσον τε τεσσάρων πηγῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ (ἐτέρᾳ) χειρὶ δόρυ ἔχει, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀσπίς τε κείται, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἷη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων· ἔστι δὲ τῷ βάρβρω τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπειρασμένη Πανδώρας γένεσις. Pliny, *N. H.* 36. 18 Phidian clarissimum esse per omnes gentes, quae Iovis Olympii famam intelligunt, nemo dubitat, sed ut laudari merito sciant etiam qui opera eius non videre proferemus argumenta parva et ingeni tantum. Neque ad hoc Iovis Olympii pulcritudine utemur non Minervae Athenis factae amplitudine, cum sit ea cubitorum viginti sex,—ebore haec et auro constat—sed in scuto eius Amazonum praelium caelavit

intumescente ambitu parmae, eiusdem concava parte deorum et gigantum dimicationes, in soleis vero Lapitharum et Centaurorum, adeo momenta omnia capacia artis illi fuere. In basi autem quod caelatum est Πανδώρας γένεσιν appellant, di sunt nascentes (? di adsunt nascenti) xx numero. Victoria praecipue mirabili periti mirantur et serpentem ac sub ipsa cuspede aeream sphingem. Plat. *Hipp. Mai.* p. 290 B τὸ καλὸν . . . ἡγνύει (Φειδίας) . . . ; ὅτι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐ χρυσοῦς ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ τὸ ἄλλο πρόσωπον . . . ἀλλ' ἐλεφάντινον . . . τοῦ οὖν ἔνεκα οὐ καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλεφάντινα εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ λίθινα, ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ λίθου τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐξευρών; Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 14. 6 εἰ τοιαύτην ἡγεί τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οἷαν Φειδίας ἐδημιούργησεν, οὐδὲν τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν φαυλοτέρων, παρθένου κυλῆν, γλαυκῶπι, ὑψηλῆν, αἰγίδα ἀνεζωσμένην, κόρυν φέρουσαν, δόρυ ἔχουσαν (? ἀνέχουσαν) ἀσπίδα ἔχουσαν. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 41 P τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὀλυμπίασι Δία καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησι Πολιάδα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος κατασκευάσαι Φειδίαν παντὶ που σαφές. Paus. 1. 17, 2 γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνιας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. πεποιήται δὲ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βᾶθρῳ. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12. 373 R Περικλέα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν λαθὼν ἐποίησεν (Φειδίας), ὡς φασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος. Arist. *de Mirab. Ausc.* p. 846 A λέγεται τὸν ἀγαματοποιὸν Φειδίαν κατασκευάζοντα τὴν ἐν ἀκροπόλει Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν μεσότητι ταύτης τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον ἐντυπώσασθαι καὶ συνδῆσαι τῷ ἀγάλματι διὰ τῶς ἀφανοῦς δημιουργίας, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, εἴ τις βούλοιτο αὐτὸ περιαιρεῖν, τὸ σύμπαν ἄγαλμα λυεῖν τε καὶ συγχεῖν. Schol. Arist. *Rax* 605 Φιλόχορος ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου (leg. Θεοδώρου) ἄρχοντος ταυτὰ φησι. καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν νεῶν τὸν μέγαν, ἔχον χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ταλάντων μδ', Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος, Φειδίου δὲ ποιήσαντος. Plut. *Pericl.* 13 ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ εἶναι γέγραπται.

^c Athena Δημνία: Paus. 1. 28, 2, on the Acropolis, τῶν ἔργων τῶν Φειδίου θεάς μάλιστα ἄξιον, Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθέντων καλουμένης Δημνίας. Pliny, *N. H.* 34. 54 (Phidias fecit) ex aere vero praeter Amazonem supra dictam Minervam tam eximiae pulcritudinis ut formae cognomen acceperit; fecit et cliduchum et aliam Minervam. . . . Lucian, *Imag.* § 4 τῶν δὲ Φειδίου ἔργων τί μάλιστα ἐπήνεσας; τί δ' ἄλλο ἢ τὴν Δημνίαν, ἣ καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τοῦνομα Φειδίας ἤξιωσεν; . . . § 6 τὴν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς προσώπου περιγραφὴν καὶ παρειῶν τὸ ἀπαλὸν καὶ ῥίνα σύμμετρον ἢ Δημνία παρέξει καὶ Φειδίας. Himer. *Orat.* 21. 4 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν Φειδίου φύσει καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν τέχνας, ὧν αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ σοφία θαυμάζονται, ἢ τῶν νεῶν εὔρεσις ἔργων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἐκράτουνεν. οὐκ αἰεὶ Δία Φειδίας ἐπλαττεν, οὔτε σὺν ὄπλοις αἰεὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐχαλκεύετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἀφῆκε τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν παρθένου ἐκόσμησεν, ἐρύθημα καταχέας τῆς παρειᾶς,

ἵνα ἀντὶ κράνους ὑπὸ τούτου τῆς θεοῦ τὸ κάλλος κρύπτοιο. Inscription from Paros, Ross, *N. Rhein. Mus.* 7. p. 521 :

Ἄσπι]δα καὶ Νείκην Παλλὰς χερὶ θι . . . αι (? θεῖσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ)

Ἕ"Οπλων οὐ χρῆζω πρὸς Κύπριν ἐρχομένη*

Κεκρο]πίδης μ' ἀνέθηκε πάτρης ἀπο πατρίδ' ἐς ἄλλην

Θε]ϊώδοτος Παφίοις Φειδιακὴν χάριτα.

Aristid. Dind. 2, p. 556 ἢ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀθηνῶν, λέγω τοῦτο μὲν τὴν ἐλεφαντίνην, τοῦτο δέ, εἰ βούλει, τὴν χαλκὴν, καὶ νῆ Δία γ', εἰ βούλει, τὴν Δημνίαν, ἅπαντα ταῦτα ὑπερβολὴν μὲν ἀρετῆς τῷ δημιουργῷ τοῖς δὲ θεαταῖς ἡδονῆς ἔχει.

¹³⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* 35. 54 Panaenum qui clipeum intus pinxit Elide Minervae quam fecerat Colotes.

¹³⁸ Athena Προναία at Thebes, by Scopas : vide ^{78a}.

¹³⁹ Athena, by Praxiteles, at Mantinea : Paus. 8. 9, 3 καὶ Ἕρας πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ναὸν ἔθεασάμην. Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὴν τε καθήμενην ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ παρεστῶσας ἐποίησαν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἕβην παῖδα Ἕρας.

¹⁴⁰ Athena Κραναία, by the sons of Polycles : vide ⁵⁸.

GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF ATHENA CULTS.

- Attica: a Athens ², 4 a-b, 17 a 1-4, 9, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 37, 43, 61 d, 63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 77, 85 a, 89 b, 96 a, 98 c, 99, 100 b, c, 106, 109, 110, 114 b, 117, 118, 121 b, 122, 125, 126, 127, 136.
- b Colonus, ^{17 a 6, 98}.
- c Acharnae, ^{93 a, 109 b}. Athena γεφυριστής? Serv. *Aen.* 2. 166 dicunt sane alii unum simulacrum coelo lapsum, quod nubibus advectum et in ponte depositum, apud Athenas tantum fuisse, unde et γεφυριστής dicta est. Io. Lydus, *De Mens.* 3. 21 ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸ πάλαι γεφυραῖοι πάντες οἱ περὶ τὰ πάτρια ἱερὰ ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς . . . ὠνομίζοντο διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ Σπερχείου ποταμοῦ ἱερατεύειν τῷ Παλλαδίῳ. Cf. Pherecydes, Müll. *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 101. Oropus, ¹¹¹.
- d Pallene: worship of Athena Παλληνίς; *C. I. A.* 1. 222, 224, 273: Herod. 1. 62 Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν. Eur. *Heracl.* 849 Παλληνίδος γὰρ σεμνὸν ἐκπερῶν πάγον Δίας Ἀθάνας. *Ib.* 1031 Δίας πάροισεν Παρθένου Παλληνίδος. Cf. Hesych. s. v. Παρθένου Παλληνίδος.
- e At Phlye: Paus. 1. 31, 4 Ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς . . . Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς Ἀθηναῖς.
- f Academia, ³⁴.
- g Sunium, ¹³.
- Chalcis: *C. I. A.* 2. 17^b inscription containing treaty of alliance between Athens and Chalcis in the second Attic confederacy, deposited ἐν Χαλκίδι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίας.
- Aegina: *C. I. A.* 1. 528 ὄρος τεμένους Ἀθηναίας, dedicated by Athenian cleruchs.
- Boeotia, ^{107, 32, 16d}.
- Thebes, ^{42, 60, 78a, 89a}.
- Alalcomenae, ^{16e, 83}.
- Coronea, ⁶¹.
- Plataea, ^{85b, 135}.
- At Thespieae, ^{98g}.
- At Teumessos, ¹⁰⁴.
- Thisbe: Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Ant.* 148. *C. I. Gr.* 1592 Ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθάνα, fifth century B.C.

- Athena Ἀρακυνθιάς: Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ὄρος Βοιωτίας, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρακυνθιάς, ὡς Ῥιανὸς ἐν τῇ Φήμῃ “κλυθὶ μοι εὐχάων Ἀρακυνθιάς Ἐπατέρεια.”
- Phocis: Elatea,⁵⁸ Stiris, inscription concerning the συμπολίτεια of Stiris and Medeon: Collitz, *Dialect. Inschrift.* 1539 γραψάντων τὰν ὁμολογίαν ἐν στάλαν καὶ ἀναθέντων ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθανᾶς.
- Daulis,^{38d}: cf. Paus. 10. 4, 9 Δαυλιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον· τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἐστὶ παλαιότερον λέγουσιν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Πρόκην ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. *C. I. Gr.* ἱερητεούσας τῇ Ἀθηναῖ ? third century B. C.
- Delphi,^{78b}.
- Locris,^{1b}; Amphissa,^{123d}.
- Trachis: Paus. 10. 22, 1 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀθηναῖς τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς . . . Τραχηνίδος καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν αὐτῷ.
- Thessaly,^{61b} Ἀθηναῖ βούδεια: Steph. Byz. *s.v.* πόλις ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ· οὕτω τιμᾶται βούδεια ἡ Ἀθηναῖ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ.
- Larisa,⁵⁹.
- Phalanna,^{38p}.
- Phthiotis,^{61d}.
- ? Pallene,^{16k}.
- Macedon,⁸⁸.
- Byzantium,¹²⁹. *Codinus de Origin. Constant.* Bekker, p. 6 Ἀρτέμιδος δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς τέμενος πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὄρος.
- Abdera: Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπιπυργίτις ἡ Ἀθηναῖ οὕτως ἐν Ἀβδηροῖς ἐκαλεῖτο.
- Peloponnese.
- Megara,^{19, 56, 88, 96b}.
- Sicyon: Paus. 2. 11, 1 ἀποτραπέισιν ἐπὶ πύλῃν καλουμένην ἱεράν, οὗ πόρρω τῆς πύλης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς. At Titane: Id. 2. 12, 1 ἐν δὲ Τιτανῇ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν, ἐς ὃ τὴν Κορωνίδα ἀνάγουσι· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ξόανον Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον. Id. 2. 6, 2 Ἐπωπεὺς . . . ἐπινίκια ἔθνε καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ᾠκοδόμει ναόν, ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένῳ δὲ εὖξαστο ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν θεόν, εἴ οἱ τετελεσμένοις ἐστὶν ὁ ναὸς κατὰ γνώμην· μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔλαιον λέγουσι ρύησαι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ.
- Corinth,^{95, 20, 17c}.
- Cleonae,^{128b}.
- Troezen,^{17b, 64b, 131}.
- Epidaurus,^{103, 109c, 29}.
- Hermione,⁸⁴.
- Argos,^{5a, b, 23, 50a, b, c, 91}. Paus. 2. 22, 9 ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ Κυλαράβου Καπαρεία ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖ καλουμένη. Near Lerna,¹¹⁵.
- Laconia,^{10a}.
- Sparta,^{17d, 24, 38b, 39, 73, 75, 93b, 94, 100, 116a, b}.

Amyclae, ^{18f}, ^{38b}.

Las: Paus. 3. 24, 7 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἀσίας, ποιῆσαι δὲ Πολυδεύκην καὶ Κάστορά φασιν ἀνασωθέντας ἐκ Κόλχων.

Hippolas, ^{47c}.

Near Asopus on the coast, ⁵⁹.

Messenia.

Mothone, ⁷; Corone, ⁵⁵; Coryphasion, ⁵⁷.

Arcadia: Aliphera, ^{16f}. Polyb. 4. 78 ἔχει δὲ ἄκραν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ σύμπαντος λόφου καὶ χαλκοῦν Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνδριάντα, κάλλιε καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντα.

Tegea, ^{18a-e}, ^{38a}, ^{93a}.

Alea, ^{18h}; Cleitor, ⁷⁰; Asea, ^{17e}.

Mantineia, ¹⁸⁹; near Mantineia, πηγὴ Ἀλαλκομενείας Paus. 8. 12, 7.

Pheneus, ^{16m}.

Megalopolis, ^{38c}, ^{100f}, ¹⁰⁸; Polyb. 2. 46 τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον ἐν τῇ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν χώρα.

Teuthis: Paus. 8. 28, 6 ἄγαλμα ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχον τραῦμα ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ. τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶδον, τελαμῶνι πορφυρῶ τὸν μηρὸν κατελιγμένον.

Triphylia: Strabo, 343 καὶ τὸ τῆς Σκιλλουντίας δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὸ περὶ Σκιλλοῦντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐστίν.

Elis, ⁹, ¹², ⁵⁴, ⁶⁶, ¹⁸⁷. At Olympia, altars to Athena: Paus. 5. 14, 5, 5. 14, 9, and 5. 15, 6 (^{93a}). Athena Νίκη, ⁹⁶; Ἐργάνη, ^{100e}; Ληίτις, ⁸⁷.

Pisa, Athena Κυδωνία: Paus. 6. 21, 6 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ λόφος ἐστὶν ἀνήκων ἐς ὄξύ, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πόλεως Φρίξας ἐρείπια, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Κυδωνίας ναός. ιδρύσασθαι δὲ τῇ θεῷ τὸ ἱερὸν Κλύμενόν φασιν, ἀπόγονον Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, παραγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κυδωνίας τῆς Κρητικῆς.

Achaea: Triteia, ^{16p}, ²²; Patrae, ⁴¹; Pellene, ¹³⁴.

Worship on the islands.

Thasos: *C. I. Gr.* 2161, decree concerning citizenship, ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς θεῦρους ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἱερὸν, ? fourth century B.C.

? Lemnos, ³⁹; cf. ^{136c}.

Lesbos, ^{116d}.

Chios, ^{38f}, ^{83b}.

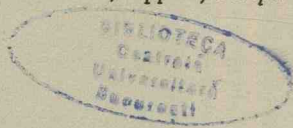
Samos, ¹⁰¹.

Euboea, at Chalcis, vide 'Attica': at Geraestum, *Bull. de Corr.*

Hell. 1891, p. 405 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθαναίας.

Ceos, ^{10b}.

- Delos, ^{79b}, ¹⁰², ^{114c}, ¹¹⁶ⁱ.
 Paros, ³.
 Amorgos, ^{38g}, ^{61c}.
 Ios, ^{38h}.
 Anaphe, ⁴⁰.
 Astypalaea: *C. I. Gr.* 2485, terms of alliance with Rome, ἀναθεῖναι ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.
 Cos, ^{38j}, ^{64d}.
 Rhodes, ¹¹⁷; Lindos, ⁴⁵, ⁴⁸. Herod. 2. 182 Ἀνέθηκε . . . ὁ Ἄμασις . . . τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα.
 Ialysus, ⁴⁵.
 Carpathos: worship of Athena Lindia: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 278 Θέρσιππος . . . ἱερατεύσας Ἀ(θ)άνα[ι Λι]νδία. *Ib.* 1884, p. 355 στᾶλαι . . . ἀνατεθῶντι μία μὲν . . . μία δὲ ἐν Ποτιδαίῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀθῆνας τᾶς Λινδίας.
 Crete, ¹⁵, ¹⁶¹, ^{38e}, ^{128a}.
 Cyprus, ^{25d}.
 Sicily: Himera, Diod. Sic. 5. 3 μυθολογοῦσιν μετὰ τῆς Κόρης . . . Ἀθηνᾶν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν συντρεφομένας συνάγειν μετ' αὐτῆς τὰ ἄνθη . . . καὶ λαχεῖν ἐκάστην αὐτῶν χώραν, τὴν μὲν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἰμέραν μέρεσιν.
 Agrigentum, ⁵².
 Selinus: Roehl, *I. G. A.* 515 διὰ τὼς θεὸς τῶσδε νικῶντι τοῖ Σελινῶν-
 τιοι . . . δι' Ἀθανάαν κ.τ.λ.
 Ithaca: Roehl, *I. G. A.* 336 τᾶς Ἀθῆνας τᾶς Ῥέας καὶ τᾶς Ἥρας τὰ ἔτεια.
 Italy.
 Calabria, ¹⁴. Cf. Strabo, 281 τοὺς δὲ Σαλεντίνους Κρητῶν ἀποίκους φασίν' ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν.
 Metapontum, ²¹.
 Sybaris: Herod. 5. 45 Τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν, τὸν ιδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριεῖα λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραστήῃ.
 Heraclea, ^{38q}, ¹²³.
 Luceria, ¹²³. Strabo, 284 ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τῆς ἐν Δουκερία παλαιὰ (Διομήδους) ἀναθήματα.
 Siris, ¹²³.
 Posidonia: Roehl, *I. G. A.* 542, inscription on bronze statue of Canephora, Ταθᾶνα Φιλλῶ Χαρμυλίδα δεκάταν.
 Rome, ^{113b}, ^{123c}, ^{121d}.
 Surrentum: Strabo, 22 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ πορθμῷ τὸ Ἀθηναίων.
 Asia Minor.
 Pontus: at Athenae, Appian, *Peripl.* 4. 1 ἔστι . . . καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ τῷ





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Εὐξείνῳ χωρίῳ οὕτω καλούμενον . . . καὶ τι καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικόν.

Cios, near Prusa in Bithynia : *C. I. Gr.* 3723 ἀναγρ[α]ψ[αι] τὴν προξεν[ίαν ταύτη]ν ἐς στήλην λιθίν[ην καὶ στήσα]ι τοὺς ἐε[ρ]ο[ποιούς ἐν τῷ τῆς] Ἀθηναῖς ἱερῷ.

Sigeum : Herod. 5. 95 τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ.

Ilium, ⁴⁶, ³⁸ⁿ.

Scepsis, ⁶³.

Phocaea : Paus. 7. 5, 4 δύο δὲ ἄλλους ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναοὺς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὸ Περσῶν κατακαυθῆναι, τὸν τε ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς.

Istros, ^{38r}.

Lydia, ^{15b}.

Pergamon, ^{38m}, ^{85d}, ⁹⁷.

Erythrae, ^{38k}, ⁸¹, ^{96b}, ¹¹³, ^{121c}.

Smyrna, ^{85c}.

Ephesus : Strabo, 634 ἡ δὲ πόλις ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν περὶ τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὄν.

Miletus, ⁴⁴.

Priene, ^{38l}.

Pedasae, near Halicarnassus : Herod. 1. 175 ἡ ἱερεὶα τῆς Ἀθηναῖς.

Halicarnassus : *C. I. Gr.* 2660 Ἀθηναίη δεκάτην ἐποίησε Μακεδῶν Διονυσίου Ἡρακλεώτης, ? fourth century B.C.

Phaselis, ^{38o}.

Pamphylia, ¹⁰⁵.

Perge : *C. I. Gr.* 4342 b ἱερεῖαν Ἀθηναῖς (Roman period).

Side : Strabo, 667 Κυμαίων ἄποικος· ἔχει δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερόν. Cf. *C. I. Gr.* 4352 Ἀϋρηλίου . . . ἐπιτελοῦντος Θέμιν Παμφυλιακὴν ἐπιβατήριον (?=ἐπιδημίαν) θεῶν Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. add. 4353.

Cilicia : Appian, *Αναβ.* 2. 5, 9 αὐτὸς δὲ (Ἀλέξανδρος) . . . ἐς Μαγαρόν ἦκε καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναῖ τῇ Μαγαροσίδι ἔθυσεν.

Cyrrhastica. Athena Κυρρηστίς : Strabo, 751.

Syria. Laodicea, ¹.

In Spain, near Abdera : Strabo, 157 ἐν τῇ ὄρεινῃ δαίκνται Ὀδύσσεια καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος τε εἶρηκε καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ Ἀσκληπιᾶδης.

END OF VOL. I.

