

## § 3. Zeus Lŷkaios.

## (a) Wolf-god or Light-god?

On the summit of Mount Lykaion in Arkadia was a far-famed cult of Zeus *Lŷkaios*. Tradition said that *Lykaon*, son of Pelasgos, had founded the town of *Lykósoura* high up on the slopes of the mountain, had given to Zeus the surname of *Lŷkaios*, and had instituted the festival called *Lŷkaia*<sup>1</sup>. On the significance of this group of names scholars are by no means agreed. Some take them to be pre-Greek or non-Greek<sup>2</sup>. Thus Fick maintains that they represent a Hittite tribe to be identified with the Lycaonians and Lycians of Asia Minor<sup>3</sup>, while Bérard argues for a Phoenician cult comparable with that of Baal<sup>4</sup>. Most critics, noting the essentially Greek aspect of the names in question, are content to seek an explanation in the language of Greece. But even here opinions are divided. Some, starting from the undeniable fact that the wolf (*lŷkos*) plays a part in the local myths<sup>5</sup>, hold that Zeus *Lŷkaios* was in some sense a 'Wolf-god'<sup>6</sup>. This view, however, is open to a grave objection. The word *Lŷkaios* cannot

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 1, Aristot. *frag.* 594 Rose *ap.* schol. Aristeid. p. 323, 12 f. Dindorf, schol. Eur. *Or.* 1647, *marm. Par. ep.* 17 p. 8 Jacoby, Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 205.

<sup>2</sup> P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2173.

<sup>3</sup> A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 92, 132.

<sup>4</sup> V. Bérard *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome Paris 1894 lxxvii)* pp. 48—93. Cp. also J. A. Hartung *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* Leipzig 1865—1866 iii. 6, 26 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1904—1905 ii. 342, 346.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* pp. 70 ff., 77 ff.

<sup>6</sup> F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 76 f. *Λύκαιος* = *Λυκάργος*, *Lupercus*, 'Protector against the Wolf.' J. A. Hartung *op. cit.* iii. 6, 27 n. 45 *Λυκαῖος*, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf (*λύκος* connected with *λύσσα*) denoting fierceness. O. Jahn 'Über Lykoreus' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1847 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 423 drew a parallel between Zeus *Λύκαιος* of Mt. Lykaion and Zeus *Λυκάργος* of Mt. Parnassos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Λυκάργεια*), pointing out that in the myths of both localities the 'wolf' symbolises the exiled founder of the cult. W. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* i. 21 ff. and W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 follow O. Jahn. O. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 805 likewise takes Zeus *Λύκαιος* to be Zeus god of 'wolves' *i.e.* exiles (*ib.* p. 918 n. 7). H. D. Müller *Ueber den Zeus Lykaios* Göttingen 1851 p. 13 ff. and in his *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1857—1861 ii. 78 ff. *Λυκαῖος*, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf being a symbol of his chthonian character (*ib.* p. 93 f.). V. Jurgiewicz *De Jove Lycao* Odessæ 1859 pp. 1—32 reaches the same conclusions as H. D. Müller, adding Slavonic and Germanic parallels (*ib.* p. 19 ff.).

Others with more circumspection abandon the slippery path of symbolism. W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup> ii. 336 ff. explains the *Λύκαια* as a solstice-festival involving a procession of 'Harvest-wolves' (cp. the *Hirpi Sorani*). W. Robertson Smith in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>9</sup> Edinburgh 1886 xxi. 136 *s.v.* 'Sacrifice,' *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 366 n. 5, regards Zeus *Λύκαιος* as the god

be derived from *lykos*: it must be an adjective formed from a substantive *lyke*<sup>1</sup>. But there is in Greek no such word as \**lyke*, 'wolf'; and, if there were, it would mean 'a she-wolf<sup>2</sup>,' whereas the myths of Mount Lykaion mention none but he-wolves. Far more probable is the theory of those who understand *Lykaios* as 'god of Light<sup>3</sup>.' The word *lyke* is quoted by Macrobius as an old Greek word for 'day-break<sup>4</sup>,' and its compound *amphi-lyke* is used in the *Iliad* of 'twi-light<sup>5</sup>.' They belong to a well-known family of words with

of a totemic Wolf-clan. L. R. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 41 is disposed to accept his theory. J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 7 (iv. 386) says: 'The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god.' C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 5—36 holds that the ritual of Zeus Λύκαιος and the myth of Λυκάων presuppose the Arcadian cult of a sacred wolf, to which human victims were offered.

<sup>1</sup> Adjectives in -aios naturally derive from a- stems. The only exceptions are words like ὀδαίος, νησαίος, κηπαιός, which have been formed on the analogy of ἀγοραίος etc. and so go back to locatives in -αι (K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*<sup>3</sup> München 1900 p. 181: see also F. Bechtel in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 507 no. 5295 and O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen* Göttingen 1906 p. 173 f.). But Λύκαιος, even if we write it as Λυκαίος, can hardly be thus explained as a locative formation.

<sup>2</sup> 'A she-wolf' is regularly λύκαινα (cp. κάπραινα), never \*λύκη. See W. Pape *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache, zur Übersicht der Wortbildung nach den Endsyllben* Berlin 1836 p. 36. *Lyk. Al.* 481 λυκαينوμόρφων Νυκτιμου κρεανόμων is criticized as a gross blunder by Tzetzes *ad loc.* ὁ τράγος (sic) κακῶς ἔφη· λυκομόρφων γὰρ ἔφειλεν εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ λύκαιναί, ἀλλὰ λύκοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Λυκάωνος παῖδες κατὰ τοῦτον.

<sup>3</sup> C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 326 ff., *id. Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f., J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 180 ff., Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 161 f., K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Griechen* Frankfurt a/M. 1843 p. 19, *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f., Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 210, L.-F. A. Maury *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique* Paris 1857—1859 i. 58 ff., L. Preller in Pauly *Real-Enc.* iv. 589, P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane diis Arcadicis Vratislaviae* 1879 pp. 4, 22 ('luce enim clarius est Iovem Ἀμάριον eundem esse ac Diespitrem et Λυκαίων eundem ac Lucetium' cp. Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 15. 14), Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 127. E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 61 (followed by C. Albers *De diis in locis editis cultis apud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 p. 33 f.) argues that 'ein in Wolfsgestalt verehrter Gott zum Lichtgott Zeus geworden ist,' but that the names Λύκαιος, Λυκάων, etc. 'sind Ableitungen von dem verschollenen nomen λυκα (λυκη) "Licht (Tag?)," und haben mit λυκο-... nichts zu thun.' The latest and most efficient champion of the 'light'-theory is H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 177—216, who holds that Λύκος was an ancient god of light replaced by Zeus Λυκαίος and Apollon Λύκειος or Λύκιος.

<sup>4</sup> Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 17. 37 ff. prisci Graecorum primam lucem, quae praecedit solis exortus, λύκην appellaverunt ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ. id temporis hodieque λυκόφως cognominant. Etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 7. 433 ἦμος δ' ὄστ' ἄρ πω ἠώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ with schol. A. D. V. τὸ καλούμενον λυκόφως, τὸ πρὸς ὄρθρον. τούτῃσιν ὁ βαθὺς ὄρθρος, παρὰ τὴν λύκην (λύκην D. V.), ὃ ἔστι σκοτιαν (σκίαν V.), οἰοεὶ λυκόφως τι εἶναι, τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν φῶς ἀλλ' ἔτι σκοτώδες, schol. T. παρὰ τὴν λύκην, ὃ ἔστι σκίαν· καὶ λυκόφως τὸ μεταξὺ σκοτίας καὶ φωτός, and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 689, 15 ff. τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν ἠμῶν ἀνωτέρω λεγόμενον λυκόφως, adding derivations from λύκη 'darkness' and λυκέη 'a wolf-skin' as also *ib.* p. 809, 40 ff.

numerous relatives in both Greek and Latin<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, our word 'light' is of kindred origin.

But etymology, unless supported by ritual and myth, can afford no certain clue to the nature of an ancient deity. Fortunately in the present case that support is forthcoming. Zeus *Lykaios* was sometimes at least conceived as a sky-god, for his priest acted as rain-maker to the district<sup>2</sup>. Again, Achaios the tragedian, a younger contemporary of Sophokles, appears to have spoken of Zeus *Lykaios* as 'starry-eyed' (*astérōpos*)<sup>3</sup>. An epithet of similar formation and of the same meaning (*asterōpós*) is used by Euripides of the *aithér* or 'burning sky' in connexion with Zeus<sup>4</sup>. This suggests that Zeus *Lykaios* was a god of the *aithér*. Indeed, Creuzer long since pointed out that Zeus *Lykaios* is none other than the Arcadian Zeus<sup>5</sup>, whom Cicero and Ampelius describe as the son of *Aether*<sup>6</sup>. H. Usener further observes that, just as a Boeotian myth makes Lykos succeed his brother Nykteus on the throne<sup>7</sup>, so the Arcadian myth makes Lykaon succeeded by his son Nyktimos, the inference being that both pairs of names denote the alternation of 'daylight' (*lyk-*) and 'darkness' (*nykt-*)<sup>8</sup>. If Zeus *Lykaios* was thus a god of daylight, certain statements made by Pausanias *à propos* of his cult gain a fresh significance. *Lykósoura* founded by *Lykdon* was 'the first city that ever the sun beheld<sup>9</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 266, 275 cites for the stronger form of the root the Latin *lūx, lūceo, lūna*, for the weaker the Greek ἀμφιλύκη, λυκάβας 'year' (lit. 'light-circuit': Fick in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894 clvi. 240 cp. Hesych. ἄβα· τροχός), λυκαυγής 'twi-light,' λυκόφως 'twi-light,' λύχνος 'lamp,' etc. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 519 ff., who adds λυκοψία 'twi-light,' and Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.v. lūceo* p. 349 f., who connects λύγδος 'white marble' with the same group of words.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Achaios *Azanes frag.* 2 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 383 τῆς ἀστερόπου (MSS. ἀστεροπού) Ζηνὸς θυοίας, cp. F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1841 iii. 963. Arcad. p. 67, 13 Barker vouches for the accent ἀστερόπου: the analogy of χαροπός, 'bright-eyed,' suggests ἀστεροπός, cp. ἀστερωπός.

W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 supposes that ἀστεροπος denotes 'the god of lightning' (ἀστραπή, ἀστεροπή).

<sup>4</sup> Eur. *Ion* 1078 f. Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς | ἀνεχόμευσεν αἰθήρ, cp. Kritias *Sisyphus frag.* 1. 33 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. Plout. de plac. philos.* 1. 6 and Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 54 τὸ τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ σέλας (so Plout., δέμας Sext.).

<sup>5</sup> F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 74 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. Cp. *supra* p. 27 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d).

<sup>8</sup> H. Usener *Götternamen* p. 199. The myths are collected and analysed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2169 ff., 2183 ff., iii. 492 ff., 498 f. W. H. Roscher *Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. regards Nykteus and Lykos as personifications of the Evening- and the Morning-star: he is followed by Wörner in the *Lex. Myth.* iii. 496 f.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 1.

On the very top of Mount *Lýkaion* was a mound of earth, known as the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*, from which the greater part of the Peloponnese was visible: before the altar stood two columns bearing gilded eagles and 'facing the sun-rise'.<sup>1</sup> Finally, Pausanias says: 'Of the wonderful things to be seen on Mount *Lýkaion* the most wonderful is this. There is a precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the mountain, and no man is allowed to enter it. Should any one disregard the rule and enter, he cannot possibly live longer than a year. It was said too that within the precinct all things, both beasts and men, alike cast no shadow. Consequently, when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not break in along with it, but waits outside and looking at the beast sees no shadow cast by it. Now at Syene on the frontier of Aithiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor by animals; but in the precinct on Mount *Lýkaion* there is the same lack of shadows at all times and seasons'.<sup>2</sup> This marvel, which is attested by other grave and respectable authors,<sup>3</sup> though sceptics were not wanting<sup>4</sup>, probably hangs together with the Pythagorean belief that 'the souls of the dead cast no shadow and do not wink'.<sup>5</sup> The shadowless creature would on this showing be the man or beast already devoted to death. Dr Frazer, commenting on the passage quoted above from Pausanias, writes: 'Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year—obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 7, cp. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 152 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* and *ad Nem.* 10. 87, Polyb. 4. 33. 2, and *infra* p. 83 f. L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* i. 59, following K. O. Müller *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f. and W. Bäumlein in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1839 vi. 1193, inferred that Zeus *Lýkaios* was a solar god. But K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f. already urged that he was a light-god rather than a sun-god.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Theopompos *ap.* Polyb. 16. 12. 7 quoted below, schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 13 πᾶν ζῶον εἰσὶν ἐκεῖ (*sc.* to the birth-place of Zeus on the mountain in Parrhasia) μεμολωμένον ἄγονον ἐγγίγνεται καὶ σκιὰν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι ἐποιεῖ.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. 16. 12. 7, Plout. *quaest.* *Gr.* 39.

<sup>5</sup> Plout. *ib.* On shadowless ghosts see J. von Negelein in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 18 ff.

building'.<sup>1</sup> Trespassers on the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios* not only lost their shadows, but were actually put to death.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch states that such persons were called 'deer' (*elaphoi*),<sup>3</sup> that if they had entered the precinct voluntarily they were stoned to death, and that if they had entered it through ignorance they were sent away to Eleutherai.<sup>4</sup> But, if the ultimate explanation of the shadowless precinct on Mount *Lýkaion* lies in the connexion once thought to exist between shadow and soul, it by no means follows that this was the explanation given by Greeks of the classical period. They may well have forgotten the real meaning of a belief to which they still clung and have attributed it to some irrelevant cause. That is what in point of fact they did. Polybios the historian, who as a native of Megalopolis would take a personal interest in matters Arcadian, writes as follows anent certain Carian superstitions: 'It appears to me that such tales are only fit to amuse children, when they transgress not merely the limits of probability but those of possibility as well. For instance, to assert that some bodies when placed in light cast no shadow argues a state of extreme obtuseness. Yet Theopompos has done this; for he declares that those who enter the holy precinct of Zeus in Arkadia cast no shadow, which is on a par with the statements that I mentioned just now'.<sup>5</sup> Theopompos, then, the historian of Chios, explained the miracle of Mount *Lýkaion* by saying that beasts and men on the summit cast no shadow because they were there 'placed in light'.<sup>6</sup> This can only mean that a divine light encircled the mountain-top and made all shadows impossible. Mount *Lýkaion*, in fact, resembled

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 6 (iv. 384), citing B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 196 f. See also *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) vi. The way for this explanation was prepared by Plout. *loc. cit.*, F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 161, E. L. Rochholz *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* Berlin 1867 i. 119, H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1869 ii. 96 f. On the identification of soul with shadow see further E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture* London 1891 i. 430 f., cp. 85 f., W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., 84 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 1, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 91, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt, *Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 1, 2. 4.

<sup>3</sup> They may have been dressed as deer before being chased or killed. To the examples of human *elaphoi* that I collected in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. should be added the stag-mummers of Syracuse (schol. Theokr. π. τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν βουκολικῶν p. 5, 7 ff. Ahrens) and the man disguised as a stag, slain and eaten, in an epic fragment dealing with Dionysos (F. G. Kenyon in H. van Herwerden's *Album Gratulatorium* Trajecti ad Rhenum 1902 p. 137 ff. and A. Ludwich in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 3, 1903 p. 27 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Plout. *quaest.* *Gr.* 39.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. 16. 12. 6 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 16. 12. 7 ἐν φωτὶ τιθέντα.

Olympos as described in the *Odyssey*<sup>1</sup>, and was itself called Olympos. Pausanias says: 'They speak of it also as Olympos, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak<sup>2</sup>.' This Olympic glory, though not, as Theopompos presumably held and as Roscher<sup>3</sup> certainly holds, the true explanation of the shadowless precinct, would be in thorough keeping with the character of Zeus *Lýkaios* as a god of light.

(b) Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

It is almost certainly Zeus *Lýkaios* whose figure appears on the federal silver coinage of Arkadia throughout the greater part of the fifth century B.C.<sup>4</sup> These coins bear on their reverse side the legend *Arkadikón*, more or less abbreviated, and appear to have been struck by the Heraeans as presidents of the national Arcadian games held on Mount *Lýkaion*<sup>5</sup>. Early specimens show Zeus seated on a throne with a *himátion* wrapped about his waist: he holds a sceptre in one hand, and over the other flies an eagle (figs. 39, 40)<sup>6</sup>. On later specimens the back of the throne terminates in a swan's neck (figs. 41, 42)<sup>7</sup>, and the eagle occasionally flies towards Zeus (fig. 43)<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes a thunderbolt is held on the lap of the god (figs. 43, 44)<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes, but rarely, he is repre-

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 6. 41 ff. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1550, 63 ἀγλήεντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ μεστὰ αἰθρῆς καὶ νεφέλαις ἀσκήαστα.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 2. An Arcadian Olympos is mentioned by schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598, cp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 8. 352. Hyg. *fab.* 225 p. 132f. Schmidt. Roscher (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 706) and Mackrodt (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 848, 24 f.) understand Apollod. 2. 5. 8 τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὀλυμπος of Mount *Lýkaion*, cp. Pedias. 21.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher 'Die Schattenlosigkeit des Zeus-abatons auf dem Lykaion' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 701—709.

<sup>4</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 447 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. roms.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 8—18, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 ff. pl. 31, 11—24, pl. 32, 1—9, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 3, 15, 16, 43, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 26 f., 155, Münztaf. 2, 1—3. Cp. *infra* p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> This was first shown by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. roms.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 8, 9, 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 f. pl. 31, 11—15, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 3, 43. I figure two specimens from my collection.

<sup>7</sup> Fig. 41 is from a specimen in the British Museum, fig. 42 from another in my collection.

<sup>8</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 171 f. pl. 31, 23 (fig. 43), pl. 32, 3, Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.* (1871) pl. 2, 76, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 291 pl. 7, 3 and 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf. 2, 2 a.

<sup>9</sup> Babelon *Monn. gr. roms.* ii. 1. 845 ff. pl. 38, 13 describes a specimen in the Luynes collection on which Zeus holds corn-ears (fig. 44). I take the object in his right hand to be a thunderbolt, as did F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 290 pl. 7, 2.

sented as standing with *himátion*, sceptre and eagle (fig. 45)<sup>1</sup>. After the victory of Epameinondas at Leuktra in 371 B.C. the Arcadian League was reconstituted and issued coins with the types of Zeus



Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.

*Lýkaios* and Pan *Lýkaios*<sup>2</sup>. The obverse design of the silver *stater* (fig. 46) is a magnificent head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath: the reverse (figs. 47, 48) is Pan seated on a rock, over which he has



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 48.



Fig. 49.

spread his cloak; he is human except for his horns and holds in his right hand a throwing-stick (*lagobólion*), while a pipe (*sfyrinx*) lies at his feet. The rock is inscribed *Oly-* (OAY) or *Olym-* (OAYM)<sup>3</sup>, and in one die (fig. 49) *Chari-* (XAPI)<sup>4</sup>. There can be no doubt that the laureate head is that of Zeus *Lýkaios*. It used to

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 pl. 31, 10 (fig. 45), Babelon *Monn. gr. roms.* ii. 1. 849 f. pl. 38, 18. F. Imhoof-Blumer publishes a similar specimen in his *Choix de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 2, 79 and in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 292 pl. 7, 7.

<sup>2</sup> On Pan *Lýkaios* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2168, 20 ff., iii. 1350 f.

<sup>3</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 444 f., 450, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* pp. lix, 173, pl. 32, 10, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 8, 32 and 37, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 93, 105 f., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 72 f., pl. 5, 37. Figs. 46—47 and fig. 48 are drawn from two specimens in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 128 n. 3, *ib.* 1876 iii. 288 f. pl. 7, 1 (in the Hague collection), cp. *ib.* 1875 ii. 6, 139 ff., 145 ff., and in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 264 pl. 5, 7 (at Klagenfurt, from the same die). I figure the latter specimen.

be commonly supposed that the rock inscribed *Oly-* or *Olym-* was the Arcadian Olympos, *i.e.* Mount *Lýkaion*. Prof. Brunn alone maintained that the inscription was the signature of the die-engraver<sup>1</sup>. Since the publication of the specimens reading *Chari-* Brunn's view has met with almost universal acceptance<sup>2</sup>. Recently, however, Dr Head has suggested that *Olym-* and *Chari-* may be abbreviated names of festivals for which the coins were issued<sup>3</sup>. Still, the old view is not definitely disproved. It remains possible that the name of the mountain, placed on the coin for purposes of identification<sup>4</sup>, was afterwards replaced by the name of a self-satisfied engraver.

### (c) Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*.

Across the brightness of Mount Lykaion we have already seen one cloudlet pass. Such was its awful sanctity that the wilful intruder upon the holy ground was doomed to die, while even the unintentional trespasser must needs be banished. But those who knew more intimately the ritual of the mountain-top were aware that a gloom far deeper than this habitually hung about it. There is indeed a persistent rumour of human sacrifice in connexion with the cult. For the said ghastly tradition Platon is at once our earliest and our most explicit authority. Sokrates in the *Republic* remarks that at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* he who tasted the one human entrail, which was cut up and mixed with the entrails of other victims, was believed to become a wolf<sup>5</sup>. The author of the Platonic *Minos* implies that human sacrifice occurred on Mount Lykaion<sup>6</sup>; Theophrastos—as quoted by Porphyrios and Eusebios—states that it was offered at the festival of the Lykaia<sup>7</sup>. Pausanias

<sup>1</sup> H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1859 ii. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.*, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>1</sup> p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 445 *cp.* ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ on coins of Elis, and suggests the 104th Olympiad celebrated by the Arcadians in 364 B.C. He interprets ΧΑΡΙ of the Charisia or Charitesia, festivals of the Charites, and notes that Charisios was the founder of Charisiai in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 3. 4).

<sup>4</sup> *Cp.* ΠΕΙΩΝ on a coin of Ephesos figured *infra* ch. i § 5 (b). It should also be noticed that the reverse-type of a unique tetradrachm of Messana, now at Berlin, shows a similar figure of Pan, with his *lagobdon* and a hare (symbol of the city): the god is seated on a rock, over which he has thrown his fawn-skin, and by him is the inscription ΠΑΝ (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 130 f. pl. 8, 15). If ΠΑΝ describes Pan, presumably ΟΛΥΜ may describe Olympos.

<sup>5</sup> Plat. *rep.* 565 D, *cp.* Polyb. 7. 13. 7, Isid. *origg.* 8. 9. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Plat. *Min.* 315 C.

<sup>7</sup> Theophr. *ap.* Porphyr. *de abst.* 2. 27 and Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 10. But see *infra* p. 76 n. 3.

veils the ugly fact by a decent circumlocution: 'On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning!'

The concurrent testimony of these writers may be held to prove that Zeus *Lýkaios* was indeed served with human flesh, but it hardly enables us to determine how long this hideous custom survived. Theophrastos, who succeeded Aristoteles as head of the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C., says—'up to the present time'; and he is in general a trustworthy witness. But whether we can infer from the guarded language of Pausanias that five centuries later, in the reign of the refined and philosophical Marcus Aurelius, the same gruesome rite was still kept up seems to me at least very questionable<sup>2</sup>. It would of course be talked about for many generations after it had been as an actual practice mitigated, superseded, or simply discontinued.

We should like to know more of the cannibal who was turned into a wolf. And here fortunately further evidence is forthcoming. We have in fact three parallel accounts, which deserve to be studied side by side. They unfold a most remarkable sequel:

PLINY  
*nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.

'Euanthes, who holds a high place among the authors of Greece, reports the following tradition as derived from Arcadian writings. A man belonging to a clan descended from a certain Anthos is chosen by lot and led to a particular pool in that locality. Here he hangs his clothes on an oak-tree, swims across, and goes off into desert places, where he is transformed into a wolf and for nine years associates with

SAINT AUGUSTINE  
*de civ. Dei* 18. 17.

'To prove this, Varro narrates other equally incredible tales—that of the notorious magician Kirke, who likewise changed the comrades of Odysseus into animals, and that of the Arcadians, who were taken by lot, went across a particular pool, and there turning into wolves lived with beasts like themselves in the desert places of that locality. But, if they did not feed on human flesh, then

PAUSANIAS  
6. 8. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 7 trans. J. G. Frazer.

<sup>2</sup> From Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 Scopas qui Olympionicas scripsit narrat Demaenetum Parrhasium in sacrificio, quod Arcades Iovi Lycaeo humana *ctiantum* hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse etc. (*infra* p. 72 n. 3) E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 53 n. 1 infers that the human sacrifice, still kept up in the days of Demainetos, had been already abandoned when the *Olympionicae* was written.

## PLINY

*nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.

other wolves of the same sort. If during this time he has abstained from attacking men, he returns to the same pool and, having swum across it, gets back his shape looking nine years older than before. The story adds that he resumes the same clothing. The lengths to which Greek credulity will run are really amazing. Any falsehood, however outrageous, has its due attestation.

Again, Skopas, writer of a work on *Olympic Victors*, relates that Demainetos the Parrhasian at a human sacrifice, which the Arcadians were even in his day making to Zeus *Lýkaios*, tasted the entrails of the boy that had been immolated and thereupon turned into a wolf; but that in the tenth year he was restored to athletics, came back, and won a victory in the boxing-match at Olympia.<sup>1</sup>

Pliny and Saint Augustine are obviously drawing from the same well, *viz.* Varro<sup>1</sup>. Only, whereas Pliny cites Varro's sources without Varro's name, Saint Augustine cites Varro's name without Varro's sources. The sources in question are both satisfactory for our purpose—the ascertaining of popular belief. Euanthes was an author of repute, and moreover bore a name which is known to have occurred in Arkadia<sup>2</sup>: he professedly follows Arcadian writers. Skopas<sup>3</sup> was probably wrong about the victor's name;

<sup>1</sup> Varro *de gente populi Romani frag.* 17 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 233 f. Peter).

<sup>2</sup> Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 357 no. 1247 B 3 cp. 20.

C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 11 no. 33 would read *Neanthes* for *Euanthes*. But see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 846.

<sup>3</sup> C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 407 suggests that Pausanias derived the story of

## SAINT AUGUSTINE

*de civ. Dei* 18. 17.

after nine years had gone by they swam once more across the same pool and were transformed into men again.

In conclusion he has actually mentioned by name a certain Demainetos, asserting that he, having tasted the sacrifice of an immolated boy, which the Arcadians were wont to make to their god *Lýkaios*, was thereupon changed into a wolf; and that in the tenth year he was restored to his own form, practised boxing, and won in a match at Olympia.<sup>1</sup>

## PAUSANIAS

6. 8. 2.

<sup>1</sup> As to a certain boxer named Damarchos, a Parrhasian of Arkadia by race, I was not prepared to believe—with the exception of his victory at Olympia—the story told by sundry braggarts. For they say that he changed from a man into a wolf at the sacrifice of Zeus *Lýkaios*, and that in the tenth year afterwards he became a man again.<sup>2</sup>

for Pausanias read and copied the actual inscription on the man's statue-base<sup>1</sup>. But whether the name was Demainetos or Damarchos makes no difference to us: the story told of him is identical.

Varro's statement, as evidenced by the foregoing extracts is twofold. It contains on the one hand Euanthes' general account of the Arcadian custom, on the other Skopas' particular exemplification of it. Comparing the two, we at once detect a discrepancy. Both agree that a man became a wolf for a period of nine years, after which he returned to human shape. But, whereas Euanthes speaks of him as having been chosen by lot, Skopas describes him as having tasted the entrails of an immolated boy. This discrepancy would indeed vanish altogether, if we assumed that the method of selection indicated by Platon in a passage already quoted—'he who tasted the one human entrail,' etc.—might be viewed as a kind of cleromancy or sortition. But it is better to suppose that the casting of lots was a later and more civilised substitute for the arbitrament of the cannibal feast.

Be that as it may, Euanthes has preserved various details of primitive import. He tells us that those who thus cast lots among themselves (and therefore, presumably, those who at an earlier date gathered about the banquet of human flesh) belonged to a clan descended from a certain Anthos. Now H. W. Stoll<sup>2</sup> and J. Töpffer<sup>3</sup> have pointed out that the names *Ánthos*, *Ánthas*, *Ánthes*, *Ántheus* were given in sundry parts of the Greek world to mythical figures of a common type—the handsome youth who comes early to a cruel death just because he personifies the short-lived vegetation of the year<sup>4</sup>. One of these 'Flower'-heroes, Anthas or

Damarchos from Euanoridas of Elis, whose 'Ὀλυμπιονίκαι he had just mentioned (Paus. 6. 8. 1). Müller further conjectures that in Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 we should read *itaque Euanoridas qui Olympionicas scripsit* (MSS. *item* or *ita* or *itaque copas*, whence Jan cj. *Scopas*, Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 896 *Harpocras*, Gelenius *Agriopas*). But again see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 845, and cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* index to 8 *Euanthe apoca* or *apocha* (so MSS.: *Scopa* Jan, *Agriopa* Gelenius, *Agrippa* vulg.) *qui* 'Ὀλυμπιονίκαις. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 13 f. pushes Müller's speculation one stage further and proposes to identify Euanthes with Euanoridas, whom he calls 'Euanoridas-Euagriopas-Euanthes Agrippa'!

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 6. 8. 2. Both *Δαμαρῆρος* (Collitz-Bechtel *op. cit.* i. 352 no. 1231 B 26, 38, C 42) and *Δάμαρχος* (*ib.* i. 341 no. 1189 A *minor* 15, 358 no. 1246 D 4) are Arcadian names.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 369 f.

<sup>3</sup> J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Anthos, son of Hippodameia and Autoonos the ruler of a neglected and therefore barren land, was attacked and eaten by his father's horses, which he had driven from their scanty pasture: he was transformed by Zeus and Apollon into the bird *ἀνθος*, and as such still retains his hostility to horses (Ant. Lib. 7: see also D'Arcy W.

Anthes, the son of Poseidon, was driven out of Troizen and founded Halikarnassos<sup>1</sup>. His descendants the Anthedai<sup>2</sup> formed a priestly clan which, as we happen to know from an inscription found at Halikarnassos<sup>3</sup>, managed the cult of Poseidon in that city for over five hundred years. Poseidon was worshipped at the mother-city Troizen as Poseidon *Phytálmios*<sup>4</sup>, so that the functions of the Anthedai were almost certainly concerned with the propagation of vegetable life<sup>5</sup>. Arguing from analogy, I conclude that in Arkadia likewise the descendants of Anthos were a priestly clan charged with the upkeep of vegetation in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>6</sup>.

That the 'Flower'-hero might be associated with Zeus no less than with Poseidon we see from an inscription of Roman date found at Athens<sup>7</sup>. It is a list of persons combining to build a gymnasium 'for Zeus *Keraiós* and Anthas.' Mr J. G. C. Anderson, who published this inscription with a careful commentary, remarked that many of the contributing members bore Boeotian names. He therefore proposed to identify Zeus *Keraiós* with Zeus *Ámmon* of Thebes<sup>8</sup> and to regard Anthas either as a separate personage, the

Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 33). Anthos, eponym of Anthedon or Anthedonia the old name of Kalaureia, was lost as a child but found again by his brother Hyperes acting as cup-bearer to Akastos or Adrastos at Pherai (Mnasigeiton *ap. Plout. quaest. Gr.* 19). Anthes, son of Poseidon and eponym of Anthana, was slain by Kleomenes, brother of Leonidas, who flayed him and wrote on his skin *τοὺς χρησμοὺς τηρεῖσθαι* (Philostephanos *frag.* 8 *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v.* 'Ανθάνα: but see C. Müller's note in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30). Antheias, son of Eumelos, was killed by falling from the car of Triptolemos (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (β)). Antheus, son of Antenor, was a beautiful youth loved by Deiphobos and Alexandros, but accidentally struck and slain by the latter (Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 132). Antheus, a prince of Halikarnassos, served as a hostage under Phobios, ruler of Miletos: Kleoboia or Philaichme, wife of Phobios, loved him and, unable to compass her desires, asked him to recover a tame partridge or a golden trinket for her from a deep well, and while he was doing it dropped a heavy stone on the top of him (Parthen. *narr. am.* 14).

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 374, 656, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αλικαρνασσός.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αθηναί.

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2655, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 608, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 877.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 2. 32. 8, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 98 no. 18: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2490. The inscription from Halikarnassos records the priests *τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τῆν ἀποικί[αν ἐκ] Τροι(ς)ήνης ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἀπόλλ(ω)[νι].*

<sup>5</sup> See J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358 ff.

<sup>6</sup> On Zeus *Λύκαιος* with corn-ears see *supra* p. 68 n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 106 ff. no. 1 *Συνθῆται οἱ κατασκευάσαντες τὸ γυμνάσιον διὰ Κεραΐφ καὶ Ἀνθα κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>8</sup> Paus. 9. 16. 1, cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 833. 1 'Ἄμμωνος κεραίοιο (Alexandria), no. 835. 5 'Ἄμμωνος κεραίου (Beirut), Phaistos *ap. schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4. 28 *Ζεὺς Λιβήης Ἄμμων κερατηφόρε.*

eponym of Anthedon in Boiotia<sup>1</sup>, or more probably as a cult-title of Zeus comparable with that of Zeus *Anthaleús*, who is mentioned in a sacrificial calendar from the Epakria district<sup>2</sup>. The cult would thus be one of a Zeus presiding over animal and vegetable fertility, a god presumably worshipped by a guild of farmers. Mr Anderson's conclusion is sound, though his premises are shaky. I doubt whether Zeus *Keraiós* is a mere synonym of Zeus *Ámmon*. His 'horns' may be those of a bull, not a ram. In that case he resembled Zeus *Ólbios*, a god of fertility who in northern Greece had bovine horns<sup>3</sup>, or Zeus *Xénios* (?) of Kypros, to whom the horned *Kerástai* were wont to sacrifice strangers till Aphrodite, offended at their savagery, changed them all into bullocks<sup>4</sup>. Again, O. Höfer objects that, if Anthas had been merely a cult-epithet, we should have expected a repetition of the name Zeus before it<sup>5</sup>. But this objection only brings into clearer light the indisputable fact that in Attike the hero Anthas stood in intimate relation to Zeus. Anthos occupied a like position on Mount Lykaion.

Now Anthos, son of Autoonos and Hippodameia, deprived his father's horses of their pasture and was therefore devoured by them<sup>6</sup>—a fate recalling that of Lykourgos, king of the Thracian Edonoi, who in order that his land might not remain barren was taken by his subjects to Mount Pangaion and there destroyed by horses<sup>7</sup>. That a similar end overtook Anthos on Mount Lykaion is at least a permissible conjecture; for the charred bones found nowadays on the summit of this mountain<sup>8</sup> are said by the peasants to be 'the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor'<sup>9</sup>.

Conjecture apart, there is good reason to think that in time of

<sup>1</sup> He is called Anthas (Paus. 9. 22. 5, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ανθηδών), Anthios (schol. *Il.* 2. 508, Eustath. *in Il.* 271, 13 ff.), Anthedon (Steph. Byz. and Eustath. *loc. citt.*), and Anthes (Herakleid. Pont. *ap. Plout. de musica* 3); for all these local heroes are obviously one and the same.

<sup>2</sup> *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 210, J. de Protot *Leges Græcorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, 47 ..... φ κριός Δ††. Δι' Ἀνθαλεὺ οἷς Δ††, λερώσωνα ††.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (ξ).

<sup>4</sup> *Ov. met.* 10. 220 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 10. 6, *infra loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2491.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 73 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Apollod. 3. 5. 1, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 312 f. Other examples of men done to death by horses with a like intent are cited in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 n. 92. See further S. Reinach 'Hippolyte' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 47—60 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 54—67.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra* p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 2 (iv. 382).

drought Zeus *Lykaios* was placated with the sacrifice of a boy. Theophrastos indeed is reported to have said that this took place 'at the Lykaia'<sup>1</sup>—an expression which, strictly taken, denotes the regular festival celebrated probably at the beginning of May<sup>2</sup>. But the context of that very passage implies that human sacrifice, at least as exemplified by the cults of the Arcadian Zeus and the Carthaginian Kronos, was not a rite recurring at stated intervals but the last resort of a starving populace, practised only when crops failed and famine was imminent<sup>3</sup>. Even then the responsible clan devolved its blood-guiltiness upon a single man, who expiated his crime by disappearing from the neighbourhood. He hung his clothes upon a certain oak, swam across an adjoining pool, and was lost to sight in the wilderness beyond. What happened to him there nobody knew. It was whispered that he became a were-wolf.

The same combination of drought, oak-tree, and water occurs again in Pausanias' account of rain-magic on Mount Lykaion. It appears that, when the ground was parched and the trees blasted by the heat, the priest of Zeus *Lykaios* took the branch of an oak-tree, stirred with it the water of the spring Hagno, and so caused the long-desired shower to fall<sup>4</sup>. It can hardly be doubted that the oak-tree and the pool of the one case are the oak-tree and the spring of the other. If so, we have every right to say that

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 70 n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadicis* Vratislaviae 1879 p. 23 n. 5 on the strength of Xen. 1. 2. 10 ἐνταῦθ' (at Pelta) ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ζηνίας ὁ Ἄρκας τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν σπληγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθειώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος. See also Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 20 f.

<sup>3</sup> Theophrast. *ap. Porph. de abst.* 2. 27 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ αἱ τῶν καρπῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίαι· χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς ὀσιότητος ἡμῶν ἐξαμελησάντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἐσπάνισαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς νομίμου τροφῆς ἐνδείαν εἰς τὸ σαρκοφαγεῖν ἀλλήλων ὤρμησαν, τότε μετὰ πολλῶν λιτῶν ἱκετεύοντες τὸ δαιμόνιον σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπήρξαντο τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι κάλλιστον ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς καθοσιούντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τῶν καλλίστων προσεπιλαμβάνοντες τοῦ γένους· ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἀρκადίᾳ μόνον τοῖς Λυκαίοις οὐδ' ἐν Καρχηδόνι τῷ Κρόνῳ κοινῇ πάντες ἀνθρωποθυτοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίοδον, τῆς τοῦ νομίμου χάρις μνήμης, ἐμφύλιον αἷμα ραίνουσι πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς, καίπερ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀσίας ἐξεργούσης τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς περιρραντηρίοις <καὶ> κηρύγματι, εἰ τις αἵματος ἀνθρωπέλου μεταίτιος. The excerpt in Euseb. *praef. ev.* 4. 16. 10 agrees with this *verbatim*, but is shorter, including only ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν... πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς. The words τοῖς Λυκαίοις are, I think, either a loose expression for 'in the rites of Zeus *Lykaios*' or—less probably—a blunder for τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δί, due to haste and inattention on the part of Porphyrios, who did not realise that τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δί is needed to balance τῷ Κρόνῳ and that both together are contrasted as extraordinary sacrifices with the ordinary ritual described in the words κατὰ περίοδον κ.τ.λ. On the other hand M. Mayer in Koscher *Lcx. Myth.* ii. 1503 f. holds that the words κατὰ περίοδον are corrupt and have expelled the name of some locality.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

an oak-tree sacred to Zeus *Lykaios* grew beside the spring Hagno. The primitive cults of Greece, as of other lands, constantly associated a holy tree with a holy well.

The simple folk of Arkadia were acorn-eaters<sup>1</sup>. Pelasgos, their first king,—says Pausanias<sup>2</sup>—'introduced as food the fruit of oak-trees, not of all oaks, but only the acorns of the *phegós* oak. Since his time some of the people have adhered so closely to this diet that even the Pythian priestess, in forbidding the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, spoke the following verses:—

There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia  
Who will prevent you; though I do not grudge it you.'

Plutarch goes further and declares that there was 'a certain kinship' between the Arcadians and the oak-tree: they believed that they were the first of men to spring from the ground, just as it was the first of trees<sup>3</sup>. But the relation of the oak to Zeus on the one hand and to his devotees on the other is a subject to which we shall have to return. For the present I pass on, noting merely that the existence of a clan whose business it was to promote vegetation at an ancient centre of oak-worship, if viewed in connexion with this alleged 'kinship' between the worshippers and the tree, is a phenomenon curiously suggestive of totemism.

A rite so unusual and impressive as the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion had of course its explanatory myth. I quote again the garrulous but profoundly interesting Pausanias. From Pelasgos, introducer of the acorn-diet, he slips on to Pelasgos' son Lykaon, who gave to Zeus the surname *Lykaios* and founded the Lycaean games. 'In my opinion,' he continues, 'Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, king of Athens, but the two were not equally sage in the matter of religion. For Cecrops was the first who gave to Zeus the surname of Supreme, and he refused to sacrifice anything that had life; but he burned on the altar the

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 1. 66, Paus. 8. 1. 6, 8. 42. 6, Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 39, Plout. *v. Coriol.* 3, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 25 (citing Alkaios *frag.* 91 Bergk<sup>4</sup> Ἀρκαδῆς ἔσσαν βαλανηφάγοι), Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7 p. 320 Kayser, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 287, Galen. *de alimentorum facultatibus* 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kühn), cp. *de probis pravisque alimentorum siccis* 4 (vi. 778 Kühn). See further P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Wurzen 1891 i. 34 ff. Acorns figure frequently on coins of Mantinea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 184 f. pl. 34, 19—22, 24—28).

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 8. 1. 6 trans. J. G. Frazer.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. *quaest. Rom.* 92 ἡ παλαιὸν ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἔθος, οἷς ἐστὶ τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν δρῦν; πρῶτον γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγενῆσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὡσπερ ἡ δρῦς τῶν φυτῶν. That this 'kinship' with the oak was no mere metaphor appears from Lykophron's mention of the Arcadians as ἐγγόνων δρυός (*Al.* 480: Tzetz. *ad loc.* has ἐκγόνων δρυός) and the myth of Arkas and the oak-nymph Chrysopeleia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185).



national cakes which the Athenians to this day call *pélanoi*. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale: it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time....But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. In the long course of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a superstructure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever<sup>1</sup>.

The myth of Lykaon has come down to us through various channels with a corresponding variety of detail. A useful conspectus is drawn up by O. Gruppe<sup>2</sup>, from which it appears that the sacrifice was offered either by Lykaon himself (this was the common tale)<sup>3</sup> or by his sons<sup>4</sup> (a variant meant to save the face of Lykaon). The victim is described occasionally as a guest of Lykaon<sup>5</sup>, or a Molossian hostage<sup>6</sup>, more often as a child<sup>7</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 2—6.

<sup>2</sup> Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> It went back to Hesiod (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 27, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 302, 18 f. Cp. Hes. *frag.* 136 Flach).

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 176, Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller), Soud. *s.v.* Λυκάων, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481, pseudo-Hekat. *frag.* 375 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 31 Müller) *ap. Natal. Com.* 9. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 2. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Ov. *met.* 1. 226 f.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 3 βρέφος... ἀνθρώπου, Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.* θύσαντὲς τὰν παῖδα.

neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>, more often still as Lykaon's son<sup>2</sup> Nyktimos<sup>3</sup> or grandson Arkas<sup>4</sup>. The child was according to one account sacrificed on the altar of Zeus<sup>5</sup>, but according to the usual version dished up for his consumption at table<sup>6</sup>. Punishment for this impious act fell on Lykaon, who was transformed into a wolf<sup>7</sup>, or struck by lightning<sup>8</sup>, or had his house struck by lightning while he himself became a wolf<sup>9</sup>. Some said that his sons suffered with him, all alike being killed by lightning<sup>10</sup>, or that they were killed by lightning and he changed into a wolf<sup>11</sup>; some even said that the sons were punished as guilty and not the father<sup>12</sup>. Many added that the flood followed in consequence of the crime<sup>13</sup>.

These rilllets of tradition cross and recross one another with such complexity that it is difficult to map them or to make out which after all is the main stream. Nevertheless it seems certain that many, if not most, of them derive from distant sources of genuine folk-lore. Probably we shall not be far wrong, if—anticipating the results of a later section—we attempt to rewrite the story thus. Lykaon, king of the country and representative of Zeus *Lýkaios*, was as such held responsible for the weather and the crops<sup>14</sup>. If the land were distressed with drought, the king, in accordance with primitive custom<sup>15</sup>, must be put to death, passing on his divine rights and duties to a less impotent successor. In course of time this stern rule was modified<sup>16</sup>. The king might

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. 3. 8. 1 ἕνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδα, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 481 ἐπιχώριον παῖδα, pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.* ἕνα τῶν ἐγχωρίων παιδαρίων.

<sup>2</sup> Interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 41, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 36. 5 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 20 ff., schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Zeus had come in the guise of a working-man (Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 481, pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.*) or stranger (Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.*).

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 8. 2. 3, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 60.

<sup>8</sup> Interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89, Ov. *met.* 1. 230 ff., Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 11. 128.

<sup>10</sup> Apollod. 3. 81, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 481. The youngest, Nyktimos, escaped, for Ge held up her hands, clasped the right hand of Zeus, and assuaged his anger.

<sup>11</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 176.

<sup>12</sup> Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.*, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481. A second version given by schol. Lyk. *ib.* states that Zeus destroyed the sons of Lykaon with lightning till Ge stretched forth her hand and interceded for them, and that he turned some of them into wolves (cp. pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.*).

<sup>13</sup> Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 481, interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 41, Myth. Vat. 1. 189.

<sup>14</sup> Frazer *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> i. 154 ff., <sup>3</sup>The Magic Art i. 396 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Id. ib.*<sup>2</sup> i. 158 f., <sup>3</sup>The Magic Art i. 352 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Id. ib.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 55 f., <sup>3</sup>The Dying God p. 160 ff. See also *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 ff.

sacrifice his son, or grandson, or the son of one of his subjects, or even, by a further relaxation, a stranger from afar in lieu of his own life. He thus discharged his original debt; but only to incur another of equal magnitude. For by slaying his son or grandson or subject he would render himself liable to the early law of bloodshed<sup>1</sup>. If a man slew a member of an alien tribe or city, he must either be slain himself in return or else pay a sufficient blood-price. But if he slew a member of his own tribe or city, no blood-price was allowed: he must be put to death, or—it was the only possible alternative—flee into perpetual exile. The king, therefore, taken in this dilemma, sought to escape by the expedient of the common feast, which enabled him to share his guilt with others. The feasters in turn transferred it to a single member of the 'Flower'-clan. And he had forthwith to pay the penalty otherwise incumbent on the king; he had, that is, either to die the death or to flee the country.

It would seem, then, that the myth of Lykaon has in effect preserved the first stages of a custom whose final form is given in the statements of Skopas and Euanthes. Not often does an aetiological myth supply so satisfactory an *aition*. Viewing the story as a whole, we cannot but feel that the connexion of Zeus *Lýkaios* with the light sky is a more fundamental feature of it than the transformation of his worshippers into wolves. He as god of the light sky normally bestowed the sunshine and ripened the crops. They on certain rare and exceptional occasions incurred bloodguiltiness in his service and had to disappear. They might be killed, or they might be exiled. Some of our authorities declare that Zeus struck them with lightning—an appropriate end for worshippers of a sky-god<sup>2</sup>. Others state that they became were-wolves—again an appropriate fate for exiles and vagabonds<sup>3</sup>. This belief in were-wolves, which has from time immemorial prevailed throughout Europe<sup>4</sup> and is even now to be traced in

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed'). Moreover, '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' (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 73 with note d).

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385 f., 1905 xvi. 324 f.

<sup>3</sup> See the facts collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 918 n. 7.

Note also that, according to Macrizi *De valle Hadhramaut* Bonn 1866 p. 19 f. (quoted by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup> London 1907 p. 88, R. Campbell Thompson *Semitic Magic* London 1908 p. 57 n. 1), the *Sei'ar* in Hadramaut can change to were-wolves in time of drought.

<sup>4</sup> Recent monographs on the subject are S. Baring-Gould *The Book of Were-Wolves*

Arkadia<sup>1</sup>, naturally attached itself to the rite of eating human flesh<sup>2</sup>. And lycanthropy often involved metamorphosis for a given term of years, after which the were-wolf returned to human shape<sup>3</sup>. But nowhere else, so far as I am aware, did this superstition stand in any special relation to the cult of Zeus. I conclude, therefore, that Zeus *Lýkaios* was not essentially, but only as it were by accident, a 'Wolf'-god. His original character was that of a 'Light'-god controlling the sunshine, the rain, and the crops.

#### (d) The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

In 1903 Mr K. Kourouniotes trenched the altar and laid bare the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*. I will here summarise the results of the excavation<sup>4</sup>.

The top of Mount Lykaion (fig. 50)<sup>5</sup> has three crests—*Stepháni*, the highest point (about 4615 ft above sea-level); *Áe Liás*, somewhat lower (about 4550 ft); and *Diaphórti*, on which is a ruined tower, probably Turkish in origin. It is with *Áe Liás* that we are concerned. This summit takes its name from Saint Elias<sup>6</sup>, whose little chapel stands on the south-east edge of a small level space adjoining the crest on its south side. The level is known locally as *Tabérna* from a shop, which was once established here to supply necessaries for the saint's festival.

London 1865, W. Hertz *Der Werwolf* Stuttgart 1862, W. Fischer *Dämonische Wesen, Vampir u. Werwolf, in Geschichte und Sage (Aberglaube aller Zeiten* iii) Stuttgart 1906. See also R. Leubuscher *Dissertatio de Lycanthropia Medio aevo* Berlin 1850, E. G. Welcker 'Lycanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit' in his *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 157—184, W. H. Roscher 'Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side' in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 1—92.

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 240. On the were-wolf in modern Greece generally consult N. G. Politis *περὶ Λυκοανθρώπων* in the journal *Πανδώρα* 1866 xvi. 453 f., *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 67 ff., and *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 1240 ff., where a full bibliography is given.

<sup>2</sup> Hertz *op. cit.* p. 39 (quoted by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 3) adduces Indian and German examples of men transformed into beasts after tasting human flesh.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* pp. 58 (Ireland: seven years), 59 ('Ossyrian' *sic*: seven years), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 55 (Normandy: seven years, sometimes three).

<sup>4</sup> K. Kourouniotes in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 pp. 153—214. See also F. H. Marshall in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 280 f. Kourouniotes has further excavated the hippodrome etc. on Mt Lykaion (*Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1909 pp. 185—200 with figs., cp. *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 417).

<sup>5</sup> From a photograph kindly sent to me by Mr Kourouniotes, through whose generosity I am enabled also to make use of the unpublished photograph (pl. viii) and the illustrations in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Ἄη Λιᾶς = Ἅγιος Ἡλίας.

The altar of Zeus forms the apex of *Áe Liás*. It is circular in shape and flat like a threshing-floor, measuring 97 ft 6 ins. across. It is composed mainly of the remains of sacrifices, the rock being covered to a depth of 5 ft with a layer of ashes etc. In this layer are numerous bones, mostly those of small animals, but also of oxen and pigs: no human bones were recognised. All the bones had been burnt. Among the débris are large charred stones at

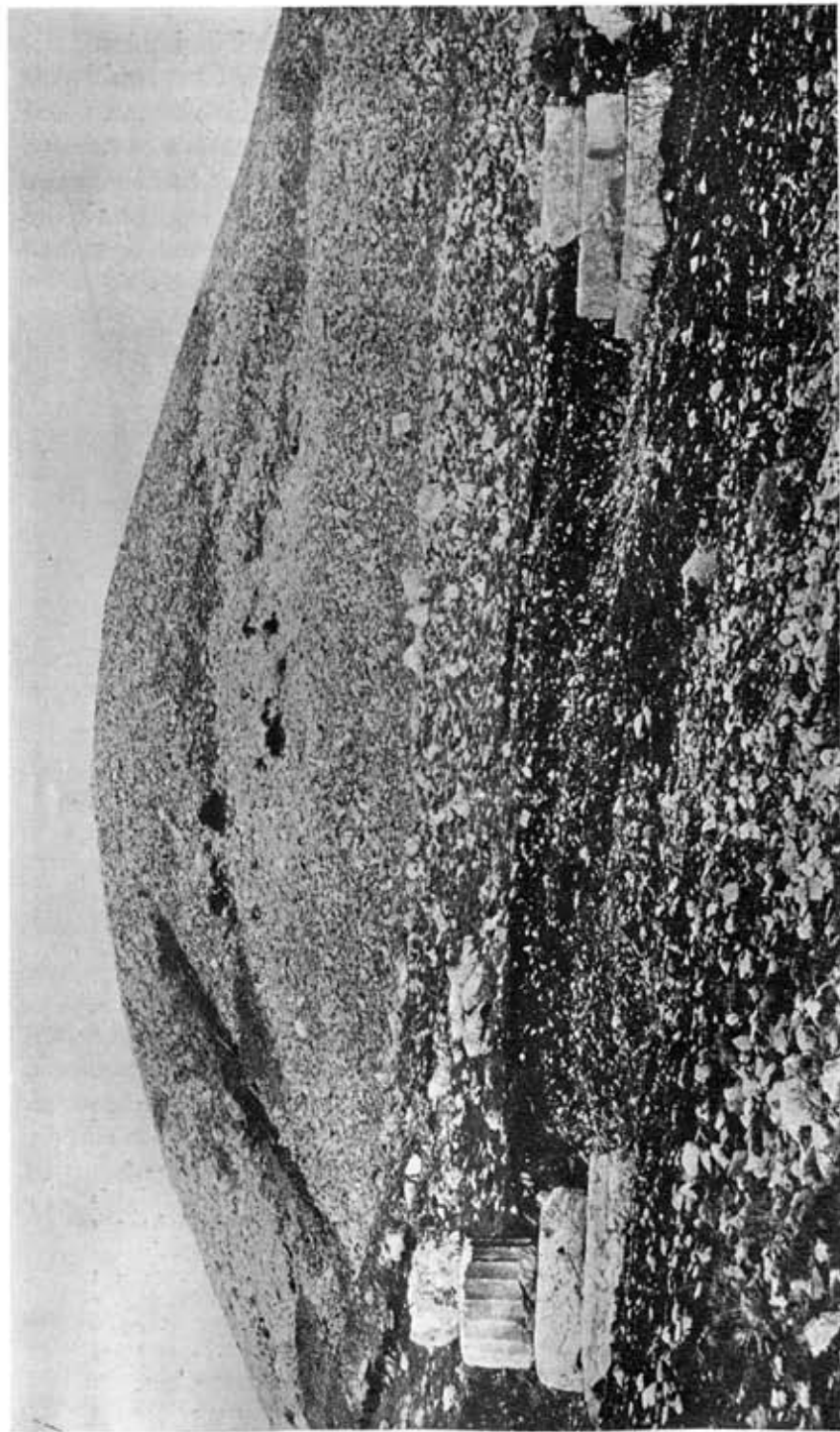


Fig. 50.

irregular intervals, lying singly or gathered together in small heaps. These served to prevent the ashes from being blown away from the exposed and wind-swept height<sup>1</sup>. Small fragments of *phidlai* and *skýphoi* dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found in the sacrificial stratum, also two small *kotyliskoi*, sundry portions of lamps, chips of roof-tiles—one inscribed  $\begin{matrix} \text{AP} \\ \text{OEI} \end{matrix}$  in lettering of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 240 in Laciniae Iunonis ara sub diu sita cinerem immobilem esse perflantibus undique procellis (quoted by Kourouniotes) and the evidence collected *infra* p. 103 nn. 1—4, with regard to the summits of Olympos, Kyllene, and Athos.

Proof of the sanctity attaching to ashes has come to light at Orchomenos in Boiotia. Inside the houses of the second pre-Mycenaean stratum H. Bulle found numerous *βόθροι*, carefully lined with yellow clay. These pits were circular in plan and U-shaped in vertical section. They were for the most part filled with ashes, which appear to have been kept for religious reasons (H. Bulle *Orchomenos* München 1907 i. 25 ff.).



The summit of Mount Lykaion. In the foreground are the bases of the two eagle-bearing columns of Zeus.

See page 83 f., cp. page 81 n. 5.

fourth century—and an almost shapeless terra cotta bird. The metal finds included a silver coin of Aigina (c. 500 B.C.), two small tripods of beaten bronze, and an iron knife—altogether a meagre and disappointing collection.

The precinct, which occupies the level called *Tabérna*, is approximately 180 ft broad by 400 ft long. It is marked out by a line of unworked stones, a boundary that men or beasts could easily cross<sup>1</sup>. The earth here is blackish, but has no bones in it. Kourouniotes believes that the discoloration is due to the blood of animals slain as it were on the *próthysis* before they were burnt on the altar. Perhaps a geologist or an analytical chemist could supply a less gruesome explanation. In the soil of the precinct were found fragments of roof-tiles, part of an iron chain, a large key, a greave decorated with swans and serpents in relief and inscribed ΕΝΔΑΣΑΝΕ... ..ΔΙΑΘΑΝΑΙ<sup>2</sup>, a bronze statuette-base, and two bronze statuettes. One of these was a beardless Hermes (c. 490—470 B.C.) in *chitontskos*, *chlamýs*, *pílos*, and winged boots; the other a later figure, probably of the same god, with *chlamýs* and *pétasos*<sup>3</sup>.

A little lower down than the eastern limit of the precinct Kontopoulos had discovered in 1897 two large bases about 23 ft apart, undoubtedly those of the two eagle-bearing columns mentioned by Pausanias<sup>4</sup>. In a gully north-east of the summit he had found also one marble drum from a Doric column of twenty flutes, and had erected it on the southern base (pl. viii)<sup>5</sup>. Kourouniotes continued the search, and was rewarded for his pains. He obtained other blocks belonging to the bases, which were thus proved to have resembled the three-stepped statue-bases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The columns themselves were still standing in Pausanias' day, but the gilded eagles had gone<sup>6</sup>. Kourouniotes accounts for their disappearance as follows. He points out that in the market-place at Megalopolis Pausanias saw an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* containing altars, two tables, and two eagles<sup>7</sup>; and he suggests that these

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 p. 159 f. fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Kourouniotes restores [Εύτ]ελίδας ἀνέ[θηκε τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀθάνῃ.

<sup>3</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 pls. 9—10.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 66 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 p. 173 f. fig. 7, cp. pl. 8, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 8. 38. 7 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἤλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσοι τὰ γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποιήητο.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. 8. 30. 2 περίβολος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερῶν Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι· τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστὶ δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι.

eagles had been carried off from the precinct on Mount Lykaion. However that may be, digging close to the northern base on the mountain-side, Kourouniotes came upon an interesting series of bronze statuettes illustrative of the cult<sup>1</sup>.

The earliest of them, which he refers to the seventh century B.C., is a clumsy figure of Zeus with short legs and long body. The god stands erect. His raised right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his outstretched left has an eagle perched upon it (fig. 51)<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 51.

The second statuette shows Zeus striding forward with uplifted right hand and extended left. In the former there was once a bolt, in the latter perhaps an eagle (fig. 52)<sup>3</sup>. Similar statuettes, which

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the bronzes here described there were found two figures of Hermes, showing traces of Polykleitos' style ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 200 ff. figs. 20—22), another in the attitude of a runner (*ib.* p. 206 fig. 24), a coiled snake with two heads (*ib.* p. 211 fig. 27), and a votive ἀσκήδς (*ib.* p. 212 fig. 28). The fact that at least three, probably four, statuettes of Hermes were found in or near the precinct requires explanation. Was there a cult of Hermes on the spot? For the dedication of one deity in the temple of another see the careful collection of facts in W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 391 ff. But, as Miss Harrison has pointed out to me, T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 viii. 321 ff., ix. 25 ff. shows that the Hermes of the Hermetic cosmogony came to Kyrene from Arkadia. The remaining finds included ten engraved rings, one of bronze, the rest of iron.

<sup>2</sup> 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 181 f. figs. 8—10.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 185 fig. 11.

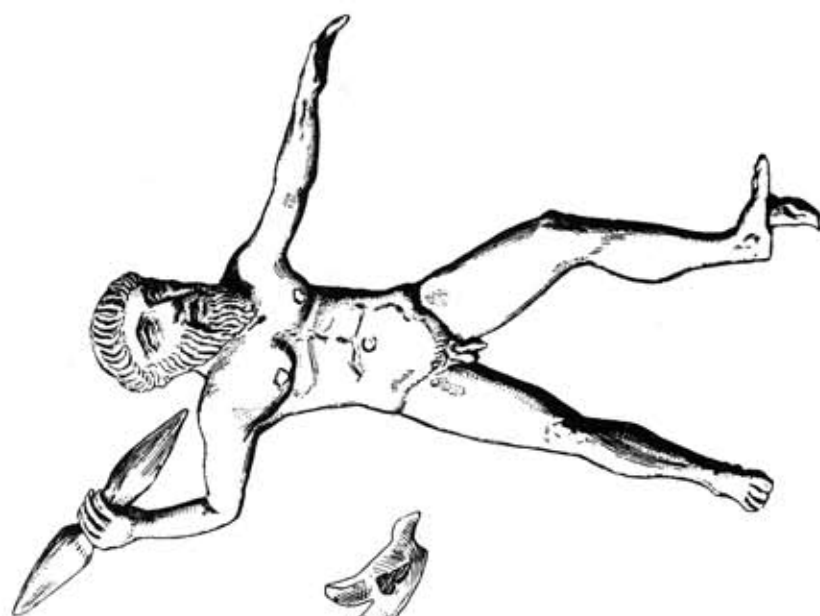


Fig. 54.



Fig. 53.

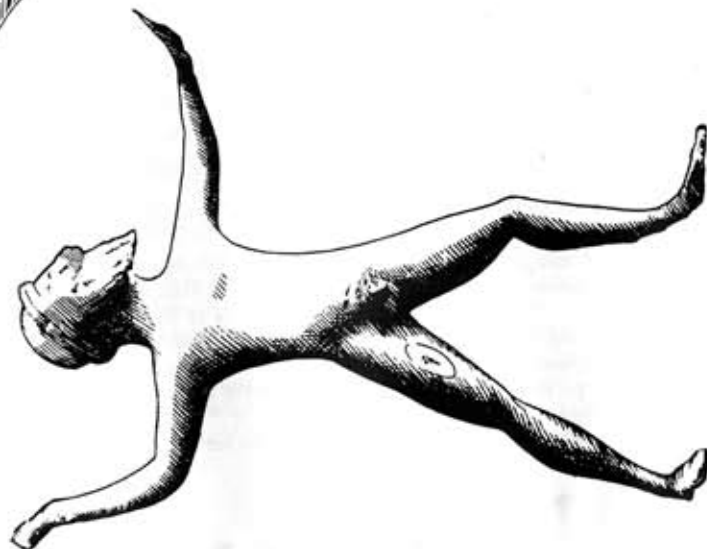


Fig. 52.

exemplify a type current about 480 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, have been found at Olympia (fig. 53)<sup>2</sup> and at Dodona (fig. 54)<sup>3</sup>.

Thirdly (fig. 55)<sup>4</sup> we have Zeus seated squarely on a throne, which is now lost. His hair is long and falls over his back; his beard is pointed; and his lips are drawn up in the usual archaic expression. He wears a *chiton* with short sleeves, and a *himation* draped under his right arm and over his left shoulder. His feet, which are bare, rest on a footstool. Both arms are bent at the elbow, and both hands hold attributes. In the left is the lower



Fig. 55.

half of a thunderbolt; in the right—not, as we should have expected, a sceptre—but a short rod with a knob at the bottom and a crook at the top closely resembling the Roman *lituos*, the direct ancestor of the pastoral staff still borne by our ecclesiastical hierarchy<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion by Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 149—152 pl. 10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia* iv. 18 f. nos. 43—45 pl. 7, 43, 45, pl. 8, 44. See *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (a).

<sup>3</sup> C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pl. 12, 4, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 362 no. 31. The finest specimen of this type is at Berlin: R. Kekulé von Stradonitz and H. Winnefeld *Bronzen aus Dodona in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1909 pl. 1, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 187 f. figs. 12—14, A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 170 f.

<sup>5</sup> On the derivation of the pastoral staff from the *lituos* see the Rev. H. T. Armfield in *Smith-Cheetham Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1565 ff.

Kourouniotes reminds us that, according to tradition<sup>1</sup>, Euandros, son of Hermes, led a colony from Pallantion in Arkadia into Italy, where he built a town Pallantion on the Palatine, and introduced the cult of Pan *Lykaïos* and the festival of the Lykaia, later known as the Lupercalia. This tradition points to an early connexion between Arkadia and Italy; and it is open to us to believe that the use of the *lituos* came to the latter from the former. But what exactly was the *lituos*? In shape it differs but little from that of the ordinary crooked stick carried by old-fashioned Greeks<sup>2</sup>. Monsieur H. Thédenat, after a review of the evidence, concludes—on the strength of a note by Servius<sup>3</sup>—that the augur's *lituos* may have been a royal sceptre<sup>4</sup>. This conclusion is borne out by the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui (c. 1271 B.C.), where the priestly king carries a large reversed *lituos*<sup>5</sup>. I would venture one step further and suggest that the *lituos* is ultimately the conventionalised branch of a sacred tree<sup>6</sup>. If Zeus *Lykaïos* bears a *lituos*, it is because his sceptre, so to speak, was an oak-branch. His priest—we have seen—took an oak-branch in hand, when he acted as rain-maker on Mount Lykaion<sup>7</sup>. But, whether the *lituos* represents an original branch or not, it certainly serves as a quasi-sceptre. For this statuette (c. 550—500 B.C.) can hardly be dissociated from the fifth-century coinage of Arkadia, which—we have said<sup>8</sup>—shows Zeus *Lykaïos* seated on a throne with a sceptre in his hand. In all probability both the statuette and the coins represent the cult image of the god<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 839 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Saglio in *Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant.* i. 639 ff. A black-figured *amphora* shows Zeus enthroned with a crooked stick as sceptre (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 48, 2, 2 b).

<sup>3</sup> Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 187 *lituum*, id est regium baculum, in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium.

<sup>4</sup> H. Thédenat in *Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1277 f. L. Siret in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 303 would connect it with neolithic axe-handles: he sees in its form and theirs the arm of a cuttle-fish!

<sup>5</sup> J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 217, 229 pls. 68, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 345 derives *lituos*, Gothic *lipus*, Old High German *lid*, 'limb,' from a root \**lei-t-*, 'to crook or bend,' which with another determinative gives the Old Icelandic *limr*, 'limb,' *lim*, 'branch,' and the Anglo-Saxon *lim*, 'limb, branch.'

On the royal sceptre as a conventionalised tree see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 370 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 65; *infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* p. 68. Specimens were found by Kourouniotes on Mt Lykaion.

<sup>9</sup> The *lituos* is not elsewhere known as an attribute of Zeus. A bronze statuette found at Olympia shows him holding in his left hand a broken object, which ends below in a stud or knob. This Furtwängler *Olympia* iv. 17 pl. 7, 40, 40 a took to be the handle of a sword: Kourouniotes would restore it as a *lituos* (so also *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 289 f. no. 6163).

A fourth figure, more clumsy in style, gives us Zeus standing on a square base. He is clothed in a long *himation*. In his clenched right hand he holds the remains of a thunderbolt; in his clenched left, no attribute at all (fig. 56)<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 56.

A few other fragments—a right hand grasping part of a bolt<sup>2</sup>, the fore-part of a right foot<sup>3</sup>, and an eagle with spread wings (fig. 57 *a, b*)<sup>4</sup>—possibly belong to a larger statue, or statues, of Zeus, and may be assigned to the early fifth century<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 193 fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 195 f. figs. 18—19.

<sup>5</sup> It may here be mentioned that the British Museum possesses a silver ingot, said to have been found in Sicily, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣΛΥΚΑ on one side, ΤΡΥΓΩΝ on the other, and was doubtless dedicated to Zeus *Lýkaios* by one Trygon (*Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. Life* 1908 p. 37 f. no. 70, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 597). The romance imagined by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 523 is baseless.

Fig. 57 *a.*Fig. 57 *b.*

### (e) The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene.

The cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* spread from Arkadia to Kyrene. There appears, indeed, to have been some ancestral link between these two places; for more than once Arcadians were called in to settle with authority political disputes that had arisen at Kyrene<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Hdt.* 4. 161 (Demonax of Mantinea, shortly after 550 B.C.), *Polyb.* 10. 22. 2 f. and *Plout. v. Philopoin.* 1 (Ekdemos and Demophanes, or Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, in the third century B.C.). See also *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1.

Herodotos relates that the Persian army, on its return from the capture of Barke (512 B.C.), encamped upon the 'hill of Zeus *Lýkaios*' near Kyrene<sup>1</sup>. This certainly implies a Cyrenaic cult of that deity. Moreover, Ludvig Müller pointed out that the figure of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the early silver coins of Arkadia (fig. 43)<sup>2</sup> is reproduced on a gold *statér* of Kyrene (fig. 58)<sup>3</sup>. Here too we see the god enthroned towards the left with a sceptre in his right hand, while an eagle flies directly towards him. Other specimens of the Cyrenaic *statér* vary, as did the Arcadian coins, only with more freedom, the position of the eagle, which sometimes flies before Zeus with a snake in its talons<sup>4</sup>, sometimes rests on the



Fig. 58.



Fig. 59.



Fig. 60.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 62.



Fig. 63.

right hand of the god<sup>5</sup>, sometimes perches behind him on a stem or branch curved like a *lituos* (figs. 59, 60)<sup>6</sup>, and sometimes is absent altogether<sup>7</sup>. The remarkable adjunct of the eagle on a *lituos*-shaped branch cannot, so far as I know, be precisely paralleled.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 4. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 68 f.

<sup>3</sup> L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 i. 48 no. 184 fig. 184, *ib.* p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Id. ib.* i. 49 no. 188, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 568 (cp. *ib.* pl. 92, 2).

<sup>5</sup> L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 190, Supplément p. 9 pl. 1, 190, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 95 no. 717, *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 801 pl. 10.

<sup>6</sup> L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 nos. 185—187 fig. 185 (my fig. 59). Fig. 60 is from a specimen in the British Museum.

In the *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 799 pl. 10 the eagle appears to be seated on a rock. Cp. *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 79 no. 786 (?).

<sup>7</sup> L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 189 fig. 189.

An eagle above and in contact with a transverse *lituos* is said to occur on a late bronze coin of Panormos (fig. 61)<sup>1</sup>. But a better analogy is afforded by the eagle on a pine-tree before the seated figure of Zeus *Aitnaïos*, which appears on a unique tetradrachm of Aitne (fig. 62)<sup>2</sup>, or by the eagle on a crooked bough, probably representing the oaks of Zeus *Strátios*, which is found on imperial bronze coins of Amaseia (fig. 63)<sup>3</sup>. In view of the fact that the eagle and the *lituos* were both attributes of Zeus at the precinct on Mount Lykaion<sup>4</sup> the combination of the two furnishes an additional reason for believing that the throned Zeus of Kyrene was indeed Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>5</sup>.



Fig. 64.

In one detail the Zeus of these Cyrenaic coins differs from the Zeus of the Arcadian coins. His free arm is consistently shown resting on the low back of his seat in an attitude of easy indolence. Now this is a trait which is not seen in any other representation of Zeus on Greek coins. In fact, the only close parallel to it<sup>6</sup> in the whole range of ancient Zeus-types is the careless and yet majestic

<sup>1</sup> P. Paruta *Sicilia Numismatica* Lugduni Batavorum 1723 pl. 3, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* Append. B Sicily.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. 8 pl. 1, 15; 11 pl. 2, 7 (=my fig. 63) Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 35 pl. 5, 11; 40 pl. 6, 5. On the oaks of Zeus *Strátios* see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., 372 fig. 5, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 83 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Head *Hist. num.* 1 p. 729, *ib.* 2 p. 869 says 'Zeus Ammon'—a curious blunder.

<sup>6</sup> Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161.



pose of Zeus in the Parthenon frieze (fig. 64)<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, highly probable that the cult-statue of Zeus *Lýkaios* existing at Kyrene in the period to which the gold coins belong was the work, if not of Pheidias himself, at least of some sculptor much under his influence. If further evidence be required, one may point to the fact that in a temple of Helios and Selene at Byzantion there was preserved as late as the eleventh century a white marble statue of Zeus ascribed to Pheidias, of which we are told that it 'seemed to be seated on a sofa'.<sup>2</sup> Whether the product of Pheidiac art or not, Zeus at Kyrene reclined on his throne in an attitude of unusual repose. This, if I am not mistaken, earned for him the curious sobriquet of *Elinýmenos*<sup>3</sup>, Zeus 'Taking his *Siesta*'<sup>4</sup>.

(f) Zeus *Lýkaios* on a Spartan ('Cyrenaic') *Kýlix*.

F. Studniczka<sup>5</sup> in dealing with the cults of Kyrene observed that a seated Zeus on a 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix* in the Louvre (fig. 65)<sup>6</sup> bore a striking resemblance to the seated Zeus of the Arcadian coins, and proposed to identify the former with the latter as Zeus *Lýkaios*. And such he may well be. For the force of Studniczka's comparison is in no way weakened by Mr J. P. Droop's discovery that the original home of 'Cyrenaic' ware was not Kyrene but Sparta<sup>7</sup>. From Mount Lykaion to the Eurotas valley was no far

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pl. 34, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909 pl. 127, 30. Cp. Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 29 pl. 10 no. 6 after Bartoli-Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* pl. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 c (i. 567 Bekker) αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς γῆν ἦν βρέτας Διὸς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου, ἔργον Φειδίου, ἰζάνων τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ κλίνης.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych. Ἐλινύμενος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Hesych. ἐλινύων· ἀναπαύμενος. L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 67 f. regards the *lituos*-shaped branch of the Cyrenaic coins as a vine-shoot, and conjectures that Zeus Ἐλινύμενος meant not only 'le dieu qui repose' but also the god 'of the Vine-shoot' (*et. mag.* p. 330, 39 f. ἐλινύς... τὸν κλάδον τῆς ἀμπέλου). But the epithet is obviously a participle.

<sup>5</sup> F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 14 f.

<sup>6</sup> Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 529, *Vases antiques du Louvre 2<sup>me</sup> Série* Paris 1901 p. 63 no. E 668, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 p. 237 ff. pl. 12, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 2, 44 ff. See also R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 322 f. and in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1908 p. 17, A. J. B. Wace *ib.* 1909 p. 48 f. W. Klein *Euphronios*<sup>2</sup> Wien 1886 p. 77 had previously conjectured that the 'Cyrenaic' vases were made in Lakonike.

The subject cannot here be discussed in detail. But we must bear in mind that Sparta, as the mother of Thera, was the grandmother of Kyrene. It would not therefore be surprising to find that a ware originating in Sparta was made at Kyrene also. And this seems on the whole to be the simplest assumption in the case of the Arkesilas-*kýlix* (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 98 ff. no. 189). See J. R. Wheeler *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* New York etc. 1909 p. 468 n. 1.

cry; and, if Alkman the great lyric poet of Sparta composed a hymn to Zeus *Lýkaios*<sup>1</sup>, the Spartan potters very possibly represented the same deity on their cups. The Louvre *kýlix* is on this showing the artistic counterpart of Alkman's poem. Zeus, wearing a *chiton* and tightly swathed in an ornamental *himation*, is seated on his altar—a large stepped structure of stone blocks<sup>2</sup>—, while his eagle wings its way directly towards him. The god's long hair hangs over his back, and his upper lip is shaved in genuine Spartan style<sup>3</sup>.



Fig. 65.

Another 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix*, now in the Royal Museum at Cassel, shows a male figure enthroned in conversation with Hermes (fig. 66)<sup>4</sup>. It is at first sight tempting to regard this too as a representation of Zeus *Lýkaios*, in whose precinct sundry statuettes of Hermes were

<sup>1</sup> Alkman *frag.* 1 ff. Bergk<sup>4</sup>. Himer. *or.* 5. 3 (Alkman) ἐτύγχανε μὲν διὰ τῆς Σπάρτης εἶς Διὸς Λυκαίου κομίζων ἕσματα, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 40 f.

<sup>3</sup> W. Ridgeway in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii Arch. Anz. p. 189 f. figs. 2—3.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

found<sup>1</sup>. But the bird behind the throne is, as J. Boehlau remarked<sup>2</sup>, merely put in to fill up the blank space and cannot pass muster as the eagle of Zeus. Moreover the vase is not to be dissociated from two others of the same sort. One of these, a *kýlix* in the Munich collection, again depicts a male figure on a lion-legged throne, conversing with similar gestures. His interlocutor is a female figure, conceived on a smaller scale and enthroned over against him. The supports of the larger throne are in the shapes of a tree and an animal—species difficult to determine (fig. 67)<sup>3</sup>. The second vase, a fragmentary *kýlix* in the British Museum, once more shows a man on a lion-footed throne. Before him stands a woman, who raises her left hand with a gesture of reverence and in her right hand presents a pomegranate (fig. 68)<sup>4</sup>. This last vase fortunately enables us to fix the character of the other two; for its resemblance to the contemporary funereal reliefs of Lakonike<sup>5</sup> is quite unmistakable. Indeed, further inspection reveals numerous points of contact between all three vases and the reliefs in question. I conclude, therefore, that what the reliefs were in sculpture the vases were in ceramic art—a memorial of the divinised dead. This satisfactorily accounts for the enthronement



Fig. 68.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrb. etc. loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Jahn Vasensamml. München* p. 229 f. no. 737, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 5, *F. Studniczka op. cit.* p. 8 fig. 3.

This vase is commonly thought to represent a *genre* scene—a man talking with a woman. But on 'Cyrenaic' ware religious or mythological types predominate (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 341), and we may fairly suspect a deeper meaning. *Studniczka op. cit.* p. 23 suggests Apollon with the Hesperid Kyrene.

The animal supporting the throne has been variously interpreted as a hare (O. Jahn *loc. cit.*) or a dog (A. Dumont—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1884 i. 302, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 434).

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 51 no. B 6 (Apollon? and Kyrene), *Studniczka op. cit.* p. 23 fig. 18 (Apollon or Aristaïos? or Battos?? and Kyrene) and in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 1729 (Battos and Kyrene).

<sup>5</sup> The best collection of facts concerning these reliefs is that given by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Spartan Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 102 ff.

of the man and the woman, for the presence of Hermes the 'Conductor of Souls,' for the reverential attitude of the worshipper, and for her gift of a pomegranate. Finally, just as the funereal



Fig. 69.

reliefs tended towards simplification of type<sup>1</sup>, so a 'Cyrenaic' *kylix* in the National Museum at Athens reduces the whole scene of the enthroned dead to a mere head and shoulders (fig. 69)<sup>2</sup>.

(g) Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb.

A small bronze statuette, found in the Rhine-district and procured by F. G. Welcker for the Museum of National Antiquities at Bonn, was believed by J. Overbeck to represent Zeus *Lykaios*. The god stands erect holding a deep bowl or pot in his outstretched right hand and leaning with his raised left hand on some object now lost. He is clad over head, shoulders, and back in a wolf-skin, the fore-paws of which have been cut off, sewn on inside, and

<sup>1</sup> M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 107 f.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Droop in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 176 ff. figs. 1 b—4.



Fig. 70.



Fig. 71.



Fig. 72.



Fig. 73.

knotted round the wearer's neck (fig. 70)<sup>1</sup>. It will not be denied that this interesting bronze shows a Zeus-like god wearing a wolf-skin. But we shall not venture to describe him as *Zeus Lykaios*. For there is neither literary nor epigraphic evidence to prove that the Arcadian Zeus travelled as far north as he did south. And, even if that had been the case, his cult-type was widely different from this. Rather we shall agree with S. Reinach<sup>2</sup>, who ranges the Bonn statuette<sup>3</sup> along with a whole series of bronzes representing the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater*, the ancestor—Caesar tells us<sup>4</sup>—of all the Gauls. Such figures regularly hold a bowl in one hand and rest the other on a long-handled mallet. Many of them also wear a wolf-skin hood (fig. 71)<sup>5</sup>, though the nature of the skin is seldom so clearly marked as in this example. Reinach himself suggests that the Gaulish mallet-god may have got his wolf-skin from some Greek identification of him with the Arcadian *Zeus Lykaios*<sup>6</sup>. But it must not be forgotten that in Etruscan tomb-paintings at Orvieto (fig. 72)<sup>7</sup> and Corneto (fig. 73)<sup>8</sup> Hades likewise is coifed in a wolf-skin<sup>9</sup>; and from the Etruscan Hades to the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater* there is but a short step.

<sup>1</sup> J. Overbeck in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1851 xvii. 69—74 pl. 2, *id. Katalog der königl. preuss. rhein. Mus. waterländ. Alterthümer* Bonn 1851 p. 98 no. 5, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 266 f. Overbeck is followed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* pp. 137—185.

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ib.* p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Drawn from a cast of the bronze found at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme) and now in the Museum at Avignon (Reinach *op. cit.* p. 141 no. 146, *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 8). Another fine specimen from Vienne (Isère) is in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 142 no. 788, *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 178 pl. 26).

<sup>6</sup> Reinach *op. cit.* p. 141 n. 2, *cp.* p. 162 n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> G. Conestabile *Pitture murali e suppellettili etrusche scoperte presso Orvieto nel 1863 da Domen. Golini* Firenze 1865 pl. 11, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1807 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 15 and 15 a, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 27, C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1805.

<sup>9</sup> W. H. Roscher in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 xvii. 3. 44 f., 60 f. compares Lykas the hero of Temesa, who was 'horribly black' and wore a wolf-skin (Paus. 6. 6. 11) and Lykos the hero of Athens, who had the form of a wolf (Eratosth. *ap. Harpokr. s.v. δεκδῶν, alib.*), arguing that in Greece as elsewhere 'die Todtengesteir Wolfsgestalt annehmen.' A gold pendant seal of the sixth century B.C. from Kypros shows a male figure with the head and tail of a wolf thrusting a sword through a panther or lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 167 no. 1599 fig. 49 pl. 26). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 80 n. 1 recognises as Thanatos a winged youth with a wolf-skin or dog-skin cap, who carries off a girl on an Attic statuette-vase belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C. (*Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 381 ff. pl. 12). A beardless head wearing a wolf-skin occurs on a copper coin of Sinope (H. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 218 pl. 5, 6, Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 196 pl. 26, 15); but this, to judge from a copper coin of Amisos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc.* xvi. 20 pl. 4, 3, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 497 (Amazon Lykastia?), Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 46 pl. 3, 20), is probably female. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* interprets