



Did Orphic influence on Etruscan tomb paintings exist?

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STUDIES IN ETRUSCAN TOMB PAINTINGS I

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STUDIES IN ETRUSCAN
TOMB PAINTINGS I

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VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE
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CHAPTER I

Iconography of the paintings

§ 1 — **Tomba dell' Orco** \pm 360 B. C. The representations in this tomb are to be divided in 3 groups.

I) **BANQUETING SCENES.** We need not say much about them; in the earlier tombs they occur everywhere, but in the later series too we meet with them pretty often, cf.

A) *Caere* 1) t. delle Pitture (or del Triclinio) \pm 360 B. C. Canina Etr. maritt. pl. 63f.; Bull. Inst. 1857, 116 note.

B) *Tarquinia* 2) t. degli Scudi (\pm 330/20 B. C.) Weege Etr. Mal. pl. 51 and 54.

3) t. della Mercareccia (\pm 300 B. C.). The thing is very problematic here, but is attested for the second room by Maffei Osservazioni litterarie V.

C) *Orvieto* 4) t. d. due Bighe \pm 360 B. C.: Conestabile Pitt. mur. pl. 1—3; Poulsen Etr. t. p. fig. 23.

5) t. degli Hescanas \pm 360 B. C. It seems to be nearly certain that the left wall, now lost, contained a banqueting scene, the traces of which are to be found now only on the adjoining walls, viz. scene with table on the left side of the entrance wall; demon and youth with vase on the left side of the back wall (cf. Cardella: t. d. Hescanas pl. II E and A; Röm. Mitt. 8 (1893) 330 f.). It should be noticed that the right wall has a procession (cf. below) in which one youth is kissed by another with a wreath on his head: from the left a draped woman advances (whether a servant or a demon is not clear, but there are no wings) holding, as far as can be seen, a wreath in her hand. Seemingly the new arrival in Orcus is greeted by an ancestor and admitted to the family banquet, in token of which he receives his wreath (cf. Cardella l.l. pl. III B and C right figure). It might prove to be of importance, if we knew the interpretation of the back wall; the principal object is variously described as a funeral monument (Röm. Mitt. l.l.) or an altar or a basis (Stryk Etr. Kammergr. 98). Unfortunately I have no notes of my own.

6) t. Golini \pm 360 B. C.; Martha Art étr. fig. 279 and 292; Poulsen Etr. t. p. fig. 31/3, and elsewhere.

On other monuments banqueting scenes are to be found:

D) *Antella*, 7) stele found there, now Florence Pal. Peruzzi (\pm 500 B. C.), Martha Art étr. fig. 165. The upper part only concerns us, the lower has no banquet; Martha p. 215 is wrong in this.

E) *Felsina*, 8) some 4 fragmentary specimina of the stelae found in its necropolis and belonging to the 5th/4th cent. B. C. Studied by Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 695 § 4. His No. 175 (= fig. 60) is curious: man lying on his couch, who is being dealt a blow by a female demon with a hammer. Strictly speaking this scene does not belong to this series, since

it contains what may be regarded as a reminiscence of the way in which the owner of the tomb died (cf. Ducati l.l. col. 623).

F) *Volterra* 9). Here I know only 2 examples (2nd/1st cent. B. C.); Brunn-K. III, 109, 1 and 2.

G) *Chiusi*. Some sarcophagus lids have preserved the type of banqueting scene occurring in the archaic epoch in Cervetri (cf. Hausenstein Bildnerei d. Etrusk. pl. 13—17); their central provenance is Chiusi and surroundings: in most cases the woman is changed into a demon.

10) (from Città della Pieve) now in Florence Mus. arch. etr. topogr. Room of Clusium case B. (\pm 400 B. C.). Woman sitting at foot of couch (cf. t. d. Scudi Tarquinia). Martha Art étr. fig. 233.

11) (from Chianciano), now in Florence ibid. case A (\pm 350 B. C.). Same design, but the woman transformed into a demon of death¹⁾ with scroll (cf. below ad t.d. Scudi) Hausenstein l.l. pl. 52.

12) (from Chiusi) Sarcophagus now in Perugia (2nd cent. B. C.). The design has been slightly altered; the demon's character comes out more clearly. Perugia Mus. Etr.-rom. Catal. (1910) No. 27 with fig.; Ducati Arte class. fig. 635.

13) (from Chiusi), now in the Louvre (2nd cent. B. C.). Original design altered in so far that the demon is lying quietly at the foot. Two other demons (not slaves, as Martha Art étr. 340 says) at the head of the man, two slaves with vessels at his feet. Martha l.l. fig. 234. A similar piece (woman on lid, two demons pressed against couch) Mus. Chius. pl. 191 (not in Chiusi: Palermo?).

14) (from Chiusi), lid of an urn in limestone, now in Berlin (2nd/1st cent. B. C.). „Man lying at meal embracing little winged woman: at the left cup-bearer and dog” cf. 11—13 above. Berlin Kurze Beschr. Sk. (1922) No. 1261.

15) (from Chiusi). Some monuments must be added: Brunn-Koerte III, 109, 3 (also 4?); also the types referred to ibid. text p. 135 ff.

H) *Perugia* 16) The motive is not frequent here. Urn in terra cotta (found 1830), 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Man and woman in the usual composition on lid. Guida Perugia No. 65, with figure. Cf. also the faces of urns Brunn-K. III, 103 ff. and the piece 109,5.

I) *Tarquinia*. 17) Sarcophagus, now in Florence, Mus. arch. etr. topogr. Room of Tarquinii (2nd half of 3rd cent. B. C.). The side beneath the left hand of the *gisant* has a cottabos in the centre with a figure lying at either side, each with a wreath (that of the woman is no longer there, because plunderers have made a hole) and a patera. Roundabout there are snakes of a curious type, recurring on a terra cotta urn in Volterra (Guarnacci No. 497 = Brunn—Koerte II, 1, 2) and in Egyptian fayence in the v. Bissing collection in the Archaeological Museum of the Hague (unpublished). The sarcophagus: Milani Mus. topogr. Etr. fig. on p. 106.

The figure of Charun is placed between the couches in order to show that the scene takes place in the nether world (cf. ad II Mythological scenes). Cf. about him Dennis II³, 191 ff.; the study of O. Waser: Charon, Charun, Charos; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 73, 6 ff. The reports between Charun and Orcus are established in Pascal Credenze I, 80, 3. The Charon of the later poets is developed out of the Etruscan Charun, cf. J. B.

1) the Curators of the Museum give the demon the name of Parca Carmentalis, I doubt whether rightly. Cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Parca and Carmenta, who are really goddesses of birth. Possibly Lasa would be a preferable name.

Hornung: Beitrag zur Ikonogr. d. Todes (diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1902) 17 f. 1).

The banquets subsisted in Roman times cf. Cumont After Life 53 ff.; 199 ff.; Br. Schroeder Stud. Grabdenkm. d. Kaiserzeit 2 ff.

II) MYTHOLOGICAL SCENES. The whole is merely intended to be an illustration in epic style of the nether world: there is no symbolic or mystic meaning. The fact that these additions are found is a sign of later development: in the earlier tombs the artist intended the spectator to infer that the banquets were in the Orcus: a later generation expressed it as a consequence of greater realistic feeling and narrative power (cf. the other tombs referred to above).

Tuchulcha. The scene forms part of a tradition, for which cf. E Petersen: ein Werk des Panainos (Seemann Leipzig 1905): here most of the monuments are cited. We must add to the foregoing a vase (S. Italy?) in the Mus. Gregor. (Case U section 5, 2nd row No. 200): two youths are sit facing each other, a woman standing between them. Clearly the scene in t. d. Orco is an Etruscan version adapted to the national religion. The monument adjacent to the hemicyclium on which the friends are sitting must have a meaning also: it is not to be met with elsewhere in the Theseus scenes, but the urn in Berlin (Kurze Beschr. 1261, cited before) has a similar one: it is an Etruscan, or at least Italic, funeral monument. The persons represented are bound to the tomb, Tuchulcha makes escape impossible. The same idea is to be found on other Etruscan monuments:

1) *Perugia* urn No. 151 in Museo del Palazzone (= t. d. Volunni) 2nd/1st cent. B. C.; E. Galli *Perugia* fig. 43 (= Conestabile Monum. *Perug.* pl. 52 (= 78), 2) also attributes this composition to the 5th cent., but gives a slightly different explanation: arrival of a shade before the guardians of the gate of the nether world. I do not consider that he is right, cf. Brunn—Koerte *Ril.* III p. 114 (ad pl. 93, 3) and

2) (*provenance unknown*) *Inghirami Pitt. vasi fitt.* IV, 385: young man between 2 Furies wielding snakes against him;

3) *Cervetri*, vase now in Vienna \pm 300 B. C. Musician (usually taken to be Orpheus, but more likely Cacus, cf. Brunn—K. II, 119) between two demons with serpent. Massner: *Vasen und Terrak.* Wien No. 448; Roscher s. v. Charybdis col. 887 one of the demons; cf. *Ann. Inst.* 51 (1875) tav. V p. 305 = Reinach *R. V. P.* I, 343, 2 f.

4) *Tarquinius* t. d. Cardinale (230/200 B. C.): demon leaning on his hammer, watching a figure.

The type of Tuchulcha requires no more words: I will only mention his big asses' ears: in some cases the ass has a demonological sense (cf. below). Similar ears are to be found e. g. on the figure of Charun in our tomb and on a small demon-like head from *Tarquinius* in the Museo Gregoriano (= Mus. Greg. (ed. of 1842) I, 97, 7 and p. 14).

Nekyia. Its design is the old one of dancing figures between trees, but here adapted to a new purpose, an epic translation as it were. The impression one gets, that the persons are walking, is false: there is no reason why they should. They are standing still without any connection between them, and are placed in profile turning to one side, because the artist desired a continuous line towards the ancient entrance, not interrupted by figures facing each other. „Memrun” is Memnon, not Agamemnon: although both occur in Homer's *Nekyia* there can be no doubt on this point because of the oriental aspect of the

1) concerning the meaning of the presence of eyes in the wings of him and other death demons cf. Dennis II², 170; 172 f; 193; 369, where monuments and explanations are enumerated.

figure; also there is no space in the inscription for two letters more (*Ἀχ/μεμρν*). Cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v.v. Memnon and Memrun.

On his body bloody bandages are painted. This motive requires some attention because of the interpretation of it proposed by Weege (Etr. Mal. p. 29). It occurs on a Tarentine vase at Munich too (Furtw. Reichhold I, 10), where Megara is sitting with her children, the Heraclidae. Besides we can trace it in literature; Tibullus 1, 10, 35 ff. refers to a similar conception in report with the deceased (cf. Maass: Orpheus 306 ff.); also Vergil in Aen. VI (cf. Norden ad v. 446 and 495 ff.); finally Auson. Id. VI (cf. Rev. arch. 1903, 163 f.; 192 f.). Of this passage and some of the other materials Weege (E. M. 31 f.) has made abuse, in order to establish the Orphic character of the painting, which considers us here. Neither Maass nor Norden have been able to point out a single instance of this belief in Greece; it is purely Italic.

Why the shades which flutter in the bushes are ithyphallic has not yet been explained¹). It seems to me this peculiarity is best explained, when we take them to be the Manes, continuing the existence of the Genii (cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Genius 1618, 38 ff.); the Genius on his side is first of all the abstraction of the man, especially of his procreative energy (cf. ibid. 1614, 1 ff. and esp. 1615, 6 ff.; Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm.² 175 is of the same opinion). I do not think that the fact, that they occur only on the tree between Memnon and Tiresias has any special meaning²). The phallic motive occurs several times in Etruscan funeral art and possibly has some mystic meaning³) which in no way need be Orphic, although there it is also to be found (cf. Philosoph. 5, 3 ed. Cruice and J. Harrison Prolegg². 641 ff. ⁴). In Etruria

1) *Orbetello* (? so Cat. Brit. Mus.; or *Vulci*?) vase with Charun ithyphallic, he is about to slay ithyphallic man. ± 300 B. C. Cat. Vas. Brit. Mus. IV F 486 (the literature bearing upon the monument, not in the catal., is: Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, 256; 257; 272; A. Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 131; Waser Charon etc. 80, 7. Formerly Coll. Campanari).

2) *Chiusi* ithyphallic hippocampi on urns; the genital has been transformed into a vegetable motive cf. Brunn-Koerte Ril. III, 149, 12—14, and text p. 221 f.; the article Hippokamp in Roscher mentions, shortly, Etruscan hippocampi, but draws no conclusions. They bear the deceased towards the Island of the Blessed and have also a close connection with the circle of Aphrodite. Horses in the same fashion sometimes appear on *Faliscan* vases (4th/3rd cent. B. C.) but here probably without funeral signification (such a vase Archaeol. Mus. 12 Carnegiellane the Hague Room XI F 35).

The phalloid monuments on graves in *Central Etruria* (archaic; cf. Stryk Kammergräber 111 ff.) may perhaps be cited here. I am not quite sure, if they are not to be sometimes found on urns from *Volterra*, mostly in scenes of departure (Volterra Guar-

1) An attempt has been made by Helbig Ann. Inst. 1870, 5 ff.: he declares them to be the larvae or lemures, and insists too much on their obscene character, which in reality does not exist. But the character of the spirits, which he cites, is quite different cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. v.

2) I doubt whether a comparison with the tree with the dreams in Vergil is in place here. Cf. Norden Aen. B. VI² p. 216. Souls wingless, Radermacher Jenseits 88.

3) for the phallus as a symbol of reincarnation cf. Pascal Credenze I, 162; Rohde Psyche I⁶, 58. Possibly there is some connection with the ideas treated by Bulle: Silene i. d. arch. Kunst d. Griechen (München 1893) 70 f. I am reminded by Dr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer of a similar Egyptian belief concerning Osiris ithyphallic after his death: he thus fecundated Isis. Cf. Eрман Aeg. Religion² 40; Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Usire 128, 61 ff.

4) cf. ithyphallic Hermes Head Hist. Numm.³ 261 (Imbros). From Pelasgic origin, cf. Hdt. II, 51.

nacci 87; 586; Florence Mus. archeol. etr. Room XXI, No. 5520 Inv.) and epiphany (cf. Brunn-Koerte III, 45, 2; 65, 4). I doubt, whether there is any question of a sundial in all these cases; sometimes at least the object closely resembles a pinion. This symbol has been amply discussed by Hülsen (Röm. Mitt. 1903, 39 ff.; 1904, 87 ff.), Strzygowski (l.l. 1903, 185 ff.) and Petersen (l.l. 1903, 312 ff.); cf. also Bruno Schroeder Stud. Grabdenkm. Kaiserz. (diss. Bonn 1902) 25 ff.

In any case neither the t. c. statue in Perugia (Mus. d. Univ. Cat. Bellucci (1910) No. 151, with small fotogr.), which is a Hercules (cf. also Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Hercules 2270), notwithstanding his gesture of „le corna” with the right hand, and the obscene (? v. E.) one with the left (not with the digitus impudicus but with the index), nor the ithyphallic Hermaphrodite as a support of an Etruscan (funeral?) candelabrum in the Pal. d. Conservatori in Rome has any relevance to this matter.

Hades—Persephone. Central motive of this wall is Hades giving a command to Geryon¹); the motive but with a different servant, recurs on an urn in *Volterra* (Guarn. 575 = Br.-K.Ril. III, 100, 17), for the objections raised by Koerte (l.l. p. 120) are not, in my opinion, very serious.

Persephone is of the same type as 4 small heads of female demons in the Museo Faina in *Orvieto*: the style may be identical also (abt. middle 4th cent.; cf. Albizzati in Diss. (or Atti) Ac. pont. Roma II, 15 (1921) 233 ff.). Different in character is Persephone in t. Campanari in *Vulci* (Mon. ined. II, 53, 4); she is less of the type of a Gorgo (Gorgo in nether world cf. Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 408, where Aristoph. Ran. 447 must be added).

The head of Hades, however, is that which demands most attention, especially because of the cap he wears. As appears from Th. P. Sophoulis: Hades in der antiken Kunst (diss. Würzburg 1884) and Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v., Hades with the wolf cap occurs only in Etruria²). This must have a special meaning, which as yet has not been sought for. Nevertheless the question is not difficult.

The question of the *Ἄϊδος κυνέη* (Hom. Il. 5, 845³); Hes. Sc. Her. 227) can safely be passed over here: as appears clearly from the latter of these places this cap is a symbol of darkness and there is no reason whatever, why it should be in the form of a wolf's head⁴). That the wolf plays a great part in the myths of Italy is well known⁵); he is the wild defender of the city as well as the representation of the destructive powers, that

1) for his presence in Hades cf. Arch. Jahrb. 1925, 66; Norden Aen. B. VI² p. 215, and here Ch. III p. 68, 5b.

2) besides this tomb here must be cited in *Orvieto*: t. Golini ± 360 B. C. (Martha Art étr. fig. 292) and the sarcophagus from Torre S. Severo (in the neighbourhood), now in the Museo dell' Opera ± 230/20 B. C.; Al. d. Seta Ital. Ant. fig. 239.

3) Athena with the *κυνέη*; a statue, where she wears Hades' wolf cap in Villa Albani (cf. Furtw. M. P. 80, 1; S. Reinach in Daremb. - S. s. v. Galea 1430) brings us no further in the question under consideration. She might be an Italic goddess, cf. below. Cf. also Helbig Ann. Inst. 1870, 26 ff.; Bulle Sch. M². text col. 642, and lastly Lamer in Berl. Phil. W. 1925, 481 ff.; esp. 482.

4) I cannot agree in this question with S. Reinach (whose paper on this subject came too late to my knowledge) Cultes etc. I³, 295 and in Daremb. — S. s. v. Galea 430. I do not see any example either of „Hades, qui porte une peau de loup” in Greece. The literature cited by him in Daremb. — S. is all Italic and Celtic. Possibly the bronze Charun from Montepulciano, now in Florence (Mus. arch. etr. top. Room of Clusium Vitrine IV) was thought to wear it, cf. Rendic. Linc. 1894, 270 (after which Weege Etr. M. fig. 45). Cf. also Brunn — K. Ril. II p. 103 ad pl. 39, 2.

5) cf. espec. Furtw. Ant. Gemmen III p. 252. S. Reinach Cultes, Mythes, Religions I³, 59 f.; Head Hist. Numm.² 437 (Apollo Lycius as wolf on coins of Argos) cited by Reinach in Daremb. — S. s. v.; Rev. arch. 1925, 362. The *Felsinean* stele with suckling she-wolf (Mon. Linc. XX, 531 and 699; Grenier Bologne 441) is also important. The mirror from *Bolsena* with wolf suckling children (Ann. Inst. 1879 pl. III, cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 42, 43 ff.) has been declared to be false (Koerte in Gerhard Etr. Sp. V, 2, p. 172). In the Museum of Myconos I noticed a plastic vase with a similar motive, found on Delos: it might be a she-dog however (communication from Mr. A. Laumonier).

must be appeased¹⁾. Death is the foremost among such, and, indeed, demons of death in the form of wolves can often be traced, especially in Italic sphere of culture. So e.g. in the legend of Temesa²⁾, in the fact, that the priests of Vediovis, a deity of Orcus, were called *hirpi* (= wolves)³⁾, finally in the conception of the „werwolf”, of which Petron. Cena Trim. 62 is a characteristic example⁴⁾. Here Niceros relates, that once he took a walk at night with a comrade, who, in some curious way, changed himself into a wolf. *In this shape he attacked cattle*, but was wounded. The following day his comrade found him in human form, with the same wound. The story can be paralleled by many others (cf. Spence: Encycl. of Occultism s.v. Werwolf), of which murder is always an essential element. In Greece these ideas are much less prominent, but a trace can be found e.g. on a Corinthian vase in Berlin⁵⁾, where the monster approaching Andromeda in order to devour her, has clearly a wolf's head. This wolf demon of death occurs rather frequently in Etruscan art⁶⁾, more especially in a curious group of urns, which has already given rise to much discussion⁷⁾. The urns come from *Volterra*, *Chiusi* and *Perugia*. Whatever may be the exact meaning of the scene, we have here a demon with the appearance of an animal, a mixed being, or a man with a cap, starting from a puteal or a mundus⁸⁾, and assailing, apparently with intention to murder, some of the surrounding men⁹⁾. His animal parts, are either in the shape of a wolf (this in most cases), or of an ass¹⁰⁾ (for this, and not a horse, seems to me to be the right description). The wolf demon is quite familiar to us now and confirms us in the belief that the Etruscan Hades with the wolf cap is an Italic demon, transformed into the Greek Hades, but with his original character still visible¹¹⁾.

Cerberus. The article *Kerberos* in Roscher ignores the existence of Etruscan monuments with the hound of the nether world. A list follows here; some of the examples will require remarks giving details.

1) cf. also Roscher s.v. *Kerberos* 1129, 51 ff.

2) cf. Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 192, 1 (where Roscher *Kynanthropie* 60 f. is cited); Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s. v. *Heros* 2472, 20 ff.; Frazer (*Golden Bough*) *Spirits of the Corn* II, 283 f.; *Arch. Jahrb.* 1925, 45 ff.

3) Wissowa *Rel. K. R.* 238, cf. Roscher s. v. *Hades* 1793, 58 (wolf as chthonic animal) and Radermacher *Jenseits* 52 f.; 117 f. The *hirpi* go through fire in order to get rid from the (death?) demon, cf. Frazer (*Golden Bough*) *Balder* II, 14 f. and 17. A curious custom is related also Cic. *de Inuent.* 2, 149 and *Auct. ad Herenn.* 1, 23, viz. that the murderer's head is put into a bag of wolf's skin, cf. Landgraf's commentary ad Cic. *Sex. Rosc.* 25, 70. Finally Dante's „*Maledetto lupo*” (Weege p. 49) belongs here.

4) cf. Radermacher *Jenseits* 107, 2.

5) Zahn, in *die Antike* I, 82 fig. 1. The corresponding scenes Brunn-K. *Ril.* II, 39 and 40 are not so clear: the monster is here more phantastic.

6) it seems, however, that the male demons on the well-known small *Chiusian* urns (Br.-K. *Ril.* III, 57, 7 and 9; Leiden, Louvre and Cortona must be added to the museography) wear lion's skins; also those III, 94, 5 (*Perugia*) and I, 78, 7 (*Chiusi*). But cf. the *Chiusian* urn Br.-K. *Ril.* III, 100, 16, and text p. 119, here p. 11.

7) Br.-K. *Ril.* III pl. 8—10, p. 16 ff. Cf. Anziani *Démonologie étr.* in *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. de l'Ecole fr. de Rome* 30 (1910) 257 and A. Piganiol: *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg 1923).

8) cf. Wissowa *Rel. K. R.* 234 f. For the motive cf. Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s.v. *Unterwelt* 49, 54 ff.; Radermacher *Jenseits* 78 ff.; 87.

9) cf. Norden *Aen. B.* VI² p. 204; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 83 f. One of the man has his sword drawn, cf. Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 36; Norden *Aen. B.* VI² p. 206.

10) for the ass one could compare the drapery of Core in *Lycosura* (S. Reinach *R. R. G. R.* II. 424; Collignon: *Sc. gr.* II. fig. 330), demons with asses' heads. Similar demons (of the same character?) return in Mycenaean art *Furtw. Ant. Gemmen* I, 65; Lippold *Gemmen* 80, 3 cf. 80, 1 (= Beazly *Lewis Gems* pl. 2, 29); Winter *Kunstg. i. Bild.* I, 3, 94, 17. In later times they appear on a cista prenestina (d. Seta Cat. *Villa Giulia* p. 419 No. 12988) and in fescenninian scenes on Arretine pottery (Daremb.-S. s.v. *Fescennini*). Finally in literature Luc. *Ver. Hist.* II, 46 (asses' legs)

11) S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes etc.* I³, 294 f. calls attention upon the resemblance to the Gaulish Dispatier. The whole paper is very instructive concerning the relations between Italy and Gaul.

1) *Orvieto*. Series of 3 vases in the Museo Faina, redfigured¹⁾ with polychrome detail (white and orange) \pm 300/250 B. C. On two of them Cerberus represents the entrance to the nether world, the procession with the deceased has just passed him. He is drawn eating something not easy to define but resembling a heap of (human?) intestines. Some monuments may be compared with these: 1) lower part of a sword sheath from *Capena* (-Leprignano) in Villa Giulia (Cat. p. 340 No. 26523): feline monster with human leg in his mouth; 7th cent. B. C., 2) cista Zannoni *Bologna* (Ducati Memorie Acad. Bologna 1923, 23 ff.; Zannoni Scavi d. Certosa pl. 35, 7 lowest line at the extreme right edge; Martha Art étr. fig. 85 nethermost range quite at the right edge; S. Reinach Cultes, Mythes, Religions I³, 285 fig. 8, text p. 283 ff. 2)).

In literature the same conception can be traced: Hesiodus (Theog. 311) speaks about the *Κέρβερος ὀμνηστής*³⁾; clearly a symbol of putrefaction (cf. Ch. III, p. 68,5b and 76.)

2) *Orvieto*, vase found in the tomba Golini, redfigured \pm 300 B. C.; now in Florence (Mus. arch. étr. topogr. Room of Volsinii Vitrine II below.). Procession moving towards a Cerberus. Conestabile Pitt. mur. pl. 17 (= Seemann Kunst d. Etr. pl. 26).

3) *Volterra*, short side of an urn, 2nd or 1st cent. B. C. Demon seated with torch and sword, Cerberus at his side: no gate. Brunn—Koerte Ril. III, 2, 3a.

4) *Tarquinia*, sarcophagus in grey tufa, a little before 200 B. C. On the sides fighting scene with griffin; on the lid a Cerberus. Mus. nazionale Tarquinia in the Cortile unnumbered. Identical with Bull. Inst. 1864, 39 = Waser Charon etc. II B 39? From this literature one would gather that it is a monument with „Cerberus between two Charuns”, but this may be an inexact description.

5) *Chiusi*; a series of urns from that city scattered in a number of Musea. Terra cotta; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Fury leads figure towards gate, where a man is waiting near Cerberus⁴⁾ (for interpretation see below). Brunn—Koerte Ril. III, 57, 8 (with p. 68, fotogr. on p. 69), to which an urn in the Louvre must be added; in the Museum of Chiusi 6 examples are cited, especially 1069 A: the other numbers are 1 9 A; 655; 798 A; 1058; the 6th I cannot make out. See also A. Frova in *Rinnovam.* 1908, 1, 125 = 343 (?)⁵⁾

6) *Chiusi* (?) Urn in Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome. Terra cotta 2nd/1st cent. B. C. „Gate with, before it, youth in mantle, bare-headed and bare-footed, who lays his hand „on one of the heads of Cerberus, partly invisible, in the centre of the composition; from „the left Lasa leading shade by the hand; she bears a torch, the flames of which are in-

1) It is absolutely uncomprehensible, why Koerte published these vases (in chromolithograph) in outline drawings, dark-brown on light-brown background (Mon. Ined. XI, 4 f. = Ducati Cer. gr. II, 474 f.; one of the vases Weege Etr. M. fig. 49.). Ann. Inst. 1879, 299 he says about them: „dal disegno franco ed alquanto trascurato eseguito a larghi tratti „di pennello, dal color giallo dell' argilla e dal bianco riportato, che vi è profuso, finalmente dal genere stesso delle rap-presentanze . . . si riconoscono come appartenenti all' epoca della decadenza”. Bull. Inst. 1876, 116 nothing is said about the technique. Confusion was bound to result — and has resulted: Ducati l.l. treats them as a separate class. In reality they are redfigured, their polychrome recalls the bright aspect of the tomb paintings of the Orvietan school.

2) cf. also „animal androphage” Rev. arch. 1924, 324 f. I owe these references to the kindness of Dr. Leopold at Rome.

3) cf. Dieterich Nek.² 49; 51; p. VIII; Rohde Psyche I⁶, 304, 2. One should compare *Διώνυσος ὀμνηστής* or *ὀμνῆδιος* (references Bruchmann-Roscher: Epith. Deor. poet. gr. p. 94; Pauly-W. s.v. Dionysos 1033, 33 ff.; Pape Wörterb. Eigenn. s.v. *Διώνυσος* and Rohde Psyche II⁶, 15). Here Dionysus is Zagreus, lord of the nether world.

4) the Roman development of this figure is the Ianitor Orci concerning which see Pascal Credenze I, 61; Roszbach Dämonen d. Unterwelt Rhein. Mus. 49, 593 f.

5) this paper deals with almost the same subject as the present chapter, but not very methodically. I did, however gain some advantage by its use.

„dicated above Cerberus”: Motive a variant of preceding series. Not in Brunn-Koerte; della Seta Villa Giulia p. 117 No. 25159 (date too high).

7) *Chiusi*, Urn in Berlin Cerberus at the entrance of Orcus. Cf. Kurze Beschr.³ (1922) No. 1302; Brunn-K. Ril. III, 100, 16 and p. 118 ff. (with photogr.).

8) *Provenance unknown*. Decoration of Etruscan urn. Berlin Alt. Mus. Kurze Beschreibung³. (1922) No. 1294.

In one tomb Cerberus occurs also:

9) *Cerveteri*, tomba dei Rilievi back wall, where he is associated with a demon. 3rd cent. B. C. Martha Art étr. pl. II (between p.p. 184 and 185): Noel d. Vergers l'Etrurie et les Etrusques I, 94; Bull. Inst. 1857, 116 note.

The presence of Cerberus on Etruscan funeral monuments thus being established beyond any doubt there is no difficulty in admitting him behind Geryon also, where the leg of a similar type of being is still visible.

Cyclops. The view that this scene has some religious signification (cf. Weege Etr. M. p. 28) is mistaken. It is based upon Dieterich Nek.² 47, which seems to me, is not quite exact; he overlooks the comic element. On the contrary the scene is merely illustrative and is to be found on urns also (Brunn-Koerte Ril. I, 86, 1 and 87, 3). The comparison with Eur. *Αἰδω μάγειρος* (Cycl. 397) has no meaning. He is Hades' butcher in so far as he prepares the victims for him, and the expression is only intended to make him more repugnant than ever (cf. also the terms in Rohde Psyche I⁶, 318, 2); but in no case he can be called *μάγειρος*, when he is blinded. Neither Roscher's article *Kyklopen* nor *ibid.* Polyphemus show any appreciable connection with the nether world.

III) DEMON SCENES.

a) scene with horse being led. This will be treated under tomba del Cardinale.

b) scene with figure between two demons, will be treated *ibidem*.

c) demons in the ancient entrance. Similar figures occur elsewhere also.

A) *Tarquinius* 1), tomba dei Festoni (\pm 125 B. C.) Not. d. Scavi 1920, 248 ff.

2) t. Byres B (= the tomb reproduced Byres Hypogaei IV, 1—3). Here two demons are to be found one at each side of a door, controlling a snake. Cf. also Brunn-K. II, 63, 3 b. Their manner is somewhat different, but they retain the idea of guarding a gate.

3) t. della Mercareccia (\pm 300 B. C. probably), although the motive is rather conjectural here; it seems to occur in the passage from the 1st room to the second, cf. Gori Mus. Etr. III cl. 2 p. 90 f. (= Ch. VI § 5).

B) *Chiusi* 4), for the examples in tombs cf. Dennis Cit. and Cem. II³, 330.

5) urn, now in Arezzo (No. 101) 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Brunn-K. Ril. III, 96, 8.

C) *Perugia* 6), the biggest urn in the t. dei Volunni (\pm 150 B. C.); Martha Art étr. fig. 242.

D) *Orvieto*. Here the motive seems also to occur. Cf. Dennis II³, 193; Frova in Rinno-
vamento 1908, 1, 118, where much material has been collected.

In other cases their attitude is changed into one of activity; they seize the deceased, when he approaches the gate (Brunn-K. Ril. III, 94, 4 and 5¹⁾; in 95, 6 another variation still (all from *Perugia*). In 100, 16 (*Chiusi*) the demon prevents a figure from going out of the gate; the character of the scene is somewhat satirical in 97, 10 (*Chiusi*). I do not altogether agree with the explanation given in the text p. 115 (cf. below Scudi: waiting

1) here there is a Lasa with a key in her hand, cf. below ad t. Tartaglia, p. 37 f.

figures). In Roman times also the two Furies at the gate occur; in this case they throw it open (Roman urn in the Vatican 2nd/3rd cent. A. D. = Amelung Cat. Sc. Vatic. II pl. 21, 80). Brunn-K. III, 95, 7 (from *Chiusi*) has probably the meaning assigned to it by Koerte (p. 115); therefore it does not belong to this type. Possibly two curious monuments in the Mus. Guarnacci in *Volterra* must be placed here: they are two prismatic pieces of stone with Lasa's seated on a rock carved in relief: one is without attribute, the other has a sword on her knees. They are placed at each side of a door, but could have had the same function in a tomb. The motive also became more peaceful and ornamental, already in Etruscan art; the gate tends to become a cartouche. A sarcophagus in the Mus. d. Opera in *Orvieto* (unnumbered; phot. Alinari 25996) marks a step in this direction: the development is complete on a Roman urn in Leiden.

§ 2 — **Tomba degli Scudi**, 330/20 B. C. General description: a procession is painted entering the tomb: it is welcomed by some persons and moves towards a banqueting scene.

The particularity, that the destination, towards which the procession moves is given, occurs rarely and only in *Orvieto* in the t. Golini, where the biga (Martha Art étr. fig. 281) is directed towards a banquet, and in the t.d. due Bighe, where the two biga's, which start at each side of the door have a similar destination (cf. Conestabile Pitt. mur. pl. 1—3¹).

The TYPE OF THE PROCESSION will be discussed in connection with the similar one in t.d. Tifone.

WAITING FIGURES. This motive occurs frequently and in different parts of Etruria. The following examples are known to me:

A) *Tarquinia* 1) t. Bruschi \pm 150 B. C., Brunn Kl. Schr. I fig. 47 = Mon. ined. VIII, 36. The group of 4 persons with a child before them (to the right of the centre of the back-wall B) clearly await the procession, which comes from the left. It is not impossible, even, that they are conceived of as expecting the other procession on wall C, too, though they turn their backs to it; the painter had to adopt this solution of his problem, when projecting his composition on the walls.

2) t. Forlivesi D. Date wholly unknown. The ancient description, our only source for this tomb²), mentions „a woman on tribune³), stretching her hand to a youth". The interpretation is suggested by the

3) t. Tartaglia, where a similar motive can be found. The idea of a welcome seems to be plausible, at least.

(For t. Forlivesi D see Bull. Inst. 1831, 91 ff., cf. Dennis I³, 384, 7, who, however, omits this scene; t. Tartaglia = Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 27, where the welcoming figure seems to be a demon, cf. below).

4) Sarcophagus (unnumbered) in the Museum in *Tarquinia*, 2nd/1st cent. B. C. A description will be found Brunn-K. III, p. 93 (further literature Brunn Kl. Schr. I, 251;

1) In this connection may be cited a (Roman?) painting in Bologna (I could not find it, however). Two Genii push a person into a room, where a banquet is held, evidently to show, that he will take part in it (cf. Rev. d'Exégèse mythol. II (1893) 206). Maybe here is a connection with the cult of Sabazios (cf. Cumont Religions orientales 90).

2) this was the name I gave to the fourth of the tombs described by Forlivesi; cf. the literature cited here.

3) for the form of this tribune I might compare Brunn-K. II, 18, 3a, and III fig. 45 (on p. 192 of the text).

A. Frova in *Rinnovamento* 1908, 1, 335)¹⁾. The waiting figures are standing here before a gate in a crenelated wall, which detail recurs also on Roman stones (Br. Schröder: *Stud. z. Grabdenkm. d. Kaiserz.* 24).

B) *Volterra*. Numerous urns (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) all to be found in Br.-K. III viz.

70, 4, the variants c and d.

71, 6, the only version: the small woman can be conceived to be awaiting the horseman.

72, 7, the whole series: the motive of greeting is prominent here²⁾, also in

72, 8³⁾, the whole series: the woman seems to be presenting him a patera, seizes the bridle of the horse or shakes hands with him.

73, 9, also the whole series. It will be observed that sometimes one person only is waiting, sometimes several.

73, 10 the whole series.

74, 11 the whole series.

74, 12 the whole series. Here and in the preceding scene there is a peculiarity, which calls for remark. The Lasa, who conducts the shade (in 74, 11 this is less clear), lays her arm round one of the waiting figures. I am not of opinion, that Koerte is right in declaring of variant e (text p. 89), „that she desires to separate the woman from her departing husband.” For from 72, 8 it is clear that the horseman is entering Orcus; he has just passed its gate, in the same way as on the vases in Mus. Faina in Orvieto the cars have passed Cerberus (=entrance of nether world) and after that meet Hades and Persephone. Therefore the woman, who died before the man, greets him. The motive of the Lasa, who lays her arm round a waiting figure, can be paralleled. In some cases evidently it expresses separation (so Brunn-Koerte I, 8, 18, where the warrior may not attack the man on the altar; II, 40, 4, where the warriors may not join Perseus, and III, 49, 10, where the figure must be led away, and therefore she gives him her hand), in one case the signification is uncertain (II, 14, 3, the struggle of Eteocles and Polynices: here one can take it to mean either that she separates the two parties, as the demon of death, who puts an end to the contest, or that she unites the two persons in death, takes possession of them both). But in the present series the idea of uniting occurs to one at once: cf. Brunn-K. III, 74, 11 (the woman greets the horseman, and the demon urges the figure behind her to approach in his turn), and 75, 14, where the only possible interpretation is that the horseman meet on their last journey, and that all have the same destination (cf. the urns where a quadriga is met by a horseman, III, 79 ff.). It is not possible to suppose that this represents separation. I believe that the solution is this, that the demon (whether Lasa, Fury or called by any other name) embodies the ethical conception underlying the scene, and varies accordingly in signification. She is no definite deity with circumscribed sphere of action, but

1) Helbig *Bull. Inst.* 1877, 115 (cf. Frova l.l. 336 and Waser: Charon etc. II B 38) describes a similar sarcophagus (then in the coll. Marzi (*Tarquini*), but with a servant carrying luggage and 2 Charons. I was not able to identify this piece, it is not in *Tarquini* (or is there a confusion with our piece?).

2) the motive of the serpent beneath the horse, observed by Koerte in the text (p. 86) occurs elsewhere also cf. Bologna *Felsinean* stele No. 42 (Ducati *Mon. Linc.* 1912), in *Volterra* besides Mus. Guarn. No. 182 (= Brunn-K. III, 2, 3) and on an Italic gem (*provenance unknown*) *Furtw. Ant. Gemmen* I, 19, 56. I might compare a series of other *Volterranean* urns, where beneath the horses of a quadriga demons are to be seen (Br. — K. III, 1 and 3; 84, 1). They establish the funeral character of the journey.

3) Sub 8 i an urn in Florence is cited; this seems to be Mus. arch. etr. Room XXI No. 5474 (Inv.). The Curators of the Museum cite in connection with this piece Gori Mus. etr. III, III, 11, 1, but this represents a completely different scene.

divine power in general, as shown in the various circumstances of life. Here, at least, we can trace a henotheistical conception. In I, 8, 18 she represents respect for the sanctity of the altar, in II, 40, 4 the *Fatum* that allows Perseus to fly, in III, 74, 11 and 12 an abstraction: the belief in the reunion in the here-after¹⁾. There is therefore here a complete absence of any horrible signification, any demonological speculation. There is no hierarchy of some such beings in a sort of hell. They are nothing but the representations of abstractions.

C) *Chiusi* (2nd/1st cent. B. C.); here also often met with, cf. Brunn-K. III

77, 2; the deceased has just passed the gate and is greeted by his wife. Behind a wailing figure?

56, 4 and 5. (To the variant a (= *Chiusi* Mus. civ. 1001 A; Br.-K. does not give the number) Koerte appends the note that the *Lasa* behind lays her hand on the shoulder of the approaching figure, whereas, as my notes point out, the arm belongs to the waiting figure).

57, 8 dealt with before in t. d. Orco ad Cerberus.

97, 11; a demon gently leads three figures into the Orcus; she has a torch turned down but this motive occurs so frequently and in such various circumstances, that I doubt whether any conclusion can be drawn from it. Remarkable, however, is the gentle, almost inviting manner, in which she leads the figures: here death is a persuasive friend. Other instances will be cited in connection with a scene in t. d. Cardinale.

100, 16, beautiful urn (Berlin *Beschr. Sc.* 1922, No. 1302), but of difficult interpretation (for the demon with wolf-head cf. demon mentioned earlier ad Orco). It seems most probable that the left side gives the moment, when the husband vanishes through the gate of the nether world, and the right side the subsequent moment, when he is welcomed by another shade²⁾. The demon watching the gate hinders the waiting figure from stepping forwards out of it by means of his outstretched hammer; a motive we often meet with elsewhere.

97, 10; somewhat satirical in character. The shade has ventured out of the gate and, while greeting the horseman just arrived (right hand extended) is drawn backwards by the demon in charge, anxious not to let him escape³⁾.

D) *Perugia*; the biggest urn in the t. d. Volunni (\pm 150 B. C. cf. *Meded. N. H. I. Rome* 1926, 40) has the gate of Orcus painted between two *Lasae en ronde bosse*: within the gate shades are waiting for others (the right explanation i. a. Koerte in Brunn-K. III p. 119, 1).

E) *Orvieto*. In the t. d. Hescanas occur similar figures (360/50 B. C.; literature cf. t. d. Orco ad banquet); they are to be found on the right wall, the four figures from the back wall onwards (= Cardella t. degli Hescanas pl. III D).

Not only from monuments do we gain instruction concerning this belief; in literature

1) the mirror Gerhard *Etr. Sp.* IV, 2, 381 is also instructive.

2) If this explanation is right, here we have an example of the Italic „continuous narrative style” (cf. Wickhoff *Röm. K.* 9 ff. etc.) which just in this period (2nd. c. B. C.) comes into prominence. The earliest example I know of is the frieze of the monument of Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (cf. B. C. H. 1926); another trace on an Etruscan urn is Brunn-K. II, 25, 2: Periclymenus enters in his car the horses of which are depicted galloping: two consecutive actions condensed into one figure and to be „read” one after the other. Therefore by no means an impossible conception, as Brunn says in the text. A slight confirmation for our explanation of the Berlin urn is to be found in this, that the action proceeds from left to right, as is the rule.

3) it is clear that I do not accept Koerte's explanation (l.l. p. 115). cf. Lucian, *Catapl.* 3 f.

too it can be found. Traces of it are met with in Hom. Od. XXIV, 101, where Achilles and Agamemnon go to meet the crowd of the shades of the suitors. But it is in Roman literature, that we can trace it most easily, this being evidence at the same time, that many an old creed was still in existence (cf. Friedländer Sittenges. III⁹, 312). Before all should be mentioned Seneca Apocoloc. 13 which, as far as I know, has never been cited in connection with the present theme. Claudius is removed from heaven to the nether world. On coming there „Narcissus libertus ad patronum excipiendum . . . occurrit”. Presently other persons „cum plausu procedunt cantantes.” Of others it is said: „conuolant primi omnium liberti . . . quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset, praemiserat.” Finally „omnes plane consanguinei.” And these all „agmine facto Claudio occurrunt.” It is an elaborate commentary on our Etruscan monuments, more rich, more detailed, and to be taken as written in the vein of satire, but essentially identical¹). In funeral inscriptions it is even more clearly to be seen, cf.

I. L. XII, 5193 = Diehl Vulgärlat. Inschr. No. 825; cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Inferi 247, 51 ff.

I. L. VIII, 9691, cited Friedländer Sitteng. III⁹, 313, 1.

I. L. VI, 11252 = Buecheler Carm. epigr. 150 (cited Friedl. I⁹, 313, 7).

I. L. XII, 4938 = Buecheler 151.

I. L. V, 5279 = Dessau 6728 (cited Friedl. III 1.1.).

I. L. VI, 18817 = Dessau 8806 (cited 1.1.).

Very curious, but with a similar meaning I. L. X, 2641 = Dessau 8148, cited Friedl. III⁹, 313, 2. What we find in all these epigrams is truly Italic²) and may corroborate the opinion, that Etruscan art and religion are essentially Italic, and that the pure Etruscans being only a relatively small band of invaders had not much influence on them and lost this influence in proportion as they became more and more absorbed in the original population, whose ideas therefore became increasingly prominent in a corresponding degree, in religion and in art as well as in other spheres of culture. Those who speak of decadence would expect on the contrary that the original character of Italic genius would disappear.

SEATED FIGURES LEFT WALL. On the right part of the left wall two persons are seated on small benches side by side. What their function in report with the other figures is, is not clear at once. Key to the solution is Brunn-K. I, 95, 2: Penelope present at the meal of the suitors. While these are on a couch, Penelope is sitting upon exactly the same kind of seat as the two persons here. But neither in Od. I, 330 ss., nor in Od. XVIII, 206 ff. (which scene is represented here) does Penelope take a seat: she remains standing for a few moments only and then goes back into her apartments. When the artist represents her here as sitting, it is because she presides over the festival as hostess, which is therefore an Italic version of the Homeric tale. In the same way Velthur Velchas (his name is on the wall (cf. Mon. Ined. Suppl. pl. 6/7, 2; Stryk Stud. Kammergr. 96; Prof. Cultrera had the kindness to reexamine the inscriptions for me) and his wife preside, as ancestors of the

1) Weinreich Seneca's Apocol. 123 f. derives the motive from the satyra Menippea, because of Luc. Catapl. 26 (Dial. Mort. 27, 8 must be added). It might be popular therefore, but I doubt, whether the conclusion is right. As far as I know it can scarcely be found in Greece, but mainly in Italy, and from here Lucianus might have taken it, cf. Ch. III p. 76, 10.

2) I cannot agree with Friedländer III 1.1 when he speaks of Roman and Greek beliefs. I know of no Greek parallels.

gens Velchas, over the family banquet in the hereafter and do not take any part in it ¹⁾. For this reason alone already Ducati's interpretation of the figures as Hades and Persephone (Atene e Roma 1914, 156) is untenable. Strongly against it is the absolute lack of attributes, cf. the same gods in t.d. Orco; t. Golini and t. Campanari in Vulci. On the other hand it is of small importance that the man probably has a staff and no sceptre, because in Orco Hades does not have either the one or the other.

BANQUET. The question as a whole has been dealt with in t.d. Orco: some details only remain to be considered. The women are sitting here, not reclining. This question has been fully treated by Poulsen Etr. t.p. 32 ff. I shall add only a few analogies.

1) *Chiusi* (exactly Città della Pieve) \pm 400 B. C. Funeral group now in Florence, Martha Art étr. fig. 233 (cf. ad Orco).

2) *Perugia* 2nd/1st cent. B. C.; urn now in the portico of the temple of Minerva at Assisi; Brunn-K. III, 107, 13

3) *provenance unknown* Etruscan crater 4th cent., Rome Mus. Greg. Case U, section 5, nethermost range (so Jan./Febr. 1925); portion of banqueting scene: the women greets the young man with the usual gesture.

One of the couples (back wall right hand part = Weege pl. 51) handles an egg, there can be no doubt as to that. Poulsens interpretation of it (Etr. t.p. 31 f.) as a ring, however seductive it may be cannot be applied here: the size of the object is too much against it. For further discussion cf. Poulsen: I cite some analogies: t. delle Leonesse l. wall (= Weege pl. 8); t. della Pulcella r. wall; t. dei Leopardi back wall (Weege pl. 15); also *Orvieto* t. Golini (cf. Dennis II³, 53), where they play an important rôle in the preparation of the meal.

DEMON WRITING. The question raised with regard to this figure is not at all an idle one. Considered by itself a different solution might be found ²⁾ but I think only one is possible here. In order to arrive at it, we will inspect all the monuments that can be compared ³⁾; for figures with scrolls or writing tablets are rather frequent, but distinctions should be drawn with regard to their functions.

The first group consists of those who have closed scrolls in their hands.

1) *Perugia*, t. dei Volunni No. 171 \pm 100 B. C.: a demon with hammer on his shoulder approaches a woman; both have a scroll in their hand. The explanation given by Galli (Perugia, Mus. d. Palazzone, p. 78 ff.) seems preferable to that given by Koerte (Brunn-K. III p. 114): after Galli she is destined to die, as a sign of which she has already received the scroll from the demon, which fact is pregnantly expressed: a curious instance of continuous style, which we have met with before (cf. p. 11,2). Brunn-K. III, 93, 2 and Galli Perugia fig. 45 (photogr.).

2) *Perugia* t. d. Volunni No. 141, 2nd/1st cent. B. C. A demon is going with the scroll towards a figure on a kline. Not quite clear. Galli l.l. fig. 46.

3) *Volterra* Mus. Guarnacci No. 238; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. A demon with the rotulus closed in her hand appears in an agitated scene. Brunn-K. I, 9, 21.

1) cf. for a similar conception Rohde Psyche I⁶, 231.

2) Bulle Berl. Ph. Woch. 1922, 693 against Weege Etr. M. 45 f. (cf. also Poulsen Etr. t. p. 54 f.).

3) cf. Th. Birt: die Buchrolle i. d. ant. Kunst 69, 80 f.; 84 f.; 150. The other passages in his book do not concern our subject (lying figures on lids of urns which is a mere genre motive). The note on p. 86 refers to Dennis Cit. and Cem. II, 404 f. (?), which passage I cannot find. Cf. Birt in N. Jahrb. 1907, 700 ff., espec. 714 ff.

- 4) *Volterra* *ibid.* No. 226; 2nd/1st cent. B. C.: similar; Brunn-K. I, 14, 30.
- 5) *Volterra* now Paris, Cabinet des Médailles? (formerly Florence Mus. Gaddi); 2nd/1st cent. B. C.: Lasa with scroll closed in scene of murder. Brunn-K. I, 74, 2.
- 6) *Volterra* Mus. Guarnacci No. 199 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Similar (sense of whole uncertain). Brunn-K. II, 114, 1 (cf. Radermacher *Jenseits* 29).
- 7) *Volterra* *ibid.* No. 82; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Here she appears in scene with leave-taking. Brunn-K. III, 47, 6.
- 8) *Chiusi*; Grosseto Mus. comunale, 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Male demon wielding a hammer in one hand, having rotulus in the other, fights against Gigant; therefore scene of murder. Brunn-K. II, 1 A, 2.
- 9) *Orvieto*, t. Golini; 360/50 B. C. A Lasa accompanies the biga towards the nether world with a closed scroll in her hand. Martha *Art étr.* fig. 281.
- 10) *Orvieto* one of the set of curious late Etruscan redfigured vases in Mus. Faina 300/270 B. C. Draped female demon behind the quadriga with Hades. Ducati *Ceram. gr.* II fig. 344 topmost piece; phot. Alinari 32478. (for questions relating to these vases cf. p. 7,1).
- 11) *Orvieto* Mus. dell' Opera. Great sarcophagus with *gisant*, 2nd half 2nd cent. B. C. On each of the legs a demon is sculptured (left male, right female), who lays his hand on the centre decoration (as the piece on the left is badly damaged we have only probability to go upon there). The female demon has a scroll in the left hand. Phot. Alinari No. 25996 ¹).

I do not understand the exact meaning of the rotuli in the case of *Volterra* No. 276 and 277 (Brunn-K. III, 68, 1 and 2): scene of man taking leave of a woman seated: other persons are present, to the left a ship (cf. ad Tifone); the men have rotuli (closed), in their hands. Men with rotuli occur also on the sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei and Larth Afuna (from *Chiusi* in Palermo; Brunn-K. III, 54, 1) ²).

In this group the demons appear as mysterious beings, conveying unknown messages, or, may be, concealing their character in the unfolded rotuli they have in their hands. They are different from the type occurring in t. degli Scudi. Although the topic is dangerous I might point to a curious coincidence as to the character of closed rotuli in the hands of certain figures in the reliefs on the façade of the Duomo in Orvieto, which represent the creation of the world. God the Father sometimes has a scroll in His hand similar to that which we found here. Once more it might be the symbol of His inscrutable wisdom (Fr. Schillmann: *Viterbo u. Orvieto* (= *Berühmte Kunstst.* No. 55) fig. 76).

A second group comprises those monuments in which the scroll is opened:

- 1) *Tarquinia*: Florence Mus. arch. Etr. topogr. Room of Tarquinii centre: sarcophagus with cottabos, 2nd half 3rd cent. B. C. On the side beneath the right hand of the figure on the lid there are two figures lying between two winged snakes: Hermes bearded and with a sort of cap, a long caduceus resting against him, and a female demon (cf. p. 2) with scroll opened.

1) here I venture to see a beginning of the cartouche borne by two figures; almost the same motive but a Roman version of it on a urn in Leiden (Inv. No. K. 18/7). Etruscan parallels cf. Brunn-K. II, 64, 4 and 5 (*Chiusi*); III, 139, 5 (*Chiusi*); 140, 9 (*Perugia*); 141, 11 (*Perugia* Mus. d. Università No. 106 = Catal. Bellucci (1910) fig. 22 a); 155, 1-3 (*Volterra*). The motive resulted from the centralizing tendency of later Etruscan decoration 2nd/1st cent. B. C.).

2) I doubt however whether this has any special meaning.

2) *Volterra* No. 54 left side, 2nd/1st cent. Lasa seated with scroll in hand. Inghirami Mon. Etr. I, 35, cf. Brunn-K. III, 93, 1 f. on p. 113.

3) *Orvieto* t. degli Hescanas 360/50 B. C. Twice a female demon is found with open scroll, in both cases leading a figure (r. wall right corner = Cardella t. d. Hescanas pl. III A, a biga, and back wall right corner = Card. II C, a pedestrian, cf. Weege E. M. fig. 42). Neither here, nor in the preceding instance are the scrolls inscribed.

On the contrary they are inscribed:

4) *Orvieto*: two vases Museo Faïna, 300/270 B. C., where they bear the word Vanθ. Here again the demons are female. It should be noted, that her character is clearly different from that of the demon on the 3rd vase (with the closed scroll, cited above), who therefore cannot be Van θ¹) (for other questions relating to these vases cf. above p. 7, 1).

5) *Chiusi* (more precisely Chianciano): Florence Mus. arch. etr. topogr. Room of Clusium Vitrine A. Funeral group 5th/4th cent. B. C. ²) The demon is sitting on the couch with an open hanging scroll; the man stretches out his hand towards it. The piece has been treated in connexion with the banqueting scenes in Orco. Hausenstein Bildneri d. Etr. pl. 52.

The solution of the question what may be the signification of the open scroll motive is, I think, given by a mirror (Gerhard Etr. Sp. IV, 1, pl. 359 p. 12 f. = Petersen Werk des Panainos fig. 4), where a demon reads something ³) from the scroll to Ajax; the mystery in those cases is being cleared up (5), or has been cleared up (3 and 4); in the cases 1 and 2 the scroll is only a sort of attribute. That on the Orvietan vases the name of the demon has been written on the scroll creates no difficulty: it was looked at as an easy expedient for labelling the figure. But it is also clear that this group cannot be connected with the demon in Scudi.

Finally we also find tablets. I shall begin by eliminating two monuments, which might be supposed to have some connection with our present subject.

Toscanello (territory of Tarquinia). Sarcophagus 2nd cent. B. C. Museo Gregoriano. Biga on which a magistrate; man with writing-tablet(?) following. (Mus. Gregor. I, 97, 9 cf. Brunn-K. III p. 106, 4 where further literature).

Tarquinia Mus. Nazionale. Sarcophagus 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Biga with male figure seated: several demons and persons follow, among whom a man with tablets(?) under his arm (Brunn: Kl. Schr. I, 251; Frova Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 338; Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 106, 5).

If they are tablets, we have in any case it is not demons, that carry them, and probably it is merely a question of official documents, which the magistrates have taken with them ⁴).

A good analogy, however, with our tomb we have in t. degli Hescanas in *Orvieto*. Here on the right wall, near the entrance wall, a young man, but probably a demon, is going to meet the man on the biga, who has just entered guided by a female demon. This young

1) the monuments are overlooked in the article Vanth in Roscher Myth. Lex. There the character is stated to be an infernal deity.

2) for the date cf. Bandinelli *Dedalo* 6 (1925) 18 ff.

3) the inscription contains only the names of the persons present (also the name of the Lasa herself!), but this is a convenience which the artist allows himself, in order not to have to represent the whole of the text, which was supposed to be on the tablet.

4) tablets serve for secret messages cf. Gerhard Etr. Sp. V, 2 p. 170; Furtw. A. G. III, 250.

man (it is Weege's figure 43) has a writing-tablet and a writing-style. Obviously he is charged with the task of noting the names of those who arrive; for those who have passed him, are depicted as arrived at their destination (cf. the young men greeting each other with a kiss). And similar was the task of the demon in Scudi: only he could not be painted on the entrance wall, because there all the space available was occupied by the procession: therefore he was placed on the wall opposite, together with his colleague, whose more especial task it was to watch the entrance (cf. t. d. Orco, demons in ancient entrance). All conjectures, therefore, about registers of sins ¹⁾ were unnecessary, and, what is even more important, here also all trace of Orphism is a priori to be denied ²⁾.

§ 3 — **Tomba del Cardinale; 230/200 B. C.** Of the friezes on the pillars the FIGHTING SCENES are the only ones, that require attention; the boys on the snakes (Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 19) are quite hypothetical and the rest is solely decorative. Why do those scenes occur in the tomb? In studying these fights we must distinguish between two types: the one symbolical, the other magical. Those symbolical contain an allusion to the struggles of life, which the deceased has gone through (the Romans express the same thing in their symbol of the *ἀγῶνες*, cf. v. Hoorn Meded. Rome 1924). Such is the meaning of a sarcophagus in the Museum of *Tarquiniā* (Cortile) with fighting scenes, in which a griffin appears (towards 200 B. C.) ³⁾. Equally in *Tarquiniā* (upper storey of the Museum) is a sarcophagus of Etruscan style but, for the rest, quite Roman in appearance (2nd/1st cent. B. C.), with fighting scenes also. The position of other pieces with definite scenes depicted is not so easy to understand. For instance: are the Amazonomachies on the sarcophago del Sacerdote in *Tarquiniā* (\pm 350 B. C.) symbolic or not? Then there are the numberless urns with the combat of Echetlos (2nd/1st cent. B. C.; Brunn-K. III, 4—7) of *Volterranean* and *Chiusian* manufacture (the only piece from *Perugia* very much resembles those from Chiusi) ⁴⁾. The wars against the Gauls too, which long after they had ceased remained a symbol for the greatest trials a man can sustain. In *Felsina* probably the monuments were contemporaneous with the wars themselves (cf. Ducati Mon. Linc. XX (1912) col. 667 ff. ⁵⁾): but the others (cf. Brunn-K. III, 113 ff.; from *Volterra*, *Chiusi*, *Perugia*) are undoubtedly posterior to the facts. But the other, magical, class had to

1) Weege Etr. Mal. 45 f. cf. Dieterich *Nekyia* ² 51, 1; 126, 1; Pascal *Credenze* I, 90; Maass *Orpheus* 258 ff. Cf. also Arch. Rel. Wiss V. (1902) 226; Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. (edit. by M. Haupt) VI (1848) 149 ff.; Landau *Hölle u. Fegfeuer* 114 ff.

2) the idea is Italic, not Greek. As appears from Norden *Aen. B. VI* ad 545, who has treated it, no instances can be cited from Greece (for Pind. Ol. 9, 33 f. (not 31, as Norden says), has no connection whatever with this idea). The passages in Lucianus (Catapl. 4; Philops. 25, which last belongs to this group as well as Apul. Met. III, 9, not to the other one dealt with by Norden) are borrowed from Italy as is often the case (cf. p. 68,5; 76,10; 78,5). Cf. also Schippke: *de Speculis etruscis* (diss. Breslau 1881), 18 f. (*Lasa scribunda*). The conception defended by Bulle Berl. Ph. Woch. 1922, 693 contra Weege l.l. is not quite correct. He supposes it to be a genealogy of the man below, because the tablets contain mainly proper names (cf. the transcription *Abh. Bayr. Ak. Wiss.* 25 (1911) 4, 14 f.) In any case we must be grateful that he contests the mysticism which Weege seeks here.

3) on one of the sides the figure of Hercules? It is dubious, but if so, it would be curious as the first example of a step towards the Roman sarcophagi with the labours of Hercules = Robert *Sarcophagrel.* III, 1, 27 ff. The monument has been cited before in connexion with the Cerberus in Orco.

4) to the list dressed by Koerte text p. 5 ff. should be added pieces in the Archaeol. Mus. at the Hague; Cinquantenaire in Brussels; Louvre in Paris; Fiesole and Bologna.

5) it is curious that the type of a horseman fighting with a pedestrian, so frequent here, also occurs on a late redfigured vase in the Mus. of Chiusi (No. 1853); this might be taken as a warning to us, that we must not fix the date of the stelae too late.

provide for a necessity of the deceased ¹⁾. In order to keep him innoxious the shade had to be propitiated with the blood of human sacrifices, from which custom originated the gladiatorial games. These I find represented on an unpublished sarcophagus (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) from Civit  Musarna (near Viterbo, territory of *Tarquinia*, now in the Pal. Comunale of Viterbo); these too Koerte found on a series of urns from *Perugia* and *Volterra* (Brunn-K. III, 128, cf. p. 190 ff.), and it may be representations of something similar occur on the reliefs Brunn-K. III, 124—127, mostly from *Chiusi*, also a single piece from *Volterra*. Those, being different from the combats with the Gauls, Koerte does not venture to label (text p. 176 ff.). It is the same desire that is expressed in earlier tombs (*Tarquinia* t. Stackelberg: t.d. Auguri; *Chiusi* t. Casuccini; t.d. Scimmia), the desire, that is that the deceased had to be contented by the spectacle of these bloody festivals, on this account painted on the walls of his tomb, and would not return on earth ²⁾ For the same reason similar paintings are to be found in *Campania* ³⁾. I believe that the friezes with fighting scenes in t.d. Cardinale belong to the same series and also represent gladiators ⁴⁾.

Walls ⁵⁾

Motive I *Kneeling figure, demon running towards it.* The scene occurs repeatedly, figures No. 2/3; 42/3; 81/2; 86/7; 132/3; 146/7; 148/9. The demon is always menacing in some way or other. Cf.

Tarquinia: „sarcophago del Magistrato (Mus. No. 9804), 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Two Charuns beat a man between them (but this one does not kneel. Why the man in the right corner does, cannot be seen); della Seta Ital. Ant. fig. 237; descriptions Brunn-K. Ril. III p. 120 f.; Bull. Inst. 1879, 79 ff.; further literature: Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 131 with fig. 5 on pl. 4.

Vulci (?) Two vases in private collections in Rome: 4th/3rd cent. B. C.: female demon in Persian garments overmastering a youth; on one of them Charun is represented. Known to me only through Albizzati in Dissert. (or Atti) Acad. pontif. Roma II, 15 (1921) 233 ff.

Felsina; the stele already mentioned (p. 1) with man on couch, a demon giving him a blow with a hammer.

Cf. also one of the paintings in Villa Itern near Pompeii (50/30 B. C.), where a woman is kneeling under the blows of a female demon: the ancient motive still persists, but with a new meaning ⁶⁾. The same thought is expressed on those urns, which bear a griffin assailing a man, whether or not it is assailed itself by another man (cf. Brunn-K. III, 35 ff.). To be compared within a wider range of thought should be the other series with chthonic or marine monsters crushing figures in their volutes and beating them. (Brunn-

1) for this conception cf. Dieterich Nek.² 210, 2.

2) much material for such ideas is to be found in M. Landau: *H lle und Fegfeuer* (Winter Heidelberg 1909) p. 211 ff. The underlying conception is, that those who die on such occasions become servants to the deceased.

3) cf. Weege Arch. Jahrb. 1909, 132 ff.; this paper is overlooked by van Hoorn Meded. Rome III (1923) 63 ff., who treats t. d. Auguri; it is opposed by Weickert M nch. Jahrb. 1925, 23 ff.

4) ancient opinion already put forward by Micali l'Italie av. la domin. rom. II, 210 f. (= Stor. ant. pop. III, 111); later defended by Stryk Kammergr. 104 f.

5) the numbers of the figures used here are those given in a catalogue, which I made of the figures of the frieze. It will be published later.

6) reproductions Pfuhl: Mal. Z. fig. 714 and 715; for interpretation cf. Macchioro: Zagreus 121 ff. (also with reproduction).

K. III, 11 ff.); but here we have come to another type. All those motives have this in common, that they are symbols of *death*. In no case is there any question of torture in the hereafter (cf. Ch. III), for this never would have been expressed upon funeral monuments. They have the same function as sphinxes upon Greek tombs (cf. also Gerhard Etr. Sp. IV, 1, 379) and the Harpies on the Monument of the Harpies at Xanthos and the archaic Campana funeral paintings on t.c. in the Louvre (cf. p. 31).

Motive II *Demon, who watching a figure stands leaning on his inverted hammer* (figures No. 5 and 6 of my catalogue). The motive as a whole has been treated at t. d. Orco: scene with Tuchulcha. The position of the hammer recurs e.g. in the contemporaneous t. anonima di 1832, equally at *Tarquinia* (Weege fig. 37) and an urn in *Chiusi* (now disappeared) Brunn-K. III, 127, 9 short side a (2nd/1st cent. B. C.).

Motive III *Figures moving calmly*¹⁾. Occurs twice: figures 50 ff. and 156/9 of my catalogue. In the great procession demons are interspersed, evidently meant to guide them. The figures themselves carry objects, rods and so forth, the most remarkable of which are those, that resemble thyrsi. Similar processions occur elsewhere, though not so often as one might expect. Cf.

1) *Volterra* Mus. Guarnacci No. 124; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Five figures moving to the left, the central three with rods in their hands; the foremost in the attitude of a man carrying a walking-stick (the same motive on two of the above-mentioned vases in Mus. Faina, *Orvieto*); the man behind without any stick; his hands are concealed in his drapery (cf. ad t. d. Tifone). On the right short side two demons follow (same direction); on the left short side two similar demons, but in opposite direction (because of decorative principle: centralizing decoration). Koerte's explanation is hard to accept: the rods, which they carry are not fasces: moreover in similar cases of processions of magistrates the type is quite different (cf. ad t. d. Tifone). Brunn-K. Ril. III, 90, 1 and p. 110 f.

2) *Chiusi*?: Florence Mus. arch. Etr. Room XXI No. 5559 (Inv.) 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Four figures without attributes moving to the left: to the left a demon (wingless, as is often the case, cf. demons in t. d. Tifone; Florence Mus. arch. Etr. Room XXI No. 5475 (Inv.); Charuns on front of sarcofago del magistrato *Tarquinia*, already cited) leaning on torch, which is turned upside down, to the right second demon, guiding. I doubt whether we have a case of leave-taking here: Koerte, in his text, ranges it among such representations (p. 59, but his reference is wrong and he does not treat it later). I inclined towards seeing a procession in this case, for it strongly recalls the one in

3) *Vulci* tomba Campanari, \pm 270 B. C., where, also, a similar group of a man and a woman, a child between them, can be found. Mon. ined. II, 53 f.

With these examples I have exhausted the specimina known to me: it is curious that this type is so rare. We must now consider some details.

One is struck by the fact that the shades are so closely enveloped in their drapery²⁾; Greek art had a different conception as can be seen by the little shades in t. dell' Orco, which are Greek in conception, though with Italic features. Some reason there must be, why they are depicted in this manner. The motive is most easily to be distinguished from ordinary draping³⁾, cf. the following monuments.

1) cf. the general remark by Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 609 ff; this type of viaggio belongs to a later period.

2) they are also bare-footed; for the signification of this cf. Samter Geburt Hochzeit Tod p. 110 f.; it was a generally accepted custom in Rome (in Israel also).

3) to this class probably belongs the togatus on eagle cited by Cumont After Life p. 159.

A) *Volterra*, all 2nd/1st cent. B. C. 1) Brunn-K. III, 65/7 correctly intitled by Koerte (p. 74) „Apparition of the deceased husband”, but I do not think that he is right, when he adds that it is to call the woman to the other world. It is rather his last farewell before he vanishes into the nether world after the funeral rites have been performed¹⁾. The deceased is always closely enveloped in his garments, his face being almost the only part of his body, that is visible. Several of the figures present veil their faces in order not to see him²⁾.

2) among the urns representing journeys on horseback there are several in which the deceased is characterized by the same feature, Brunn-K. III, 69, 1; 70, 2 and 4; 72, 7d and 75, 13 (the horseman at the right hand); the greater part, however, are without.

3) on the *Volterranean* urns with the ships (mentioned above p. 14) the foremost figure has the same appearance as those just dealt with; Brunn-K. III, 68.

4) also a figure travelling on a sea-dragon. Here the motive is accentuated in so far, that the mouth is covered, Brunn-K. III, 33, 11. This will recur elsewhere, for on

5) an urn in *Volterra* (No. 397) one of the short sides has, above two leaves, a winged female head with Phrygian berrett, the lower part of which face is completely enveloped in a cloth³⁾.

Not only, in the case of the dead, does drapery play an important rôle, but also in the case of the dying, or those awaiting death.

6) An important example of the latter is Andromeda, while the monster advances towards her, in one of the 3 versions in which we have the representation; Brunn-K. II, 40, 3.

Figures of the dying are to be found in the scenes representing the murder of Agamemnon, viz. 7) Brunn-K. I, 74, 2.

And from *Chiusi* (more exactly Città della Pieve). 8) Brunn-K. I, 85, 4; 2nd/1st cent. B. C.

In both cases Brunn's text (p. 90 and 92) commits a fundamental error in declaring that the figure tries to free itself from its drapery. On the contrary, it wraps itself up, and the same thing is told us of Caesar, who seeing that there is no escape possible: *ἐφελκύσατο κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον* (Plut. Caes. 66 in fine); the same about Pompeius in Plut. Pomp. 79. also deuotio of P. Decius Mus. Liu. 8. 9, 5⁴⁾.

9) from *Chiusi* also the urn Brunn-K. III, 100, 16 = text fig. on p. 118 (2nd/1st cent. B. C.), where a shade takes leave and is also wrapped up, though not so very closely.

Two redfigured Etruscan vases (\pm 300 B. C.) must be referred to here:

10) *Bomarzo*, now Berlin Antiquarium No. 2954 (Furtw.). Figure on horseback, Charun walking before, female servant with a small box following. Deceased with head closely enveloped Rev. man closely clad lying on car.

11) *provenance unknown* (now Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris?). Described by Waser

1) this representation should not be confused with the one described Verg. Aen. VI, 472 ff. cf. Norden Aen. B. VI² ad 442.

2) the same custom in literature Sittl Gebärde 84. Cf. also Samter Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod 149 with note 5, and 150.

3) we might mention in this connection a Priapus herm in the Cinquantenaire in Brussels, ithyphallic and veiling his mouth with his drapery. The veiling of the mouth is a rite also to be found in Bacchic dances cf. S. Italian vase Reinach R. V. P. I, 267, 3; dito Munich 2387. Besides dancing woman from the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, Reinach R. R. G. R. II, 371, 3 and 372, 2; also in dances for Pan ibid. 358, 1 f.; 360, 3 cf. Heydemann: Verhüllte Tänzerin.

4) cf. Daremb.-S. s. v. Devotio 116 ff. The scene on the urns appears therefore in an Italic fashion.

Charon etc. sub II, B. 21¹⁾: woman conducted by 2 Charuns: she is wholly draped in mantle and veiled.

For the motive of the shade with close wrappings, more especially round his head, we have also analogies in Roman literature. In the first place the custom referred to above (p. 6,3) in connection with the wolf demon: the head of a murderer is put into a bag of wolf's skin. Secondly in Seneca's *Apocol.* § 13, already cited above (p. 12) for another old motive. There we are told „that Claudius is transported from heaven to Orcus „capite obuoluto, *ne quis eum agnoscere possit*”. This is the central point, as we have already seen, when treating the first class of urns of Volterra relating to this subject²⁾. For he who has seen a spirit will probably also die (Samter l.l. 150; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 85, 2). For the same reason it is an evil omen, when Julianus Apostata sees the Genius of Rome in this manner (cf. Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s.v. *Genius* 1625, 16 ff.). The Genius is the embodiment of the life or existence of man or thing: when it is veiled, it is, because he is dead, and anyone seeing him thus is doomed to follow³⁾. The veiling of the Romans when offering sacrifice has been declared to have the same origin⁴⁾. Besides in many mysteries draperies are of great importance (cf. Macchioro *Zagreus* 42 ff., especially 47—49). The general sense seems to be that a greater concentration is acquired as garments have a restraining influence (cf. also Samter *Geburt* etc. 114 f.). This significance of drapery continues also into Roman times, cf. Jahn *Unterwelt auf röm. Sarcoph.* (= *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wissensch.* 1856) 281, 30; Frazer (*Golden Bough*) *Taboo* 120 ff. and Balder II, 17; Rossbach in *Rhein. Mus.* 49, 597; 4; Radermacher *Jenseits* 76 with note 2. I suppose souls were represented in this way, because under such influence they could do less evil.

The rods⁵⁾ which some of the figures carry are more likely thyrsi than anything else. I am not quite sure about it, but the supposition may be strengthened by the fact, that far more Bacchic motives occur in later Etruscan funeral art than one would conclude from the facts put forward by L. R. Taylor in her *Local Cults of Etruria*. The following traces may be indicated for the period after 400 B. C. On a stamnos from *Falerii* (now in Museo di Villa Giulia at Rome; Catal. d. Seta I, p. 72 No. 1660) Eurydice, while Hermes conducts her from Orcus, has a thyrsus in her hand: so this might corroborate our opinion concerning the objects carried by the shades. On another vase (Berlin 2952 Furtw. from *Vulci*) Charun is to be found in a Bacchic mood with wreaths etc. He is of the type of Silenus

1) further literature: Bull. Inst. 1860, 233 f.; 1869, 175; Ann. Inst. 1879, 305; Frova in *Rinnovam.* 1908, 1, 129, C. Albizzati in *Dissert. (or Atti) Acad. pontif. Roma* II, 15 (1921) 233 ff.

2) for the motive in funeral art in general Cumont *After Life* 165; Weinreich *Sen. Apocol.* 120 f. is on the right path, but has not seen the whole of the problem.

3) in modern occultism the same motive occurs. The following is cited from G. Meyrink: *das grüne Gesicht* (K. Wolff Verlag Leipzig 1916) 114: „Wenn Zulu erstesmal sieht Zombi und Zombi hat Gesicht verhüllt, so Zulumuss sterben. Wenn aber Zombi erscheint mit verdecktes Stirnzeichen und grünes Gesicht offen, so Zulu lebt und ist Vidu Tchanga, grosse Medizin und Herr über Feuer”. About Zombi is said (ibid.): „Zombi erscheint als grosse Gift-Vidu-Schlange mit grünes Menschengesicht und heiliges Fetischzeichen auf Stime”. Cf. also Radermacher *Jenseits* 76, 2; Frazer (*Golden Bough*) *Taboo* 120 ff. For the escaping of the soul through the mouth and nostrils ibid. 30 ff., where too the notion occurs, that the soul of a dead man causes others to follow.

4) cf. Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s. v., *Saturnus* 432; Samter *Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod* 149, 5; cf. S. Reinach: *le Voile d'Oblation* (= *Cultes Mythes* I³, 299 ff.). But the case of Saturnus is different. Most probably those are right, who derive it from the concealing of the primitive *baetylus*, from which Saturnus' figure originated (cf. Roscher l.l. s. v. *Kronos* 1492 ff.; 1558 ff.) and can be compared with the covering of the Bacchic phallus (so in *Villa Irem*, cf. the plate in Macchioro *Zagreus* sub E and p. 121 ff.) The bridal veil, which seems to belong to this part of our subject will be treated later in connection with the tomba Bruschi.

5) for rods cf. Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s. v. *Unterwelt* 75, 23 ff.

in t. d. Tifone (cf. § 4), cf. the Silenus head on stelae from *Felsina* at Bologna (No. 17; 89; 111 Ducati in Mon Linc. XX, 653) and on a vase with 2 Charuns conducting a woman (cf. Waser Charon etc. II, B. 21). Vases alluding to the wine god, canthari, amphorae, appear frequently (Brunn-Koerte Ril. II, p. 165; III, 102, 1; 146, 1 and 2; 152, 1; 157, 2; p. 57); cf. also at *Tarquinius* the t. Forlivesi D and t. Byres B; Centaurs also occur, for the Bacchic associations of which cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Kentauroi 1050 (col. 1054 ff. their relations with Orcus also are pointed out). One class of monuments which has been studied displays Bacchic elements also, the *Felsinean* stelae (cf. Ducati Mon. d. Linc. XX, 653 ff.; 695 ff.; 699 ff.). Probably in this connection also may be cited the „Sarcophagus of the Warriors” at *Tarquinius* (230/200 B. C.) on the lid of which an aged man lies holding a patera to a fawn lying very near him¹). If we consider the rôle played by deer on other Etruscan funeral monuments, we are inclined to doubt, that this is a mere scene of genre. Our discussion has to begin with the well-known type: a griffin, one of the symbols of the destructive forces of death because of its character as a swift beast of prey (Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Gryps 1771, 18 ff.) attacks an Amazon (on Etruscan urn *Volterra* Brunn-K. Ril. III, 38, 3, cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Amazonen 273, 2 ff.): this became a symbol as it were, for human death; therefore ordinary human figures were substituted for them (cf. Brunn-K. III, 35 ff. for the greater part *Perugia*) and sometimes in Hellenistic manner a putto (Brunn-K. Ril. III, 39, 2 from *Chiusi*). This is varied sometimes by means of a deer (Brunn-K. III, 147, 6 urns in *Volterra*; cf. two terra cotta urns in Florence (from *Chiusi*? not in Brunn-K. Ril.) Room XXI No. 84413 and 84414, the latter with a human figure, the former with a deer; the deer motive reappears Schreiber Alex. Toreut. fig. 74, another indication that the relation of these pieces with Italy is very close. Parallel to this runs another series originally decorative, on which stags are devoured by other animals (t. François *Vulci* ± 250 B. C. Martha Art étr. fig. 277; a sarcophagus in nenfro in the Cortile of the Museum of *Tarquinius* 300—250 B. C., without any number (= Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 219; date here given too early); stele in the Museum of *Fiesole* (Galli Fiesole fig. 33); urn in the Museum of *Volterra* No. 53 (Brunn-K. III, 147, 4); cf. the stones Lippold Gemmen 81; Furtw. A. G. I, 11, 29; I, 31, 3 ff. (cf. text II and III)). The decorative character disappears altogether, when again we find men substituted (*Tarquinius* tomba della Mercareccia ± 300 B. C.(?) frieze at the top of the wall of the 1st room, Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 66). Deer and fauns play a great part in the Bacchic sphere (cf. also urn in *Perugia* Brunn-K. III, 136, 3 and blackfigured lecythus in Mus. di Villa Giulia (not in Catalogue by della Seta) on which a Satyr in sexual intercourse with a deer). The same thing appears on a painting in Villa Item, where a girl is suckling a fawn (Macchiore Zagreus plate sub C). Macchiore in his interpretation (p. 80 ff.) is doubtless right²), and from the literature he cites it will be seen that actually, under certain circumstances, deer were substituted for men. But I hesitate to call the whole complex of monuments discussed here Orphic. We may content ourselves with calling them Bacchic, may be in a deeper sense than those dealt with before; but I doubt whether they can be connected with the special development of Dionysiac religion, which we shall meet with in Ch. II. Bacchic allusions are extraordinarily frequent in Roman funeral art.

1) discussion of date and list of reproductions in my paper on Etruscan sculpture in Meded. Rome VI (1926). Related, but different, is the piece Martha Art étr. fig. 238 (after whom Weege E. M. fig. 12), where we find exactly a priest of Bacchus — if we can trust the reproduction. I do not know the original: it is not in *Tarquinius*.

2) the formula *ἐριφος ἐς γάλα ἐπειον* will be dealt with below (Ch. II).

Motive IV *Figure led away between two demons.* The motive is simple and requires no further elucidation: I only wish to insist upon the fact that it occurs everywhere in the sphere of Etruscan art ¹⁾.

A) Tarquinia. In our tomb it recurs several times, figures, No. 26/8; 47/9; 77/9 and 106/8 of my description. Elsewhere also it occurs in the same city, namely

1) t. dell' Orco wall 3 \pm 360 B. C. (cf. before, p. 8).

2) Sarcophagus in the Museo nazionale Tarquinia, 2nd cent. B. C. Deceased on horseback between two demons. Described by Koerte in Brunn-Koerte Ril. III, p. 93 (cf. Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 335 and Brunn Kl. Schr. I, 251).

3) fragment now in Florence (Mus. arch. Etr. topogr. Room of Tarquinia, No. 75218 Inv.). 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Reproduced Rendic. Linc. 1894, 272, 1 fig. 3 cf. Frova in Rinnov. 1908, 1, 128 ²⁾.

B) Chiusi, 4) of a rather early date is the urn in Bettolle (near Chiusi) Brunn-Koerte Ril. III, 98, 12 and 12a; 5th (rather than 4th) cent. B. C.

5) Chiusi Mus. civ. No. 886; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Brunn-K. III, 99, 13; Monum. Linc. XX fig. 57 col. 613/4 (after fotogr.).

C) Orvieto. Here it occurs only on vases \pm 300 B. C., 6) vase at Florence from tomba Golini (literature cf. ad t. dell'Orco sub Cerberus).

7) two of the three remarkable vases in Museo Faina Orvieto (literature and remarks cf. also ad Orco sub Cerberus).

D) Felsina, 8) stele No. 105 (Ducati) in Bologna, first decades of 4th cent. like 1) and may be 4). Mon. Linc. XX fig. 56 col. 611/2 (cf. col. 608); Grenier Bologne fig. 146 and p. 446 with note 6.

E) Volterra: several urns 2nd/1st cent. B. C.

9) Mus. Guarnacci 100 = Brunn-K. III, 69, 3	} in all these cases the deceased on horseback.
10) Mus. Guarnacci 109 = Brunn-K. III, 71, 5 ³⁾	
11) Mus. Guarnacci 105 = Brunn-K. III, 71, 6	
12) Mus. Guarnacci 114 = Brunn-K. III, 74, 12	

Of *unknown provenance* is the vase in Paris (\pm 300 B. C.) cited in connection with the drapery of the shades (p. 19 f.).

As a rule the accompanying demons are male and female, and so they are here in Cardinale (cf. also the demons drawing the little car with the woman and my remark p. 27). Both demons are male in t.d. Orco (uncertain), on the vases in Museo Faina, the vase in Paris, the urn Volterra No. 105. Therefore the idea of couples of demons is rather clearly expressed, and this is one reason the more for not considering the figures in Cardinale to have symbolic meanings, such as good or evil spirits or anything of that nature; otherwise the same would have to be accepted with regard to the other monuments, and such is impossible.

Motive V *Demons seated and guarding gates.* This motive occurs twice; fig. 61/2 and 88—90 of my description. That these demons, otherwise so agile in their demeanour, are

1) a great part of the material has been cited, to slightly different purpose by Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 609, 1.

2) a similar fragment in Tarquinia Mus. nazion. (Room in upper storey) is of a different type.

3) it would be interesting to know what is exactly meant by the figures lying on the ground (cf. p. 10, 2). Koerte (text p. 86) takes no notice of the existence of a problem. To be compared with the foregoing are scenes like Brunn-K. II, 49 ff., and III 89(?).

represented here as seated constitutes no exception to the general rule. The representations are to be divided into two groups however; *a*) watching gates; *b*) seated, but looking out for pray. In this case they are somewhat similar in character to the bronze Hermes in Naples (Springer I¹⁰ fig. 661), already at the point of continuing his course (for the difference in the manner of resting cf. the boxer in the Museo delle Terme *ibid.* fig. 802).

As analogues under *b* may be mentioned: 1) *Volterra* Br.-K. Ril. I, 30. 2) *Volterra* Inghirami I, 29 (short side of Br.-K. II, 6, 1 *a*). 3) *Volterra*, now in Florence Mus. Arch. etr. Room XXI, No. 5518 (Inv.) (not in Br.-K. Ril. III; the urn shows a scene of leave-taking between 2 seated Lasae, the left one with torch on shoulder, the right one with torch obliquely on her knees). 4) *Volterra* Brunn-K. II, 3, 1 and 2. 5) *Volterra* Br.-K. III, 70, 2 *a*, short side. 6) *Volterra* Br.-K. II, 114, 1. 7) *Chiusi* Brunn-K. II, fig. on p. 262.

For the motive with which we are really concerned here (= *a*) cf. 1) *Volterra* Inghirami Mon. Etr. I, 17 (short side of Br.-K. III, 62, 8) 2) *Chiusi* short side of Brunn-K. II, 119, 2 cf. text p. 256 (inaccurate in so far as the gate has been left out) 3) *Chiusi* Brunn-K. III, 100, 16 right-hand part (the figure has been referred to before, when dealing with the demons in the entrance of t.d. Orco). We may add 4) *Tarquinia* t. Bruschi (\pm 150 B. C.: therefore nearly contemporaneous with the other monuments considered here): the Charun painted on one of the pillars (reproduced Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 38), properly speaking, belongs to neither of our groups, since he merely looks on, while the processions advance in the nether world. No doubt it will be possible to find more monuments: those mentioned here are given only as examples. Others have been mentioned among those compared with the demons at the entrance of t.d. Orco.

Something may be said here about the *gates* themselves. Their importance in relation with the realm of death is fully known: the literary side of the question will be found treated in Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Unterwelt 65, 64 ff. (cf. also Landau Hölle u. Fegfeuer 66 f.) Here once more Italy shows the independant character of the iconography of its religion. As far as I know the Greeks never depicted the gates of Hades, on the other hand Etruscans and Romans strongly insisted upon them.

When studying the Etruscan monuments¹⁾ one's attention is drawn by the large preponderance of urns from *Chiusi* all 2nd/1st cent. B. C., cf. Brunn-K. II, 119, 2²⁾; III, 54, 1³⁾; 56, 4 and 5; 57, 6, 7 and 8; 77, 2; 95, 7; 96, 8 and 9; 127 *a* and *b*; 100, 16 and the numerous urns of the type 101, 2.

Perugia is also well represented with Br.-K. III, 101, 1, 3 and 4 types pretty closely resembling those of *Chiusi*; with the big urn of the Volumnii (Martha A. é. fig. 242); Brunn-K. III, 94, 4; 95, 6; 150, 17; Galli Perugia fig. 49 = Conestabile Mon. Perugini 5 (= 21 bis) 2, described Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 46.

The monuments from other places are rare: it appears therefore, that the type rejoiced a decided preference in the interior parts of Etruria. In *Volterra* mention can only be made of Mus. Guarnacci No. 95 = Brunn-K. III, 59, 2 f. In *Tarquinia* the tomba anonima di 1832 (230/200 B. C., therefore somewhat earlier than the other monuments cited here) and the sarcophagus with the waiting figures (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) referred to when dealing

1) some material has been collected by Fredrich; Sarkophag Stud. (= Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1895, 1) 36. He also points to the literary side of the question, cf. Radermacher Jenseits 150.

2) for the description cf. this page.

3) for the goddess Van⁹ (the one next to the gate resembling Aphrodite, not the one in the gate) cf. before p 15,1.

with the waiting figures in t. degli Scudi. Finally a *Felsinean* stele, Ducati Mon. Linc. XX fig. 65 col. 634 f. (= No. 132; 480/50 B. C. cf. col. 715).

Ducati l.l. says rightly that this gate is the gate of Orcus: it is not the gate of the tomb, as has been suggested by Fredrich l.l. and Koerte (Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 121): at least, not unless one is inclined to identify the two. But that the idea of a gate to the nether world is always very strong appears from the figures which are often introduced into it. Very interesting from this point of view is, once more, a group of *Chiusian* urns, Brunn-K. III, 99, 14 and 15. On 99, 15 the shade is brought into the Orcus; guided by a demon, who has a rope, with which the hands of the deceased are bound on his back. On 14 on the other hand he comes forth from it and is guarded by the demon who threatens him with his hammer, lest he should escape ¹⁾, a motive which we encountered when studying the guarding demons in t.d. Orco.

In many cases for the real gate is substituted a Medusa head or Bendis ²⁾, such as appears in *Chiusi* as well as in *Perugia* and *Volterra*. Most evident is the substitution, when we compare Brunn-K. III, 101, with 145, 13 (resp. *Perugia* and *Chiusi*); the other heads are to be found on pl. 138 ff., in the text to which the distribution over the various places of origin can be easily followed. A last and very curious variant is to be found on stelae from *Felsina*, dealt with, at length, by Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 653 ff. (ad No. 17; 89 and 111 of his catalogue). Here a big head appears of the Silenus type, which he takes to be the equivalent of the gate of Orcus, and which he compares with the gaping mouth of hell on so many mediaeval representations of the last Judgment ³⁾. As it is notorious that many such ideas of the „under-current” (after Wide’s happy term in Gercke-Norden’s Einführ. i.d. Altertumswiss. II², 171) after having disappeared altogether, reappear especially in *Toscany* during the Middle Ages (cf. Leland: *Etruscan-Roman Remains in popular Tradition*, London 1892), I can fully endorse his opinions ⁴⁾. It may be there is a similar underlying thought, when Plato (*Republ.* 615 E) speaks of the roaring mouth of Hades (cf. Ch. III p. 71)⁵⁾.

On Roman monuments I found the gate once, viz. on the urn Amelung Cat. Sc. Vat. II pl. 21, 80, referred to above (p. 9). The gate is thrown open by two demons; the scene is illustrative to Vergil’s (*Aen.* VI, 127) noctes atque dies patet atra ianua Ditis (for atra ianua cf. the urn of *Chiusi* with purple gate already, cited (note 1 here); purple and black are not always distinguished in Antiquity, cf. in Homer αἶμα μέλαν; πορφύρεος θάνατος etc.

Motive VI *Figures travelling on cars* ⁶⁾. They occur several times in the tomb viz. fig. 38; 118—120; 153—155 with horses; fig. 65—67; 69—71; 73—75 drawn by demons ⁷⁾. The motive is very common.

1) my notes differ from the text of Brunn-Koerte in so far, that I noted *Chiusi* No. 1065 A as a replica to 99, 14 (the face of the shade is turned towards the spectator). It should be observed that the background of this relief is greenish, the aperture of the gate purple (cf. πορφύρεος θάνατος Hom. II. 5, 83; 16, 334; 20, 477).

2) for the type cf. t. c. Arch. Mus. the Hague; she also was a goddess of the nether world, cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. esp. col. 782, 3 ff; 24 ff; 38 ff.

3) Hades represented as a monster in later literature cf. Heinze *Lucret.* III p. 190.

4) add to the literature in his note 3: Mâle I, 422 and v. d. Mühlbe: *Darstellung d. Jüngsten Gerichtes an den Kirchenportalen Frankreichs* (Leipzig 1911) passim and summarizing p. 78.

5) also Luc. *Dial. Mort.* 21, 1 and 2; 27, 8 and 9; *Catapl.* 4; Norden *Aen. B.* VI² p. 212 f.; Radermacher *Jenseits* 64 ff.

6) the theme has not been dealt with in Roscher *Mythol. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt* 70, § 43 ff. Cf., however, Fredrich *Sarkoph. Stud.* (Nachr. Ges. Wiss. Gött. 1895) 26 f.; Radermacher *Jenseits* 76.

7) in the case of fig. 65-67 at least one is certain, that one demon is female, the other male. Cf. what has already been said (p. 22) on the subject of this combination.

A) *Tarquinia*, 1) unfinished sarcophagus 230/200 B. C. (therefore contemporaneous with our tomb). Two horses drawing light chariot in which a figure is standing. Many figures roundabout none of which is remarkable for an attribute or anything of that nature. Brunn Kl. Schr. I, 251.

2) Sarcophagus in nenfro 2nd/1st cent. B. C. On the front, procession towards the left: a biga with a man standing on it is surrounded by a group of persons; 3 figures walk before, two of them looking behind: they carry rods; that of the foremost is outstretched. Unpublished.

3) Sarcophagus 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Dealt with before (p. 15) Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 106, No. 5.

4) So-called scyphos Marzi \pm 300 B. C.(?); Brit. Mus.? Deceased on car drawn by dogs and preceded by a burlesque Charon. For the dog as a funeral animal cf. the dogs of Hecate and similar things. Here his employment is rather curious: but as a companion he appears several times, cf. urn from *Vulci* (Martha Art étr. fig. 249); on stelae from *Felsina* three times (Ducati No. 82 (= Ducati l.l. fig. 47); 169; 188 = l.l. fig. 45); all of more or less early date. In Roman times also, cf. Schröder Stud. zu Grabdenkm. röm. Kaiserzeit p. 23, 2; D. IV, 482. Literature on the scyphos Ann. Inst. 1879, 304 f.; Rocco Mito di Caronte 49, 2; Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 337; Waser Charon etc. II B 25 ¹⁾.

To the territory of *Tarquinia* belong the following sarcophagi.

5) *Toscanello*, now Museo Gregoriano, man on biga 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Referred to above (p. 15) Mus. Greg. (ed. B.) I, 97, 9; (A) II, 101, 9; cf. description Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 106 No. 4.

6) *Civita Musarna* (now in the Mus. civ. of Viterbo) 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Biga; 4 figures with rods preceding, slave with luggage follows ²⁾. Brunn-K. Ril. III p. 106 No. 6; Dennis I³, 191.

If we remain in the Maremma, we now come to

B) *Vulci*, 7) archaic urn middle of 6th cent. B. C. On the car (with 4 wheels) is a company, in the centre of which the deceased is sitting on a chair, enveloped in his drapery in the manner which we have already seen. The car is drawn by mules guided by a man. The soul bird flies above, a dog follows beneath (cf. Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 584 ff.). Described by Martha Art étr. p. 360 ad fig. 185. To be added to the literature mentioned by Martha: Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 128; 337; Daremb.-S. s.v. Funus fig. 3354, p. 1383, 4; 1384, 4.

8) sarcophagus \pm 200 B. C. Now in Boston? Or in Mus. Gregor. from Musignano? Married couple beneath parasol on two-wheeled chariot drawn by 2 mules. (Cf. Cumont After Life 149 f.; Dennis Cit. and Cem. I³, 472; Dütschke: Zwei röm. Kindersark. = Progr. Joachimsthal Gymn. Berlin 1909, p. 14). This sort of team seems to have been especially favoured there, it recurs on a third Vulcian monument

9) a vase at Berlin (No. 2954 Furtw.) formerly in the German Institute at Rome,

1) the t. Forlivesi A (so I named the last tomb of *Tarquinia* described Bull. Inst. 1831, 92 (a letter from Avvolta to Gerhard; in which extracts from a manuscript by Forlivesi) = Weege Etr. M. p. 78 (exact translation) = Dennis I³, 384, 7 (less exact)) does not concern us here: there was a goddess with turreted crown on a car drawn by 4 lions, therefore Cybele, not a journey. Her presence in a tomb is not astonishing: her cult had close affinities with ideas of resurrection cf. Cumont Religions orientales p. 70 ff. also Norden Aen. B. VI² ad 784.

2) almost identical is the triumphal procession on the monument of Philopappus at Athens (114/6 A. D.; Springer I¹⁰ fig. 1014, but clearer Stuart-Revet Antiq. of Athens (ed. Bell London 1913) pl. 63).

cf. Ambrosch: de Charonte etr. p. 3; Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, 256; 273; Gerhard Monum. Mus. Berol. rec. acquis. p. 47; Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 128(?); Dütschke l.l. 1).

C) *Cerveteri*, 10) sarcophagus, probably \pm 2nd cent. B. C., now in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome. Described Brunn-Koerte Ril. III, p. 104 (to the literature here given must be added Daremb.-S. s.v. Funus 1383, 3).

The transition from the Maremma to the interior is

D) *Volterra*, 1) here a very similar type occurs on the urn Brunn-K. III, 84, 2. It forms part of

12) a large group of urns, all from Volterra, with the journey on a chariot cf. Brunn-K. III ad pl. 79 ff.; 84 ff.; 87 ff., the three groups mentioned here all representing variants of the same idea. It should be noted that in most of these representations there is an encounter (except 84; 87 ff.), the exact meaning of which has not yet been discovered (for the explanation given by Koerte in Brunn-K. III, p. 95 is also far from satisfactory. It does explain neither 79, 2, nor 83, 9 and 10). The type survives in Roman funeral art cf. Schröder l.l. 24.

13) It is noteworthy that *Fiesole*, after having had a local art as late as the 5th cent., is in the Hellenistic epoch, mainly a secondary centre to Volterra (cf. E. Galli: Fiesole fig. 40, 41; but fig. 39 is contemporaneous local work; all referring to the subject which concerns us here.

E) In *Chiusi* the type is very rare, I know only one instance. 14) Colonette amphora, Mus. Civ. unnumbered; \pm 300 B. C. Old man on quadriga led by demon. On the neck animals fighting.

F) *Perugia*. Here the motive does not occur.

G) *Orvieto*. Otherwise in Orvieto.

15) tomba Golini \pm 360 B. C. Man on biga, guided by demon, a cornicen behind. Martha Art étr. fig. 281 (cf. p. 9; 14 above)

16) t. degli Hescanas \pm 360 B. C. without secondary figures. Cardella t.d. Hescanas pl. II D.; Röm. Mitt. 8 (1893) 330 f. (cf. p. 1 above).

17) vase in the Museo Faina \pm 300 B. C. Man lying on his back feet forward ²⁾ on a car drawn by mules (cf. Vulci!). Ducati Ceram. gr. II fig. 344, 1.

Connected with this vase in style is another one from.

18) *Bomarzo* now in Berlin (No. 2954 Furtw.), where also a figure is riding on a chariot.

H) *Felsina*. On numerous stelae in Bologna, from the middle of the 6th cent. onwards the motive is to be found. An exhaustive treatment has been accorded to it by Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 582 ff. ³⁾. Very apposite, at this point, would be a few words about a curious hypothesis maintained by Ducati l.l. 618. I quote his own words „Dapprima il „psicopompo, ricevuta la offerta propiziatrice, conduce l'anima sotto terra, poi le fa „attraversare una distesa d'acqua . . . e finalmente introduce nel regno di Mantus e di „Mania l'anima su cocchio . . . Allora, non veramente di duplice maniera sarebbe il

1) it seems to have been found on a Roman tomb stone also, but the fact is not quite certain cf. Br. Schröder Stud. Grabd. röm. Kaiserz. 23, 2, D IV, 120.

2) for this attitude cf. Pascal Credenze I, 85, 7.

3) cf. Dütschke l. l.

„viaggio estremo, ma si comporrebbe di due parti diverse, cioè del cammino percorso „a piedi, di quello percorso su carro: in mezzo sarebbe il tragitto sull' acqua.

„Invece, secondo il concetto più antico, il viaggio sarebbe compiuto a cavallo, e forse „anche nella prima sua parte”

Is this true? At first glance the thing seems to be rather complicated; and we know too little about Etruscan religion to acquire absolute certainty, but I think that I can compare two monuments, which aptly illustrate Ducati's opinion ¹⁾. He himself does not refer to them.

1) *Volterra* Mus. Guarnacci No. 57 = Brunn.-K. Ril. III, 42, 2; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Behind a turbulent sea, dotted with dolphins, a Lasa emerges holding 4 horses by the bridle. These may be the horses, with which the shade has to continue his journey after having crossed the water. Koerte l.l. despairs of an interpretation ²⁾.

The other monument refers, rather, to Ducati's second alinea.

2) *Chiusi* Mus. civ. No. 680 = Brunn.-K. III, 77, 3; phot. Alinari 37521; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. From the right (we can neglect the kneeling warrior) a *horseman* comes riding on towards a tree, obviously a division between land and sea. The latter is indicated by a big marine being, turned towards the horseman: we can easily assume that the horseman had to dismount and to continue his journey on the sea-monster ³⁾.

I would like to point out at once that cars drawn by demons do not occur elsewhere. The only things comparable are two *Chiusian* urns in the Museum of Berlin (Kurze Beschreib. 1922 No. 1227 and 1229), where in a funeral procession cars are drawn by men. A further detail demanding some explanation is that on so many *Felsinean* stelae the horses of the chariot are winged. This cannot be brushed aside by saying that it is due to „Ionian influence” (Ducati l.l. 583). They reappear on monuments too conspicuous, for this to be possible, viz. on a number of friezes from Latino-campanian temples (E. Douglas van Buren: Terracotta Revetments of Etruria and Latium pl. 31, p. 66 ff.) and on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada. We are here in the region of the mysterious chariots, with which demons of death ride through the air and take the deceased with them (cf. Radermacher *Jenseits im Mythos d. Hell.* 76 ⁴⁾). This explains the presence of Medea on her chariot on a terra cotta urn in *Volterra* (Guarnacci 497 = Brunn.-K. II, 1, 2) and a similar chariot in the lost tomba Forlivesi B. in *Tarquini*a (Bull. Inst. 1831, 92; Dennis I³, 384, 7 (extract); Weege E. M.p. 78 (exact translation. Weege, however, is not lucky in the comparison which he cites), drawn, as is often the case, by serpents; but griffins also occur (vases Faina Ducati Cer. gr. II, fig. 344; Apulian amphora Mus. Gregor. Semicircular Room VII; Furtw.-R. II, 90) and remind us that a later age transformed this motive into the apotheosis on the solar chariot (Cumont: *After Life* 102; 113; 155 ff.; Strong: *Apotheosis and After Life* 126, 20; Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s.v. *Inferi* 260, 43 ff.). But side by side with

1) besides Plat. *Phaedo* 113 D.

2) the representation recalls that on a vase in *Chiusi* ± 300 B. C. (Mus. civ. No. 1853) and a great number of mirrors: Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* II, 196; III, 257 B; IV, 1, 333, 2; IV, 2, 378; 398; V, 1, 34; 77; 78.

3) Is the same idea alluded to in the reliefs Brunn.-K. III, 1, 1 and 3, 5, where Pluto's car rides over a sea-demon? Ordinary persons would have to get out, but his car can cross the sea in this manner! For the rest the rape of Proserpina belongs to a different cycle from that under consideration here. The Triton beneath a quadriga reappears Furtw. A. G. I, 46, 10.

4) also Cumont: *After Life* 155. I do not know whether it is necessary to accept the theory that „these wings in primitive fashion were probably intended to express only the swiftness of this mythical steed”. It is a primitive northern belief that the deceased ride in the air: why should this not be an allusion to the same belief? Even here we are far from the solar theory.

these ideas runs another current, which conserves the old design of the ordinary journey: in Roman times it was especially strong in Northern Italy and the Northern provinces, cf. Br. Schröder Stud. Grabd. röm. Kaiserz. 23 f. ¹⁾. So far as I can see the motive is not to be found in literature except Plato l.l.

Motive VII *Figures travelling on horses* (often led by a demon). Several times: fig. 41; 93/6 (led by a demon); 109/10; 113/4.

The representation is too well known, for it to be necessary to insist much upon its meaning: ²⁾ the question of its local dispersion and the date of the monuments is more essential to us.

A) 1) *Tarquinia*, tomba Bruschi \pm 150 B. C. Back wall right hand side. Brunn Kl. Schr. I fig. 47 (p. 191) after Mon. ined. VIII, 36 ³⁾.

2) Sarcophagus in nenfro 2nd/1st cent. B. C., described Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 93. For questions relating to this piece cf. p. 9 f.

B) *Volterra*. In this centre there was a great partiality for this motive. The urns have been classified and considered Brunn-K. Ril. III, 69 ff. (to this should be added the short side of Volterra Mus. Guarnacci, No. 272 = Br.-K. II p. 163 (text to II, 68, 3) = Inghirami Mon. Etr. I, 14,2). Sometimes there are snakes on the ground (cf. before p. 10 note 2 ad t. d. Scudi).

C) The monuments relating to *Chiusi* are to be found Brunn-K. III, 77; 133, 1, cf. also Berlin Beschreib. Sc. (1922), No. 1222 (5th cent. B. C.); besides Florence Mus. arch. etr. Room XXI, No. 5475 (Inv.), not in Brunn-K. so far as I can see (from Chiusi?). Man on horseback to the right, a draped figure leading. At the right hand near a gate a demon (whose wings are scarcely visible in relief upon the gate) compels other figures to enter.

D) The monuments from *Perugia* are reproduced Brunn-K. III, 78. Though differing in detail considerably, the central thought and representation is identical. For III, 77, 2 cf. especially 72, 8 (arrival through gate of Orco), for 77, 3 p. 27 here: in this manner the connection between Chiusi and Volterra is shown to be rather strong. Perugia is more independent.

E) From *Orvieto* I do not know of a single monument, but from Bomarzo, not so far away, comes the vase Berlin, No. 2954 (Furtw.) on which a Charun is leading a person on horseback, who looks behind towards a woman, holding a small box (for date etc. mentioned on p. 19).

F) Very important because of its early date is the tomba Campana at *Veii* (\pm 650 B. C.; Martha Art étr. fig. 282), where the design of the journey is completely fixed already.

G) In *Felsina* it can be found very often, though the journey by chariot predominates.

1) cf. Cumont After Life 15 f. Dütschke l.l.: the paper is important because he considers Etruscan and Italic religion to be the same thing like myself.

2) cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Unterwelt 71, 60 ff.; Malten: das Pferd im Totenglauben, Arch. Jahrb. 1914, 179 ff. (not accepted by Nilsson Hist. of Greek Rel. 104); Furtw. Coll. Sabouroff Introd. I, 39. The Greek conception is quite different, cf. Roscher l.l. s.v. Heros 2555—2558.

3) of a different character was in *Tarquinia* in the t. Forlivesi D (Bull. Inst. 1831, 91 ff.; Deecke Etr. Forsch. II (1876), 139; Mrs. Gray: a Tour 252 f.; Dennis I^o, 384, 7; Weege E. M. 78 f.) the scene with the man on an elephant. It cannot be the Indian expedition of Bacchus (cf. Roscher Lex. s.v. Dionysos 1087 ff. § 22) because of the warriors represented. Probably we have a historic painting here, relating to the triumph of Metellus on Carthage (cf. Cavaignac Hist. de l'Ant. III, 240) about the middle of the 3rd cent. more probably than Pyrrhus. The genre of painting recalls paintings from a tomb on the Esquiline (\pm 140 B. C.; Pfuhl. Mal. Z. III fig. 751).

The monuments are catalogued by Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 573ff. Sometimes the horses are winged: the reason for this is the same as has been expounded with reference to the journey by chariot (p. 27); this shows there is a connection with *Latium*, where they also appear (cf. Van Buren; Terracotta Revetments of Etruria and Latium pl. 17; 31). We need not wonder that having become so wide-spread the motive also survived in the times of the Roman Empire, cf. Cumont After Life 155 f.; Schröder Stud. Grabdenkm. Kaiserzeit 4 ff. ¹). Schröder also (p. 6) connects with this representation the one of the fighting horseman (Etruscan monuments cited by him p. 7); of this t. d. Cardinale fig. 41 (of my catalogue) is an example (after Byres). Cf. Brunn-K. III, 115 ff. (provenance *Volterra*, *Chiusi* (the greater part), *Perugia*), which all refer to Gaulish invasions. In *Felsina* also the same fighting scenes sometimes occur (Mon. Linc. XX, 673 ff.; for dates cf. col. 715). To these must be added a monument in *Tarquinia*, the Sarcophagus del Sacerdote (one of the short sides), where, however, a different sort of fight is depicted.

Motive VIII Solitary horse. This is connected in subject with the previous scenes. It is to be found No. 12/3; 14/6; 22/4 of my catalogue. In all these cases, however, there is no absolute certainty. But about No. 145, on the back wall, there is no doubt. It serves as a condensed representation of the last journey, cf.

1) *Tarquinia* t. dell' Orco \pm 360 B. C. on the wall near the ancient entrance. Nowhere reproduced or mentioned.

2) *Tarquinia* t. della Mercareccia probably \pm 300 B. C. For interpretation of the whole of the wall cf. t. Tartaglia below. Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 66 (= Byres Hypogaei of Etruria I, pl. 7).

3) In *Volterra* in a whole series of leave-takings (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) a horse is held ready to indicate the last journey, cf. Brunn-K. Ril. III, 59—64. Here pl. 63 f. clearly form a part of this series: for this reason I cannot adopt Koerte's view as I have already stated (p. 19); this must be a last farewell, before the deceased descends into the nether world, not an epiphany, in order to summon the wife to follow. To be added are 4) *Volterra* 308 = Brunn-K. III, 65, 4 f. (forming in this manner a link between two series ¹) and 5) *Volterra* 451 = Br.-K. III, 76, 16 ²): leave-taking and departure: the kneeling figure arranges the shoes of the departing man.

6) a similar type in *Chiusi*. (Mus. civ. No. 326 or 328; 2nd/1st cent. B. C.) is mentioned in Brunn-K. Ril. III on p. 73.

7) *Chiusi* now Berlin. Urn 5th cent. B. C. Banquet: one of the short sides dancers, the other with man leading horse. Berlin Kurze Besch. Sk. (1922) No. 1237.

8) *Chiusi* now Florence Mus. arch. etr. Room XXI No. 5557 (Inv.) 2nd/1st cent. B. C. A solitary horse. Brunn-K. III, 149, 12; several replicas.

9) *Chiusi* similar type, differences in detail; Brunn-K. III, 133, 2.

10) *Felsina* stele Bologna No. 42 (Ducati), 390/60 B. C. (cf. Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 715). Similar. Ducati in his text (col. 533 f.) seems to me not quite correct, when he declares the motive to be purely ornamental. Ducati Mon. Linc. XX fig. 79 col. 677.

¹) also J. R. S. 1924 pl. I, 5; V, 26; XII, 83; XVII, 109b; 117; 122, all from Asia minor of Roman epoch.

²) the resemblance to *Volterra* 288 (= Inghirami M. E. I, 80; Brunn-K. II, 29, is altogether accidental and due, in the first place, to the state of mutilation which has effaced differences, then to the fact that in both cases a horse is being brought up, on 451 for the last journey, but in 288 in order to enable a servant to carry away the monster. Koerte in the text to II, 29, 5a overrates the difficulties and the so-called stupidity of the artist. He is right in separating from this series Br.-K. II, 109, 3, the which no one has as yet succeeded in interpreting.

Motive IX *Figure rudely carried away by demon*, who sometimes seizes her by the hair. Occurs repeatedly: No. 30/1; 98/9; but some of the groups with a figure between 2 demons come under this heading. There are analogies to these groups, but not so many as one would be apt to suppose after having perused the literature on the subject. Unmistakable rudeness is to be found on the *Volterranean* urn No. 405 Guarnacci (Brunn-K. III, 47, 6 d.), where a departing figure is seized by the hair; a similar scene is *Volterranean* (Florence Mus. arch. etr. Room XXI No. 5515 Inv. = Brunn-K. Ril. III, 47, 6 l.) In *Chiusi* the numerous urns of the types Br.-K. III, 57, 6 and 7 have something of the sort. On vases (of about 300/275) the same is to be seen, cf. the vase Waser Charon etc. II B 21 (cited above) and those in Mus. Faina (cf. before: Ducati Ceram. gr. II fig. 344, but for those cf. also Motive X)¹). But in no case do we find the sadistic lust of doing ill, which we see on the porches of our medieval cathedrals: we find the rudeness of those, who have no reverence for the weak or old or timid, not the cruelty which is supposed to punish fictitious ill deeds and to bring fear to the living. And the unpleasant treatment accorded to some, symbolizing rather the fact that death is often difficult, is quite counterbalanced by other scenes (Motive X and XI) where death appears as a friend, or at least a kind guide, reminding us of Schubert's song: *der Tod und das Mädchen*. The figures are either kindly introduced into Orcus or urged to accept death as a means of salvation.

Motive X *Old man sustained by demon* (figures No. 135/6, and possibly also 15—19 of my catalogue) is one of the cases just alluded to. Analogies can easily be found.

1) on two of the set of three vases in the Museo Faina at *Orvieto* an old man similar to the one in the tomb here is being kindly led by a demon. That another demon behind is pushing him rudely does not lessen the kindness of the other's action. Ducati Cer. gr. II fig. 344, 2/3.

2) On the urn *Volterra* Mus. Guarnacci No. 54 Charun also is leading a figure by the hand. Brunn-K. Ril. III, 92, 1 f.

3) The *Felsinean* stelae have the same subject several times, cf. numbers 43; 84; 105; 168; possibly also 94. For the general treatment of the subject cf. Ducati Mon. Linc. XX, 606 ff. (who, however, does not notice this side of the representation); for reproductions cf. the descriptive catalogue in the first part of his paper.

In one case a demon actually pushes somebody to death. I refer to the scene on the stamnos Casuccini (now in Palermo?) from *Chiusi*, where a demon instigates Ajax to suicide, evidently representing death to him as the only salvation from his intolerable grief. The sense is quite clear when one compares a cista from Praeneste with the same representation (d. Seta Catal. Villa Giulia p. 439 No. 13148 in fine). The vase Casuccini is to be found Reinach R. V. P. I, 278, 1. The greater number of the monuments cited here are 4th cent. or a little later; only the urn in Volterra is 2nd/1st cent. B. C.

Motive XI *Two figures seated one in front of the other, one with a child on her lap: the child is being fetched by a demon*. Fig. 127/130 of my catalogue. Once more a scene where Etruscan demons appear as friendly beings. Two figures seated in this manner occur rather seldom; for Etruria I know only the stele from *Antella* (now in Florence: Martha Art étr. fig. 165; \pm 500 B. C.); elsewhere it may frequently be found on Hittite funeral stelae (cf. E. Meyer: Reich u. Kultur d. Chet. fig. 28 ff.). For the motive of woman

1) cf. Lucianus Dial. Mort. 21, 2: ἀναγκαζόμενοι and ὀθούμενοι; 5, 1 and 2; 27, 1; Catapl. 5; Menipp. 11. Cf. note by Jacobitz ad Dial. Mort. 21, 1 (τοῦ ποδοῦ).

with child on her lap (the exactitude of which can be doubted here) cf. the *Chiusian* urn Br.-K. Ril. III, 100, 16 (2nd/1st cent. B. C.)¹), which translated into painting, would give a very similar figure. The scene recalls strongly the pathetic sorrow portrayed on the Campana slabs from *Cervetri* in the Louvre (\pm 550 B. C.; Martha Art étr. pl. IV facing p. 428). Though in detail the interpretation may be doubtful, it is clear that a soul is being carried away by the flying demon, and has only just parted from the figures, which are speaking together on the left. One is reminded unvoluntarily of the monument of the Harpies in Xanthos, where similar scenes are portrayed²). The painting in Cardinale belongs to the same order of ideas: swift death approaching unexorably but kindly and carrying away the soul. But I think that the treatment accorded to it by Weege (Etr. Mal. p. 37 ff.) is a good deal too fantastical, and his comparison with the mediaeval „dances macabres” is altogether inappropriate. What is just the central point there, the satirical and social character, is lacking entirely here: the atmosphere of the piece is thoughtful and tender.

Motive XII *Figures carrying objects on head and shoulders.* (fig. 137 and 138 of my catalogue). The scene is common enough and gives no scope for symbolic interpretations (cf. Weege Etr. Mal. p. 37). The following materials will make quite clear that we have to do with figures carrying luggage.

1) *Civita Musarna* (near Viterbo, territory of Tarquinia) sarcophagus already referred to (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) cf. Brunn-K. Ril. III p. 106 No. 6.

2) *Vulci* sarcophagus with „wedding day” (cf. below) 2nd half 3rd cent. B. C. Woman with box on her head. Martha Art étr. fig. 245/6.

3) *Volterra* numerous examples on urns 2nd/1st cent. B. C. cf. Brunn-K. Ril. III, 60, 3a (= Mus. Guarnacci 571 now??); 4b; 69, 1 and 3; 70, 2 with replicas; 72, 7 with several replicas and 8 g.; 75, 14; 76, 15 and 16. Remarkable is Volterra Mus. Guarnacci 118 (= Inghirami Mon. étr. I, 31; Brunn-K. text ad III, 75, 13), because the luggage has been fastened to a stick, and is being carried in this way³). Apparently there are two kinds of transport, on the shoulder and on the head. The latter way of transporting objects (baskets in particular) is frequently to be seen in Florentine paintings of the early Renaissance (cf. Springer Kunstgesch. III¹¹, fig. 133 (Filippo Lippi); fig. 136 (Benozzo Gozzoli). The scenes on the urns mostly show slaves being employed in this manner, but it is clear that common people had to carry their things for themselves⁴), and this is certainly the case in our tomb. A different

1) I doubt whether it is of any use to compare two funeral statues (6th cent.) from *Chiusi* (exactly Chianciano; but Milani says Città d. Pieve) in Florence Mus. arch. étr. topogr. Room of Clusium, one of which (in Vitrine D) with a child on her lap. Is she really what Milani (Mus. topogr. (1898) 63 f.) calls her? For Mater Matuta cf. Roscher s.v. In any case two statues, recalling these, in Mus. Papa Giulio are of quite a different kind though the type is similar (cf. d. Seta Catal. Villa Giulia p. 117 f.). They seem to be Campanian \pm 200 B. C. from Capua (?).

2) *slabs of Cervetri*: Brunn Kl. Schr. I, 154 ff. (= Ann. Inst. 1859, 325 ff.); Stryk Stud. étr. Kammergr. 34 f. (follows Brunn, but his citations are erroneous); Daremb.-S. s. v. Funus 1383 with note 12; Radermacher Jenseits 112 f. (inexact with regard to the fluttering figure, which is not a demon, but a soul); Martha Arch. étr. et rom. 71 (scene of sacrifice); Martha Art. étr. 425 ff. (funeral scene); Ducati in Mon. Linc. XX, 610 f. (journey of deceased; beginning of journey on foot. He also compares Monum. of Harpies). *Monument of Harpies*: Am. Journ. Arch. 1907, 321 ff.; Brunn Abh. Bayr. Ak. Philos. — philol. Kl. 1872, 523 ff.; Friederichs—Wolters No. 127—130, where preceding literature; Rayet Mon. ant. I, 13—16; Picard Sculpt. ant. I, 169, 1, insists upon Hittite origin of this sculpture. For souls carried by birds cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 71, 42 ff.; carried by demons ibid. 73, 37 ff. The Bocanera slabs have nothing to do here cf. J. H. S. 1889 pl. VII.

3) this was customary with the Roman legionaries cf. Rich Rom. Antiq. fig. s. v. Impediti (of the French edit.); Daremb.-S. s. v. Impedimenta.

4) cf. also Aristoph. Frogs 1—37 and Kock's note ad v. 8 f.

solution might be possible, viz. that the foremost figure on Weege E. M. pl. 59, 3 is lamenting. The gesture is very similar on a *Volterranean* urn in Florence (Mus. arch. etr. Room XXI, No. 5515 (Inv.) = Brunn-K. III, 47, 61), and it is quite intelligible in connexion with the scene (leave-taking; Koerte l.l. does not explain it) and on a *Chiusian* urn, now in Palermo (Brunn-K. III, 77, 2; in this case also the text is silent), where, however, the interpretation seems much less certain to me, though the movements are strikingly like the other.

Motive XIII *Two demons transporting a small car*. Fig. 140/2 of my catalogue. For this I do not know of any parallel.

§ 4 — Tomba del Tifone \pm 150 B. C.

PROCESSION. The type consists of the deceased surrounded by followers, among whom musicians (cornicines) and rod-bearers. The whole escorted by demons at the head, bringing up the rear and also in the centre.

Similar processions occur in other tombs, but among those lost and those preserved especially in *Tarquinia*.

1) t. degli Scudi Section 2, \pm 330/20 B. C.: here the similarity is striking (cf. § 2 above) Mon. ined. Suppl. pl. 4, 1; 5, 2.

2) t. d. Mercareccia 2nd room entrance wall. \pm 300 B. C. Byres Hypogaei I, 8.

3) t. Bruschi walls B and C \pm 150 B. C. Variations in detail, but the type as a whole the same. Brunn: Kl. Schr. I, fig. 47, p. 191 = Mon. ined. VIII, 36.

To these I add an almost unknown tomb:

4) t. Forlivesi A (2nd cent. B. C.). This tomb has been referred to above in connection with the chariots in t. d. Cardinale (motive VI; there also literature). It was Cybele, who was depicted here, but her chariot was preceded by 12 men: 4 playing cymbals, 4 flute, 4 tympana. Though the meaning is different, the general appearance strongly recalls that of our tomb. Finally there is a possibility that Forlivesi mistook a tomb with the procession of a magistrate (cf. below) for a religious procession, and that his fancy did the rest.

5) } 3 sarcophagi in the Museum of *Tarquinia*, all of them with similarly grouped
6) } processions (but with deceased on chariot; 2nd half 3rd cent. and 2nd/1st cent.
7) } B. C.). One of them (on which the men carry rods, which does not occur on the
others) unpublished; for the others cf. Brunn Kl. Schr. I, 251 (except the one also mentioned Brunn-K. III, p. 93, which does not belong to this type).

Within the sphere of the artistic influence of *Tarquinia* I noticed:

8) *Norchia* relief in the façade of one of the tombs. Its probable date, it seemed to me, would prove it to be Hellenistic, and, when I inspected the originals, I concluded it to be of the 2nd rather than of the 3rd cent. judging by what can still be discerned of the style of the relief ¹⁾. Daremb.-S. s. v. Etrusques fig. 2804. A rather elaborate description Dennis I³, 200 f. The deceased is walking.

9) *Civita Musarna* (near Viterbo). Sarcophagus in the Museo Comunale of Viterbo (2nd/1st cent. B. C.). Dennis I³, 191; Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 106 f. No. 6. The deceased is on

1) the date suggested by the Curators of the Museum at Florence (where one fragment is preserved = Dennis I³, 200) is certainly much too early. Fifth cent. reliefs in Etruria are of a very different appearance. It seems to me that my date is confirmed by the observations J. R. S. 1925, 42 ff.

chariot here. This type recalls strongly the relief of the Monument of Philopappus at Athens (consul preceded by lictors) of ± 115 A. D., reprod. Springer Kunstgesch. I¹⁰, fig. 1014; more completely Stuart-Revet (ed. Bell London 1913) pl. 63.

10) *Toscanella* (now Mus. Gregoriano Rome; 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Again the deceased is on chariot, but for the rest, the procession is very similar, only there are no musicians. Brunn-K. Ril. III, p. 106, 4.

Remaining in the Maremma, we have yet to mention:

11) *Cervetri* (now Mus. Gregoriano Rome) date probably Hellenistic Brunn-K. III, p. 104.

12) *Vulci*. Sarcophagus ± 200 B. C., as a rule called „of the wedding day”. That this is wrong, appears from our present considerations. The woman and the man are taking leave: the persons behind the man are to be his escort on his last journey. The man with the sella is to be found on the sarcophagus from Cervetri, and on urns from Volterra (cf. below); lituus and cornu reappear constantly in this sort of scenes; flute and cithara occasionally also on urns from Volterra (it should be observed that male and female servants occur indiscriminately); cf. also below t. Tartaglia. Martha Art étr. fig. 245.

13) *Volterra*, series of urns 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Brunn-K. III, 84, 2—86, 5. Man on quadriga lictores and musicians preceding.

14) Related is ibid. 92, 4 and 5; 4 the actual procession, 5 the leave-taking that took place before. The plate 91, 2 and 3, however, shows what the true procession of a magistrate was really like. It is clear that most of the instances cited here are not of this class, but merely represent Etruscan noblemen on their last journey. So does the t. d. Tifone.

15) *Chiusi*. Here, in the 5th cent., occur scenes on cippi, which recall the procession in Tifone, but the resemblance is only superficial, for it is real funeral processions that are represented. Cf. Daremb-S. s.v. Funus 1383 with note 2 (not quite exact). The same is the case with urns in Berlin (Altes Mus. Kurze Beschr. 1922 No. 1223; 1226; 1229). They are noteworthy, however, because they show us how in the later period the idea of the journey came to be confused with that of the real funeral procession. (Important for the understanding of the development of the religious thought?).

16) *Orvieto*. In greatly curtailed form the procession appears on the entrance wall of the t. Golini ± 360 B. C. Martha Art étr. fig. 281.

We now turn to some details of the scene in Tifone. The most striking one is the twisted rods. They are carried by some of the men in the ranks before and behind the principal person. The following analogies have come to my knowledge.

1) *Tarquinia* t. d. Mercareccia ± 300 B. C. It is doubtful whether the rods are twisted or not. Byres Hypogaei I, 8.

2) *Norchia* one of the façades (3rd or) 2nd cent. B. C. So far as can be seen they are carried by the persons behind the principal figure. Daremb. S. s.v. Etrusques fig. 2804. The motive itself is certain cf. Dennis Cit. and Cem. I³, 200 f.; J. R. S. 1925, 43 ff.,

Those in the t. d. Rilievi at *Cervetri* (3rd cent. B. C.) are of a similar, yet somewhat different kind, cf. Martha Art étr. pl. III facing p. 296.

3) *Orvieto* t. d. Hescanas ± 360 B. C. Figure preceding the main figure: in combination with 2 musicians. As in the case of one of the figures in t. d. Tifone he carries it together with another rod.

The question of its meaning has often been raised; Dennis l.l. 201,5 gives a spicilegium

of explanations. Of those mentioned none is satisfactory. Funalia, a sort of torches, are out of question; also, so far as can be seen, the „Golden Bough” (cf. Frazer) which was probably a simple branch; magisterial rods cannot be thought of, because, as we have seen, the procession is not that of a magistrate, moreover it was a different kind of rod that was carried on such occasions (cf. Brunn-K. III, 91): and the emblems of supplication (symbol of the Etruscan Hades) which Dennis himself suggests are excluded, because the rods in the tomb are clearly not wound round with wool, but are of one piece. The only thing, which can possibly bring us nearer a solution seems to be to me an affinity with the caduceus. Though the origin of this does not seem to have been explained as yet (cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Mercurius 2805, 66 ff. and 2807, 23 ff. (magical rod supplanting caduceus; cf. also Norden Aen. B. VI², p. 171 f.); s.v. Hermes 2365, 16 ff. and 2401, 15 ff.; Daremb.-S. s.v. Mercurius 1807 (bow with twigs bound round it as origin of caduceus; I incline to see the same thing here); Sarasin Helios u. Keraunos 80 f.), there seem to be Mycenaean and Oriental representations, which anticipate the motive ¹). It may be we have a parallel development with a similar meaning: if this is so the men provided with it would be a sort of heralds.

It will be noticed that these rods are carried in the hands concealed beneath the drapery. This is not the case in the t. degli Hescanas; in Norchia and the t. d. Mercareccia there is no certainty to be obtained. In some cases on other monuments, I think there is clearly an allusion to the shroud (e.g. Br.-K. III, 65, 4 f.; 70, 4), also in the Egyptian oushebtis carrying their tools, but in others it has quite the same meaning as in our tomb (e.g. t.d. Scudi section 1; t. Bruschi; sarcophagus from Toscanella (Br.-K. III, p. 106, 4; sarcophagus Volterra No. 124 *ibid.* 90, 1; that at Tarquinia *ibid.* p. 106, 5). It is quite a different thing from that treated by Dieterich Kl. Schr. 440 ff. and has no mystic or religious significance whatever. More probably it originates in a sense of what is correct and appropriate: it can frequently be observed in sculpture from the 4th cent. onwards (statuettes of Tanagra; statues with Hellenistic drapery). In the province of oratory also we meet with injunctions which point to similar ideas (Cic. Orator 59; cf. the Arringatore and Pericles' attitude while speaking). Whether in some Bacchic representations (vase of Brygos Pfuhl Mal. Z. fig. 427 and the reliefs from the theatre in Athens Reinach R. R. G. R. II, 371 f.), in the reliefs of Hermes with nymphs (Reinach R. R. G. R. II, 358 ff.) there can be a religious meaning seems doubtful. It seems to be excluded in the exvoto's *ibid.* II, 362; 366; where, again, it is in courtesy rather, that we must seek the explanation.

The type of the GIGANTS on the pillar is decorative and too clearly meant to be that of figures supporting the cornice above for there to be any question of their belonging to the class of Typhons, which occur so very often on the urns (cf. Brunn-Koerte Ril. III, 11 ff.) Besides, the third figure, the woman terminating in volutes, puts this beyond any

1) A similar symbol occurs on Babylonian and later monuments which possibly represents lightning; it might have been a symbol of death (cf. Arch. Jahrb. 1925, 39 fig. 27 ff.; Frank Kunstg. i. Bildern I, 2, 54, 3; Meissner Bab.-ass.Platt. fig. 121; 134; also, however, fig 197, where certainly lightning is represented). It would seem that the crossing expresses swift movement, cf. Bezold Niniveh u. Babylon fig. 61, whilst also the „guilloché” band expresses the same thing, cf. Meissner l.l. fig. 200 f.; Frank l.l. 42, 4. The lightning motive could have come to Italy through the Minoan-Mycenaean medium. On the other hand one should compare a whip of the same formation, used by a centurion on a coin of the gens Didia (Cohen Méd. cons. pl. XVI). Here again rapid movement is expressed by the crossing. This, at the same time, proves that the objects in the tomb are different, for they are in rest.

doubt. ¹⁾ For the use of similar figures in architecture cf. my paper on the „Giants Hall” in Athens in Bull. Corr. Hell. 1927.

The last thing that must be pointed out is the FRIEZE OF DOLPHINS AND WAVES running round the walls. Similar friezes occur frequently in the archaic period already and are to be found down to the time of the later Hellenistic tombs. It has been said ²⁾ that it symbolizes the voyage over the sea, which the deceased had to take in order to reach the land of death (cf. before p. 26 f. on riding and travelling by chariot). This is not impossible, though it may be doubted whether, in the frequent use made of it, this idea was always present to the mind of the painter. The decorative value will often have been uppermost. We have, however, definite proofs of the existence of such a belief. In the first place there are the marine demons so often decorating the fronts of urns (Brunn-K. Ril. III, 11 ff.) and the actual journey on the backs of sea-demons, which enjoyed such popularity on Roman monuments (ibid. 28 ff.; for Rome Br. Schröder: Stud. zu den Grabd. röm. Kaizerz. 21). In Etruria as well as in Roman times (cf. Schröder l.l. 22) we find the notion that this last journey has to be taken on a ship ³⁾. The following monuments represent this.

1) two urns in *Volterra* (276 and 277) Brunn-K. III, 68, 1/2. Koerte thinks it pretty certain that we have a representation of the last journey; it may be with an allusion to the man's profession. Cf. also Frova in Rinnovam. 1908, 1, 339.

2) urn in *Perugia* (now lost) Brunn-K. III, 133, 3; probably an instance of the same, it may be with a more realistic strain in it, cf. Koerte in the text.

3) Much more uncertain is a lost tomb in *Tarquiniæ*, the t. Forlivesi C. That there was a ship is certain, but whether the persons on it were mythological or were a company taking the last journey cannot now be ascertained. Cf. Bull. Inst. 1831, 92 ff. (letter to Gerhard, giving an extract from Forlivesi's description; Dennis Cit. and Cem. I³, 384, 7 (exact but for the words „seated on the deck”): Weege Etr. M. 78 (exact translation, but omits last three words of original text; p. 79 he says the persons may represent Dionysus and Ariadne. True?).

A ship also appears on the *Felsinean* stele No. 10 (Ducati) \pm 430 B. C. = Mon. Linc. XX, fig. 82, col. 685 f., but Ducati judges, and probably he is right, that there is no symbolism here (cf. col. 684). Lastly should be mentioned the urn *Volterra* Mus. Guarnacci No. 67 = Brunn-K. III, 42, 1, a composition recalling somewhat Heracles crossing the Oceanus in the cup of Helios (Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Herakles fig. col. 2204; s. v. Welt-schöpfung 455 note 3). But the interpretation being exceedingly obscure, I will not venture a suggestion. Fr. Cumont in his work on Roman After Life 154 f. has collected a vast amount of material concerning this conception, ranging from Egyptian beliefs to early Christian doctrine. Two other suggestions might be made here. In the excavations at San Sebastiano near Rome a room has been found, decorated with a wall painting representing a port ⁴⁾, beneath it was scratched the inscription $\chi\theta\omega\nu \epsilon\kappa\pi\iota\tau\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$. Mr. Leopold, who was the last, so far as my knowledge goes, to treat the subject (Meded. Rome IV (1924) 98) declares the words to be unintelligible. Though it has been stated

1) a similar figure occurs in a tomb in Myra (Lydia); Canina Etr. Mar. II, 125 cf. p. 161 and Archit. ant. II, 1, 8.

2) e. g. Weege ad Etr. Mal. fig. 52; cf. Radermacher Jenseits 89 f.

3) cf. Radermacher Jenseits 90.

4) cf. Prof. Vollgraff B. C. H. 1924, 178 ff. about $\delta\theta\mu\sigma\sigma$.

that the room was never used as a burying place it might possibly have served as a place for funeral meals and the like, and be decorated as such with paintings relating to death. In this case, the inscription might state that the said port was the „harbour of those, who land” after having crossed the turbulent sea of life. We would then have another symbol of a similar thought. There is yet another monument of the Roman epoch, unexplained as yet, which I would be inclined to connect with this doctrine: the Roman relief (of Flavian epoch?) in the Museo delle Terme Paribeni Catal. 1922, No. 532 which, though badly damaged, makes an interpretation as „arrival on the Isle of the Blessed” possible ¹⁾.

§ 5 — **Tomba Tartaglia** 180/70 B. C.(?). The description of this tomb will be discussed in a later publication. We select certain figures as, properly speaking, belonging to the scene (the „hanging” figures do *not* belong to it) and to be divided into 3 groups viz. 1) two figures taking leave between 2 Charuns; 2) a soul conducted between 3 demons; 3) two figures taking leave, or a demon reaching out his hand to a figure in order to sustain her.

Motive I *two figures taking leave between 2 Charuns*, one of whom takes hold of his victim, while the other one advances at a run. Weege E. M. fig. 28. There is a great number of analogies.

In *Tarquini*a there are two tombs; now lost, which treated the subject.

1) t. Anonima di 1832 \pm 230/200 B. C. Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 37.

2) t. d. Mercareccia \pm 300 B. C. On the right hand part of the back wall 2 figures, each reaching out the hand to the other. On the left wall the horse is ready for the final journey. Other figures also are present (cf. below ad Volterra). Weege E. M. fig. 66.

3) *Vulci* Vase with Admetus and Alcestis \pm 300 B. C. Dennis Cit. and Cem. II³ frontispiece.

4) *Vulci* Sarcophagus found there, but later (now still? Or in the Vatican?) at Musignano. Probably \pm 250 B. C. Described by Dennis I³, 470.

In *Chiusi* it is of frequent occurrence.

5) Mus. civ. Chiusi No. 326 (328?) 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Brunn-K. III, p. 73.

6) the great sarcophagus of the Afuna family now at Palermo 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Brunn-K. Ril. III, 54, 1.

Also from Chiusi but of a different type is

7) Berlin Beschr. ant. Sk. (1922), 1302, 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Here the woman is sitting with a child on her lap. The motive recalls another Chiusian urn of the same epoch Br.-K. III, 55, 3 where the person left behind is also seated. The Berlin urn: B.-K. III, 100, 16.

8) Very numerous are the t. c. urns formed from moulds, a factory for which existed here: 3 types, or two at least, represent the last farewell, III, 57, 6 and 7, probably 9 also. The date of all is 2nd/1st cent. B. C. ²⁾.

In *Volterra* there is a great number of variants, which I enumerate only with reference to Brunn-Koerte. Date 2nd/1st cent. B. C.

9) Brunn-Koerte III, 45, 2—48.

10) *ibid.* 49, 9 and 10.

1) cf. Not. Sc. 1917, 304; provenance Via Salaria. The car starting from the water recalls somewhat Ducati's theory about the journey on the Felsinean stelae, cf. p. 26 f. above.

2) cf. Friedrich Sark. Stud. (= Nachr. Ges. Wiss. Gött. 1895) 36.

11) *ibid.* 50—54, all different types.

12) *ibid.* 58, 1/2.

13) *ibid.* 59—62.

14) *ibid.* 63—67, type of „epiphany” cf. p. 19 above.

15) *ibid.* 68 type with ship, cf. p. 35 above.

16) *ibid.* 92, 5; here a warrior is taking leave probably of his father. There is a combination with the type of the procession.

In most of those cases demons are present, but that this is not necessary will be seen from an inspection of the plates of Brunn-Koerte and the variants enumerated in the text.

A word may be said with respect to the well-known sarcophagus from *Vulci* (2nd half 3rd cent. B. C.) often designated as that „with the wedding day”. It belongs wholly to the type dealt with here (cf. also ad Tifone. p. 33) and is really one with a farewell scene. It is curious that in such a manner a mistake should be perpetuated, which was already made by antiquarians as ancient as Gori c. s., who pronounced urns of the type Br.-K. III, 57, 6 and 7 to be „Nuptiae Etruscorum” (cf. e. g. Gori Mus. Etr. I, 189, 1).

The curious objects conceived generally as objects destined for tormenting¹⁾ carried by some of the demons in our present tomb might be keys. This appears from the comparison with the following monuments.

1) *Chiusi*; sarcophagus of Afuna family 2nd/1st cent. B. C. The goddess Van^o handles a big object, in which Koerte also (cf. text III, p. 63) sees a key. Brunn-K. III, 54, 1; cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Van^o.

2) *Chiusi*; urn 5th cent. B. C. in the neighbourhood of this place: shade transported between two demons, the second of which is bearded and carries a huge key; cf. Koerte p. 116; plate 98, 12.

3) *Volterra*, now Munich; urn 2nd/1st cent. B. C. On one of the short sides Lasa with key, cf. Brunn Ril. I, 29, 7 and text p. 35.

4) Almost certainly also *Volterra*, one of the urns with „epiphany”: 2nd/1st cent. B.C.: a man standing before a door evidently with the intention to enter. Brunn-K. III, 63, 1 and text p. 76.

5) *Perugia* neighbourhood of this city. Man seized by two demons, the female one carrying a key: Brunn-K. III, 94, 5 and text. p. 114; 2nd/1st cent. B. C.

6) I thought I could make out keys on the urns treated Brunn-K. III, p. 236 f. (Supplemento), where Koerte speaks only of mutilated objects. Here, too, there are infernal demons in question.

7) in the collections of the Museo civico in *Arezzo* I found some bronze objects, rather big (abt. 20—30 c.M.) that remind us closely of the instruments in t. Tartaglia. There is no explanation attached to them but I am inclined to consider them to be keys. A similar example occurs Rich: Antiquités romaines s. v. Clavis laconica. For the size cf. also Daremb.—Saglio s. v. Sera (keys of 40 c.M. for temple doors; why could they not be greater yet for the ianua Ditis?).

That this genus of beings was supposed to be provided with them is quite well to be

1) cf. Weege E. M. 32 ff.; his explanation of the use of it is, however, impossible. Very similar instruments occur on a painting of the pseudo-Geertgen tot St. Jans and elsewhere in modern art. Similar scenes can have influenced the artist who made the engravings of the t. Tartaglia. They are, therefore, a false interpretation on his side.

understood: they presided over the entrance to the nether world. In Greek mythology Hades sometimes had keys (cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Hades 1785, 21 ff.; 1800, 39; Rohde Psyche I⁶, 310, 1 in fine; Daremb.—S. s. v. Sera in fine), also the Parcae (Roscher s. v. Moira 3102, 10 ff.). For Roman religion (Janus). cf. Wissowa Rel. K. Römer², 106; 112.

Motive II. *A shade between two demons*. The subject has been treated in t. d. Cardinale Motive IV.

Motive III. *Either two figures taking leave of each other = Motive I of this tomb or demon extending his hand to a figure*.

This may be identical with the motive of the old man in t. d. Cardinale (motive X). That the figure extending her hand is a demon is rendered probable by the fact that, so far as can be ascertained, she wears cothurni, the ordinary wear of demons. They need not have wings, cf. e. g. t. d. Tifone, where not a single demon has wings; t. Anonima di 1832 neither; a great number of urns (Br.-K. III, 42, 2; 48, 7 and 8; 49, 9; 51, 13; 54, 1; 70, 2 and 4; 90, 1a; 95, 6 etc.). Male demons especially are often without.

§ 6 — Tomba Anonima di 1832; 230/200 B. C. A young and an old man taking leave of each other between 2 Charuns, one resting on his inverted hammer, the other running on, in order to catch his victim. It may be the scene took place before a gate (cf. Weege Etr. Mal. fig. 37 and Ann. Inst. 1866, 438; Dennis Cit. and Cem. I, 385). The question will be considered in a later publication.

The representation has been treated in connection with the preceding tomb. The position of the hammer recurs t. d. Cardinale motive II. The importance of the gates has been pointed out in t. d. Cardinale motive V.

§ 7 — Tomba Bruschi ± 150 B. C.

Motive I. *Woman at her toilet: a little female slave holding up a mirror to her*. This little scene placed among others of quite a different meaning (cf. Brunn: Kl. Schr. I, fig. 47, p. 191) is very interesting. It is impossible that this should have no meaning at all, but what are the contents? Similar scenes occur more than once in funeral art.

1) Most conspicuous is a class of *Oscan* tomb-paintings probably of the 4th cent. B. C. published by Weege Arch. Jahrb. 1909, 99 ff. (cf. Reinach R. P. G. R. 243), where the toilet scene appears repeatedly. Weege himself however (p. 136) sees in them only a secular subject. But in Etruria they are also found.

2) *Perugia* 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Brunn-K. III, 110, 3 = Bellucci Catal. Mus. Univ. No. 18 p. 39. Woman at her toilet.

3) *Perugia* t. d. Volunni 2nd/1st cent. B. C.: Brunn-K. III, 135, 5 (not in E. Galli: Perugia, Necropoli del Palazzone). Only the bust of a woman looking at herself in a mirror.

4) *Chiusi* 2nd/1st cent. B. C. Woman (in no case Venus, as Koerte l.l. says) sitting on a Triton arranging her hair, while an Eros holds a mirror up to her. Brunn-K. III, 33, 10.

5) *Volterra*, one of the urns with the epiphany of the deceased husband, 2nd/1st cent. B. C. A female servant is handing the mirror to her mistress. In this case, as we shall see, there is possibly some support for Koerte's hypothesis, because the woman might be supposed to be dressing for death as for a marriage; but it is equally possible that she dres-

ses for the very reason, that it is her husband that is approaching. In this case Koerte remains without support ¹⁾.

That death was looked upon as a marriage is amply testified by ancient authors: women were thought to marry Hades just as men married Persephone ²⁾. The urns with the rape of Persephone (Brunn-K. III, 1, 1 ff.) and the monuments and ideas connected with it ³⁾ belong to this part of our subject. And, after all, the fertility motives dealt with in connection with the ithyphallic shades in t. d. Orco (cf. p. 4 f.) may have their place here. One may doubt, whether the articles of toilet occurring on the above-mentioned sarcophagus from *Vulci* (Martha Art étr. fig. 245) have a meaning only in so far, as they characterize the life of woman, or whether they allude to the „marriage with death”, in any case the *Volterranean* urns Brunn-K. III, 110, 1—2 (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) have something to do with a state of bliss in the hereafter which is conceived of as a meeting of man and woman: this is stated correctly by Koerte in the text. And that the scene in our tomb is not an ordinary one is indicated clearly enough by the pomegranate in the hand of the woman which is to be found, *passim*, in the Oscan tombs referred to above.

But is this thought of marriage with the death-god an Orphic one? That it is a mystical conception is clear at once; it is rather common, even, in Orphic doctrine (cf. the examples quoted by Macchioro *Zagreus* 70 f.); but it is not, for that reason, typical. It may *also* be Orphic under given circumstances, but it cannot be proved, that we have traces of exactly Orphic influence here. It might also be some other doctrine.

One question more must be posed: is it possible that we here have a case of the magic influence of the mirror? Its power, especially with regard to the soul, has been studied several times ⁴⁾. It may be it was believed to retain the soul of anyone who looked into it (cf. the case of Narcissus quoted by Frazer l.l. It seems to me that this may be the reason, why people are not petrified by the reflection of the Gorgon's head as they are, if they look at the head itself. The reflection takes away and retains the soul, and nullifies the terrible influence: what is seen is harmless and dead itself); but on the other hand Apuleius (*Apol.* 13 ff.) ascribes an edifying influence to its action and quotes a number of instances (Socrates; Demosthenes).

All things considered I do not think that in this case we have to do with the magic influence of the mirror, but I believe that the scene merely represents preparation in the sense indicated above.

Motive II *Procession of a man, musicians going before him, a demon behind, after whom some other persons walking leisurely.* For this motive, to be seen twice, cf. ad t.d. Tifone. In one case *persons are waiting*: this has been dealt with t. degli Scudi. For the concealing of the hands in the drapery cf. ad t. d. Tifone.

Motive III *Man on horseback*, occurring twice, has been dealt with in t. d. Cardinale.

1) I do not know what to say of a scene of a young man with a Lasa holding a mirror (?): Inghirami *Pittura vasi fitt.* IV, 385. Is it authentic or not?

2) Roscher *Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt* 93, 51 ff.; Pascal *Credenze* I, 40 ff.; Radermacher *Jenseits* 118; Lawson *Modern Gr. Folklore and Anc. Greek Rel.* 594 ff.

3) Roscher l.l. 73, 50 ff.; painting of Vibia Maass: *Orpheus* 219 cf. Pascal l.l., 99 f.

4) Spence *Encycl. of Occultism s. v. Hypnotism* 218 right col.; Cumont *After Life* 166; Rohde *Psyche* II⁴, 117, 1; Frazer (*Golden Bough* III) *Taboo and Perils of the Soul* 92 ff.; cf. I, 294 (after whom Samter: *Geburt* etc. 134 f.); Macchioro *Zagreus* 97 ff.; 135 ff. Between the scene in Villa Item and that on an Etruscan mirror (*Ann. Inst.* 1879 47 ff. = *Mon. ined.* XI, 3, 7; Gerhard *Etr. Sp.* V, 2, 93) the analogy is only superficial. In the case of Villa Item there is no drinking, in the other there is.

In one case a demon leads, in the other, warriors go before, one of them blowing the trumpet. The same thing (warriors going before) is to be found:

1) *Tarquinia* lost tomb 3rd cent. B. C. (?) (t. Forlivesi D), in which a man on an elephant preceded by warriors (Bull. Inst. 1831, 91 ff. = Dennis Cit. and Cem. I³, 384, 7, = Weege Etr. M. p. 78 f.).

2) *Orvieto* t. Golini \pm 360 B. C. Dennis Cit. Cem. II³ 54 ff. Martha Art étr. fig. 281.

3) *Volterra* 156, 2nd/1st cent. B. C. A scene full of warriors: Br.-K. III, 92, 5.

In two other cases at *Volterra*, however, the meaning is different, here a servant carries (or servants carry) only the lances of the master (Brunn-K. III, 70, 2a and 76, 15); these are not warriors.

Of course the meaning of the Oscan paintings with the men returning home (cf. Arch. Jahrb. 1909, 136 ff.) is an altogether different one.

For the SEATED DEMON on the pillar cf. the same motive in t. d. Cardinale (p. 22 f.); for the big woman on another face of the pillar, I do not know an exact parallel. A similar big figure also occurred in t. Byres A at *Tarquinia*, a tomb now lost (cf. Weege Etr. M. fig. 74 (giving another side of the pillar in the tomb) = Byres Hypogaei I, 2 ff.; Dennis I.I. I³, 398 ff.), but this was a Fury, which our figure evidently is not. But can she be Persephone and has she such a rôle as the figure has in t. d. Orco? I fear it will never be possible to ascertain.

Conclusion.

Reviewing the whole, we see that the paintings in the tombs in question embrace the following themes.

- 1) banquet-scenes (Orco; Scudi).
- 2) fighting scenes (Cardinale).
- 3) figures seated, while their child is being taken away (Cardinale).
- 4) scenes of leave-taking (anonima di 1832; Tartaglia).
- 5) woman preparing for marriage (Bruschi).
- 6) horses being brought forward for the last journey (Orco(?); Cardinale).
- 7) figure rudely carried away by one demon (Cardinale).
- 8) figure being carried away between two demons (Orco; Cardinale; Tartaglia).
- 9) figures moving calmly (Cardinale).
- 10) procession (Scudi; Tifone; Bruschi).
- 11) souls travelling on horseback (Cardinale; Bruschi).
- 12) souls travelling on cars (Cardinale).
- 13) old man sustained by demon (Cardinale; Tartaglia).
- 14) figures carrying luggage (Cardinale).
- 15) demons transporting car (Cardinale).
- 16) figure kneeling, demon advancing towards it (Cardinale).
- 17) demon leaning on hammer, watching figure (Cardinale).

Further, motives of minor importance.

- 18) Hades-Persephone (Orco).
- 19) demons in entrance (Orco).
- 20) demon writing (Scudi).

21) demons seated, and watching (Cardinale, Bruschi).
last of all,

22) purely mythological scenes (Orco)

Nearly all of these scenes have their analogies on other monuments, most of them through the whole of Etruria. The greater number of these analogies belong to the same epoch as the tombs dealt with here, but, as occasional citations from earlier times show us (e.g. journeys on horse-back, in cars etc.), these notions existed in the 5th and 6th cent. Although it is true that the change which took place \pm 400 B. C. (it will be more closely considered at the end of this study, p. 81 f.) made them a good deal more important, yet they are not new and are certainly not imported ideas just becoming prominent. On the contrary it might be called a national reaction following upon Hellenic action and has its roots much deeper than religion alone: the whole aspect of art was affected by it. Only in t. d. Orco do we see the remains of the former tendency, paying homage to the Greek epos. But its Necyia is as little Orphic as the Homeric Necyia itself: it is purely epic. And if we assume, as Weege does in his book *Etrusk. Mal.*, that the tombs analyzed here are Orphic in their contents, then we must be consistent, and say that the whole of the material compared in this chapter, must be Orphic, or *that nearly the whole of Etruscan funeral art in the Hellenistic epoch is illustrative of Orphic doctrines.*

Apart from this, there is only one other solution, viz., that the manner in which the available material was disposed of, was influenced by Orphism. This is very unlikely, for in the t. d. Cardinale e.g., the greatest composition of all, only one system can be made out in the treatment of the frieze, not a religious, but a decorative one, repeating various scenes mostly with a similar meaning, the journey to the Orcus.

But an investigation into what Orphic eschatology really contained, in so far as this was made known through the medium of Orphic poetry, will reveal to us the truth. In the following chapter an attempt will be made to reconstruct the main thought of this religious teaching.

CHAPTER II

Orphic eschatology of the early period

The book of Weege entitled *Etruskische Malerei* is intended to prove that the later Etruscan tomb paintings (of which, however, we saw in the preceding chapter that they contained no scenes of torture as he asserts they do) have been influenced by Orphic doctrines concerning punishment in the hereafter. I think we may begin with inquiring what is Orphism? A definition may prove not to be so easy to formulate as one might have supposed it would be: and, indeed, seeing that our knowledge on Orphic doctrines is somewhat scanty, it would seem safer not to attempt a definition at all ¹⁾.

For my own part I should say that Orphism was one of the many phenomena which, combined, make up the religious life of Antiquity, as distinct from the formal and ritualistic worship of the Olympian gods. It is one of the manifestations of ancient piety, extreme, it may be, and therefore conspicuous, and yet probably not much more fervent than average religious feeling nowadays, but unpopular, because entirely lacking in the great majority of people. It is no mere accident that not before the 5th cent. can we point out any definite references to Orphism and reaction upon it.

It may be taken as granted that the movement, as such, did not exist before about 550 B. C.: that is to say, that it was at that epoch, that it crystallized ²⁾. The circumstances were favourable. The tyrannis, based upon the lower strata of the population ³⁾ fostered

1) quite recently the question was posed by André Boulanger: *Orphée* (1925) Introd. p. 13 f. His answer certainly seems to me cautious, perhaps even a little over-cautious. He says: „Tout d'abord on donne communément le nom „d'orphisme à tout le vaste mouvement de mysticisme et de rénovation religieuse, qui se manifeste au début du 6^{mes.} avant „notre ère, et qui d'ailleurs n'est pas limité aux pays grecs. On tient donc pour orphiques toutes les nouveautés, qui apparaissent à cette époque dans le domaine moral et religieux... la croyance à des sanctions d'outre-tombe, la préoccupation d'une immortalité bienheureuse, la foi dans la vertu rédemptrice de l'ascétisme... En fait, nous verrons, que l'orphisme n'est qu'une forme très spéciale de cette révolution, et qu'il est illégitime d'en tirer l'explication universelle... „De plus on le confond systématiquement avec les mystères bachiques et les cultes du Dionysos infernal, alors qu'il en est „en réalité bien distinct. Enfin on le considère trop souvent comme un bloc insécable, une religion immobile. Or l'appellation „d'orphisme recouvre des réalités bien diverses... plus différentes l'une de l'autre, que ne le sont le pythagorisme et le „néo-pythagorisme. Enfin, dès le début de notre ère ce n'est plus qu'un élément composant du vaste syncrétisme religieux, d'où se sont dégagés le christianisme et les dernières formes du paganisme". Praiseworthy too is the attitude of mind shown by Gruppe-Pfister *Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt* 84, 14 ff.

2) I do not know whether Gruppe-Pfister *Roscher* l.l. 85, 51 ff. are right, when they declare that the beginning of the movement cannot be placed before 600 B.C. I think that there are sufficient traces pointing to the Mycenaean and Minoan strata of ancient civilisation, one of which may be the dominant place accorded to a goddess (Persephone) in the golden tablets (cf. Farnell *Greece and Babylon* 81 ff., especially 92 ff.). On the other hand F. points out essential differences between Greek and Mesopotamian religion (l.l. ch. XII). There are also numerous connexions with older poetry (cf. p. 43, 2 here). But in 85, 35 Gruppe and Pfister are right, cf. also Rohde *Psyche* II⁴, 105 with note 2, who is not in contradiction with us, see below.

3) Greenidge *Greek Constitutional History* 32; and p. 33 about religious elements; Wide *Griech. Rel. in Gercke-Norden Einl. Altert. Wiss.* II³, 201 s. Cf. also Gomperz *Griech. Denker* I, 110 f.

it as a popular movement. Before that, in the epochs painted by Homer and Hesiodus, the people, oppressed as they were, were a regular nothing. As a consequence the happiness unattainable for them here on earth was transferred to the hereafter their conception of it naturally being modelled on what they had seen and envied in the lives of the rich (banquets etc.). At the same time they certainly did not wish much good to their oppressors. Such an atmosphere, too, was favourable to ascetism; for if people suffered want and privation willingly their merit was all the greater ¹⁾. Such were the ideas which at this time (\pm 550 B. C.) were formulated more clearly and comprised in a system: a reaction upon the theology of the nobles expressed in the epic poems. It is a condensation of older, it may even be of very old beliefs ²⁾.

Whether the movement sprang from Ionia ³⁾ or Thracia ⁴⁾ is a question which does not concern us and which, I think, is not to the point. Similar movements have had the way prepared long beforehand and have sprung up everywhere, more in one place, fewer in another. So much is certain that Athens and Southern Italy became two very important centres ⁵⁾. We must say something more about Athens. The coalition between Orphism and tyrannis did not only rest upon the fact that they embodied popular ideas. Both were founded upon a similar conception: the equality of all men. The tyrannis gave it a political explanation, the followers of the mysteries a religious one: all members of the thiasos were of equal station, but all others would meet with a „worse fate” ⁶⁾. When the support of the mysteries, the tyrannis, died the consequences were rather grave. Some of the mysteries, those of Eleusis e.g., lost nearly all religious value ⁷⁾ in the effort to retain their dominating influence, others, and such was the case with Orphism, went to extremes in another direction and the only criterium it admitted for the granting of eternal bliss in the hereafter was corporal and spiritual purity. Driven by the derision of the average man it fixed its ideal much too high and on account of this gradually came to deserve more or less the attacks, to which it was subjected ⁸⁾. Nevertheless the movement must always have been rather strong ⁹⁾, otherwise neither can the vehemence of

1) cf. the beautiful pages Cumont *After Life* 115 f.

2) This accounts for kindred opinions on cosmogony propounded by Homer and Thales (cf. Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 137 ff.; Roscher *Myth. Lex. s.v. Weltschöpfung* 434, 49 ff.) and it seems to me to be the exact conception of the „Orphic interpolations” in Homer, so readily admitted after Wilamowitz *Hom. Unters.* 199 ff. (cf. Diels *N. Jahrb.* 1922, 241; *Malten Arch. Jahrb.* 1913, 43; Dieterich *Nek.* 63; 77; Dörfler *Wiener Stud.* 1911, 197; 206; Pascal *Credenze* I, 224 ff; Macchiore *Zagreus* 176; 260. Protests have been uttered by Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 62f.; Radermacher *Jenseits* 10, 1; Gruppe *Pfister I.L.* 41, 48 ff. (hesitatingly); 79, 52 ff. (here one is startled by the phrase: „die *Unternehmungen*, die sich mit den *Beschwörungen* befassen” 81, 10 ff.); 84, 24 ff.). That some connection exists with the pre-Hellenic population has often been stated, cf. Prof. Vollgraff: *Ἐριφός ἐσ γὰρ ἔπειτα* in *Meded. Ac. Wetensch. Amsterdam Afd. Letterk.* 1924, 19 ff.; S. Reinach *Rev. Arch.* 1903, 199 f.; Cumont *After Life* 201; Macchiore *Zagreus* 156; Maass *Orpheus* 143 ff.; J. Harrison *Proleg.* 478 ff.; Gruppe in *Roscher s. v. Orpheus* 1064 ff.

3) Mrs. Strong *Apotheosis* 197; 274 f.; cf. Monceaux in *Daremb.* — S. s. v. *Orphici* 246 ss.

4) Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 103 ff.; Maass *Orpheus* 134 ff.; Perdrizet: *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée* = *Ann. de l'Est* 24 (1920) 13 ff.; doubted by Kern *Orpheus* 15.

5) two moments which far from disproving an Ionian origin seem to point to such, cf. Foucart *Myst. d'Eleusis* p. 253. The Ionian character of Pisistratid art is notorious, and the same can be said of the art of Taranto and Locri. Boulangier *Orphée* 24 ff. takes S. Italy as centre of origin. In the last resort this may be Ionia again. On the other hand Roscher *Myth. Lex. s.v. Orpheus* 1078 ff. and especially 1082 ff. is very unfavourable because Ionia is entirely absent.

6) *Hom. Hymn. V (Demeter)* 480 ff., cf. Foucart *Myst. d'Eleusis* 86; 362; Rohde I⁶, 281; Dieterich *Nek.* 64.

7) cf. Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 298 ff.; Foucart *I.L.* 254.

8) *Eur. Hippol.* 948 ff.; fr. 475 (*Cretenses*) N². Cf. J. Harrison *Proleg.* 510 f.; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 111 and 125; Roscher *Myth. Lex. s. v. Weltalter* 402, 34 ss. Monceaux in *Daremb.* — S. s. v. *Orphici* p. 252.

9) Prof. Vollgraff: *B. C. H.* 1924, 207: l'orphisme a été très répandu en Grèce de tout temps. Cf. Kern *Orpheus* 14 f.; 39.

the attacks be easily explained nor the rapid recovery, when there had been a relapse. This was in the 4th cent., after the dark years of the Peloponnesian war as we shall see in the course of this chapter ¹). In this same epoch, Weege says, this doctrine had its decisive influence upon Etruria.

To deal fully with the whole of Orphic doctrines cannot be our task here. Its adherents had a clearly defined religious system of their own ²), of which only their ideas concerning the hereafter and especially of the punishment of the wicked are of interest to us in the present connection. In this, even as in other things, they were not original in so far that they did not create out of nothing. They gave a new meaning to notions already in existence and added new features. Even the poetic form (for such was the aspect of their books) was traditional: it was a Catabasis ³). But here as on other occasions they added something new: they changed the whole meaning. Formerly the motive had been a necyomantia (Odysseus) or heroical deeds (Heracles; Theseus), now the object had become a revelation of the state of the deceased (an apocalypse), and, last not least, it was intended to be an exhortation to those, who were yet living (a didache): they were urged to become mystae in order to avoid the miserable condition of those who had not done so, and to endeavour to be among those who had their share in eternal felicity. We may gather at once one important fact from the title of this book (Catabasis): that Orphic doctrine placed the abode of the wicked as well as of the good in the nether world, and not both, or one of them, in the sky ⁴).

Traces of this poem are to be found far and wide in ancient literature. When combining the data, we learn in the first place the extent of its influence; secondly we put together the materials which enable us to represent to ourselves the main lines of the whole of the contents of the poem in question ⁵). This will be our task now.

It was the sect of the *Pythagoreans* who had a large share in a greater spread of this part, at least, of the Orphic doctrines. Without adopting the whole of Orphic teaching, they incorporated in their own system what was consistent with it. How far they really incorporated, how far they from the beginning had the same ideas as the Orphics already of their own is, perhaps, a problem that will never be solved. In any case such a passage as Diog. L. VIII, 31 f. may serve to show us what connection there is between Orphism

1) eschatology of Plato. To the same effect Prof. Vollgraff I.I.: „... et gardons-nous aussi de conclure, que le culte de Dionysos à Delphes a été pendant toute l'époque classique un culte mystique". Prof. V. refers to the Delphian hymn of the 4th cent., where there are mystic elements. This implies that such elements made their appearance during that century, when the cult followed the general current. This must be kept absolutely distinct from the Orpheotelesta referred to by Plat. Resp. The sphere to which they belong is exactly characterized by Boulanger I.I. 48 ff. Cf. also Eur. Cycl. 646 (about which Kern Orpheus 12) and infra p. 69, 1.

2) Rohde Psyche II⁶, 111.

3) after the Odyssey several epic poemata had contained similar episodes, cf. Pauly — W. s. v. Katabasis. Apart from poetry there is also the tale of Hermotimus of Clazomenae, a former incarnation of Pythagoras (cf. Pauly — W. s. v. Hermotimus 2; Rohde Psyche II⁶, 94 f.) and Epimenides from Crete (cf. Rohde II⁶, 96). What we really know about the contents of the Catabasis of Orpheus is to be found Orph. fr. 293—296 Kern.

4) at least so far as concerns Orphism of the earlier period (before \pm 300 B. C.) I cannot accept Mrs. Strong's views (Apotheosis 197) about the astral character of Orphism.

5) Much work has been done already by Monceaux in Daremberg-Saglio s. v. Orphici, especially 251 ff. (he is wrong in so far that he does not distinguish with enough accuracy between ancient and later phases of Orphism), and by Gruppe in Roscher's Myth. Lex. s. v. Orpheus 1124, 9 ff. If I try to do the work anew, it is, because I think that by means of a purely historical arrangement and a more detailed analysis much more certainty can be arrived at on many points, and a better outline of the eschatology of the Orphics can be had than has been achieved as yet.

and Pythagorean doctrine, even if we allow, that in this passage later doctrines have a large part ¹⁾. But for our eschatological poem we gain nothing by its consideration, therefore we will dismiss the subject ²⁾.

Sicilian literature also had close reports with Orphism. The cults of Demeter and Persephone and of Dionysus met with everywhere in this country were like a fertile soil in which Orphism could flourish ³⁾. There is much, too, in the eschatological visions of *Empedocles* ($\pm 490-430$) that is in harmony with Orphism: but as their main interest lays in the punishment of which they speak, treatment of this will be reserved for Ch. III.

In dealing with *Pindarus* ($\pm 518-442$) we do not altogether leave the sphere of Sicilia. Rohde ⁴⁾ has pointed out the two widely different aspects of his eschatology; one would be inclined to take the one tinged with mysticism as his own ⁵⁾. On considering his eschatology as a whole (with the restriction indicated by Rohde) one gets the conviction that the different passages in his poems form a system of which first one part and then another is dealt with more fully, as circumstances may require. But on the other hand Pindarus is no theologian: we are not entitled to require of him an explanation of any and every possibility that may occur to us ⁶⁾.

We must begin with the Olympian ode ⁷⁾. „Wealth” the writer says, „when it is combined with personal gifts is a shining star for men: „If ⁸⁾ one has this blessing and also knows what is in store for him . . .”: he does not finish his phrase but continues with what is in store: one of the most questionable parts of this difficult poem ⁹⁾. One has to know, that the sin committed after death (the wrong choice of a new life ¹⁰⁾) is punished immediately here on earth (the punishment being a hard or an unhappy life), but that bad deeds committed here on earth under the rule of Zeus are judged below by One who,

1) cf. also Ritter—Preller Hist. phil. gr. No. 86—90; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 159 ff.; Monceaux l.l. 248.

2) in this passage the punishment reserved for the impure is absolute loneliness, and they are to be bound *ἐν ἀσκήκτοις δέσμοις* by the Erinyes. For the first thing cf. Frazer *Golden Bough* General Index s. v. v. Seclusion and Tabooed Acts, for the second Plato *Phaedo* 108B and *Plut. de sera num. uind.* 564 B (where all souls wish to be lonely).

3) cf. Ciaceri: *Culti e Miti della Sicilia* 187 ff.; 215 ff. For the same phenomena in S. Italy Gianelli *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia* (Bemporad Firenze 1924).

4) *Psyche* II⁶, 204 ff.

5) it is not necessary to consider him as an initiated as e.g. Maass does (*Orpheus* 107 and note 141; 273). I believe that Croiset is right, when he says (*Hist. Litt. gr.* II³, 404): „Il n'est ni un Pythagoricien, ni un Orphique, ni un initié. Mais il subit l'influence de tout ce mouvement de la pensée grecque”. This also appears from *Ol. II*. It is not the initiated who are believed to attain eternal bliss: this is reserved for all the *εὐσεβεῖς*; but the *μεμνημένοι* have a *προεδρία* (*Pind.* in the *Axiochus* cf. p. 59). Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 313,1 in fine thinks the idea to be of a later date and not one to be traced to Pindarus.

6) it is in this respect that Lübbert's paper: *de Pindaro dogmatis de migratione animarum cultore* (= *Ind. schol. Fr.-W. Univ. Bonn Wintersem. 1887/8*) exaggerates. Chiefly as a result of this also Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 208, 3; 209,2 and 213 goes astray, but on p. 216 he is in the right road. Cf. below.

7) *Ol. II*, 63 ff. composed for Theron of Acragas.

8) Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 212,1 quite overlooks this particle and on that account comes to erroneous conclusions.

9) I follow here E. Lübbert l.l., accepted also by Dieterich *Nekyia*³ 111 f. Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 208, 3 (followed by Maass *Orpheus* 271 s. and Norden *Aen. B. VI*³, 38, 1 with a reservation as to Schroeder *B. Ph. W.* 1904, 925 f.) gives quite a different explanation which seems to me to be unacceptable. Who says that *θανόντες* = *θανόντες καὶ ἀναβιβασκότες*? The fault is committed after death only. And who can know that the choice of a new life, or something of that kind, inferred from the word *ποινα* is specific Platonical doctrine? The whole grammatical construction proposed by him seems to me very artificial. Besides, Rohde's interpretation is impossible because of what follows. This is: „*ἴσσοι δ' ἐς τοῖς ἀμφοτέρωθεν μίναντες*” Pindarus, therefore, admits beyond any doubt a sin in the hereafter as well as here on earth. This was already seen by Ruhl l.c. *infra.* note 3.

10) cf. Plato *Resp. X* p. 617 D ff.; *Phaedrus* 249 B.

having made known his principles of judgement, judges with inexorable severity (*ἀνάγκη*), a severity opposed to all such deeds ¹⁾. After this follows the picture of the *τόπος εὐσεβῶν* to which those go, whose life was just; but they have to return from there to another life. With dignified restraint he speaks about the punishment of the wicked whose name is not even mentioned: *τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον δακρύοντι πόνον*. But a higher fate can be attained. If thrice ²⁾ „on both sides” anyone has altogether kept himself from bad deeds, then such a man goes the *Διὸς ὁδόν* towards the land where Rhadamanthys reigns as *πάρθερος* of Cronos, husband of Rhea ³⁾.

What is said about the two blessed places varies very little one from the other, and contains nothing, which could not have been said elsewhere also. This stands to reason; where happiness is portrayed, human invention is quickly at a loss. So far as I can see no especially Orphic traces are to be found ⁴⁾.

Parallel with the ode runs the threnos ⁵⁾. The description of the blessed is not unlike the previous one, but, having been written at a different time the details are not quite the same and somewhat more elaborate. About the initiated cf. above. A little further Sisyphus is mentioned, and with him begins the place of punishment (cf. Ch. III). The other fragments do not show any new features.

Plato ⁶⁾ presents serious difficulties, in so far as it is extremely difficult to distinguish the character of the elements which compose his eschatology. What may be called Orphic, what Pythagorean, what popular and what his own, in all this? That anyone like Plato would have borrowed motives without adapting them to his own system is very unlikely. But if we were to get at the bottom of this question, we should have to analyze the whole of eschatology of the 4th and earlier centuries, which exceeds the scheme of the present study. On the whole I venture to say that much too much, as a rule, is pronounced to be

1) this is the right interpretation given by Maass Orpheus 272. The whole passage of the judgment has been treated several times: Maass l.l.; Dieterich Nek². 111 (translation only); Norden Aen. B. VI², 38, 1 (further literature); Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v., Unterwelt 86, 39 ff. (summing up the question; literature). After all the question is of no importance for our subject. Whether we read: One judges with severity (dat.) or Ananke judges (nom.) does not materially affect our poem. But it should be remembered that on S. Italian vases Ananke is one of the Furies (cf. also Malten Arch. Jahrb. 1913, 47, 3) and that in Plut. de s. n. u. (not Orphic, cf. Ch. III) she has a similar rôle. Therefore Ananke as judge seems less probable and the dat. preferable. Concerning the judges see Pascal Credenze I, 171 ff.; Ruhl de Mortuorum Iudicio (Rel. gesch. Vers. u. Vorarb. II, 2, 1903/5); Roscher l.l.; Sarasin Helios und Keraunos (Innsbruck 1924) 89.

2) cf. Plato Phaedrus 249A.

3) for *τόπος εὐσεβῶν* and *Ἡλύσιον* see Malten Arch. Jahrb. 28 (1913) 35 ff. (opposed by Mayer ibid. 1925, 51 ff.); Roscher s. v. Unterwelt 88 ff.; s. v. Weltalter 399, 8 ff.; for Cronos Rohde Psyche I², 104 f.; Rhea also Eur. fr. 475 (Cretenses) and on the (Orphic?) tablet from Timponne grande (Orph. fr. 47 Kern; J. Harrison Proleg.² 664 ff.). The *Διὸς ὁδός* is the way to the Land of the Dead here on earth and not beneath it, for on earth the Isles of the Blessed were situated. Cf. Boeckh: Comment. ad h. l. (= Vol. II, 2, 130 f. of his ed.); for details cf. Roscher s. v. Unterwelt 92, 32 ff.; Rohde Psyche II², 313, 2, who also gives the exact explanation. Whether Cronos or Zeus is meant cf. Rohde Psyche l.l. and Dieterich Nek². 111. For Rhadamanthys Prof. Vürtheim: Rhadamanthys, Ilithyia, Elysium in Meded. Ac. Wet. Amsterdam Letterk. 59 A (1925) 1 ff.

4) the *τίμιοι θεῶν* are explained differently as heroes or as Hades and Persephone themselves (cf. Norden Aen. B. VI², p. 38, 1); *εὐοχία* is a far too common motive to have any special reference to Orphism (cf. Ch. III).

5) reconstructed by Dieterich Nek². p. 30 f.; 91; 119 ff. When arranged in logical order the sequence of the fragments is as follows: 1) Plut. Consol. 120 B sq.; 2) Pind. fr. 129/130; parallel to which is [Plato] Axioch. 371 C. 3) Plut. de occ. uiu. 1130 C. Concerning the Axiochus cf. Pascal Credenze II, 136 f. Differing in this from Dieterich p. 121 Norden Ant. Kunstprosa I², 125 sees no reminiscences of metre in the Axiochus nor does Wilamowitz (in Dieterich Nek² p. XI ad p. 121).

6) cf. Rohde Psyche II², 263 ff.; Dieterich Nekyia² 113 ff. As the chronological sequence of Plato's dialogues is, partly at least, one of the most uncertain points in philological studies, they are dealt with here in free order.

Orphic in his ideas; very often they merely embody what were generally accepted religious views¹⁾.

Several times it had been observed that the 4 great eschatological myths of Plato (Phaedo, Phaedrus, Gorgias, Respublica) form a unity which is fairly well rounded off, even before A. Döring²⁾ studied the question in detail. According to the Phaedo Plato distinguishes 7 stadia in the migration of the soul:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1) state before incarnation | } | Phaedrus |
| 2) downfall of soul on earth | | |
| 3) first incarnation | | |
| 4) further incarnations, duration of sojourn on earth | } | not considered in the dialogues |
| 5) judgment after first life (going to judgment ³⁾) | | |
| 6) details about judgment a) punishment | } | Phaedo and Gorgias;
Respublica shortly |
| b) bliss | | |
| 7) choice of new life | | Respublica. |

It can be easily seen that the system is not quite complete, but the main lines are. Plato never intended to write a complete eschatology comprised within a logical scheme. Further he is a prophet. Starting from a complex of general ideas he adapted them to the purpose of his dialogue without seizing his earlier writings and changing them accordingly. His work lives and grows. Passages containing contradictions are usually passages of great difficulty in theological questions⁴⁾.

For the present only points 5—7 ask our attention. The Phaedo⁵⁾ is more explicit concerning them than the Phaedrus. How does the soul come into the nether world? There is no question here of Orphism: the ideas propounded are only those of a man accustomed to think about such questions. They are followed (108 D ff.) by topographical considerations, in which purely physical questions⁶⁾ are mixed up with views about the two τόποι. The τόπος εὐσεβῶν is painted in the known colours but with strongly marked Platonic features (τὸν ἥλιον... ὁρᾶσθαι... οἷα τυγχάνει ὄντα etc.). The τόπος itself is called ἡ ὥς ἀληθῶς γῆ; here come οἱ δόσιος βεβιωκότες ἀπαλαττόμενοι ὥσπερ δεσμοτηρίων, ἄνω ἀφικνούμενοι. All this sounds very religious, but he had no Orphic doctrine in his mind here as appears clearly from the word ἄνω. Orphic eschatology placed the hereafter beneath or in the world, not in the heavens. We have general religious views before us, also in the end: καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλὸν καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη. For the τόπος ἀσεβῶν I refer the reader to Ch. III.

According to the Gorgias (525 D) it is the tyranni and statesman who are most subject

1) the same idea expressed by Rohde in Dieterich Nekyia² p. XI ad 125.

2) Arch. Rel. Wiss. 6 (1893) 475 ff. (to p. 476, citation from Zeller, ought to be added Zimmermann: Unsterbl. Platons diss. Leipzig 1869); Dieterich Nek.² 112, 3 seems to accept all D.'s conclusions, but I am not inclined to go so far; there seems to be to me many a contestable point in his paper. His analysis however is useful. There is a small mistake: according to Döring the Phaedo contains the judgment in detail; this should be the going to judgment. I do not know K. Thiemann: die platonische Eschatologie in ihrer genetischen Entwicklung (Progr. Leibnitz Gymn. Berlin Ostern 1892). Döring does not judge it favourably, nor does Dieterich l. l.

3) cf. Pascal Credenze I, 171 ff.; Radermacher Jenseits 105, whose „Orphism” however goes too far.

4) cf. Norden (Gött. Gel. Anz. 1894, 253) in Dieterich Nek.² p. XI ad 118, 1. Cf. supra what has been said about the „logic” of Pindarus’ system.

5) P. Zimmermann: Plato’s Unsterblichkeitslehre im Phaedo (diss. Leipzig 1869) treats only the philosophical side of the question.

6) studied by Friedländer: die Anfänge der Erdkugelgeographie in Arch. Jahrb. 29 (1914) 98 ff.

to temptation. Here we have a plain contradiction of Empedocles and Pindarus, who stated that they belong to the class which immediately precedes the attainment of perfection. This place on the contrary is occupied here by φιλόσοφοι τὰ αὐτῶν πράξαντες, elsewhere (Phaedo) combined with οἱ παιδευασήσαντες καλῶς. In my opinion Platonic speculation has here supplanted religious doctrine ¹⁾. The unanimous declaration of the two poets here mentioned is plainly nearer to religious (Orphic?) doctrine than Plato. And, after all these philosophers mentioned in Plato do not get „Orphic” happiness: the Isles of the Blessed are enough for them. The punishment in the Gorgias will be considered in Ch. III.

Finally the State ²⁾. At the end of Book X Socrates deals with the reward of the just here on earth. In order to describe, what awaits the just man in the hereafter he relates what was seen by the Armenian Er while he was apparently dead. The topography is the usual: the good go to the right ³⁾ (and to heaven! Cf. before), the bad to the left and downwards. What is new is the strongly apocalyptical character of the piece. Er is instructed emphatically, οὗ δέοι αὐτὸν ἄγγελον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι: we have already insisted on this fundamental difference between the Catabasis of Orpheus and those of others. In the beginning there is some theory of numbers, which however does not go far into details and is of a more or less popular character. What is also merely touched upon is the problem of those who died shortly after birth, and the nature of the punishment and rewards in the hereafter (for the tyrant Aridaeus cf. Ch. III). What follows although it is not immediately connected with the subject of our paper, should be considered in some detail. By studying it we get an insight into the curious manner in which Plato treated subjects such as the present. It also helps to corroborate a part of the contents of the Orphic poem into which we are inquiring. It contains a detailed explanation of the ποινή παλαίου πένθεος, which we found in Pindarus and which we took to be the punishment for the wrong choice of a new life. After a circumstantial description of the celestial spheres ⁴⁾ the writer proceeds to the choice proper, the treatment of which part of the subject bears completely the aspect of a theodicy: „αἰτία ἐλομένους · θεὸς ἀνάτιος” ⁵⁾. Platonic requirements alternate with those often met with in Greek culture: often details are remarkably well attended to. And again a preference is given to the Platonic philosopher, because he only, provided with his knowledge of the ideas, can make the right choice and avoid the μεταβολή τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν to which the others are doomed, because they are guided by considerations concerned with the world of matter ⁶⁾. What formulas

1) cf. Resp. 618 C f.; Phaedo 69 D.

2) cf. Pascal Credenze II, 131 ff.; Macchiore Zagreus 200 f.; Dieterich Nek. ² 114 ff.; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 37, 47 ff.

3) the same thing reappears in the Orphic tablet from Thurii (Kern: Fragm. Orph. No. 32 f.). Cf. Dieterich Nek. ² 191 f.; Pascal Credenze I, 145 ff.

4) according to Döring l.l., it cannot be taken from the doctrine of Pythagoras.

5) shortly dealt with also in Phaedrus 249 B. where, too, it is clearly said: αἰροῦνται δ' ὅν ἂν θέλῃ ἕκαστος. Cf. Cumont: After Life 182 f.; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 37, 56 ff. Starting from his theory of ideas Plato follows a line of thought which brings him curiously into contact with religions which preach monotheism, but on reasons of a very different kind.

6) there is a curious bit of ancient historical science in the selection of persons whom Er sees making their choice. Strictly speaking this can be only one generation, living 1,000 years before Plato (in accordance with his own theory; there is also no obvious reason why the story of Er should be placed long before the time of Plato). Among them we find several figures of the Trojan war, besides Atalante, Orpheus, Thamyras. Plato, therefore, places the Trojan war in 1400—1350 B. C. (cf. Ed. Meyer Gesch. d. Alt. I, ² 738; Beloch Griech. Gesch. I, ² 129 f.) For the animals into which some persons

were used and how the choice was formulated in mystic circles it is not difficult to guess. The notion of the choice may very well have been Orphic; in no case, however, is it Pythagorean. This doctrine had a notion, which, in my opinion, is inferior, from ethical point of view, to the Orphic one; but perhaps it was rejected on physical grounds. Aristoteles de an. I, 3, 407 b 20 states plainly about the followers of Pythagoras: οἱ δὲ μόνον ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν ποῖόν τι ἡ ψυχὴ, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δεχομένου σώματος οὐθὲν ἔτι προσδιορίζουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνδεχόμενον κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς μυθοῦς τὴν τύχουσαν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ τυχόν ἐνδύεσθαι σῶμα ¹⁾.

It should be noted that, repeatedly and with emphasis, it is stated that souls until just before their new incarnation are conscious of their former life and their sojourn in the nether world: the first feature is dimly traceable in the epos also, except reincarnation naturally which Homer does not know; but the souls remember things that occurred in their life. After having made their choice, they are provided with a guard, who is also charged with the execution of the choice ²⁾. The detail is remarkable, because in this way he becomes a representative of the powers below. After this things occur which, apparently, were not clear to Plato himself. Through great heat the souls go towards the plain of Lethe which resembles a desert. There they remain for a time, and drink of the water of the river Ameles ³⁾, when evening approaches. No vase can hold the water of this river ⁴⁾. All have to drink a certain quantity of this water, but, unless a man is restrained by his reason, he drinks too much. Those that do so ⁵⁾ lose all memory of what has passed. They fall asleep and are carried to their birth towards midnight amidst tremendous phenomena.

The meaning of this closing scene of the State will become quite clear to us if we turn to a consideration of the tablets; the exact meaning of the thirst, the thunder and lightning, the expression ἀτίτοντες ὥσπερ ἀστέραο, all this will be made clear to us. But on the other hand we shall be taught that Plato handles his motives in his own way, that he places them just where he wants them. The raw materials he takes from Orphism, Pythagoras and may be many other religious currents: but the system as such is his own and answers to the needs of his own philosophy. The assistance he can give us in the reconstruction of the Orphic eschatological poem is very restricted: but we can find in his work corroborations and explanations of what we find elsewhere ⁶⁾.

enter cf. the poem of Semonides of Amorgos fr. 8 (Anthol. lyr. ⁴ Hiller p. 18) etc., closely connected with fables and metamorphoses. Cf. also Phaedrus 249 B.; Plut. de s. n. u. 567 E. Pythagoras (Ritter-Preller No. 88); Empedocles fr. 117 Diels; Orph. fr. 224 Kern; considered also Cumont After Life 183 f.; Frazer: Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild II (Golden Bough) 285 ff.

1) Claudianus de statu Animae II, 7, however, disagrees with him, cf. Ritter-Preller Hist. phil. graec. No. 86. I do not think his authority weighs against that of Aristoteles. We are warned, in any case, not to connect too closely the Orphic with Pythagorean doctrine.

2) the guard is also to be found Phaedo 107 D ff., cf. 108 C ἡγέμων θεός.

3) Ameles cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 68, 29 ff. It should be noted that the name of the river is not Lethe, on which point see Norden Aen. B. VI² ad v. 705 and 715; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Lethe 1956 ff.; s. v. Unterwelt 68, 42 ff., the oldest place for Λήθησ πέδιον (not even πόταμος) is Aristoph. Ran. 186. Cf. Thes. gr. s. v. Λήθη.

4) cf. J. Harrison Proleg.² 577 with note 2; Dörfler Wien. Stud. 33 (1911) 191; Jowett-Campbell: Republic of Plato III, 483.

5) it seems to me that this is the only right interpretation; one should understand: τὸν δὲ ἀεὶ πλέοντα (sc. πλέον τοῦ μέτρου) πάντων ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. I am not certain, whether J. Harrison l.l. has this explanation in her mind. If one does not take the words so, there is no common sense in the difference made between those who drink with φρόνησις and those who drink without it, for then they all alike lose their memory. It is just the man with φρόνησις, the philosopher, who retains his memory and knows the palingenesis: this distinguishes him from common people. Cf. the note in the edition of Jowett and Campbell, which does not remove the difficulty.

6) the scepticism of Gruppe in his very instructive paper „Orpheus” in Roscher Myth. Lex. goes too far (cf. 1126

We must, now, try to summarize the contents of the *golden Orphic tablets*¹⁾. First of all it is necessary to establish the relation between them, for they present us with extracts from one great poem; in doing this we willingly omit 2 of the tablets: that of Caecilia Secundina (Orph. fr. 34 g Kern) because it is too different from the others in time, content and place of discovery, and the tablet Orph. fr. 47 Kern, because its subject is quite different from that of the others. The others may be divided as follows:

- 1) 1 tablet from Petelia (S. Italia), 4th/3rd cent. B. C.
- 2—5) 4 tablets from Thurii (S. Italia), all 4th/3rd cent. B. C.
- 6—8) 3 tablets from Eleuthernae (Crete)²⁾, all 2nd cent. B. C.

From the point of view of contents the following belong together

1 + (6 — 8); 2 — 4³⁾; while 5 stands alone.

The fact that from the point of view of time and place the tablets are fairly homogeneous, while the contents cross, justifies us in the conclusion, already mentioned, that we have extracts from one great poem or a group of poems, which makes small difference, in which there is an exposition of the eschatological doctrines of the people, in whose graves the tablets have been found⁴⁾. That these doctrines are not Orphic is an inexact conclusion⁵⁾, as the analysis of the verses themselves will show.

There is one question, affecting the whole which presents difficulties and which I must settle in advance. Whereas in their main lines the poems either harmonize or complete one the other, it is surprising to find that there are, either in reality or apparently, two ways, in which the deceased reaches the state of the blessed. In most cases Persephone plays a rôle, but on the tablet 32 a (Kern) the course of events is as follows. The soul is warned that he will come to a well, watched by guards. In order to get a drink of the water, he must answer certain questions, and „this done” he will be happy among the other heroes. There is not a trace of Persephone here. Of course it is possible to accept that she had no rôle in this poem⁶⁾, but it is not very probable, precisely because the drink is of value only before her throne (cf. below). For my own part, I believe that this is one of the cases⁷⁾, where the concise style of the tablets creates difficulties for us which did not exist in the original. The scene with Persephone is implied. If this view is not accepted, we must simply admit that there were two different views of this question.

f., espec. 1127, 51 ff.). The roundabout route, he takes by way of Empedocles, is unnecessary. In Sicilia Plato had every opportunity of knowing general features of S. Italian and Sicilian Orphism (influence of Sicily Phaedo 111 E; Gorg. 493 A). In no way, of course, do I wish to deny that he knew the works of Empedocles; only (in accordance with H. Weil in Dieterich *Nek.*² p. XI ad p. 119) I do not see that it is necessary to make out that the doctrines of Empedocles and Plato are in harmony one with another.

1) last edition Orph. fr. Kern 32a-f., where anterior literature is to be found. Cf. Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 217 ff.; Foucart *Myst. d'Eleusis* 425 ff. (close relations with Egypt); Monceaux in *Daremb.* — S. s. v. *Orphici* p. 251 (contents); 253 (text); 254 (paraphrasis; on the whole he is right). Regarding the place of discovery of the tombs see Macchiore: *Zagreus* 240. Perhaps the giving of such tablets to the dead is alluded to *Plut. de Gen. Socr.* 585 E, cf. also Maass *Orpheus* 161 note and the parallel *Arch. Anz.* 1925, 42. For the importance of gold in funeral cult see Norden *Aen. B.* VI² p. 172 f.

2) for Crete as centre of Orphism cf. J. Harrison *Proleg.*² 478 ff.; Rutgers van der Loeff: *de ludis Eleusiniis* (diss. Leiden 1903) 69.

3) this is the group studied by J. H. Wieten: *de tribus Laminis aureis quae in Sepulcris Thurinis sunt inuentae* (diss. Leiden 1915).

4) we find this is corroborated again when we observe that the much later tablet of Caecilia Secundina has connecting links with all the other groups. Cf. also Kern *Orpheus* 18.

5) defended by Wieten l.l. 147 and elsewhere; also Boulanger *Orphée* 15; 39 seems to me to be hypercritical.

6) Pascal Credenze I, 251 takes this view of the question.

7) rightly insisted upon by Murray in *Jane Harrison Proleg.*² 671 at the bottom.

If we try to put the tablets in a logical order we must not imagine that by so doing we shall find the archetypus of the poem, the most we can do is to trace the main lines of the thoughts expressed. I propose the following sequence (after Kern's numbering)

$$f + (a + b) + (c + d + e) + (a + f)$$

Tablet f¹⁾ begins with the moment when the soul (of the initiated, not of the wicked man!) leaves this earth, and goes to the nether world. The language is that of the oracles²⁾ and of the epos³⁾. We have already noticed (cf. p. 44) that just this idea that the souls of the blessed, too, descend to the nether world distinguished the teachings of Orphism from e.g. those of Pythagoras. Unfortunately what follows is greatly corrupted. The myste has to take the way to the right⁴⁾ (cf. also v. 5); from tablet a we gather that the good spring was to be found on the right. The reading *Ennoia* on f does seem to me to be the most probable one after all, also when we look at the facsimile given in Jane Harrison l.l. p. 662⁵⁾; in the rest the reading *δ'ίτραι* seems to me preferable to *δεῖ τῶα* or *ἀεί τῶα*⁶⁾. The soul is warned to be very careful because of the traps which even now on this last journey are set for him. Tablet f stops at this general warning, but tablet a gives this same passage with fuller detail. The soul has to avoid the spring with the white⁷⁾ cypress⁸⁾ on the left; he must go to the other one (clearly on the right hand side): cold water⁹⁾ streaming forth from the Lake of Mnemosyne¹⁰⁾. Two facts are made certain by the combination of these tablets: first that the bad spring is the spring of Lethe as opposed to the other¹¹⁾, secondly, that the Lake of Mnemosyne is identical (or nearly so) with the well Ennoia, which reading is more or less confirmed by these remarks. Then there is not a single objection to translating: the spring of Thought¹²⁾ issuing from the Lake of Memory.

1) Dieterich Nek.² 85.

2) *ἀλλ' ὁπώραν*... Cf. Hdt. I, 55; VIII, 77 e.g. Almost the same verse has been handed down to us as being. by Orpheus (Orph. fr. 223 Kern). Kern l.l.; Dieterich Nek.² 135 and Gruppe in Roscher's Lex. s. v. Orpheus 1124, 9 ff. noticed the resemblance; Gruppe moreover adds other similarities.

3) cf. Hom. Od. XI, 93. For tablet a Murray l.l. 660 insists upon the purity of epic forms.

4) cf. Plato Phaedrus 249 A; Gorg. 524 A; Resp. 614 C; epigram by Hegesippus (3rd cent. B. C. cf. Christ: Gr. Lit. Gesch. II, 1^a, 158) Anth. Palat. 7, 545. The question is dealt with by Rohde Psyche II^a, 220, 4; Cumont After Life 26; 150 ff.; 194.

5) cf. Dieterich Nek.² p. IX ad 85, 2. For a moment I thought of a form of the verb *αἰονᾶν* or a subst. derived from it. Cf. Thes. gr. s. v. and Roscher s. v. Herakles 2237, 45 ff.

6) for *τῶα* = one cf. Thes. gr. s. v. *τῶα* col. 2227 and Brugmann-Thumb Griech. Gr.⁴ § 498, 2.

7) For white in funeral cult cf. Rohde Psyche II^a, 371, 2; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 49, 32 ff.; Dieterich Nek.² 27 ff. with note on p. VII.

8) here there is clearly a contradiction with the tablets from Crete, where it is just the spring near the cypress that is indicated as the right one. The only way out of this difficulty would be to take it that the spring with the white cypress on the tablet Petelia is opposed to another one, with a tree of a different colour, which has fallen out owing to lack of space. Exactly this one would be then the one briefly referred to on the Cretan tablets. The difficulty has been noticed by Gruppe-Pfister in Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 69, 19 ff. For the white cypress cf. Norden Aen. B. VI.² p. 167, 1; Pascal Credenze I, 66 f.; Dieterich Nek.² p. X ad p. 107.

9) Dieterich Nek.² p. 95 ff. and X; Rohde Psyche II^a, 389 ff.; Maass Orpheus 195; Pascal Credenze I, 250, 4; II, 257; J. Harrison Proleg.² 575 f.

10) the question about this goddess will be considered below (p. 54).

11) the same view adopted by Dieterich Nek.² 90; J. Harrison l.l. 574. Pascal Credenze I, 50 ff.; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 69, 18 ff. (without the necessary conclusions).

12) *Ennoia* is „thought” as opposed to the unconsciousness which follows upon drinking from Lethe (cf. also p. 54). On an Attic vase in Munich (332 Jahn; Furtw.—R. I, 49) generally is read *ENNOEΣ* on a wine-skin (cf. Jahn l.l.; Hartwig Meistersch. p. 317; Furtw.—R. text I, 249). The reading, however, is not certain and one might take it to be *ENNOEΣ* (= *ἐννο(ι)ησ* cf. *ἐπόεσεν* = *ἐποίησεν*; for *-ησ* in Attic dialect cf. Thumb Gr. Dial. 364), the skin containing thought, wisdom, which Dionysus procures. In Bacchic teaching this would not be unimportant, if

For ordinary mortals exhausted by the difficulties of life, forgetfulness may be a blessing, the initiated deems the remembrance of these a small matter in comparison with the consciousness of present good¹⁾ and with the thought that in this way he can obtain perfect bliss²⁾.

But why these reiterated warnings? If once the myste knew which well to take the matter does not seem to be so difficult. It is time now to return to the end of Plato's State. Here we find (621 A): ... πορεύεσθαι ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ τῆς Λήθης πεδίον διὰ καύματός τε καὶ πνίγονος δεινοῦ· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ κενὸν δένδρων τε καὶ ὄσα γῇ φύει. Mutatis mutandis³⁾ we find here the same: δῖψαι αἶοι⁴⁾ the greater number of the dead run to the very first spring.

But the τετελεσμένος (the myste or the philosopher, as circumstances require) disciplines his inclinations and waits till he comes to the right well which, unlike the other, does not rob him of memory⁵⁾. It is not his greater self-control only that saves him, but also the fact that his state is a better one, which is the case, too, in the Platonic scheme (Resp. 614 B). There as well as here the wicked (here the uninitiated) are full of dust, the others are clean. Nevertheless both groups look as if they returned from a long journey, so that for all there is a certain amount of temptation to drink from the very first well.

Even now the draught of water is not given to him without further delay. The well is watched by guards, who have to put him certain questions. This part of the poem is given more explicitly in the tablets from Crete than in that from Petelia, but the meaning is virtually the same. I think the words ought to be distributed among the different

it could be placed beyond doubt. The inscr. need not be devoid of sense, cf. Munich 331 (Jahn) = Furtw. R. III, 155 with σίλανος (= water from a spring, cf. Jahn l.l.) τέρωον, ἡδὺς οἶνος. Kretschmer Inschr. gr. V. does not mention it but on p. 138 he speaks about I. G. II, 1, 616 (± 250 B. C.), where he reads (v. 19) ἐνόια which is not exact. The word is doubtless incorrectly written for εὐνόια as several faults occur (v. 16: ἐπα(ι)γέσαι and Διόνυσος(ν), where there is no question of later development of the language). Besides lines 14 f. run φ[ι]λοτιμία ἐνέκα καὶ εἰς] νόιας τῆς εἰς τὸ κοινόν a very common formula and accepted by the editors. The word ἐννοια does not occur in Attic inscr. (cf. Indices I. G. II, 5), but in Attic literature it does from Eur. onwards, cf. Thes. gr. s. v. ἐννοια. If there is any connection with Eunoe in Dante (cf. J. Harrison Proleg.² 582 f.; Weege Etr. M. 54) I dare not decide.

1) cf. Plut. de latenter uiuendo 1130 C.

2) for thus he can keep the memory of his former lives and intensify his consciousness of palingenesia. Cf. Ritter--Preller Hist. Phil. gr. No. 88 and 182. Besides, he can improve his lives in the way indicated by Plato in the Resp. Similar ideas may be met with in modern occultism.

3) different e. g. is the detail that in Plato's account the scene is transported to the end of the soul's journey (also in Verg. Aen. VI, 703 ff., who therefore follows Plato not Orphism). On the tablets this is impossible, if only because the myste is definitively on journey to happiness (this applies to all the tablets; here I am not in agreement with Rohde Psyche II², 220). It is clear why Plato wrote as he did. On the tablets the memory had to disappear first, in order to separate μύσται and ἀμύητοι before Persephone. In Plato's case, however, memory had to remain in order to make punishment effective. But afterwards it was necessary to forget, for otherwise it could not be explained why the majority of men know nothing about their former lives; the philosopher only retains the memory of them, because he does not drink too deeply (p. 49, 5). It is thus a very fine feature in his eschatology that a man himself decides his future life before he drinks from Ameles, therefore while he still has a memory of the past. In Orphism the system is less perfectly logical. If all ordinary people forget everything, one can only make progress by means of the teachings of the initiated. In Plut. de s. n. u. (not Orphic. cf. Ch. III) Lethe has no sense at all.

4) cf. Cumont After Life 50 ff.; 202; Rel. or. Ch. IV, 148 ff., esp. 152; Dieterich Nek². 99 ff.; Roscher s. v.; Isis 465, 29 ff.; Pascal Credenze I, 252; also representations on Hittite cylinders (Ward: Seal cylinders of W. Asia fig. 854 ff.) One question arises: how does this thirst on the tablets come into existence? Probably because of a journey, but which? Is the journey of the souls after death painful? One does not get such an impression from the tablets (in Plato otherwise). Or is life on earth a difficult journey to eternity? Then it may be by reason of that, that the soul is „parched with thirst”.

5) cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 69, 40 ff.

persons in a way other than Kern's way of doing it; what he puts together under B must be given to different persons. *Ἀλλὰ πῖε μὲν . . . κυφάρισσος* the well says, when the soul declares, that he is thirsty. But the guards intervene and ask: *τίς δ' εἶσι; πῶ δ' εἶσι;* Who are you, and from where ¹⁾? This excluded that anyone who was not initiated but happened to know the place of the right well should avail himself of the water and thus come before the throne as a mystic, what he was not. One has not only to be good, but also to know the formulas which the mysteries alone taught. Only when all requirements are fulfilled is one admitted to eternity.

The answer bearing on the first question rather than the second runs: *γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ οὐράνου ἀστερόεντος*. The question arises to which religious creed this refers ²⁾. Hesiodus Theog. 104 ff. tells us, that from *Γῆ* and *Οὐρανός* sprang *τὸ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἰόντων*. He works this out in fuller detail. After having said (v. 116 ff.) that Gaia is one of almost the oldest of the divine beings, he proceeds to say that she brings forth *Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα* (126 f.). Beginning at v. 132 follows the generation which they produce together and which can be separated into 2 groups: one of *Ὠκεανὸς-Κρόνος*, one of *Κύκλωπες-Ἐκατόγχειρες*. This division is not of a later date, as is proved by the epitheta and the whole of the description. All those are put together (v. 207) under the name *Τιτῆνες*; after their great fight against the gods of the generation of Zeus, they all come together in Tartarus. From Diod. Sic. (V, 66, 1—3) we know that the Cretans had a similar notion about the Titans; it also reappears in Orphic literature (Orph. fr. 57; 114; 119; 220 Kern). It is therefore not too bold to assume that Orphic Cretans accepted this view and that tablets found in Crete, where such views occur, can be ascribed to Orphic Cretans. Where, moreover, a similar expression is met again on a tablet from a different centre, and where this tablet contains other features which we can accept as Orphic, we can safely assume that believers in Orphism accepted there the same idea and that we have a reference to them in these very words. It is not more than a reference, but this is enough (*τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί*). Wieten, therefore, (l.l. 68 ff.) is mistaken when he says: *nihil enim de Titanibus eorumque κεραννώσει* legitur; that the latter subject is not considered is only natural, as it does not concern the poem.

The following words are apparently pleonastic: *αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον*, but we have already observed, that Hesiod separated the children of Ouranos and Gaia into 2 groups, which may be considered as the powers of light and of darkness. The mystic is reckoned as belonging to the first. The two groups recur in Orphic theology ³⁾; Orph. fr. 57 (Kern)

1) for *πῶ* in Cretan dialect cf. Brugmann-Thumb Gr. Gr. ⁴ p. 264; and Thumb Gr. Dial. 196 for *ᾤω* = unde.

2) J. Harrison Proleg. ³ p. 574 is rather short on this subject.

3) the likeness to Hesiod's one is obvious (Kern. p. 138 also points it out), but it is possible to indicate one difficulty. In Hesiod it is stated beyond any doubt that all the children of Ouranos and Gaia, Cottus, Briareos etc. as well as Hyperion, Mnemosyne etc. are called Titans; in Orph. fr. 57 (Kern) on the contrary the first group is without the epithet whereas it is given to the second one. But it should be remarked that the poetical fragment says *καὶ Τιτῆνας*. What does this mean? Two solutions are possible: it expresses either that the *Οὐρανίωνες* only are also called Titans and the other group is not, or that the second group had the name as well as the first one, only Athenagoras (from whom the fragment is taken) left it out there, because it was generally known. In favour of the first hypothesis can be said that the difference in etymology explains the view of each author. Hesiod, namely, derives *Τιτῆνες* from *τιταίνειν*: to stretch out (one's hands) in order to achieve great things, which they did all in their turn; but the Orphic fragment derives it from *τίνεισθαι*, to punish, which Cronos only did for his kin, because the other group was already in the Tartarus. In my opinion the first solution is preferable. The mystic, therefore, in the verse acknowledges his descent from the Orphic Titans (the group of the light only) but in the same time he has achieved his mission and has stripped off this part of his origin: the part descending from Zagreus remains alone (cf. Rohde Psyche II⁴, 12; Kern Orpheus 45).

teaches us that Ge, after having created the powers of the dark (Briareos, Hecatonchires etc.), in wrath gave birth to the Titans, another name for the youths, sons of Ouranos or the celestial youths ¹). Fr. 56 (Kern) gives us their names and those of the Titanides in detail: there are among others: Iapetus, Hyperion, Themis, Mnemosyne. The last name explains why the myste has a special right to the „spring of Mnemosyne”; he belongs, as it were, to the same family.

The first part of the difficulties which the soul encounters is now over. The draught from Mnemosyne has preserved his memory and enables him to recite a poem before the throne of Persephone, in which he gives further evidence of his being initiated into her mysteries; for this recital is the great difference between him and the other shades who come to the nether world. Eternal happiness was not easily attained according to Orphism! The poem contains fundamental doctrines of belief: therefore it is highly improbable that one tablet should have quite a different meaning from another: even where different formulas occur they must have the same meaning; the differences must be explained by the fact that the content was not always summarized in the same way. Moreover, the likeness is too great on the other hand to admit of any other explanation.

In the verse *ἐρχομαι ἐκ καθαῶν κτλ.* I put the comma after *καθαρά* ²): there is no sense in making the soul say to Persephone: pure queen of the dead; on the other hand it is quite appropriate for her to say: pure come I from the pure.

About the following we need not say much. We do not learn much about the state of the soul in the hereafter, and whether or not the gods in question are exclusively Orphic is of secondary importance. Here as well as elsewhere the Orphics made use of materials already in existence, and changed their meaning. A comprehensive exposition will be found in Wieten l.l. 27—40 ³); it leaves no room for many remarks. Concerning the variant *καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι* and *καὶ ὅσοι θεοὶ δαίμονες ἄλλοι* we can be pretty brief. It should be merely noticed that Wieten, who in other respects denies any Orphic character whatever in the tablets, is here compelled (on p. 66) to admit a „color Orphicus”. I would like to draw a further conclusion. I believe that by these *θεοὶ* and *δαίμονες* are meant the *μεμνημένοι*, who are already there ⁴); the new-comer comes, as it were, to present himself to them and invokes their assistance.

Then again the celestial origin of the mystic is avowed by him.

The next, as far as *ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστὲ* (c.q. *νῦν δ' ἵκεῖς ἥκω*) is to be considered as one single whole, but expressed in various renderings. It consists of two parts placed in a different order (AB and BA):

A	{	ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραννῶν
	{	εἴτε „ „ „ „ εἴτ' „ „
B		κύκλου δ' ἐξέπταν — ἱμερτοῦ ἀπέβαν = ποῖναν ἀνταπέτεισα

1) cf. also fr. 29 and 117 for celestial character of Titans.

2) so, recently, also Prof. Vollgraff B. C. H. 1924, 201. It is curious to see how Kern wavers: in c he reads *καθαῶν*, *καθαρά*; in d and e *καθαρά*. Cf. also Pascal Credenze I, 72; 179 f.; Macchioro Zagreus 170 f.; Rohde Psyche II^o, 218, 31.

3) for *Εὐκλῆς* see also Prof. Vollgraff l.l. 200 f.f.; Pascal Credenze I, 72; 179.

4) cf. below: *θεὸς ἐγένον ἐξ ἀνθρώπου*. For the reports of *ἥρωες* (elsewhere is said *ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξεισιν*) and *δαίμονες* cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Heros 2453, 48 ff.; 2465, 23 ff. and 57 ff.; Pauly — W. s. v. Heros 1112, 31 ff.; The character of heroes is important, they are helpers (Roscher l.l. 2447, 47 ff.; 2479, 49 ff.), which is worked out for the deceased also Plut. de Facie in Orbe Lunae 944 D. For the reports between *ἥρωες* and *θεοὶ* Pauly-W. l.l. 1133, 50 ff. *Δαίμων* for the deceased already in Plato, cf. Rohde Psyche I^o, 101, 1.

Immediately following on this come the formulae *νῦν δ' ἵκετις ἦκω*, with the answer *ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ* and the mystic words *ἔριφος ἐσ γάλ' ἔπειτον*.

The myste has declared that he is of celestial origin even as the immortal gods, but he is of the mortal branch: Moira and the other immortal gods subdued him ¹⁾. Then come the much discussed words: *καὶ ἀστεροβλήτα* (or *ἀστεροπῆτι*) *κεραυνῶν* (or *κεραυνόν*, which however is not generally accepted ²⁾). In dealing with these, two questions are of fundamental importance, one logical and one grammatical.

1) Does the expression open a new question? Or is it the immediate continuation of what goes before?

2) Is *ἀστεροβλήτα* a nominative or an accusative?

I am convinced that the words speak of something different from the immortal gods and *Μοῖρα*: the proof of it is, that one tablet has *εἶτε . . . εἶτε*. Some authors have seen a strengthening-block in the (seeming) contradiction between *καὶ . . . καὶ* and *εἶτε . . . εἶτε*. They have overlooked the fact that the phrase with *Μοῖρα* is connected in one case with the avowal of celestial origin, in the other with the confession that the soul was punished for unrighteous deeds: the difference in the logical order necessitated a different syntactical construction „I am of celestial origin *but* of the mortal branch: *Μοῖρα* and *ἀστεροβλήτα* subdued me." The other poem declares „I was punished for unrighteous deeds, whether *Μοῖρα* subdued me or *ἀστεροπῆτα*." The meaning is quite the same: but it is clear that there is a conjunction of two different things. The connexion with the second question is very close; my view admits only *ἀστεροβλήτα* (or *ἀστεροπῆτα* = *ἀστεροπῆτι* ³⁾) as a nominative because it is syntactically equivalent to *Μοῖρα* ⁴⁾. Wieten makes several objections to this fact ⁵⁾, which are all unnecessary. Homer knows nominativi on *-a* in arsi and in thesi (*γεφεληγερειὰ Ζεὺς* and *ἱπποῖα Νέστωρ*), so the thing is quite in order. As far as I can see, Delatte (in accordance with Alline) ⁶⁾ is the only one who has seen that the words refer to the reincarnation of the souls and not, like the preceding ones, to the death of man. He also cites the passage which supports this opinion, Plato Resp. 621 B, very near the end of the history of Er. There we find when the souls have drunk from Ameles, *βροντὴν καὶ σεισμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξαπίνης ἄλλον ἄλλῃ φέρεσθαι ἄνω εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, αἰτιοντες ὥσπερ ἀστέρας* ⁷⁾. Plut. de Gen. Socr. 591 D knows a similar view ⁸⁾. Timarchus, in a vision, sees the souls of the wicked, who are rejected by the moon (= Elysium cf. de Facie in Orbe Lunae 943 D) as *πολλοὺς ἀστέρας περὶ τὸ χάσμα* (= Hades = cone of shadow of the earth l.l. 944 B) *παλλομένους, ἐτέρους δὲ καταδυμένους εἰς αὐτὸ* (sc. τὸ χάσμα), *τοὺς δὲ*

1) cf. Pascal Credenze-I, 251; Dieterich Nek.² 100 ff.

2) cf. comm. crit. in Kern and Rohde Psyche II⁶, 218, 4.

3) *ἀστεροπῆτι* appears only in the tablets with the worst tradition.

4) the accusative gives rise to several difficulties. I hope that the observations concerning the meaning of the words will remove the last traces of doubt.

5) for instance (p. 79), that the nom. on *-a* of this very word occurs nowhere while *ἀστεροπῆτης* does cf. Pape Gr.Wört. s. v., which is an objection of no importance, for Hom. knows *κνανοχαίτης* as well as *κνανοχαίτα* (nom.), and *αἰχμητής* - *αἰχμητά*. It is by chance only that this is the only passage with the nom. on *-a*.

6) Musée Belge 1913 p. 127.

7) shooting stars in connection with the death of men are mentioned by Cumont After Life 92: this is a different conception. The passage of Plato has been used by Luc. Ver. Hist. II, 35.

8) Plut. uses, therefore, older terminology which he adapts to his system. But on this account his eschatology is not Orphic! It is on the contrary purely astral.

ἀλττοντας κάτωθεν" Timarchus does not understand; and the voice which explains the vision says: „αὐτοὺς ἄρα τοὺς δαίμονας ὀρῶν ἀγνοεῖς". That demons = deceased is clear from the whole of Plutarch's eschatology. Delatte, therefore, interpretes ἀστεροβλήτα as thrower of stars (ἀστήρ¹); others, however²), explain it as a haplology for *ἀστεροποβλήτα (thrower of thunderbolts), which is also possible, and is corroborated by the ἀστεροπήτα on the other tablets and the following word: κεραυνῶν. Thunder accompanied the reincarnation in Plato, and its holy force was also recognised by Pythagoras, for he taught his followers διὰν βροντήσῃ τῆς γῆς ἄψασθαι... μνημονεύοντας τῆς γενέσεως τῶν ὄντων (Iambl. Vita Pyth. 156, cited by Delatte l.l.)³). Which of the two solutions is preferable I dare not say; there are arguments in favour of each. Perhaps they even existed one beside the other in the same region⁴). In any case it does not matter, for the character of the conceptions is not different. Finally the reading κεραυνῶν seems to me the only acceptable one⁵). The verse εἴτε μὲ Μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε εἴτ' ἀστεροβλήτα κεραυνῶν contains, therefore, a mystic formule for the death and reincarnation of man. The mysteries were Orphic, their ideas in this matter were also accepted by Pythagoras. At the same time we have again seen that Orphic characteristics were absorbed into Plato's eschatology, this time in the palingenesis which, a priori, it would not have been permissible to suspect.

We proceed to the next part (B) of the poem, where the punishment is spoken about which the soul had to suffer. We have already remarked, that there are two formulas expressing the same thought. Tablet c said, that the myste died by Moira and was born again by the „thrower of stars". This is worked out in the next 4 verses⁶). The κύκλος βαρυπένθησ⁷) is life on earth, from which the soul escaped to come into the τόπος εὐσεβῶν, the ἡμερτὸς στέφανος⁸) of the poem. This τόπος is situated beneath the earth, a fact stated in the verse 8 (Λεσποῖνας ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν⁹)), which therefore is a more detailed explanation of v. 7: it confirms our opinion (cf. e.g. tablet f vers 1) that in Orphic spheres each soul was thought to migrate to the nether world. But it is not then that the soul has reached the end of its travels: it had to leave the ἡμερτὸς στέφανος and to reappear on earth: this is contained in v. 9. Here, then, we have the general course of palingenesis,

1) a similar thought is found in J. Harrison Proleg.² 587 who, however, is too brief on this point. She takes the word with a passive meaning which seems to me to be out of the question.

2) e.g. Wieten l.l. p. 96.

3) Wieten l.l. p. 75 is wrong in rejecting this evidence. His objection that τῶν ὄντων is genet. of τὰ ὄντα is of slight importance; besides, Delatte translates equally: des êtres.

4) N. B. Plato also combines the appearance of the souls as stars with effects of thunder.

5) it was put forward by Hoffmann in Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dial. Insch. II, 1654. Sacredness of lightning also Luc. Alex. 59 Cf. Usener Rhein. Mus. 60 (1904) 9; Rohde Psyche I⁶, 320 ff.; his note II, 218, 4 (as well as Wieten l.l. 85 ff. and 96 f.) shows, what strange conclusions one must draw, if one takes the words ἀστεροβλήτα κεραυνῶν as referring to death also. Why should there be a separate class of mystae killed by lightning or sun-stroke(!)? Did this so frequently occur? Or was it so exceptional, that special provisions had to be made for it?

6) cf. Pascal Credenze I, 30 ff.

7) ἐξέπταν from πέτομαι cf. Brugmann-Thumb Gr. Gr.⁴ 106 f.; the form is late cf. Pape Gr. Wört. s.v.

8) I do not think that either Dieterich Nek.² 88 is right in seeing here the κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως or Prof. Vollgraff (Meded. Ac. Wetensch. Amsterdam 1924, 19, 2 and B. C. H. 1924, 165, 5) when he sees in it the crown of life = the symbol of eternal life. The right explanation has been given by Dieterich Kl. Schr. 95 and after him Rohde Psyche II⁶, 219, 1. In this part of the poem the myste has not yet reached eternal happiness: he is only describing the preliminary phase of the τόπος εὐσεβῶν, whence he has to return. It is possible that in the δρώμενα this στέφανος was expressed by a circle of fire, into which the myste had to enter (cf. also Frazer Balder II (Golden Bough) 15 ff.; Spirits etc. II, 249.

9) χθὼν εὐρύκολπος Pind. Nem. 7, 33 and εὐρύστεργος γαῖα Hes. Theog. 117. Does the formula allude to mystical marriage (cf. Ch. I p. 42 f.)? One should compare Apul. Met. XI, 23 (for which see P. Foucart: Mystères d'Eleusis 80; 401 ff.); Macchioro Zagreus 195; Rohde Psyche II⁶, 421 f.; Pauly—W. s.v. Isis 2129; Farnell: Greece and Babylon 263 ff.

not the actual number of births and deaths the individual soul has passed through. We have seen that the other formula (on tablet d) was connected with a similar thought about Moira and the „star thrower” or the „lightning thrower”. Here occur the words: „I did penance for unrighteous deeds, whether Moira subdued me or the ἀστεροπητή”¹⁾. It is clear that, taken in connexion with each other, the two poems²⁾ are an exact parallel to the verses of Pindarus already considered „Whether Moira subdued me or the ἀστεροπητή „whether I left life on earth and reached the εὐσεβεῖς or was reborn into life, I did penance „for unrighteous deeds.” Pindarus says that „shortcomings committed here on earth „are judged below, and that sins of below are expiated in this kingdom of Zeus. But those „who had managed to avoid sin three times on both sides, came to the Isles of the Blessed.” Plato finally speaks about „the punishment of the wicked in the here-after, and the responsibility of each individual in the choice of his coming life when he approaches a new „incarnation; the consequence of a bad choice is an unhappy life on earth.” Are not these striking parallels in three writers each of whom is in his own way connected with Orphism, each of whom has caught a different side of its doctrines, while all of them are at one in this cardinal point? It is an arresting fact that in the case of Pindarus the other explanation necessitated a very strained construction and that it will be hard to extract any other meaning from the words on the tablets c and d, where the same difficulties as to construction and meaning arise.

Finally there is a controversy about the meaning of this section of the poems, for which, in reality, there are no grounds³⁾. One party is of opinion, that only death and rebirth of the myste is dealt with, the other, that we have different scenes of the δρώμενα before us, which the myste had to go through. This last is very possibly true — but they exactly symbolized death and reincarnation: therefore both parties were partly in the right.

The evils suffered by the soul in its migrations and especially in the last, when he sees the final goal before him the means to attain which he may not take into his own hands by resorting to suicide are summed up in the verse: „χαῖρε παθὼν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ’ οὐπω πρόσθ’ ἐπεπόνθει”⁴⁾, and he is allowed to go to the ἔδραι εὐαγέων⁵⁾, where he may rest eternally⁶⁾. He is hailed by some one, who says to him: χαῖρε, χαῖρε, δεξιάν⁷⁾ ὁδοιπορῶν | λειμῶνας⁸⁾ τ[ε] ἱεροῦς καὶ ἄλσας Φερσεφονείας.

1) cf. Dieterich Nek.² 110 f. and Kl. Schr. 93 f.

2) We may observe by the way, that after all even in this recitative no truly religious thoughts are expressed. The myste declares himself to be pure, and we may safely assume that purity also included δόξα φρονεῖν as in Epidauros. But the stress is laid upon this, that definite doctrines are accepted concerning the origin of man, and that certain rites have been fulfilled, which symbolize certain doctrines. But there is not a trace of the Christian doctrine of charity (cf. N. T. Luke 10, 25 ff.), voluntary renunciation (Luke 18, 18 ff.) and the mercy of God, even at the last moment for the repentant sinner (Luke 23, 40 ff.). Even the being confronted with Eleusis (cf. Foucart Myst. 254) Orphism is comparatively religious, though it is very far from any late development of ancient religion with which it has nothing in common except certain rites and symbols. N. B. Although, as a rule, it might be expected that a theology such as that at present under consideration would be opposite to views akin to those in modern Darwinism, it is curious to see that even Empedocles in his speculations concerning the origin of animals is not far from them, cf. Heiberg in Gercke-Norden Einl. Altert. Wiss. II², 385; Th. Gomperz Griech. Denker I, 196 f.

3) different opinions Wieten, I. I. 97 ff. For Eleusis as opposed to Orphism in this matter cf. Rohde Psyche I⁴, 292 f.

4) cf. Macchioreo Zagreus 129; 231.

5) for this word see Prof. Vollgraff. B. C. H. 1925, 156 f.

6) it is only now that the κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως has come to an end, and that the myste has reached κύκλου τ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀναψύξαι κακότητος. Cf. also Plat. Resp. 614 C. ff.; cf. Luc. Ver. Hist. II, 21 for the fact that only after having gone through the κύκλος can one reach eternal happiness (cf. Norden Aen. B. VI² p. 13). For the formula Maass Orpheus 96 f.

7) δεξιός in this connection cf. p. 51, 3.

8) regarding these meadows see now Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Unterwelt 66, 18 ff.

How is he to live there? The formulas indicating this differ, but must have the same meaning:

θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου says tablet f; ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστὲ, θεὸς δ' ἔσσι ἀντὶ βροτοῦ c¹). „A god thou shalt be” and „A god thou becamest instead of a mortal.” The myste who claimed to be of the happy race of the gods now sees his wish fulfilled; he is also ὄλβιος and μακαριστός: he is really a god. And so we find him on the Tarentine terracottas of the classical period²). Tablet a says it in a slightly different manner: καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ³) ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσιν ⁴) ἀνάξεισ. One is induced to think ἡρώεσσιν identical or nearly so with θεός. ⁵). Something remains to be said about ἀνάσσειν. As a rule the verb means: to be more than another, to be the master, connoting the sense of governing. But here this cannot be, for the myste cannot reign over the other mystae or even gods. We must assume that it can have an absolute sense and mean: to live in princely glory, in which sense we can trace an allusion to the so often described advantages of the τόπος εὐσεβῶν and the μακάρων νῆσοι. And indeed, the word occurs in a similar sense in Soph. El. 837 ff. about Amphiarus⁶), πάμπνυχος ἀνάσσει, which Xen. Cynege. 1,8 renders in his own way: αἰεὶ ζῶν τιμᾶται, which is an exact parallel: πάμπνυχος — ζῶν and ἀνάσσει — τιμᾶται⁷).

Towards the end or quite at the end appears then the formula: ἔριφος ἐς γὰρ' ἔπειτεσ or ἔπειτον. I think Prof. Vollgraff⁸) is right when he says: „The formula was not meant „(at least not originally, and not only) to be a testimony delivered by the deceased of the „bliss reached in the here-after. It refers to a ritual act in the past performed when he

1) Pascal Credenze I, 245 ff.; Macchioro Zagreus 235. Dr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer calls my attention to a similar expression in the Egyptian Book of the Dead (Erman-Ranke Aegypten ed. of 1923) p. 393.

2) cf. a learned unpublished paper by Dr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer on his own collection of such terracottas summed up by Prof. Six Meded. Acad. Amsterd. 1925, 50 f. with fig. 18. Plato Phaedo 69 C we find μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει and 81 A: τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον (= εἰς αἰὲ) μετὰ θεῶν διάγουσα; also Emped. fr. 147 Diels⁴. But Plato is not speaking about Orphism only, but about mysteries in general. Evidently the idea was not new.

3) about these words cf. supra p. 56.

4) in the same manner Pind. fr. 133 (threnos): ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἡρώεσσι ἀγνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

5) cf. Rohde Psyche I⁶, 146 ff.; Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Heros cited above, p. 61,1.

6) cf. Rohde Psyche I⁶, 144, 1.

7) a tentative reconstruction of the rest of tablet a may be put forward here. The matter is not so hopeless, if one compares the facsimile in J. Harrison Proleg.² 659. It is true that the number of characters missing cannot be established with certainty, but on the other hand we can, pretty accurately, compute the number of syllables missing, because the prosody is pure. If we take the last three lines only, and the words written in the margin, we have ΠΙΝΘΕΙΗΣ ΑΠ[ο λιν]ΗΣ| ΚΑΙΤΟΤΕΠΕΙΤΑ[λλοιοι μεθ'] ΗΡΩΕ|| ΣΣΙΝΑΝΑΞΕΙ[σ.] ἡσ μὲν εὐσεβ[ι]ΗΣ ΤΟΛΕΧ[ων γέρας οὐ κ' ἀλάοιο.] οἱ δὲ || ΘΑΝΕΙΣΘ' [δόσω ὑμῖν ἀρ' ἔγω] ΤΟΛΕΓΡΑΨ[α. And in the margin: ΤΟΓΛΩΣΕΙΠΑ — ΣΚΟΤΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΚΑΛΥΨΑΣ. The first line, and the first third part of the following give the generally accepted readings. In the beginning of the last verse but one I have partly followed a conjecture by Comparetti (cf. critical apparatus of the edition of Olivieri), who, however, does not fill up the gap after τόδε for there is room for many more than 12 letters. After θανεισθ there is room for some 15 letters. On the other hand τόδ' ἔγραψ[α or τόδε γράψ[ας (which however, I think, is less probable) may very well have been the last word. The verses after ἀνάξεισ given here have the following meaning: „If thou hast this present (= the golden tablet with its warnings) for thy piety, thou canst not go astray (on thy journey to the nether world). For you who shall die in (mystic) purity, I wrote this” (it may be Orpheus is speaking). The words in the margin are complete, except for 4 (perhaps 3 or 5) letters. Is it necessary to take το as the article? This depends mainly on the question, whether γλωσ can be taken as a termination or not. I think it can; Brugmann-Thumb Gr. Gr. ⁴ p. 232 f. give some instances of a similar formation. But I despair of filling the gap in a satisfactory manner.

8) *Εριφος ἐς γὰρ' ἔπειτον = Meded. Acad. Wet. Amsterdam Afd. Letterk. 1924, 19 ff. I cannot, however, accept the second part of the paper, dealing with the Mycenaean and, in the end, the Oriental origin of the idea, as it is there expounded. The hypotheses seem to me to be too weighty for the fragile substructure, on which they are founded. Cf. also Macchioro Zagreus 85; and p. 155 ff. for the idea of being born again as a very young child or animal.

„was initiated into the mysteries. It is a „symbolon”, a pass-word and distinctive mark, „by means of which the soul, when descending into the nether world, declares herself „to be entitled to eternal happiness.” The new translation, too, proposed by him for *ἔπειτον*, „I rushed to the milk”, and the explanation of „milk” as „maternal breast” are quite satisfactory. The parallel with the paintings in Villa Igem, which has already been pointed out by Macchioro (Zagreus) and passages in various writers confirm in the interpretation here given ¹⁾.

In the beginning of Hellenism must be placed the *Axiochus*, of which p. 371 A ff. are of interest to us ²⁾. The greater part of it has been treated already in connexion with the threnos of Pindarus; a few details only remain to be considered. More frequently than hitherto we find reports with *Plut. de sera num. vind.* ³⁾; nevertheless a number of details clearly point to Orphic teachings.

About the soul it is said: *ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀγαθὸς δαίμων ἐπέπνευσεν*. The same genius occurs *Plato Phaedo* 107 D: *.. δαίμων, ὅσπερ ζῶντα εἰλήχει* :.; also *Plut. de Gen. Socr.* 585 F: the soul of Lysis had been judged already and had undergone a new reincarnation *ἄλλῳ δαίμονι συλλάχουσα* ⁴⁾. After death the soul descends *εἰς τὸν ἄδηλον τόπον κατὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον κίνησιν* which is the dark hemisphere caused by the shadow of the earth (cf. *Cumont* l.l.), a view which is also frequently to be found in *Plutarchus* (cf. *Ch. III*). The *πέδιον Ἀληθείας* admits no doubt as to its Orphic origin ⁵⁾. The following words, too, are spoken to the second person in the dialogue: *.. πῶς οὖν οὐ σοι μέτεσι τῆς τιμῆς ὅντι γεν(ν)ήτι τῶν θεῶν*; a passage which *Rohde* (l.l 422 f.) has rightly interpreted. *Γεν(ν)ῆται* namely were the citizens at Athens who belonged to one *γένος*; therefore we have here the Athenian paraphrase of the verses said by the mystae on the S. Italian tablets *αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν γένος οὐράνιον τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί* and

καὶ γὰρ ἔγων ὑμῶν γένος εὖχομαι ὄλβιον εἶναι.

We have now reached the end of the materials available for the reconstruction of the Orphic eschatological poem, and it remains for us to try to find out its general contents which have very possibly followed the lines of some great development of thought.

The beginning may have been an exposition of *σῶμα — σῆμα* ⁶⁾, for life here on earth was considered as actual death ⁷⁾. It was forbidden, however, for anyone to seek freedom from the prison ⁸⁾ by means of suicide, because it was the Deity who decreed our sojourn on this earth ⁹⁾; *αὐτόχειρες* therefore are severely punished as *δυσσεβεῖς* ¹⁰⁾. The question

1) Prof. Vollgraff l.l. 28 ff.; cf. *Ch. I* for *cerf*. *Cerf* and *kid* have the same meaning here, as has been stated by *Macchioro Zagreus* 83 (*l'uso ... di vezzeggiare e curare come un bambino un capretto o un altro animale cornuto*).

2) cf. *Cumont* C. R. Acad. Inscr. Paris 1920, 272 ff.; *Rohde Psyche* II⁶, 422.

3) which is *not* Orphic, cf. *Ch. III*. Connections between *Axiochus* and *de s. n. u. e. g. Ax.* 371 B *πέδιον Ἀληθείας* cf. *de s. n. u.* 565 F and *Plat. Phaedrus* 248 B (where *Ἀλ.* should be written); *Ax.* 371 E rôle of *Erinyes* cf. *de s. n. u.* 564 F.

4) cf. *Rohde Psyche* II⁶, 316, 1; 387, 2. The rapidity of the reincarnation should be noticed, it recurs in *Empedocles* fr. 137. Modern occultism knows the same thing for souls with much energy.

5) cf. *Ch. III* sub *Empedocles* and [*Demosthenes*].

6) *Plato Cratyl.* 400 B; *Phaedo* 114 B; *Gorg.* 493 A; *Philolai* fr. 14 D. (*Ritter-Preller* No. 89).

7) cf. *Eur. Polyidus* = fr. 639 N.²; *Plato Gorgias* 492 E f.

8) *ὥς ἐν φρουρίᾳ τινὶ ἔσμεν* *Plat. Phaedo* 62 B; cf. *S. Reinach Ἄωροι βίαιοθάνοντες* in *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* 9 (1906) 312 ff.

9) the 1.000 years period of *Plat. Resp.* 615 A.

10) *Eur. Hippol.* 1047: *ταχὺς γὰρ Ἀΐδης ῥᾷστος ἀνδρὶ δυσσεβεῖ*; *Hippolytus* is, as is generally acknowledged, the representative Orphic (cf. e.g. *Kern Orpheus* 11 f.). Cf. *Plato Resp.* 615 C and *Cumont After Life* 143 f.

also arises whether all living beings have a soul, and if so whether they have the same fate as man; this is answered in the affirmative ¹⁾; we need not wonder at this, because it formed an essential part of metempsychosis ²⁾). When the soul quits the body, she goes to the other world, beneath the earth together with all others. Here begin the warnings for the difficulties, which call for the greatest caution on her part. Every soul is very thirsty on account of the difficulties of a journey (= life?). At the entrance of the nether world there are two springs, one at the left hand one at the right. That on the left is the spring of Lethe: those not initiated into the mysteries go thither and drink of it: consequently they forget everything and appear with vacant minds before the throne of Persephone. But the myste, although he is also tortured by thirst, controls himself and finds the way to the one which is of *Ἐννοια*, streaming from the lake of *Μνημοσύνη*. Even then he is not allowed to drink from it without further delay. He finds guards there, who have to see to it that nobody shall wrongly obtain a draught of the water; for there is the possibility that some *ἀμύητος* had got knowledge in some way or other of the existence of this spring. In order to reveal his character the myste has to recite a couple of verses, in which he avows his descent from the gods and declares himself to be of their kin. This done he is allowed to have his draught, which secures him the memory of the past and of the mystic teachings which are to be his guide. The journey is continued, and mystae and non mystae, all come together before the throne of the Queen of the Nether World. There again the myste occupies a position quite different from that of the other souls. Enabled to do so by the virtue of the draught of water he recites a song, in which he insists upon his purity, his descent from the gods, the doctrine of metempsychosis, and the sufferings he has had to bear for his unrighteous deeds: sins in this world, unreasonable choice in the other. Finally he implores to be admitted to the place of eternal happiness. This is granted in mystic words, and he takes the right way, to the *ἔδραι εὐαγέων*.

About the other souls we learn next to nothing from all this literature. This would be rather surprising, if punishment of the wicked was in such a degree a characteristic element of Orphic eschatological literature, as people generally say. That all *ἀμύητοι* were to have the worst of fates is not probable; there will have been a graduation. Those who had attained or nearly attained goodness were admitted to the Land of the Pious, from where they had to return to a new life. Others had first to be punished and purified for a longer or a shorter period of time: but all of them had the opportunity of reaching eternal bliss in the course of the circle of births. Only a few were punished eternally ³⁾). But in this matter Orphism had no special doctrine: its followers took what they found, ideas that prevailed around them ⁴⁾). It is for this reason that Orphic punishment is never distinguished in our tradition from others; there was no difference or a very small one. We must imagine to ourselves the relationship e.g. between Orphism and Eleusinian

1) Orp. fr. 223 Kern. A caricature of this view is found in Luc. Catapl. 21, about which Reitzenstein Hellenist. Wunder-erzähl. 19, 1, who calls it a popular idea.

2) cf. p. 48, 6.

3) Plat. Phaedo 113 E; Resp. 615 D.

4) the Orphica fragmenta (therefore what has been handed down to us as to have been considered as undoubtedly Orphic by Antiquity) contain no scenes of punishment. The only one spoken of in the golden tablets is the circle of reincarnation. For that reason I do not understand Rohde (Psyche I², 302, 2 in fine), when he speaks about „mancherlei Höllenmythologie unter den Namen des Orpheus“. Besides, he is in plain contradiction with himself (p. 308 ff.), where he gives proof of very sound judgment. Gruppe-Pfister in Roscher's Myth. Lex., s. v. Unterwelt 84, 25 f. express the same idea as I have here expressed on this matter. I simply cannot agree with Dieterich Nek.² 135 f. and 161.

doctrines as somewhat similar to that between two Protestant sects one to another¹⁾. For in this matter they were in no way alone: all mysteries are apt to have similar notions and the general convictions of the people tend to be similar in matters concerned with morality. As far as such notions existed in Orphism too much had been said. Perhaps they worked out in detail some line of thought, making a system of their own out of it which added some new features and emphasized certain points regarding purification. But as a whole this part of their eschatology will not have been markedly different from other literature on the same subject. There is therefore no justification in speaking of an Orphic nether world or even hell; at best we might speak of a nether world with Orphic features. Not in this had Orphism new things to say, but on the manner in which eternal happiness could be attained they had their specific doctrine²⁾. The other side was secondary and served only two purposes: it was a counterpart to this happiness, and a corrective meant for those who did not believe in it.

If, therefore, Weege in his *Etruskische Malerei* affirms that the scenes of punishment which he believed he had discovered in the Etruscan tomb paintings, were due to Orphism, he is certainly wrong: they might just as well be the outcome of any other current of religious thought that believed in a hereafter. But the following chapter will remove the last doubt. In that we will consider the ideas on such matters which prevailed, not only among the Greeks in general, but *also* in the teachings of Orphism.

1) cf. Monceaux in Daremb. — S. s. v. Orphici p. 248.

2) cf. Cumont *After Life* 34: „the ancient Greek conception going back to Orphism”. Nor does he see much difference between the two. The cautious statements of Gruppe-Pfister l.l. 84, 40 ff. are also to be commended. The truth of Monceaux's assertion l.l. p. 251 („l'Orphisme paraît avoir contribué à répandre en Grèce une nouvelle conception des „Enfers”.) may be doubted. An inspection of what we really know about the Catabasis of Orpheus (Orph. fr. 293—296 Kern) puts this beyond any doubt.

CHAPTER III

Greek Ideas concerning Punishment in the Hereafter

We saw that part of the Orphic eschatological poem was devoted to the punishment of those who had not sought to be admitted to the mysteries and, as an inevitable result, had become stained with sin. We have also seen that the ideas of Orphism did not differ greatly from those prevailing in other circles. We must now see if we can sum up and form a conception of those ideas to which Orphism also adhered: at the same time we can try to disentangle from the others those that can with justice be termed truly Orphic ¹⁾.

Dealing with the thoughts of the Ancients on punishment in the hereafter we have the following passages in chronological order:

B.C. \pm 470 *Pindarus* Ol. II: reconstructed threnos; fr. 133 B⁴.

\pm 450 *Empedocles*: fr. 121; 122; 123 Diels.

\pm 420 *Aristophanes* *Ranae* passim.

\pm 370 *Plato* passim.

hellenistic(?) [Dem.] XXV = in *Aristogit.* II.

hellenistic [Plat.] *Axiochus*.

A.D. \pm 100 *Plutarchus*: *de sera Numinis Vindicta*.

\pm 160 *Lucianus* passim.

As an appendix,

B.C. \pm 60 *Lucretius*: *de Rerum Natura* III, 1016 f.

\pm 40—20 *Vergilius*: *Culex*; *Georg.* IV, 466; *Aen.* VI.

If we try to group them we get the following division:

A) *Pindarus*—*Empedocles*; this last is joined by [Dem.] XXV; B) *Aristophanes*;
C) *Plato*; D) *Plutarchus*; E) *Lucianus*. The Latin poets will be considered apart.

A) *Pindarus* in his Ol. II, 73 f. is as reserved as the hymn on Demeter was in the 7th cent.: there it is said that those who do not accept the mysteries will not have a *δμοίη αἴσα*. *Pindarus* does not go beyond saying: τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ἀκχέοντι πόνον. Not even the qualifications of the sinners are mentioned. In the same way fr. 133 B⁴ only says: οἷσι γὰρ ἂν ποινὰν παλαίον πένθεος Περσεφόνη δέξεται. The threnos alone goes somewhat more into detail. After having mentioned the general type *Sisyphus*²⁾ it proceeds: ἡ δὲ

1) cf. Dieterich *Nek.*² 163 ff.; Maass *Orpheus* 96 and 261 ff.

2) occurs already in Hom. Od. XI, 593 ff., cf. S. Reinach *Rev. arch.* 1903, 167 ff. On blackf. vases he is often to be found as a symbol for the nether world cf. Leiden XV, i, 59 (S. Reinach *R. V. P.* II, 273, 5, where this side however is not reproduced); Munich 728 Jahn. (l.l. 48, 3); Munich 153 Jahn (= J. Harrison *Proleg.*³ fig. 164).

τρίτη τῶν ἀνοσίωσ¹⁾ βεβιωκότων καὶ παρανόμων²⁾ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εἰς ἔρεβός³⁾ τε καὶ βάραθρον ὠδοῦσα⁴⁾ τὰς ψυχὰς „ἐνθεν τὸν ἄπειρον ἐρέοντα σκοτόν βληχροὶ⁵⁾ δνοφέρας νυκτός ποταμοὶ” δεχόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντες ἀγνοίαι καὶ λήθῃ τοὺς κολαζομένονα. The last words are very striking, but it seems doubtful whether they belong to Pindarus or to Plutarchus, who handed down to us the fragment⁶⁾. In itself to have one's pride wounded is a severe punishment for a Greek⁷⁾, but it is not in agreement with the teachings of Orphism, where punishment was meant to be a means of purification⁸⁾. The function of Lethe is quite different here from what it is on the Orphic tablets, in Plato and Vergil and in Plutarchus de sera num. vind. I cannot discover anything pointing directly to Orphic doctrine: only current thoughts are expressed here, though they are on a higher religious and moral level than those of the average man.

No punishment in the proper sense of the word, and certainly no torments, are to be found in the fragments of *Empedocles*⁹⁾. We merely find an enumeration of figures, which he evidently considers as demons (he says κῆρες¹⁰⁾), but which in reality are nothing but abstractions. The infernal world is ἀσυννηθήσ; we find in it Φόβος and Κότος and ἄλλων ἔθνεα Κηρῶν, besides αὐχμηραὶ νόσοι¹¹⁾, σήψις¹²⁾, and ἔργα ἔνυστά¹³⁾. The following fragment presents only contrasting abstractions¹⁴⁾. Here we have:

Χθονίη, the infernal one	× Ἡλιόπη who sees the sun
Δῆρις, strife	× Ἀρμονίη, harmony.
Καλλίστω, the beautiful	× Αἰσχρόη, the ugly one.
Θόωσα, hurry	× Δηναίη, the old and therefore slow one ¹⁵⁾ .
Νημερτής, clearness or truth	× Ἀσαφεία, obscurity.
Φύσω, growth	× Φθιμένη, destruction.
*Εγερσις, vigilance	× Εὐναίη, dullness.

1) the word *δοσιος* is in no way an especially Orphic one, but in a general sense religious in Antiquity. In Hom. (Od. 16, 423; 22, 412) *οὐχ δόση* merely means nefas. In Epidaure the formula on the temple ran: — — ἀγνεία δ' ἔστι φρονεῖν δοία (Defrasse—Lechat: Epidaure p. 242; Theophrastus in Porphy. de abst. anim. II, 19 cf. Bernays: Theophrasts Schrift über die Frommigkeit Hertz Berlin 1866; Roscher Mythol. Lex. s.v. Weltalter 404, 25 ff.; Dieterich Nek.² 67; Rohde Psyche I⁶, 288, 1).

2) this points to the sacred character of state and laws. *Παράνομος* is explained by *ἄδικος* in Hesych.; Aristophanes uses *παράνομος καὶ ἀνόσιος*; Isocrates *παράνομος καὶ αἰσχιστος* (cf. Thes. gr. s.v. *παράνομος*). Cf. especially Cic. Somn. Scip. III, 8 and Vergil. Aen. 6, 621 where the feature has much more stress as is consistent with Roman mentality.

3) the description of *ἐρεβός* is not fundamentally different from the description, certainly not Orphic, in Hesiod. Theog. 807 ff. For the general use of *σκοτός* cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Unterwelt 63, 37 ff.

4) the same word [Dem.] XXV, 53.

5) the slow rivers also Plato Phaedo 112 E ff.; Verg. Geo. IV, 479; Aen. VI, 323 Stygia palus and stagna alta Cocytii.

6) cf. Rohde Psyche II⁶, 209, 2.

7) Tyrtaeus fr. 10; Callinus fr. 1, 18 ff.; Hom. Il. 9, 413; cf. Norden Aen. B. VI² p. 329; Rohde Psyche I⁶, 66 f.; II⁶, 205.

8) On the other hand it is quite consistent with one of the sorts of punishments mentioned in Plut. de s. n. v. cf. p. 73 infra. For this reason I cannot agree with the view propounded by Rohde Psyche II⁶, 209, 2.

9) cf. Dieterich Nek.² 108 ff.; Rohde Psyche II⁶, 171 ff. As a whole his eschatology is more close related to Pythagoras than to Orphism. But the title of his book is eloquent: Purifications. We are reminded of Orphism also, when we read (fr. 144 Diels) *νηστεῦσαι κακότητος* (cf. p. 57, 6).

10) the development of the Keres into evil spirits already occurs Theognis 837 ff., where *κῆρες πόσιος* are to be found, which are at war with one another.

11) cf. p. 57, 6 supra.

12) cf. demon Eurynomus in Polygnotus' painting in Delphi = Paus. 10, 28, 4.

13) cf. the rivers in the nether world and esp. Plato Phaedo 112 E ff.

14) concerning this place see Diels Fragm. d. Vorsokr. p. 218 f.; Zeller Philos. d. Griechen I, 2, 548 with note 6.

15) cf. Thes. gr. s.v. *Δηναίη* and *δήναιος*.

**Ἐνθ' ἦσαν*, he says, but not a word about punishment or even persecution.

Out of the same sphere come the figures cited by [Dem.] XXV, 35 and 52 ¹⁾. Here, too, there is only question of accompaniment which may be considered as a sphere of bad thoughts. For Aristogiton is in the society of *Ἄρα*, *Βλασφημία*, *Φθόνος* (Emped. says *Κότος*), *Στάσις* and *Νεῖκος* (Emped. *Δήρις* and *Φόνος*), and these are the same figures, *μεθ' ὧν οἱ ζώγραφοι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐν Αἰδου γράφουσιν*, personifications of the sins which the soul committed in this life. And §§ 10 f. and 37 of the same speech show clearly that here, beyond any doubt, we are in Orphic sphere ²⁾.

With these and similar figures the Orphics peopled their nether world ³⁾, the general features and punishments of which had been defined already long before, for they were based on very different ideas. Similar figures are in agreement with Orphic doctrine, as appears from an inspection of Index III of Kern's *Orphicorum Fragmenta* ⁴⁾. There occur *Αἰδώς(?)*, *Ἄλγεα*, *Ἀνταύγη*, *Ἀπάτη*, *Ἄτη* ⁵⁾, *Δικαιοσύνη* and *Δική*, *Εἰμαρμένη*, *Εὐσεβεία*, *Εὐφροσύνη* etc. etc. Besides some figures, which were more generally acknowledged, *Ἀδράσθεια*, *Ἀνάγκη*. We are reminded also of names in Plato and on the Orphic tablets: *Ἀμέλῃς*, *Ἀληθεία*, *Μνημοσύνη*, *Ἐννοία(?)* and *Λήθη* ⁶⁾.

How we are to represent to ourselves the figures mentioned by Empedocles and [Demosthenes] is shown us by the vases of Southern Italy ⁷⁾. On some of them occur figures looking entirely like Erinyes, but distinguished from them by means of inscriptions (*Ἀναγκή*; *Ποῦναι*) ⁸⁾; in this way they express their peculiar character ⁹⁾. In another case *Φθόνος* is represented by an Eros, to which only the name has been subjoined ¹⁰⁾.

1) wrongly interpreted by Weege *Etr. Mal.* p. 32, cf. Dieterich *Nek.* ² p. 137. The words in question should be written with capital initials, because what they stand for is conceived of as demons. So does Dieterich l. l. cf. Norden *Verg. Aen. B. VI.* p. 273 ff., who does not cite [Dem.].

2) Dieterich *Nekyia* ² 139; Kern *Orpheus* 14.

3) from the same source are derived, therefore, numbers of figures which Aeneas (*Verg. Aen. VI.* 273 ff.; cf. Silius *It. XIII.* 579 ff. = Pascal *Credenze II.* 96) sees vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci, scil. Luctus, Curae, Morbi (= Emped. *νόσοι*), Senectus, Metus, Fames, Egestas, Letum, Labos, Sopor (Emped. *Εὐναίη*), Gaudia Bellum (Emped. *Δήρις*), Discordia ([Dem.] *Στάσις*). Cf. Roscher *Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt* 76, 31 ff. (where not only abstractions are cited); Pascal *Credenze I.* 96 f.; II, 64 ff.

4) cf. Rohde *Psyche II.* ¹, 114; Monceaux in *Daremb.—S. s. v. Orphici* p. 250; Kern *Orpheus* 49 f.

5) also Hom. *Il.* 9, 504 in a more confidential passage (Phoenix telling his own experiences to Achilles); *Αἰναι* (502) and *Ἄτη* (504 f.) should be written.

6) this last figure also became more wider spread and more generally connected with the idea of Death. But its earliest occurrence shows it clearly yet in mystic sphere (Aristoph. *Ran.* 186).

7) they enter wholly into the conception of the Orphic nether world, which I have here expounded. Taken as a whole, they represent only *Νέκυιαί*, with the ordinary attributes (palace of Hades; Sisyphus; Tantalus; Cerberus; judges etc.) but with separate Orphic features. Amongst these I reckon the Furies, with their special denominations (*Ποῦναι*, *Ἀναγκή*), the preponderant place given to Persephone upon them, finally the parents with the child on the vase of Munich. These are no mythological persons, to whom names could possibly be given, but types, representing the *εὐαγεῖς*, because they are represented as *θεοί*, in the same manner as we find in the Tarentine terracottas (cf. the paper by Dr. Lunsingh Scheurleer cited before, p. 58, 2). Perhaps the presence of Orpheus (not on his search after Eurydice!) has a mystical meaning also. If it could be proved that the „Hades—Dionysus” with the cantharus on the vase of Altamura was authentic we should have a representation here of Zagreus. But I find in my notes (taken when standing before the original Nov. 1924): „Of Hades only the greater part of head and breast are ancient and some fragments of the drapery about the knees also, but they seem to have been taken from another vase”. An allusion to the Orphic „Rape of Persephone” has been pointed out *Röm. Mitt.* 13, 97 ff. (opposed 14, 101 f.) Further literature has been cited by J. Harrison *Proleg.* ² 599 ff., cf. Rohde *Psyche I.* ¹, 318, 4; also Kern *Orpheus* 23 f.

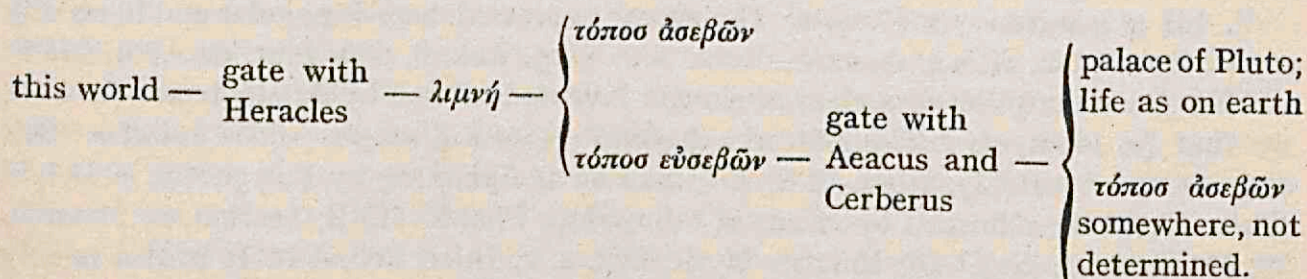
8) this last on the Altamura vase, but the inscription is all right (so far as it is preserved), as I myself had the opportunity of ascertaining.

9) cf. Roscher *Myth. Lex. s. v. Phthonos* 2473, 64 ff.; Kekulé in the paper cited in 3) p. 9 ff.; Dieterich *Nek.* ² 58; 138.

10) S. Italian vase at Naples published by Kekulé in *Strenna festosa Henzen* (1867) 5 ff., with plate; cf. however Roscher l. l. 2474, 3 ff. (the result of which I can only regard as doubtful), where the paper by Kekulé has been forgotten.

B) *Aristophanes*. In his comedy of the *Ranae* we find some more detailed ideas ¹⁾. Before we come to the subject itself, I would like to call special attention to a passage from the *Pax* (372 ff.), in order to illustrate the difference between Orphic and Eleusinian conceptions. There we can trace the view that, by means of the simple act of a sacrifice, in Eleusinian spheres admission was obtained to the „better fate” ²⁾. Indeed, instead of the difficult and time-consuming ritual which we found on the Orphic tablets a simple communion was thought to be sufficient here ³⁾. For the man in question, who is about to die, wishes to be initiated just beforehand into the mysteries of Eleusis ⁴⁾.

We now turn to the views propounded by Aristophanes concerning the nether world ⁵⁾. The topography, which has been analysed with much subtlety by Radermacher ⁶⁾, can be summed up in this schema:



This nether world is not an „Orphic” one, but thoroughly popular, with duplications such as occur in similar spheres (cf. Radermacher l.l.); there are some Orphic features in it, but not where, as a rule, they are supposed to be: it is only in the *χόρος τῶν μυστῶν* that such traces are to be found ⁷⁾; the place of punishment has none of them. This is the place we have now to consider.

1) an exact judgment Maass *Orpheus* 96.

2) cf. Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 312 f.

3) a similar case Theophr. *Char.* XVI (*Δεισιδαιμονία*). Though the text in the different editions is at variance (Fraenkel and Groeneboom: καὶ ὅταν ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ, πορεύεσθαι — — — τελεσθῆσόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστάς but Navarre in Edition Budé (1920): τελεσθῆσόμενος πρ. τ. Ὀρφεοι. κατὰ μῆγα), the meaning is virtually the same. This is not an initiation, which is performed only once (into the same cult), but a „communion” in order to be freed from evil influence and repeated on every new occasion or on fixed times.

4) cf. Stengel: *Gr. Kultusalt.* ² (= Iw. Müllers *Hdb.* V, 3) 161, by whom in note 3 this very passage is cited (= ² 180, 9, but the text has been considerably changed.)

5) cf. Dieterich *Nek.* ² 70 ff. It should be noticed that Aristophanes is a moderate democrat (cf. M. Croiset: *Aristophane et les partis à Athènes*, Fontemoing Paris 1906) and that he has an aversion to extremist opinions in either direction. But he cannot have been far from the truth, where Eleusinian mysteries are concerned: the people of Athens were very sensitive in matters of this sort. And his play was a great success (cf. Kock's introd. to his edition of the *Ranae* (Weidmann 1868) § 18, which edition I cite in the following pages).

6) das Jenseits im Mythos d. Hellenen 3 ff.: he rightly distinguishes the various elements (cf. also Pascal Credenze II, 16 ff.). His strange note on *βοεκέλευξ* is very regrettable.

7) with verse 327 (cf. Prof. Vollgraff in B. C. H. 1924, 114 on 328 ff.) and 335 f. nothing can be done: *ὄσιος* and *ἄγνος* occur in the same combination in *Epidauros* (cf. p. 63,1). The same holds good for v. 355 (cf. again *Epidauros*). But in v. 357 we find the words *Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου*, which is a definite allusion to the *ὠμοφαγία* (cf. Maass *Orpheus* 44, note 45; Macchiario *Zagreus* 78 ff.; B. C. H. 1924, 151; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 116 f.) and the whole of the context belongs to mystic spheres. Stripped of its comic elements it states that those have to leave the place who are not initiated into the mysteries of the Bull-eater. This is Dionysus, with whom Cratinus as a scenic poet is identified. Dionysus in his quality of the strong or the mighty one, is represented as a bull with a bearded human face (beard = the Oriental symbol of strength; this may point to some connexion with Ionia, cf. p. 43,3). He is then the god of Death, therefore *ὠμάδιος*, *ὠμηστής* (cf. Ch. I, p. 7,3; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 15, 1; P. Sarasin: *Helios und Keraunos* (Innsbruck 1924) 90, of dubious acceptation), and in this form Orphic, *Ζαγρεύς*. For Dionysus as a bull see also t. d. Tori Tarquinia (= Ant. Denkm. II, 41/2 A, 2—3); Lippold *Gemmen* 80, 6; v. Rohden—Winnefeld: *Archit. röm. Terrak.* (= Ant. Terrak. IV, 1) p. 58 left side; Ribbeck *Anfänge und Entwickl. d. Dionysoscultes in Attica*

Dionysus will see in Hades (v. 143) ὄφεις καὶ θήρια μυρία. Snakes in connexion with death are too common to justify the least thought of Orphism¹); the wild beasts will be dealt with below (v. 469 ff.)²).

Next to this βόρβορος πολύς³) (v. 145). This belief returns Plato Phaedo 69 C (where generally ἀμύητοι and ἀτέλειστοι are placed in it, not according to Orphic doctrine only); Resp. 363 D f.; Diog. Laert. 6, 39; Verg. Georg. 4, 478. It is worth remarking, that the mud has no magic meaning here (as it has Demosth. XVIII (= de Corona), 259), but the souls merely continue in the state of impurity in which they lived on earth⁴).

V. 146: καὶ σκῶρ ἀέλων, said, more drastically Aristoph. Gerytades fr. 2, 13 and Strattis Atalante. It will be difficult to decide whether this was actually accepted, or whether it is only comic exaggeration. In this dirt lie⁵):

V. 147 εἴ ποιν ξέγον τις ἠδίκησεν. The moral expressed here is popular and in no way especially Orphic, cf. e.g. Aeschyl. Eum. 270; Verg. Aen. 6, 609; Plut. de s.n.u. 566 F.

After the description of a class of sinners invented ad hoc by Aristophanes (v. 148), we find (v. 149 f., cf. v. 274) him who ἡ μητιὲρ ἠλόησεν ἢ πατρός γνάθον ἐπάταξεν. This class occurs repeatedly: Hom. Il. 9, 461; man on the painting by Polygnotus in Delphi (Paus. 10, 28, 4), punished by means of talio; Plato Phaedo 113 E; Aeschin. in Timarch. 28; cf. Dieterich Nek.² 68; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Inferi 260, 4 ff. It is also merely popular. Regard for one's parents is one of the first requirements of the ancient city-states: τρέφειν τοὺς γονέας an obligation for the δοκιμάσια τῶν ἐητόρων (Aeschin. 1.1.). This also is quite independent of Orphism.

ἡ πίορκον ὤμοσεν (v. 150 and 275) is also connected with general popular morals as appears from Hom. Il. 3, 279; 19, 260⁶); Pind. Ol. 2, 72; Emped. fr. 115 (said here of the gods who commit this sin); Plat. Gorg. 524 E.

In what follows (v. 185) there is a motive which, if wrongly interpreted, might be supposed to be Orphic. Charon announces the places to which he is conducting the shades, and says: τίς εἰς ἀναπαύλας ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων. But here there is no question of a better existence in the hereafter; only of repose from the difficulties of this world, no longing for release, but a certain fatigue, which we shall meet with again in Lucianus (below). It is a paraphrase of the more common οἱ καμόντες or οἱ κεκημηκότες.

The mention of Ἀθήνη (v. 186) does not help us⁷); we can only say that it occurs here in a generally mystic sphere (cf. p. 49,3).

speech Univ. Kiel 1869) 19 f.; Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 1891, 367 ff. Whether the combination of Eleusinian and Orphic elements here is original or due to Aristophanes cannot be ascertained. Orphic influence on Eleusis is denied by Rohde Psyche I⁶, 285 f.; Foucart Mystères d'Eleusis 253; Kern Orpheus 14; 30 (at least for the classic period; but cf. p. 53); it is accepted on the contrary by Maass Orpheus 78 ff.; J. Harrison Proleg.² 539 ff.; Macchioro Zagreus 176, 2, cf. Prof. Vollgraff 1.1. 119.

Ranae 420 (τοῖς ἄνω νεκροῖσι) contains another reference to Orphism: without this background the joke would be rather shallow: it is the conception expressed in σῶμα — σῆμα (cf. p. 59); Eur. fr. 639 (Polyidus) and Heraclitus fr. 62 Diels (cf. Macchioro Zagreus 249, 1).

1) a reference to Rohde I⁶, 244, 4 suffices.

2) cf. Dieterich Nek.² 53 f.

3) cf. 1.1. 83. Stengel Kultusaltert⁸. p. 157 is not right, when he takes this to be an Eleusinian creed only.

4) cf. Dieterich Nek.² 209.

5) 1.1.; Maass Orpheus 113 note 150.

6) cf. Rohde Psyche I⁶, 64 f.; Radermacher Jenseits 35.

7) Lethe also, apart from the passages cited p. 49,3, Diod. Sic. I, 96; Dion. Hal. Ant. 8, 52, 4 (p. 1629; here three places are spoken about: the καταχθόνιος τόπος καὶ ἀφ' ἧς; the Ἀθήνησ πύδιον and the αἰθήρη); Paus. 9, 39, 8; Lucian. de Dolore 5; 8 and elsewhere, cf. p. 76,6 below. See Rohde Psyche I⁶, 316, 2.

He also refers to the "Οκνον πλοκάς, a general type ¹⁾, and (v. 194) to the *Αδαίνου λίθος*. To my mind the scholia give the right interpretation here interspersed with many useless remarks. They say (ed. I. Bekker Aristophanes Vol. II Whittaker London 1829 and Dübner Didot Paris 1877), between the *αῖοι* ²⁾ καὶ ἀλιβάντες νεκροί, while at the same time they reject this just remark: *φασὶ δὲ αδαίνου λίθον τινὰ λέγεσθαι Ἀθήνησι . . . ἐπειδὴ οἱ πολλὸν χρόνον περιμέναντες τινὰς εἰώθασιν λέγειν „αἶσος γέγονα περιμένων”*. Therefore the meaning is: wait at the stone, where you can wait till you are dry from it. Concerning the meaning of the whole „adhuc sub iudice lis est”. We must here distinguish between real pieces of stone and others, purely mythological ³⁾. Real, for instance, were the *Μελαμπύγος λίθος* on the Thermopylae (Hdt. 7, 216); the *λίθος Ὑβρεως* and the *λίθος Ἀναδείας* (cf. Guide Joanne—Hachette: Grèce p. 91; Richter Topographie Athens 269) which we must perhaps represent to ourselves as in the form of seats hewn out in the rock as well as other stones with names in Athens (cf. Richter l.l. 354; Curtius—Kaupert Atlas Athens pl. VI ⁴⁾). Moreover we find the *πρατὴρ λίθος* (Poll. III, 78, 126) and the *κῆρυκος λίθος* (Plut. Sol. 8, 2), finally on Ithaca the *Κόρακος πέτρα* (Hom. Od. 13, 408; cf. Guide Joanne Grèce p. 475; 478 and the map p. 477), and in Eleusis the *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα* of the mysteries (cf. Foucart Mystères d'Eleusis 342; Macchioro Zagreus 32 ff.; 182 f.; J. Harrison Proleg. ⁵⁾ 127). The *Αδαίνου λίθος* referred to by the scholiast could belong to the same category as the *λίθος Ὑβρεως* etc.; it was, then, a piece of rock, where, for some reason or other, people used to wait for a long time; Aristoph. fr. 514 uses *αδαίνεσθαι* exactly in the meaning of being occupied with something for a long time. On Lesbos, too, there really was the Leucadian rock from which Sappho had precipitated herself into the sea. But the last two had their counterpart in mythology. The *αδαίνου λίθος* in the nether world, therefore, represents the same idea as the „sedet aeternumque sedebit infelix Theseus” of Vergil (Aen. 6, 617 f.), which in Chapter I (p. 3) we found expressed in such a curious way in tomba dell' Orco at Tarquinia ⁶⁾. The Leucadian rock was the rock from which one leaped into death, or which one was at least bound to pass (cf. Hom. Od. 24, 11; Rev. arch. 1903, 194; Dieterich Nek. ²⁾ 27); perhaps we find it represented in the stucchi of the apse of the basilica near Porta Maggiore at Rome, of which it never yet has been ascertained with certainty to which religious current it belongs (cf. J. H. S. 1924, 103 and pl. 4). In any case, in the presence of this „drying-stone” there is nothing markedly Orphic.

Afterwards (273 ff.) when Dionysus and Xanthias have arrived in the nether world we get the description of what they see there. First of all come the *σκοῖτος* and *βόρβορος* after this the *πατραλοῖαι*, *ἐπίορκοι* and the *θήρια*. In the same region they meet the Empousa (v. 293), a being which, originally a soul, had developed into an evil demon: it therefore

1) cf. Paus. 10, 29, 2 f.; Photius p. 338 s. v.; Rev. arch. 1903, 184 ff.; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 82, 52 ff.

2) *αἶσος* also of one deceased in Lucianus, cf. p. 77, 6 below. Maass Orpheus 113 note 150 speaks about a demon *Αἰαῖνος*.

3) cf. Daremberg—Saglio s. v. *λίθος* in the Indices.

4) and Curtius—Milchhöfer: Stadtgesch. von Athen (Weidmann Berlin 1891) pl. III (Felsenhausplätze) sub 2 and 9; p. 27.

5) evidently the *πέτρα* and the *σκοπέλος* mentioned by Aristoph. Ran. 470 f. are of quite a different character.

6) for this reason it seems to me that J. Harrison (Proleg. ²⁾ 576) does not give the right interpretation when she refers the name to thirst and makes the passage Orphic. The same view as J. Harrison adopted by Dieterich Nek. ²⁾ 99.

belongs properly to the nether world and has no connexion with Orphism, only with popular beliefs ¹⁾).

We see that only those are punished here who were wicked, not the uninitiated. I believe the first to be the original conception, which was embodied in the mystic doctrines, but after popular morality had already adopted it ²⁾. But, after all, the punishment is not worked out. The wild beasts referred to several times already, are described in fuller detail v. 469 ff. Apart from Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus' dogs = the Erinyes, he mentions: the Echidna with a hundred heads; the muraena; the Gorgons, things only pointing to popular beliefs. For the Echidna is a sort of snake, and reptiles are generally accepted ³⁾ to be chthonic. 'Εκατοκέφαλος is an epithet frequently applied to monsters in the nether world. The muraena is an eel-like fish, not dissimilar, therefore, to a snake and apt to be transferred (if *comice* only) to the nether world. Besides its voracity was notorious, and death demons had the same characteristic. The Gorgons occur several times below (cf. Dieterich Nek.² 48; Rohde Psyche II⁶, 408, who however overlooks this place; it can hardly be believed that he omits it willingly because of the epithet *Τιθρόσαιαι*, which has only a comic meaning, cf. Kock ad h. l. ⁴⁾). The *διασπαράττειν* of the Echidna occurs again in Lucianus, cf. p. 76 ⁵⁾).

To sum up, we have not found one trace of Orphism either in Aristophanes' isolated ideas concerning punishment, or in their combination, whereas in his Elysium we found some. Although his attention had been drawn to Orphism he found in their views concerning punishment no special doctrines to laugh at or to exaggerate, which confirms our opinions that „Orphic” punishment did not exist. The views of Orphism on this subject were the general ones.

C) Plato. In Plato's dialogues the aspect has changed sensibly. We shall try to make a

1) cf. Radermacher Jenseits 106 ff.; Rohde Psyche II⁶, 410.

2) Rohde Psyche I⁶, 312 f. holds a different opinion.

3) cf. however Nilsson Greek Religion Index s. v. Snake.

4) I do not know, whether Gorgo is represented in the nether world Furtw. Ant. Gemmen I, 85, 2.

5) A comparison with Verg. Aen. 6, 285 ff. (cf. Norden ad h. l.) is extremely instructive. Here we find two groups: a) in common with Aristophanes the *belua* Lerna (a sort of snake, cf. Serv. ad h. l.), and the Gorgons, while Briareos in the nether world occurs elsewhere in Greek mythology (Norden l. l.).

b) But the case of the Centaurs, Scyllae, Chimaera, Harpyiae and Geryoneus is different. The myth of Geryoneus is closely connected with Italy and all sources placing him, as Vergil does, are Italic (t. d. Orco—Tarquinia; Horatius). The Harpies are demons of the air, but here, in the nether world, they remind us of the winged female demons on Etruscan funeral monuments. The Chimaera in the nether world we meet with in Lucianus (cf. p. 76) is not derived from an old untraceable *Greek* tradition, but from an easily traced *Italic* one (cf. Brunn—K. Ril. Urne etr. II, 63 f.) well-known to Lucianus through his Roman relations. The Scylla (related to *σκύλαξ* cf. Boisacq Dictionn. étymol. s. v.) in the plural is not to be found in Greek tradition, but she is in Italic (cf. Norden l. l.) and on Etruscan urns she appears as trigemina (Brunn—K. III, 27, 2, together with two male figures, sometimes with dogs); she is connected there with the Inferi. The case of the Centaurs is quite the same: again purely Italic tradition (the first proof of the *source* from which Ovidius took Chthonius as a name of one of them remains to be given), and on Etruscan urns they appear as representing the nether world (Brunn—K. II, 59; 64 ff.; cf. also Radermacher Jenseits 116, 3). So the view that maintains the Italic character of their infernal function is well founded, and the opposite view is not. The word *ὠμόφαγος* does not prove anything; it is employed of wild animals and semi-barbarous men (Thuc. 3, 94), and such were the Centaurs. But it is not employed of death-demons, while *ὠμότης* and *ὠμάδιος* are (cf. p. 7, 3). The note of Koerte in Norden l. l. cannot refute these facts, and Boll's remarks *ibid.* demand a close inquiry into the date and the history of the views put forth in it (cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Kentauren 1057 f.) That the Zodiacal sign the Centaur is of Mesopotamian origin does not imply that the infernal function of the Centaurs came from the same source. I think, therefore, that Roscher in his Myth. Lex. l. l. 1054, 59 ff. really has the right explanation, and that Norden is wrong when he defends an opposite view. Etruscan views as thoroughly Italic are known to us already (cf. Ch. I).

system out of his scattered notices about sinners and their punishment. For whereas hitherto only the lot of sinners was fully dealt with, here the same is to be said of the punishment.

Resp. II, 364 E he speaks mockingly about the beggar priests who say that by means of their *τελεταί* (cf. p. 65 supra) they can deliver the deceased from the punishment they are suffering already¹⁾, and that on the other hand the living can take care, in the same way that they, too, do not get a share in such sufferings; *τοὺς δὲ μὴ θύσαντας δεινὰ περιμένει*. When describing the punishment, Plato clearly mixes up different classes belonging to different spheres. For in Phaedo 69 C it is said *οὗτος δὲ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Αἴδου ἀφίκεται ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται*,
but Resp. II, 363 D:

τοὺς ἀνοσίους κοσκίνῳ ἀναγκάζουσι φέρειν

τοὺς ἀδίκους εἰς πηλὸν τινα κατορύττουσιν

It appears from Paus. 10, 31, 9 and 11, where it is not the wicked, who bear water, but those who were not initiated = *οἱ ἀνόσιοι*²⁾.

These *ἄδικοι* and their punishment are dealt with in several places. As a general principle he accepts (Meno 81 B, Phaedo 113 D ff. and Resp. 614 C ff.) the *ποινα παλαίου πένθεος* established by Pind. fr. 133. The character of the punishment is determined in a court of justice (Phaedrus 249 A; Phaedo 107 D; 113 D; Gorg. 523 A ff.; Resp. 614 C).

As *sinner* Plato knows³⁾:

Leges IX, 872 D f., those who stained themselves with the blood of relatives.

Phaedo 113 D ff., also Gorgias 523 A ff., *οἱ μὴ δόσω*⁴⁾ *βιώσαντες* are divided⁵⁾.

1) *οἱ μέσσω ἔχοντες*

2) *οἱ ἀνιάτωσ ἔχοντες* { *φονεῖς ἄδικοι καὶ παράνομοι* cf. Legg. 872 D; Resp. 615 C; Emped. fr. 115.
ιερόσυλοι cf. Paus. 10, 28, 2 (Polygnotus).

3) *λάσιμα μέγала ἁμαρτήματα* { *πατραλοῖται* cf. ad Aristoph. } summarized Resp. 615 C.
φονεῖς ὑπ' ὀργῆς οἷς μεταμέλει.

Respublica 614 B ff. knows.

πόλεισ προδόντες (cf. Norden Aen. B. VI² ad v. 621).

πολλῶν θανάτων αἴτιοι cf. *φονεῖς* before.

τύραννοι καὶ ἰδιῶται μέγала ἁμαρτηκότες.

1) I see no necessity to reject the common interpretation of the passage. For the notion of this aid given to the dead cf. Reinach: *Mythes, Cultes, Religions* I³, 330 (analogies with Egypt); Norden Aen. B. VI² p. 7, 3. But Norden considers the passage, wrongly, as Orphic. The sphere of Orphism is very well, however, characterized by P. Monceaux in Daremberg—Saglio s. v. *Orphiques* 248: *Dans la grande église populaire de Dionysos—Bacchos les Orphiques formaient une Eglise mystique, une élite de dévots, pour qui l'essentiel était la doctrine, la pureté de la vie, la préparation à la mort et aux existences futures*". The one under consideration, however, is nothing more than a lower current which has its source in Orphism. Whether the view in question is really Orphic or only the invention of these Orphicotelestae will be difficult to say. The right estimation of these men is to be found in Boulanger: *Orphée* 48 f. and Foucart: *Mystères d'Eleusis* 255. Other literature: Dieterich Nek.³ 82; Maass: *Orpheus* 76 ff.; Macchioro: *Zagreus* 263; Rohde: *Psyche* II⁶, 128, 5; Stengel *Kultusaltert.*² (= Iw. Müller's Handb. V, 3) 151; Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s. v. *Unterwelt* 94, 56 ff.; s. v. *Weltalter* 399, 51 ff.

2) in the same way he says Phaedrus 248 D: *ὅς ἂν ἀδίκῳ διαγάγῃ χεῖρονος μόρας μεταλαμβάνει*, with a formula, which originally (Hom. Hymn. Demeter 481 f.) referred to the *ἀτέλεστοι*.

3) cf. Dieterich Nek.³ 167 f.

4) again confused terminology (*δοῖοι* not = *μεμνημένοι* but those who are not stained with sin).

5) the same division follows Plutarchus cf. p. 73 below.

And apart from these, are punished more severely than other things:

εἰς θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖται cf. *ιερόσυλοι*

εἰς γονέας ἀσεβεῖται cf. *πατραλοῖται* ¹⁾

αὐτόχειρες φόνοι. Cf. *Cratyl.* 400 B; *Gorg.* 493 A.

The catalogue gives nothing that points to Orphism, or even to mystic doctrine in general. Murder, treason, lack of respect for gods or parents are surely no deeds, against which Orphic doctrine was the only one to protest; this belongs to popular morals. Suicides are even instinctively abhorred by the people. But eschatological mystic teaching had to contain special warnings against this sin, because of its doctrine of eternal bliss ²⁾.

We have now to consider the *punishment*. In *Leges* IX, 872 D f. it is said that those who have murdered a relative *δεῖ παθεῖν ταῦτα ἀναγκαίως, ἅπερ ἔδρασαν*; this therefore is a simple case of talio, which occurs frequently in Antiquity ³⁾. On the other hand we find in the *Respubl.* (615 B.) the prescription *δικὴν διδόναι δεκάκις* ⁴⁾, further on generally indicated by *παθήματα*. Fuller details are given in the *Phaedo* 113 D ff.

Each class of sinners gets its own punishment. *Οἱ μέσσω βιώσαντες πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα . . . ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἐκεῖ οἰκοῦσί τε καὶ καθαιρόμενοι τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων διδόντες δίκας ἀπολύονται*. The formulation makes no finer distinctions than punishment and purification.

The great sinners, whose wickedness, however, admits of recovery *ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἀνάγκη· ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖ γενομένουσ' ἐκβάλλει τὸ κῦμα*. *Οἱ δὲ φερόμενοι γίγνονται κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Ἀχερουσιάδα . . . καλέσαντες, οὓς ὕβρισαν, ἱκετεύουσι ἑᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν λίμνην*. *Ταῦτα πάσχοντες οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν πείσωσι οὓς ἀδίκησαν* ⁵⁾. The aspect of Tartarus we find in the same dialogue, 111 C ff.: it is a *χάσμα μέγιστον* ⁶⁾, where are *πῦρ* and *πυρρὸς ποταμοί*; the centre of the earth is quite a *κρατὴρ μέγας*, *εἰς δὲ τοῦτον ἐμβάλλοντα ρεύματα* ⁷⁾; *ποταμοὶ θερμοὶ καὶ ψυχροὶ* ⁸⁾; *πῆλος βορβορωδής* ⁹⁾.

The greatest sinners, *τοὺς ἀνιάτους δοκοῦντας ἔχειν* throws *ἡ προσήκουσα Μοῖρα* also *εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον*, from where they are nevermore allowed to go out. Nevertheless one must imagine their fate as one of a different character from that described before, where they are punished in the rivers, which flow there. For *Gorgias* 525 A ff. tells us *τοὺς ἀνιάτους κολαζομένους παραδείγμα γίγνεσθαι* and *ἀνηρημένοι ἀτεχνῶς παραδείγματα κολαζόμενοι*. This didactic principle is met with several times ¹⁰⁾: it justifies Norden's remark, that apo-

1) very instructive Aesch. in *Timarchum* 28, where it is said of parents: *οὓς ἐξ ἴσου δεῖ μᾶν τοῖς θεοῖς*.

2) cf. Cumont *After Life* 143 f.

3) cf. Rohde *Psyche* II², 129, 4; 163, 2. Cf. also Paus. 10, 28, 1; Roscher *Myth. Lex.* s. v. *Inferi* 254, 32 ff.

4) cf. Pascal *Credenze* II, 133.

5) this is a purely occult doctrine, occurring also in modern occultism. Instances are known of souls that cannot find rest until they have obtained pardon from persons yet living, whom they have injured.

6) *Plut. de s. n. u.* 565 E *χάσμα μέγα* = *Λήθησ' πέδιον*; *de Gen. Socr.* 590 F = Hades; *Plato Respubl.* 614 C. about *χάσματα*.

7) cf. the *κρατὴρ* in *Plut. de s. n. u.* 566 B. ff. I doubt whether the conclusions of Norden *Aen. B. VI*² p. 276 are right. Cf. also Dieterich *Nek.*² 202. For the colours cf. *Phaedo* 113 B f.

8) cf. *Plut. de s. n. u.* 567 C. f.

9) cf. *Aristoph. Ran.* cited before. The theme is dealt with in Plato from an entirely physical standpoint, cf. the interesting paper by Friedländer *Arch. Jahrb.* 29 (1914), 98 ff.; Baensch: *Arch. Gesch. Philos.* 9 (1903) 189 ff.

10) cf. *Resp.* 616 A.; *Protagoras* 324 B (Protagoras rejects punishment as a requital and accepts it only as a prevention or an example); *Plut. de s. n. u.* 567 B.; *Verg. Aen.* 6, 618 ff.; with a sensation loving tourist's view *Luc. Ver. Hist.* II, 31. The root of it can be found already in the 3 types in *Homers Necyia Od. XI*. Quite different is the conception embodied in the story of Lazarus in Abraham's lap when he sees the pains of the rich man (*N.T. Luke* 16, 22 ff), a pure consequence of the doctrine of the revengeful God of Israel. Here is also an example of vainly implored assistance in the here-after.

calypse and didache merge one into another¹⁾. Here is a passage where one can put catch questions. In the first place how is this conception of souls, who are punished eternally, to be brought into harmony with the Phaedrus, where all souls after 10,000 years return into their original state²⁾? And secondly, how are those eternally punished souls to be regarded by those who are in need of *παραδείγματα*, are therefore not perfect and are being purified themselves in the *Ἀχερούσια λίμνη*? But it seems to me that Norden Aen. B. VI³, p. 13 f. has given the right answer.

For the rest they only suffer *τὰ προσήκοντα πάθη*, in which formula it is clearly expressed that punishment only aims at the improvement, either of the sinners themselves, or of those who see it³⁾. There is no unreasonable torment⁴⁾. There is another version of *οἱ ἀνιάτως ἔχοντες* in Respubl. 615 C ff. There they share the common journey of all souls towards a new incarnation up to a certain point. When they arrive there and are leaving the region of punishment, *μυκᾶται*⁵⁾ *τὸ στόμιον*⁶⁾. At this sound some *ἄνδρες ἄγριοι διάπυθοι*⁷⁾ come running up, they force the souls roughly to go back: in this description we find the words *συμποδίζειν, καταβάλλειν, ἐκδείρειν*⁸⁾, *ἔλκειν, ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτειν*⁹⁾.

1) Norden Aen. B. VI³ p. 309.

2) 248 E f.: *εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄθεν ἦκει ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ ἅσπερ οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ μυχίων* and ... *κρηθεῖσαι* ... *εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς δικαιοσύνην ἐλθεῖν δίκην ἐκτίουσιν*: no exceptions are mentioned.

3) cf. Pascal Credenze II, 199; Dieterich Nek.² 207 f. The Gorgias repeatedly insists upon this.

4) there is another place which deserves mention here, viz. Resp. 361 E f.: *ἐροῦσι δὲ τὰδε, οἳ οὕτω διακείμενος δὲ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ φθάλμῳ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθὼν ἀνασχιδυλευθήσεται*. Norden Aen. B. VI³ p. 275 f. has connected these tortures with eschatology, and, naturally, with Orphic eschatology. But this cannot be exact, already for the reason that the passage which he cites deals not with Orphism but with the Orpheotelestae. Moreover he overlooks the fact that here it is a question of tortures practised upon living persons, and this accounts for his mistaken view. The same may be said of Maass: Orpheus 261 ff. He endeavours to trace motives from the Apocalypse of St. Peter up to Aeschylus, but first changes the text of Aeschylus in order to arrive at his interpretation. The wording (Eum. 185 ff.) does not run quite smoothly, but the general sense is clear (cf. ed. by Wilamowitz (Weidmann 1914) and the same: Aesch. Interpret. p. 217 ff.): „Your place is not here, in my temple” says Apollo to the Furies, „but there, where sins and fearful deeds are committed”, i.e. here on earth, naturally, not in the nether world: this would yield no good sense. The poem then mentions decapitation, blinding, murder, castration, *ἀκρωτηριασμός*, lapidation and punishment by means of the pole. All these are things which occurred on earth as the context shows; none of them are anywhere to be met with in the nether world in Greek tradition (in contrast with the Romans cf. below p. 78 ff. For earthly torments (cf. Dieterich Nek.² 202 ff.) see Plato Gorg. 473 C (tyrants!); Aristoph. Ran. 618 ff. (jurisdiction); Andoc. 1, 43 ff.; Demosth. 18, 133; Herondas (edit. Groeneboom with French notes: Noordhoff Groningen 1922) 4, 78; 5, 68; Plaut. Capt. 596 f.; Epid. 1, 2, 16 Cas. 2, 5, 1 (slaves); Cic. Verr. II, 5, 7; 11; 14; 71; 112; 162; 163. It is easy to see how markedly different and how truly Oriental is Hom. Od. 22, 475 ff.

5) *μυκᾶσθαι* is also terminus mysticus, cf. Prof. Vollgraff B. C. H. 1924, 146 (who refers to Dieterich Mithraslit. 41). Cf. Fragm. Orph. 270, 7 Kern. About roaring also Frazer Balder II (Golden Bough) 227 ff. Maass Orpheus 288 reminds us of Geryones, the Roarer, in the t.d. Orco at Tarquinia (and not on a Pompeian wall painting as he says!) near the throne of Hades. Cf. also Dieterich Nek.² 124.

6) for the *στόμιον* cf. Ch. I, p. 24.

7) they remind us of the demon in Plut. de s. n. u. 567 C, and the devils in the Christian hell (cf. Mew: Traditional Aspects of Hell). I would not venture to say whether there is any connexion between these devils and the beings mentioned here, or whether we have to reckon with figures and ideas originating in the East, or, perhaps, ancient northern conceptions. Cf. also Dieterich Nek.² 60.

8) The idea of a skinned soul seems absurd to Döring Arch. Gesch. Philos. 6 (1893) 486. But apart from the fact that, from a certain point of view, all bodily punishment for souls is strange, there is another way out of the difficulty. The Attic comedy gives *ἐκδείρειν* in the sense of „to thrash someone”, certainly Macho (Athen. XIII, 43, p. 580 B, v. 37). Macho lived ± 250 B. C., and the quality of his Attic dialect is beyond any suspicion (cf. Christ. Gr. Litt. II, 1^a, 49 f.). We may here add Aristoph. Vesp. 450, although the other opinion is possible here, if we explain the passage as having a comic element in it.

9) cf. Hdt. 1, 92 with note by Stein; Dieterich Nek.² 204; Groeneboom ad Herondas 4, 78 cited note 4.

It should be noticed that it is rather a question of very rough treatment (as in the representations of the Christian hell on the tympana of mediaeval cathedrals¹⁾) than of punishment in the hereafter in the strict sense of the word. Here, too, recurs the didactic element, for the fiery men „show them to others”.

Finally on returning for their new reincarnation, the souls meet „wailing and weeping „when remembering²⁾ how much and what they had to suffer and what they had seen „during their journey beneath the earth.” In „what they had seen” we again find an allusion to the *didache*³⁾.

D) *Plutarchus*⁴⁾. Between Plato and Plutarchus we have no links by which to follow up our subject. For the Hellenistic Axiochus makes use of Pindaric motives (cf. p. 46 above), and the Latin authors will be considered separately; Weege, too, is only concerned with Greek ideas.

Before we take to studying punishment and sinners in Plutarchus, we must cast a rapid glance over the general character of his eschatological system⁵⁾. In this manner the great differences between him and Plato will become more clear to us notwithstanding agreements in detail as well as in technical processes. Similarly to Plato he has expounded his eschatology in various writings, each treating of a different part⁶⁾.

The material has been dealt with most systematically in *de Facie in Orbe Lunae*⁷⁾. Here we find, that the bad souls are condemned to stay in the cone, which is formed by the shadow of the earth⁸⁾. This is described in *de Genio Socratis* 590 F as follows⁹⁾. Timarchus sees a „*χάσμα μέγα*¹⁰⁾... full of darkness... from where a thousand complaints and sighs of thousands of beings could be heard, the weeping of children and wailing of men and women mixed together, various sounds and noises rising from far out of the depth, feeble and hard to distinguish.” We notice that his eschatology belongs to the intermundial sphere, the first trace of which we found in the Axiochus (cf. p. 59). These souls, according to him, remain in perpetual darkness, which, in itself, is a heavy punishment. This is

1) cf. v. d. Mülbe: die Darstellung des jüngsten Gerichtes a. d. rom. u. got. Kirchenportalen Frankreichs (Leipzig 1911).

2) this is connected with Plato's conception of Lethe cf. Ch. II. The entirely different doctrine at the end of the *Timaeus* (cf. Th. H. Martin: *Etudes sur le Timée de Platon*; Ladrangue Paris 1841) seems to have no connection with Orphism (cf. Kern *Orph. Fragm.* p. 309).

3) *Gorg.* 524 E ff. describes the soul of the sinners as: *οὐλὴν μέγιστην ὑπὸ ἐπιτορκίων* and *πάντα σκόλιά ἐστιν καὶ οὐδὲν εὐδύ.* *Plut. de s. n. u.* expresses this same opinion with much fuller detail cf. p. 74, 7. This must not be confounded with the view that the shades of the deceased retain their wounds etc. (cf. Ch. I p. 4). Dörfler's paper on the *Gorg.* (Wien. Stud. 33 (1911) 177 ff.) is, in my opinion, altogether wrong. According to him hardly anything can be traced to Plato, and the whole is Orphic. But he works with *circuli uitiosi* and he has a confused notion about Orphism. Prof. Ovink: *Plato's Gorgias* (Brill Leiden 1909) contains no information for our purpose.

4) cf. Pascal Credenze II, 47 ff.

5) cf. Cumont *After Life* 39 (denies the influence of Posidonius); Dieterich *Nek.*² 144 ff.

6) but the relation is not so close as Dieterich *Nek.*² 146 says.

7) analysed by Heinze *Xenokrates* 123 ff.; cf. Norden *Aen. B. VI*² p. 24 f. *Plut. de Gen. Socr.* is entirely based on *de Facie*.

8) this has given rise to special customs during eclipses of the moon. Because then the shadow of the earth with its wicked souls touches the moon (= Elysium, cf. Cumont *After Life* 93), care should be taken that those bad souls cannot reach the moon. This cone also = night, the bad influence of this period of time can be declared in this way. Cf. also Kern *Orpheus* 48, but is this early doctrine?

9) cf. Macchiore *Zagreus* 199.

10) cf. above in Plato.

given with fuller detail in *de latenter uiuendo* 1130 D f.¹⁾, where all wicked souls come in this darkness, and *non posse suauiter uiui secundum Epicurum* 1093 A, and 1104 E. In the last passage darkness (*ληθὴ καὶ ἄγνοια*) is also combined with *ἀναισθησία*²⁾; this is put on a line with „to be no more” (1103 C), and that is the most fearful thing of all³⁾. For the *πόθος τοῦ εἶναι* is the oldest of all desires (1104 C).

In *de sera Numinis Vindicta* 563 B ff.⁴⁾ this doctrine is modified in this direction, that it is only the incurable, which „the Erinyes. . . makes invisible and throws into the unspeakable and the unseen.” The difference can be explained very well in this way that here the whole question is dealt with systematically, whereas in the other passages only the most prominent features are taken into consideration.

About the very wicked hardly anything is said in *de s.n.v.* On the other hand there is discussion at great length of the punishment of those who are capable of improvement: this system will now be studied. We must make a distinction between

A what Thespesius is told;

B what he sees himself⁵⁾.

A) ⁶⁾ The supreme goddess of punishment is *Ἀδραστεία*, the daughter of *Ἀνάγκη* and *Ζεὺς*. She has 3 assistants, each of whom punishes a class of sinners, scil. *Ποινή*, *Ἐκρύς* and *Δική*.

a) *Poena*. „Those that are punished immediately in their body and by means of it takes a rapid *Poena* in a soft manner which remains far behind those who really are in need of purification.” These punishments, inflicted here on earth, consist mainly in humiliation in one’s own eyes and in those of others⁷⁾.

b) *Erinyes*. „The third and wildest of the ministers of *Adrastia*, the *Erinyes*, runs behind those that err round and fly every where in all directions and makes them invisible⁸⁾ in a piteous and miserable fashion; and they disappear in the unspeakable region that may never be seen.”

c) *Dice*. But those for whom the treatment of their wickedness is a greater work (than the treatment of those that were punished in their body), those gives their demon⁹⁾ after death to *Dice*. Her punishments are of the following kinds:

a) if he had good parents or ancestors he is shown to them (motive of shame);

β) if they too were wicked, he is made to witness their punishment (didactic principle);

1) cf. J. Harrison *Proleg.*² 581; Rohde *Psyche* II⁶, 209, 2. Darkness here is opposed to the dwelling place of the blessed=light=moon (cf. *de Facie*). Both *τόποι* are illustrated with citations from Pindarus’ threnos. Cf. Dieterich *Nek.*² 91; 119 f.

2) cf. Cumont *After Life* 19.

3) also *de Facie* in fine there is some question of dissolving souls (943 A ff.; 945 A ff.) but here all souls are concerned: they dissolve in their own elements. Modern occultism also knows the conception of wicked souls which are destroyed by means of their own destructive force. In Stoical doctrine Dieterich *Nek.*² 140.

4) Dieterich *Nek.*² 145 f.; Macchioro *Zagreus* 200. For the duration of similar visions and dreams cf. Macchioro *Zagreus* 166 f.; Freud *Traumdeutung*⁵ 18 f.; 337; 427. That Plato and Plutarch make them last several days is realistic adaptation.

5) cf. Norden *Verg. Aen. B. VI*² p. 44.

6) cf. Maass *Orpheus* 232.

7) cf. also Pascal *Credenze* I, 205 ff. Cf. p. 78 infra.

8) cf. top of this page.

9) *ὁ δαίμων* cf. Plat. *Phaedo* 107 D and from general point of view Norden *Aen. B. VI*² ad v. 743 (*quisque suos patimur manes*) on p. 33 f. Here can be added the passage [Plat.] *Axioch.* 371 C. *δοῖσις ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀγασθὸς δαίμων ἐπέπνευσεν* . . . ; Maass *Orpheus* 230, 43 in fine.

or is inspected by them (in order to rouse in them either shame, or remorse for what they did in life);

- γ) he is punished a long time by means of affliction and misery (requit);
- δ) unevennesses in his soul are to be eliminated and stains effaced (purification);
- ε) sometimes punishments are repeated that they may achieve the desired effect.

B) What Thespesius sees is naturally the last class (C) (= in Plutarchus' enumeration the second one). For the first is here on earth and the third in Tartarus, to which he has no access. He sees then:

- α) terrible suffering and hideous and painful punishment (requit);
- β) his father is constrained to tell his own hidden sins (principle of confession ¹⁾);
- γ) those, who were openly wicked are punished in a relatively mild manner;
- δ) but these who were hypocritically good ²⁾ have to turn themselves inside out and are cut open and shown to others (didactic principle);
- ε) embittered enemies, wound one around the other, devour one another (continuation of life on earth ³⁾);
- ζ) three pools, one hot, one icy cold, the third full of rough iron: they serve for the recasting of souls (purification);
- η) those who sinned against pupils ⁴⁾ are either sent back to their punishment by those pupils ⁵⁾ knowing all its horrors or they cling together in clusters, shrieking ⁶⁾).

The general meaning is that the punishment, horrible though its details may be, is a means of amenament and purification, making improvement possible in the following life; a few only are punished eternally. That the details are Orphic cannot be proved however. The differences between them and earlier eschatology cannot only be differences of epoch. The whole system is another one; very few points only can be connected with Orphic doctrine which we have considered in Ch. II ⁷⁾.

1) According to Norden Aen. B. VI³ p. 275 f. this is Orphic; cf. also Cumont After Life 173. This seems not to be possible: the principle occurs also rather frequently in Asia Minor (cf. Steinleitner: die Beichte im Altertum, which book I had, however, no opportunity to consult). The mysteries there might be in rather close connection with Babylonian and Assyrian religion, where the confession of sins is to be found in the hymns of penitence (cf. A. H. Edelkoort: Het Zondebesef in de Babylonische Boetepsalmen (diss. Utrecht 1918) Ch. II esp. p. 59 ff.) The passage in Demosthenes (XVIII, 259) cited by Norden l. l. has decidedly close reports with Micrasiatic mysteries (not with Orphic!).

2) this motive is Platonic, cf. Resp. II, 4, p. 361 A; ἐσχάτη γὰρ ἀδικία δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα. The words are said by Glaucon in an ironical speech in praise of the ἀδικία (cf. 358 D).

3) cf. Dieterich Nek.² 212.

4) cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 609 and Norden ad h. l. p. 288.

5) cf. Plato Phaedo 113 E ff. and what has been said above (p. 70) in connexion with this.

6) the old Homeric ψυχὰι τετραγυῖαι. Cf. ad Lucianus below.

7) Dieterich Nek.² 146 f. holds a different opinion; quite recently Prof. Vollgraff (B. C. H. 1924, 184) pronounced *de s. n. u.* to be „thoroughly Orphic“. J. Harrison (Proleg.² 581) says the same of *de latenter uiuendo*. But Kern Orph. Fr. p. 309 reduced the Orphic character to a minimum. In *de s. n. u.* it is easy to find proofs of this. The topography is quite different. The part played by Lethe is not the same (in Plut. the pious dwell in the plain of Lethe). There is no judgment, there are no mystae. The whole theory of reincarnation is of a different character from that of Plato which at least contained Orphic elements. The allusion to a *χατήρ* in the narrative proves nothing, the passage is even a Delphian argumentation against Orphic doctrine (therefore Norden Aen. B VI³ p. 276 is wrong): it has nothing to do with the Orphic poemata *χατήρ* (cf. Orph. Fragm. Kern p. 308 ff.). On the whole the eschatology is much more fantastic and less ethical, than it had been before. We are sometimes reminded of the Christian hell and of Dante. Very curious is Plutarchus' description of the souls of sinners with their different colours. It is the more minute description of Plato's (Gorg. 524 E f.) οὐλῶν μεστή. The points of agreement with modern occult

E) *Lucianus*¹⁾. When one collects from his writings all the passages which bear on eschatology, the picture thus acquired is rather diversified. Two groups of ideas are to be distinguished, and can fairly well be separated:

a) his borrowings from former writers,

b) his own conceptions i.e. for the greater part the conception of his own epoch. As far as I can see they are without parallels in other literature. He introduces a pessimistic strain of thought which dominates his eschatology entirely. The Tyche rules all things; Lucianus makes a later formula of Heraclitus' αὐτὸν πᾶσι παύζων, πεισσεύων. Death is the end of all things: the deceased is only a skeleton which rests in dust and oblivion. In what degree we may here have to do with a general later development of ancient religion²⁾, in how far we have ancient Syrian and Mesopotamian³⁾ traditions does not interest us for the moment. It is remarkable, however, how closely he often approaches to the Christian ideas of resurrection⁴⁾.

A) With full detail the nether world is discussed in Menippus siue Descensio ad Inferos⁵⁾. The title itself teaches us that Lucianus' hereafter is placed beneath the earth; there is no trace of the astral conception of Plutarchus. By means of circumstantial magic ritual (§ 6 ff.) the nether world is opened, and guided by the magician⁶⁾ Menippus first comes to a meadow⁷⁾, enveloped in total darkness (cf. Catapl. passim; Dial. mort. 15, 2), where all souls meet. They have the conventional shape, as in the Homeric poemata. Thereupon they reach the tribunal of Minos⁸⁾. Fettered and in chains⁹⁾ the sinners are led on by

doctrine are remarkable, the more so because any direct connection between the two is out of question. It proves that similar conceptions are not so utterly devoid of foundation as they are generally supposed to be. Cf. C. W. Leadbeater: *de Zichtbare en de Onzichtbare Mensch* (transl. J. van Manen, Amsterdam 1903) passim; also Rev. Arch. 1925, 131 ss.

1) as regards his relations with Menippus cf. Helm: *Lucian und Menipp* who, however, does not deal with the questions considered here, and, therefore, does not say in how far Lucianus agrees in them with M. Cf. esp. the chapters on the Menippus, the Cataplous, the Charon and the Dialogi Mortuorum. The results of the book are summarized Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 44, 54 ff.; cf. also Arch. Rel. Gesch. VIII, 191 ff.

2) cf. skeletons in ancient art. But the notion that the corpse becomes a skeleton after death must be kept distinct from the idea that the deceased remains in existence in this shape after death. Are the cups from Boscoreale (cf. Mon. Piot V (1897/1902) pl. VII/VIII, p. 58 ff.; 224 ff.) to be cited in this connexion, or are they only a bitter joke?

3) the deceased lying in dust occur already in Babylonian literature (cf. epos of Descent of Ishtar into the Nether World and Jastrow: *Religious Life in Babylonia and Assyria* (American Lectures on the History of Religions 9th series 1910) p. 353 ff.); also in the O.T. (Gen. 3, 19). Finally I might cite the 23rd quatrain of the Lamentations by Omar Khayyam, a Persian poet of ± 1100 A. D. (translation by Fitz Gerald):

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend
Before we, too, into the dust descend
Dust, into dust, and under dust to lie
Sans wine, sans song, sans singer, and sans end.

4) Christian doctrine is opposed to Orphism in this e.g. that it admits of no reincarnation. The deceased rise from the earth or from their tombs re-clothed with flesh (cf. O. Wulff: *Altchr. u. Byzant. Kunst* I, 129 and fig. 15; II, 556, fig. 483; 561 fig. 488; 567, fig. 492; painting by Luca Signorelli in the cathedral of Orvieto (Schillmann: *Viterbo u. Orvieto* (= Seemann *Berühmte Kunstst.* 55) fig. 92); Barend van Orley: *le Jugement dernier* in the Museum of Antwerp). Cf. p. 77,6 below. Nevertheless Cumont *After Life* 39 and 42 f. affirms that Christian belief is not founded upon Syrian tradition; cf. also *ibid.* 68 f.; 197.

5) cf. Pascal *Credenze* II, 28 ff.

6) motive of the guide also Plut. and Verg. It does not occur either in the ancient Orphic poems or in Homer or in Plato. It seems to be a later development, cf. Norden *Aen. B. VI*² p. 43 f.

7) cf. Plato; Verg.; Hom. Od. XXIV, 13.

8) judgment itself cf. Catapl. in fine. It should be noticed that Lucianus there mentions weals on souls (cf. Plat. and Plut.); in § 24 the curious motive of sins annihilated in this life.

9) cf. Cumont: *After Life* 67 f. (Plinius—Lucianus) concerning chains and modern occultism. The entire passage may be found in Maass *Orpheus* 218, 22.

violence. He names especially: *μοιχοί, πορνοβοσκοί* ¹⁾, *τελῶναι* ²⁾, *κολάκεσ, σνκοφάνται, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁμιλος τῶν πάντα κνκάντων ἐν τῷ βίῳ*. Separately come *οἱ πλούσιοι* ³⁾ καὶ *οἱ τοκόγλυφοι* with heavy chains around their necks. The *Verae Historiae* add *οἱ πνευσταί*, and *Dial. Mort.* 30, 1 the *τύραννος*, the *ἱερόσυλος* ⁴⁾, and the *ληιστήσ*. It is the shadow of each person ⁵⁾ that charges him with his sins.

Punishment is given *κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν τετολμημένων*, therefore requital; cf. the fate of Cinyras in *Ver. Hist.* II, 26 and 31. It is, before all, the rich and the reckless that are aimed at ⁶⁾.

After this they reach the *κολαστήριον*, the punishments of which are described generally as *πολλὰ καὶ ἐλέενα* ⁷⁾. Lucianus mentions:

τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ προσδεῖσθαι (cf. *Dial. Mort.* 30, 1) ⁸⁾;

μαστίγων φόρος (cf. *Ver. Hist.* II, 29);

οἰμωγὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ὀπιωμένων (cf. *de Luctu* 8; *Ver. Hist.* II, 29) ⁹⁾;

στρέβλαι = (*de Luctu* 8) } instruments for tormenting slaves etc.

κύφωνες } (wrenching instrument; block and wheel)

τροχοί = (*de Luctu* 8) } Cf. the appendix on Latin authors ¹⁰⁾.

A little further on he describes:

ἡ Χίμαιρα ἐσπάραιτε. Cf. *τῇ Χιμαίρᾳ προσδεῖσθαι*. As the nearest parallel to this I would remind the reader of the griffins, which on Etruscan urns lacerate men ¹¹⁾.

ὁ Κέρβερος ἐδάρδαπεν. Cerberus has a rôle different from the usual one; this may be an ironical duplication in order to show the complete nonsense of similar conceptions; the usual one is to be found also (§ 10; cf. *Dial. Mort.* 21). Cerberus in his shape of voracious monster also *Catapl.* 28. The theme has been dealt with in Ch. I (vases Faina, p. 7). Cf. also Norden *Aen. B.* VI² p. 237.

ἐκολάζοντο τε ἅμα πάντες. This equality occurs passim in the *Dial. Mort.*, also *Catapl.* 15 (cf. below). A difference, however, is made for the rich and the liars (*Ver. Hist.* II, 31).

1) Dieterich *Nek.* ² 168 f.

2) already mentioned Theophr. *Charact.* 6, 2. as a plague.

3) a theme frequently used by Lucianus: *Dial. Mort.* 1, 1; 13, 4; *Menipp.* 19 ff. Cf. N.T. Matth. 19, 23 = Marc. 10, 25.

4) cf. Dieterich *Nek.* ² 167 f.; Rohde *Psyche* I⁶, 217, 5.

5) cf. *Catapl.* 27. Concerning importance of shadow cf. Frazer: *Taboo* (Golden Bough) 77 ff.

6) cf. *Dial. Mort.* 1, 1, where the mighty gentlemen „can be recognized only on account of their wailing”; they are „weak and low-spirited when they remember the things they left on earth”. And *ibid.* 2, 2 is said: „... this was ὕβρις... when you wished to be adored etc... therefore you shall weep now, when all these things are taken from you”. Just this antithesis between now and then is one of Lucianus' points (cf. *Dial. Mort.* 2, 1; 24, 3; *Menipp.* 18; *Catapl.* passim). The moral drawn in the *Menippus* (21) is: „the life of the private citizen is the best”, cf. the choice of the shade of Ulixes in *Plat. Resp.* 620 C. Nevertheless also the *ἰδιῶται* run risks and are punished (cf. *Ver. Hist.* II, 31). The degradation expounded by Lucianus is a social, not a moral one, such as we found in Plutarchus (cf. p. 73). All this is connected with the rôle assigned by Luc. to Lethe, which is expressed most characteristically *Dial. Mort.* 13, 6; cf. 23, 2; *Vita Demon.* 8; *Catapl.* 28.

7) cf. the comic theological question given rise to in *Dial. Mort.* 30.

8) cf. Dieterich *Nek.* ² 51.

9) cf. Dieterich *l. l.* 212.

10) it will be seen that only Latin authors transferred earthly torments to the here-after. Lucianus, who knew Italy well, borrowed this, for it is without a parallel in Greek literature. We traced another Italic conception in his work before (p. 68,5) when dealing with the Chimaera in the nether world in connection with Aristophanes.

11) Brunn—K. *Ril. Urne etr.* III, 35 ff. For the fact that it is in the epoch of the urns only (2nd/1st cent. B. C.) that similar scenes are represented cf. the end of Ch. I, and more especially of the present one. Cf. Norden *Aen. B.* VI² p. 215.

The motive of recognition is also employed as so often in eschatological narratives ¹⁾; but here the persons whom he recognises turn away ²⁾.

The poor finally are punished less heavily ³⁾. At the end of the narrative the mythical sinners are mentioned.

Other writings mention other penalties coming from the same source. Connected with the preceeding details is

Dial. Mort. 30, 1 (cf. de Luctu 8): *ὁ τύραννος . . . παρὰ τὸν Τινδὸν ἀποιαθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν γυνῶν καὶ αὐτὸς κειρόσθω τὸ ἦπαρ;*

ibid. *ὁ ληιστὴς . . . ἐς τὸν Πυριφλεγέθοντα ἐμβεβλήσθω* (the same punishment Catapl. 28; cf. Ver. Hist. II, 30 for rivers).

A singular motive we find also Dial. Mort. 13, 6. Here Diogenes says to Alexander the Great: *καὶ γὰρ Κλεῖτον ἐκείνον ὀρώ καὶ Καλλισθένην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἐπὶ σὲ ὀρμώντας, ὥς διασπάσαιντο καὶ ἀμύναιντό σε ὧν ἔδρασας αὐτούς* ⁴⁾. A similar conception but of quite a different meaning, occurred in Ch. I (waiting figures; Plut. de s.n.u. provided us with a more exact analogy: pupils avenging themselves upon their tutors).

B) If we go back to Menippus again at the point where we left him, we reach the Acherousian plain, where all other deceased mortals dwell ⁵⁾. The picture changes here sensibly, because the deceased are described clearly and insistently as skeletons (*σκελετά*) ⁶⁾, and also as being in decomposition ⁷⁾. This, too, is employed by him as a reason for equality, on which he insists emphatically (cf. Dial. Mort. 15, 2; 25, 2; 26, 2) ⁸⁾.

Nevertheless punishment is not excluded in this part of the nether world neither. So, e.g., when he says: *ὁ Μάϊσωλος οὕτω ταπεινὸς ἔρριπτο ἐν παραβύσει πον λανθάνων*. Like

1) cf. Ver. Hist. II, 31. One should compare Plut. de s.n.u.; Plato Resp.; Verg. Aen. etc.; but the differences prevail.

2) again very different from Plut. and Plato, there is nothing in common with the mystic *διδασχῇ*; it is a purely human point of view.

3) in Plutarchus it is the upright ones who have an easier fate! Here again is the social tendency of Luc.

4) Lucianus' narrative has a close parallel in a painting by the Belgian artist Wiertz (in the Musée Wiertz at Brussels) entitled „Napoléon aux Enfers”. Napoleon is surrounded and menaced by all those who suffered through him. It is well known that Wiertz was an occultist and medium (cf. Spence: Encyclopedia of Occultism s. v. Hypnotism in fine); this again gives us a curious analogy between ancient and modern occultism.

5) the description is not quite clear, because the *τόπος εὐσεβῶν* has been mixed up with it.

6) cf. Dial. Mort. passim. The archaeological material dealing with skeletons has been collected by G. Treu: de Ossium hum. Larvarumque Imaginibus (Weidmann Berlin 1874; cf. Arch. Anz. 1889, 106; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Inferi 241, 47 ff.; Cumont After Life 165; Petron. Sat. 34). As far as I can see Lucianus' conception has never been studied separately (a remark Rohde Psyche II², 366, 1). There is some slight similarity with Christian conception here (cf. p. 75, 4 before), but more difference. For the Christians also considered the deceased as skeletons, but sleeping (cf. Hornung: Beitr. z. Ikonogr. d. Todes (diss. Freib. i. B. 1902), 32 and 33); punishment follows only after the resurrection. Lucianus also propounds other views, but this is merely literary (cf. Ver. Hist. II, 12); the other is really his own, and is maintained even in the cento Homericus Charon 22 (cf. Catapl. 12 for *αἶσος* said of a corpse).

7) cf. Philops. 24: *τὸν γοῦν πατέρα εἶδον* (sc. ἐν Αἰδου) *ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἔτι ἀμπεχόμενον ἐν οἷο αὐτὸν κατεθάραμεν* (cf. Cumont After Life 165). This is a very commonplace description of Hades which is repeated § 25 (cf. Reitzenstein Hellenist. Wundererzähl. 4 ff.). Directly opposite is what he says in the Menippus about Socrates, viz. that he looked exactly as when he was dying (cf. Ch. I figures of Ajax and Memnon in t. d. Orco). It is consistent with his own conceptions that he denies palingenesia cf. Dial. Mort. 26, 2: — — *καὶ δεήσει σὲ μεταβολὴν ζητεῖν τινα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἄλλον βίον, ὅπερ οἶμαι ἀδύνατον*. Cf. Menipp. 1; Dial. Mort. 10, 11; 13, 3.

8) cf. Rohde Psyche II², 367 with note 2. This does not prevent him from occasionally contradicting his own principles for the sake of literary effect. Cf. Ver. Hist. II, 9; Dial. Mort. 12 (but in the Menipp. the rôle of Philippus is quite different!)

all the deceased, he does not get from Aeacus ¹⁾ more than one foot of space for himself ²⁾. Again there is the system of degradation, but not, as in Plutarchus, here on earth, but in the here-after. The same occurs Charon passim and Catapl. 15: τὰ πράγματα ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀνατετραμμένα ³⁾, (in immediately conjunction with an almost Christian expression ⁴⁾). On the other hand in the same region there is a life quite similar to ours here ⁵⁾, in which shoe-makers ⁶⁾ etc. exercise their trade. Here also often with the well-known antithesis.

Appendix: Latin Authors

The reason why the Latin authors will be considered separately has already been given: they cannot be summoned as witnesses for Greek conceptions without a closer inquiry. And because Weege founds his explanation of the *contents* of the Etruscan paintings, which we saw that corresponded with general Italic ideas, on Greek tradition only, we must inquire if, and how far, Italic authors harmonize with Greek ideas on these subjects.

Lucretius ⁷⁾ gives in his 3rd book (931 ff.) ideas about the here-after. He deals with the ordinary types of mythological sinners (978 ff.) and declares them to be allegories of restless endeavourings and longings here on earth, which we ourselves make into a sort of hell (v. 1023: hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique uita) ⁸⁾. It is all the same, he says, whether it is Cerberus, the Furies or Tartarus ⁹⁾. They are all conceptions which our fears, justified by wicked deeds, project from here into the hereafter. And the „mens sibi, conscia factis, praemetuens adhibet stimulos terretque flagellis, nec uidet interea qui terminus esse malorum possit nec quae sit poenarum denique finis” (scil. mors, after which all things end) „atque eadem metuit magis haec ne in morte grauescant”. Because people do not see this end, they do not know that earthly punishment does not go any farther than life, and they imagine in the here-after „carcer et horribilis de saxo iactu” deorsum ¹⁰⁾, uerbera, carnifices, robur, pix, lammina, taedae ¹¹⁾”.

1) Aeacus therefore has here more or less the character of a judge. As πύλωρος (again a doublette!) he appears in Menipp. 8; also Dial. Mort. 20, 1; Catapl. 4; de Luctu 4; in the same manner Aristoph. Ran. 464 ff. (with note by Kock).

2) the same measure Charon 24.

3) cf. Cumont After Life 191, where the deceased are called securi, therefore without πράγματα.

4) εἰρηνὴ δὲ πᾶσα cf. Christian (and later ancient) epitaphs. Cf. Cumont After Life 191; 197.

5) Cumont After Life 72 considers this belief to be essentially Italic which I think is right, cf. scenes on Etruscan monuments processions etc. (Ch. I): further evidence will be furnished in the appendix. Lucianus, therefore, again makes use of an Italic motive, with which he became acquainted probably through his relations with Italy. The case of Aristophanes is quite different, for the Ranae, beginning in the nether world, end on the stage at Athens, with an imperceptible transition. Modern occultism has the same doctrine cf. Elsa Barker: Letters from a living dead Man. Cf. also Radermacher Jenseits 5 ff., especially 9. A different opinion Lucian. Charon 22.

6) the choice of the trade does not seem to be without importance. Feet and legs are of primary importance in occult doctrine, because they form the support the human body. Even if the rest is feeble, the being is never powerless if they are all right. Cf. in the prophecy of Daniel the colossus with the feet of clay (O.T. Daniel 2, 31 ff.).

7) cf. Pascal Credenze II, 102 f.; Cumont Rev. de Philol. 44 (1920) 229 ff.

8) Dieterich Nek.² 140 f.

9) Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus ignes, an idea not to be found in Greek tradition as far as my knowledge goes. The mouth does occur (cf. p. 71), but not vomiting fire (cf. Heinze Lucrez B. III p. 190). It was one of the cases where there is a close connection between Italic—Roman and Christian ideas.

10) cf. Reinach Rev. Arch. 1903, 195 f.; Dieterich Nek.² p. 8 § 32.

11) cf. Axiochus 372 a, where the Furies with their torches burn sinners (Pascal Credenze II, 73 f.) This does not affect our thesis: this punishment is reserved for the nether world only, it is not mentioned by Greek authors among torture on earth (cf. p. 71 note 4), so in Greek tradition the difference is maintained also here. Moreover the

Here it is clearly said that Italians of the last century B. C., at least, conceived of similar punishment in the nether world, a conception which we never found in Greece, except in Lucianus whose Roman relations are notorious.

Vergilius' description of the τόπος ἀσεβῶν (6, 540 ff.) runs as follows¹⁾ „hic locus est partis ubi se uia findit in ambas *dextera*²⁾ quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit³⁾ hac iter *Elysium* nobis; at *laeua*²⁾ *malorum* exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit”.

The place of punishment is a castle (*moenia lata*) surrounded by rivers, with a great gate. At its entrance Tisiphone is seated, *succincta palla*⁴⁾. He proceeds then „hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeua sonare uerba tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae⁵⁾”. The commentary of Norden to this passage cannot be accepted. The source of all this, if it is necessary to assume a source for the ideas are rather commonplace, is not Orphism but the doctrine of Orpheotelestae, at least the literature which he cites points to such (cf. p. 69,1).

After this come some verses, in which Norden justly finds the principle of confession⁶⁾.

In Tartarus one finds first of all the ordinary mythological types⁷⁾, further⁸⁾:

those who quarrelled with their brothers;

those who ill-treated their parents;

those who deceived their clients⁹⁾;

those who enriched themselves without giving others a share;

those who committed adultery¹⁰⁾;

those who made a disgraceful revolt.

Their punishment is not described; the Sibylla only says „ne quaere doceri, quam poenam aut quae forma uiros fortunaque mersit”.

And she proceeds: „Saxum ingens uoluont alii radiisque rotarum destricti pendent”.

Afterwards other classes of sinners are enumerated: „uendit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem imposuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit. Hic thalamum inuasit natae uetitosque hymenaeos”.

After the visit to the Elysium follows the encounter with Anchises and his speech.

sinners in the Axiachus are licked (*περιλιχμώμενοι*) by wild beasts. Cf. also Heinze Lucret. B. III p. 191. His remark that the demons are supplanted by hangmen confirms our view that in Italic sphere earthly circumstances and punishment continue in the hereafter. Plaut. Capt. 997 ff. only refers to hard work, accompanied by whipping at most (1001). Upupa in 1004 is an instrument for cutting stone.

1) apart from the great commentary of Norden cf. Dieterich Nek.³ 150 ff.; Pascal Credenze II, 73 ff. Georg. 4, 467 ff. and the Culex 210 ff. give nothing beyond the traditional sinners and their punishment. About Culex cf. Maass Orpheus 224 ff.; Pascal Credenze II, 89 ff.

2) this distinction occurs already in older mystic writings, also in Orphism. Cf. Norden Aen. B. VI² ad 540 ff.

3) I think that these words imply that the road runs underneath along the walls of Pluto's castle, not towards it, as Norden translates. The commentaries are silent. The castle therefore is identical with the one mentioned in the following.

4) this description reminds us everywhere of Etruscan, therefore Italic, monuments and ideas. For the castle in this form cf. Ch. I p. 10; for the gate p. 23 f. Tisiphone in the same attitude on the great urn of the Volturnii (cf. Ch. I p. 8; and Radermacher Jenseits 33, 1) but not in Greek literature; there we have Cerberus or Aeacus cf. p. 76; 78,1. For Tisiphone cf. Lucianus Catapl. 23.

5) uerba and gemitus cf. Luc. Ver. Hist. II, 29 and Menipp. 14. Chains cf. p. 75,9.

6) Norden Aen. B. VI² p. 275 f.; cf. ad Plut. de s. n. u. 566 F (p. 74). The custom of the Pythagoreans to ask themselves: *πῇ παρέβην; τί ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;* (Ritter—Preller Hist. Philos. Gr. No. 94, c) might be adduced here as establishing the same principle (cf. Cumont After Life 24).

7) cf. Pascal Credenze I, 235 ff.; Dieterich Nek.³ 169.

8) concerning these classes cf. Norden l. l. p. 13; 287 f.

9) cf. Plut. de s. n. u. 567 D f. about pupils.

10) Lucian. Menipp. 11. (p. 76).

The rôle of Lethe as here expounded, is the same as it is in Plato and therefore not Orphic ¹⁾).

All souls are to be purified, because they are clausae tenebris et carcere caeco (*σῶμα-σῆμα*, an Orphic belief) ²⁾. Then ³⁾:

„quin et supremo cum lumine uita reliquit non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris. ⁴⁾ Ergo exercentur poenis, ueterumque malorum supplicia expendant ⁵⁾”.

The purification is performed ⁶⁾:

aliae panduntur inanes suspensae ad uentos ⁷⁾

aliis sub gurgite uasto infectum eluitur scelus

aut exurit igni ⁸⁾

quisque suos patimur manes ⁹⁾.

There is no need to argue the point that it is impossible to cite any Orphic parallels of the punishments enumerated here (except the last general formula); the present chapter is sufficient. Norden p. 28 is not able to name one from the classic epoch, except Empedocles, a Sicilian. In later times there are more examples, cf. l.l. and p. 32. The instances cited by Dieterich Nek. ² 201; 211 are of quite a different kind. In any case this system does not come within the limits of the literature which is generally ransacked in order to find „Orphic” doctrines. This is confirmed by Cumont After Life 119; he knows of various analogous ideas, but *not* in Orphic mysteries.

CONCLUSIONS

This historical grouping teaches us several things. First of all that ideas about punishment were originally comparatively undeveloped, and that only later more detailed descriptions are found. Nevertheless, even later, they remained somewhat elementary, especially when compared with early Christian apocalyptic literature ¹⁰⁾. The word hell therefore, is totally out of place in describing any ancient eschatology. The teachings of the older period of Orphism (before \pm 300 B. C.) which according to Weege Etruskische Malerei Ch. III „beyond any doubt” caused the new current in the Etruscan tomb paintings knew nothing of the sort ¹¹⁾.

1) cf. Ch. II p. 52,3. Wrong e. g. Gruppe—Pfister Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 69, 52 ff.

2) cf. Ch. II p. 59; 65,7.

3) cf. also Maass Orpheus 230, 43; Radermacher Jenseits 15 ff.

4) cf. *οὐλαὶ* in Plato, Plutarchus, Lucianus (resp. p. 72,3; 74,7; 75,8). These stains are contracted by *all* souls merely as a consequence of contact with matter. In Plato one can attribute it to a wrong choice (Ch. II p. 48), but in Plut. de Facie 944 C. f. it is only a question of guilt, cf. the reason of reincarnation as expounded by him.

5) Pind. fr. 133 —: *ποινὴ παλαίου πένθεος*.

6) cf. Norden Aen. B. VI^a p. 19: methodically inexact („Dieser Läuterungsprozess wird von Pindar und Plato nicht erwähnt, *aber er passt in das System*”, which exactly must be proved). Cf. p. 28 ff. Cumont After Life 185 ff. states that the rivers of the nether world, wherein the souls are punished, became identical with the 4 elements. Cf. Orph. Fragm. 123 Kern; Roscher Myth. Lex. s. v. Unterwelt 67, 45 ff.; Rohde Psyche II^a, 122, 2 in fine. These ideas are late, and certainly posterior to Etruscan monuments of the 3rd and 2nd cent. B. C.

7) cf. Dieterich Nek. ² 211.

8) Pascal Credenze I, 252, 3; II, 257; Dieterich Nek. ² 196 ff.

9) cf. *δαίμων* in Plato and Axiochus; Norden l. l. 33 f.; Pascal Credenze I, 129 f.; Rohde Psyche II, 316 f.

10) Apocalypse of St. Peter of the 2nd cent. A. D. cf. Cumont After Life 173; Rohde Psyche I^a, 317 ff.; Dieterich Nek. ² 111; 196 ff.; especially 201. The cruelties seem to come from the Orient, cf. Radermacher Jenseits 32, 3.

11) the same opinion Cumont After Life 174 f.; cf. his curious parallel with hagiography. Different Kern Orpheus 47.

But apart from this: we have seen that Orphic eschatology was in agreement with current ideas on this subject, and that if it added anything it was only certain isolated features ¹⁾. If, therefore, *Orphic* punishment had been represented, this would only appear in one or other of the following: either in the combination of such punishment indicating a well-organized system with purification as its means, and reincarnation as its end, or in the presence of demons like Furies, incorporated abstractions bearing names.

Instead of this: what does Weege mention?

- 1) the Cyclops as a butcher. This has been considered Ch. I p. 8.
- 2) a tree with sinners; cf. p. 4.
- 3) snakes. This has been considered p. 66.
- 4) Tuchulcha torturing (sic!).
- 5) instruments of torture.
- 6) a glowing „plinth”. This is inexact if only because similar „plinths” were placed upon the victims, not the victims upon the „plinths”; cf. Aristoph. Ran. 621.
- 7) souls suspended and burnt with torches.
- 8) torture with hammers.

The first four motives do not prove anything concerning Orphism. But if the last four really had been depicted, they would enter, not into Greek tradition, but into Italic for they are earthly punishments inflicted on slaves etc., and those the Greeks never placed in Hades, while the Romans (and perhaps other peoples of Italy) did, as we have seen in our last chapter. Nothing, therefore, remains of the whole of Weege's Orphic theory.

And then, Chapter I showed, what is represented. That this is absolutely different from what has ordinarily been supposed to be represented there is not surprising ²⁾. Who could ever wish for paintings of the sufferings of the wicked in his funeral chamber? Or do we find on modern tombs scenes of the burning in hell? And those who had religious scenes painted on their tombs, did not, ipso facto, belong to the category of sinners; they were pious, or at least they thought that they were. One should not compare with these tomb paintings the representation of hell on porches of medieval cathedrals: they are meant to be a warning addressed to all. „If thou wilt not obey the commands, this will be thy fate”. This was natural enough, for a church is a building entirely for edification and teaching. And paintings such as those of the „hellish” Brueghel cannot possibly be compared with those under consideration; he was a visionary and in any case his pictures were not decorations for tombs.

The prominent place occupied by the scenes which we find in Etruscan tombs from about 350 B. C. onwards has nothing to do with the economical distress of the epoch. The land was relatively quiet. After all, in distressful conditions people are apt to picture the hereafter the more blissful in proportions as their life here is a hard one; this can be seen in the later years of the Roman Empire. In reality truly Italic ideas are represented which show two influences at work:

- 1) the ideas themselves are different because Italy had freed herself from the domination of Greek thought which had lasted for a considerable period (cf. p. 41);
- 2) the representation of these ideas, more or less picturesque, was possible, because the artistic temper of the period demanded it. The contents of the scenes were appreciated,

1) retribution in the hereafter for sins committed on earth was also not new, cf. Democrit. fr. 297 Diels; Plato Resp. I, 330 D ff.

2) cf. Radermacher Jenseits 32, 3.

because classic taste prevailed no longer, and on this account they depicted them in their own picturesque and realistic manner, with just a little touch of bitter humour in it.

If it is permissible to trace comparisons between cultures so very different in time and partly even in space, we find an analogous development the beginning of which can sometimes be traced already in the Renaissance period, and carried through in Baroque art, when on funeral monuments all sorts of gruesome things are to be found ¹⁾ as well as strongly emphasized situations ²⁾, which contrast strangely with the dignity and tranquillity of the tombs of the early Renaissance³⁾ and late 18th cent. art. ⁴⁾. But even then scenes of hell are never to be found on tombs! And although the iconography of the Renaissance tombs is very different from that of those of the Baroque period, there is no question here of another religious current which is the cause of this change. It is only a different aspect of the same things which became favoured on account of a different artistic feeling of the epoch. (The case of classicistic tombs naturally is different; here there is influence of a different religion, also dictated, however, by a new artistic current).

Making allowance for all differences there is still in many respects a strong similarity between the epochs from ± 300 A. D. — Christ's birth and from ± 1550 — ± 1800 , and in the same way the art of each epoch corresponds with its setting and is the expression of a kindred mentality ⁵⁾.

1) *Bernini*: tombs of Urbanus VIII and Alexander VII (Brinckmann Barocksk. (= Burger's Handb. Kunstgesch.) fig 249 and 250); *Delcours*: monument of d'Allamond (ibid. fig. 319); *M. A. Slodtz*: monument of the priest Languet de Gergy (Michel Hist. de l'Art VII, 1, fig. 41), all with the skeleton of Death appearing in them. *Nic. Seb. Adam*: tomb of a queen of Pologne (Michel Hist. de l'Art VII, 1, fig. 38): an angel shows the queen the way to heaven.

2) *Pigalle*: monument of the Marshall of Saxony (Michel l. l. VII, 2, plate p. 552/3): the marshall descending into the tomb; *J. F. de Roubillac*: tomb of Sir Peter Warren (ibid. fig. 398): a bust of the deceased placed upon the grave by a man; *A. Quellinus Jr.*: tomb of Bishop Capello: the deceased arising for the Last Judgment (Brinckmann l. l. fig. 316); *Rombout Verhulst*: tomb of the Baron van Inn ende Knyphuisen in Midwolde (Gron.) = Brinckmann l. l. fig. 323: the wife watching over her deceased husband.

3) *Donatello*—*Michelozzo*: tomb Coscia (Bode: Flor. Bildh.² fig. 11); *Desiderio da Settignano*: tomb of Marsuppini (Springer Kunstgesch. III¹¹ fig. 95); *Rossellino* tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal (ibid. fig. 96); *Michelangelo*: tombs of the Medici. Even *Algardi's* tomb of Leo XI is of the same restraint (Brinckmann l. l. fig. 259).

4) *Bacon the Elder*: tomb of William Mason (Michel l. l. VII, 2, fig. 401); *Canova* tomb of the Stuarts in St. Peter at Rome (cf. A. G. Meyer: Canova (Velhagen und Klasing's Künstlermonographieën No. 36) fig. 78); tomb Volpato (Kuhn Allg. Kunstgesch. Plast. II fig. 1103); Kuhn l. l. pl. between p. 780/1, tombs by Canova and *Schadow*.

5) concerning art questions I may say that I do not accept the terms Baroque and Rococo for these epochs of Hellenistic art. Notwithstanding some striking similarities there are also fundamental differences which forbid the use of the terms.

ADDENDA

I am indebted to Dr. C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer for several remarks inserted here.

Gh. I p. 5 f. Cerberus with one head of a wolf by Bryaxis Arch. Jahrb. 32 (1917) 187, cf. p. 188.

Gh. I p. 6 note 10. Cf. the curious ass demon Winter Typen Terrak. II, 411, 3 = Masner Vasen u. Terrak. Wien No. 901. Found in an *Etruscan* tomb, but „jedenfalls griechisch“. The statuette is placed, however, by Masner under „unbestimmte *italische Fabricationsorte*“. I do not know how to combine these two data. As far as the reproductions allow a judgment about the style, the figure seems to me to be Italic, 2nd half 2nd cent. B. C., and not Greek.

Gh. I p. 24 note 2. Add to the literature: Hartwig: Bendis (Leipzig—Berlin 1897) and Foucart: Le Culte de Bendis en Attique (Mélanges Perrot 95 ff.). Foucart mentions the report of Bendis with Cotytto, cf. Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Kotys and Pauly—W. s.v. Kotys. On the other hand Bendis had close connections with Artemis; about Artemis and nether world cf. Pauly—W. s.v. Artemis 2, III, § 12; Roscher Myth. Lex. s.v. Artemis 558, 16 etc. Bendis and Adrasteia (cf. p. 73) cf. Hartwig l.l. p. 2; Artemis and Adrasteia Pauly—W. l.l. 1348, 47. The presence of Bendis in Etruria can be explained through the medium of S. Italy, cf. Hartwig l.l. 22 ff.

Gh. II p. 43 note 1 in initio. I should have said: Homer, Hesiod and Thales (cf. my page 53, 3). Kern Orpheus 43 also insists upon older connections.

Gh. II p. 46 note 3. Rhea, cf. Kern Orpheus 35.

Gh. II p. 50 note 1. Cf. for connections between Orphic tablets and Egypt Kern Orpheus 31 and Arch. Jahrb. 32 (1917) 194 ff. (The citation from Furtwängler which Wilcken p. 195 could not find, is Ant. Gemmen III, 263 f.).

Gh. II p. 53 note 3. Cf. Kern Orpheus 48 f. about a generation of men living before the Titans existed.

Gh. III p. 69 note 1. Cf. Kern Orpheus 9, 1. To read with Diels a.o. *δρμαθδν* for *δμαδον* does not change the sense of the whole. I do not believe that there is any connection here with the *λύσις προγόνων ἀθεμίσιων* (about which cf. Kern Orpheus 46). The same opinion as Monceaux about the reports between Orphism and Bacchic religion Kern Orpheus 11.

Indices s.v. Roman epoch etc. Cf. also Röm. Mitt. 25 (1910) 74 ff. for the early period.

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STELLINGEN

I

De voorstellingen in de etruscische graven van de 4e eeuw en later bevatten geen straffen.

II

De straffen in de orphische eschatologie waren nauwelijks verschillend van die in de eschatologie van soortgelijke stroomingen en algemeen volksgeloof. Zij komen niet voor in de litteratuur, die de Oudheid ons als orphisch aanwijst.

III

Als typisch orphisch kan men alleen beschouwen de leeringen aangaande de wijze waarop men de gelukzaligheid kon bereiken.

IV

Grieksche eschatologie kent geen aardsche straffen in de onderwereld, italische wel. Indien de door *Weege* (*Etruskische Malerei Hoofdst. III*) opgenoemde straffen dus in de graven afgebeeld zouden zijn, zouden zij in italische traditie behooren en niet in grieksche; allerminst orphische.

V

De verklaring door *Hasluck* (*Cyzicus* 251) aan het woord μέσησ given (tusschenpersoon, „middle-man”) is onjuist.

VI

De Grieken kenden bij hun wedstrijden geen weddenschappen door toeschouwers; de Romeinen wel.

VII

De ἐπιτάφιος λόγος voor één persoon, voor zoover bij de Grieken bekend, dateert uit de romeinsche periode en is onder romeinschen invloed ontstaan.

VIII

Ten onrechte concludeert men (vgl. bijv. *Courby: Vases grecs à reliefs* p. 473) uit Theocr. Id. I, 27 ss. en Verg. Ecl. III, 37 ss. dat vaatwerk als dat van Boscoreale en Hildesheim al in Alexandrië in de 3e eeuw a.C. bekend was. De passage van Theocritus vertegenwoordigt het stadium der „bols hellénistiques”, Vergilius inderdaad dat van Boscoreale-Hildesheim.

IX

De groote kop van Dionysus te Leiden behoort, zooals *Bulle (in den text ad Arndt-Bruckmann Einzelaufnahmen 1342/3)* terecht opmerkt tot de school van Tralles en wel uit den tijd omstreeks 100 a.C., niet zooals men gewoonlijk meent 3e of 2e eeuw a.C.

X

De moeilijk te verklaren houdingen van de figuren van Athena in beide gevels van den tempel van Aegina en de verwante houding van Apollo in den oostelijken gevel te Olympia zijn te verklaren uit den afkeer van de grieksche kunst voor het frontaal plaatsen van figuren, die in onverbrekkelijk verband met een achtergrond gedacht zijn (zoowel gevels als reliefs en schilderkunst dus).

XI

Aan het relief met Menander en Glycera in het Lateraan (*Benndorf-Schöne* No. 245; *Hekler Bildnisk.* pl. 108) moet de interpretatie gegeven worden, dat Menander het effect dat zijn figuren op het tooneel zullen maken, daardoor controleert dat Glycera hem vooraf de rol voorspeelt.

XII

De termen Barok en Rococo mogen voor de hellenistische kunst niet toegepast worden.

XIII

Terecht schrijft *Brinckmann (Barockskulptur 209 s.; 406)* de statue van de Razernij in het Rijks Museum te Amsterdam aan de omgeving van Artus Quellinus de Oudere toe.

XIV

Ten onrechte schrijft *Brinckmann (Barockskulptur 388 s.)* de buste in terra cotta van Pierre Lyonnet in het Mauritshuis te 's Gravenhage aan Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne II (1704—1778) toe.

