



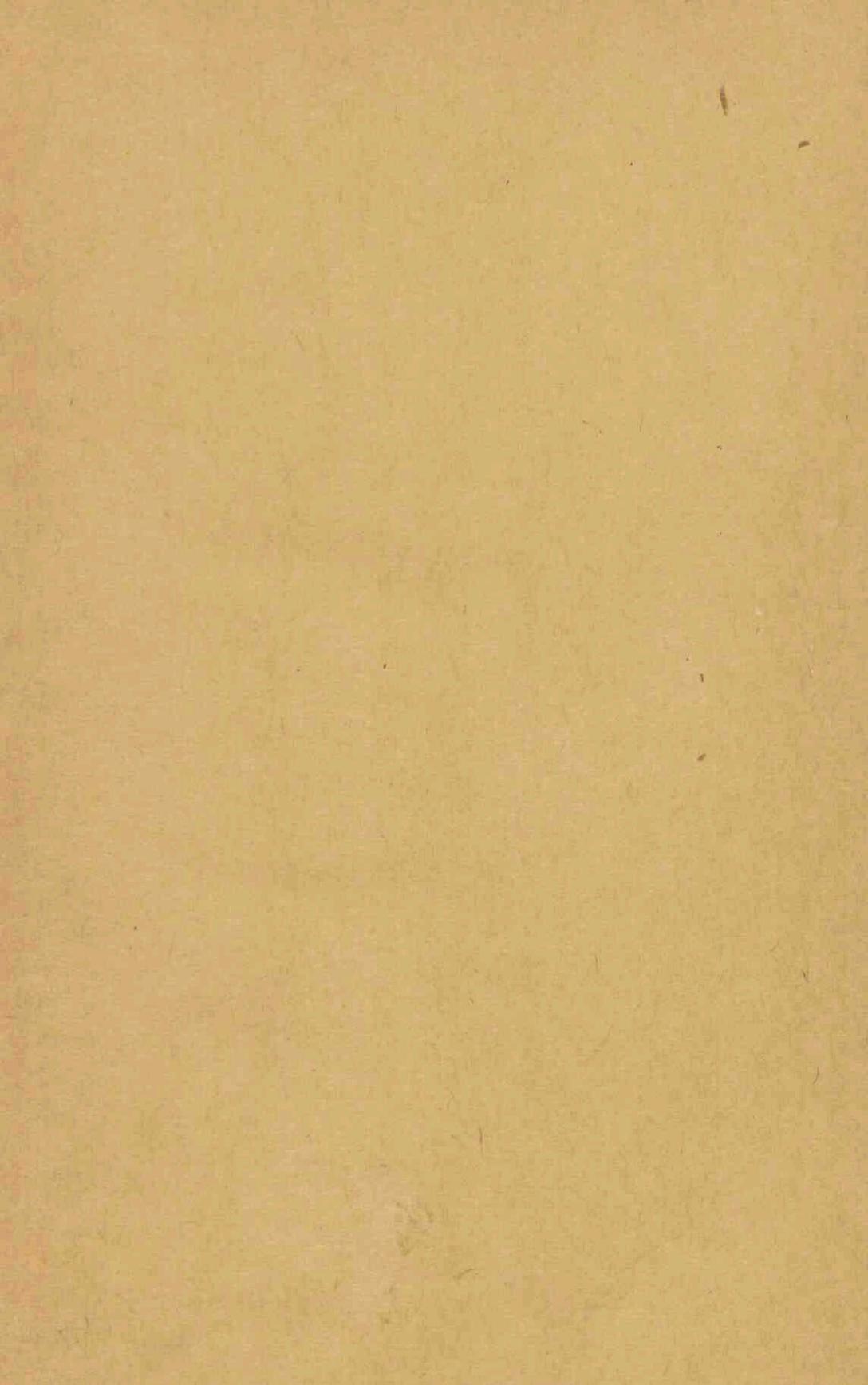
Hyakinthos

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HYAKINTHOS

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HYAKINTHOS

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HYAKINTHOS

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Promotor: C. W. Vollgraff

*TO THE MEMORY
OF MY FATHER*



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I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. W. van der Straaten, who greatly obliged me by correcting my English manuscript. It is not through any fault of his, if my text could not altogether be purged of barbarisms.

INTRODUCTION

With many other terms of antiquity Hyakinthos shares the honour of having passed into the vocabulary of modern languages; and the flower into which a charming myth transformed him will no doubt cause his name to be remembered. But he has not haunted human mind only on account of his botanic equivalent. He is a tenacious *revenant* with the students of myth and religion of ancient Hellas. Though, as a figure of minor importance, he cannot rival many-sided colleagues, he enjoys a kind of popularity, either as an object for sentimental and abstruse speculations, or as a standard example of degradation from god to hero, or, in recent times, as a pattern of pre-Greek relic.

A brief survey of the three stages of Hyakinthos-interpretation might be given as follows. The older literature started from the myth, and saw vegetation-symbolism in the premature and bemoaned death of the youthful Hyakinthos by Apollo's quoit, as an allegory for the death of the luxurious flower-world¹). The following lines of G. F. S c h o e m a n n may be quoted as an example: "*Hyakinthos ist unverkennbar eine Personification der im Frühling durch die befruchtenden Regen erweckten und genährten, aber im Sommer durch die sengende Hitze verdorrten und absterbenden Vegetation, Apollon also der Gott, der diese Hitze sendet: der Diskos ist die Sonne*"²). What is known about the rites of the Hyakinthia, he goes on, confirms this: sorrow because of the dying vegetation, but, connected with this, joy as the crop has been gathered in and nature will soon wake again.

Such figures as Leimon, Linos, Adonis and Hylas are rather often compared as parallels. B r u g m a n n's etymology is mostly quoted to bear out the argument: *δάμνθος* related to Sanskrit *yuvaça-*, meaning *adulescentulus*³). As regards this interpretation there exist

1) For a recapitulation of the earlier views cf. Greve in Roscher's *M. L.* I, 2, 2759 sqq.

2) *Griechische Alterthümer* vol. II, p. 404 (Berlin 1859).

3) See Boisacq: *Dict. Etym.* s.v. and Brugmann-Delbrück: *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik*², I, 1, p. 261, where the uncertainty of the relation is admitted.

some variants: by some Hyakinthos is considered a weaker sungod in contrast with the mighty Apollo¹); Gruppe looked for the origin in a rite which prescribes the squeezing out of the 'rain-flower' with a 'rain-stone'²); Welcker keeps more closely to the data, when he compares stoning-rites (in use with Damia and Auxesia at Troizen) with the throwing of the disc³). The latter scholars both left the mythical regions, only to suppose ritual backgrounds which tradition by no means supports. Nor can their mere hypotheses mark the stage in question. But generally speaking it is not so easy to dispute the symbolic explanation of the myth, with its appeal to the ritual of the Hyakinthia. Save for astral-mythological details such as the quoit being the disc of the sun, it seems to contain a germ of truth.

Yet Rohde's modernism *in casu Hyacinthi* soon met with approval, as appears from many quotations and adapted argumentations. He inaugurates the second stage of explanation, when he involves the situation in the sanctuary at Amyklai, as described by Pausanias⁴), in the discussion and looks for an explanation of Hyakinthos' 'tomb' and the presence of Apollo. According to him the myth is a late cliché-product. On the altar Hyakinthos is a bearded man, not a tender youth, and is translated to heaven, not transformed into a flower. Moreover he has got daughters. "*Hyakinthos war ein alter, unter der Erde hausender Localgott der amykläischen Landschaft, sein Dienst in Amyklai älter als der des Apollo. Aber seine Gestalt ist verblasst, der olympische Gott, der sich . . . neben und über dem alten Erdgeiste festgesetzt hat, überstrahlt ihn, . . . sein göttliches Leben in der Tiefe kann sich die spätere Zeit nur wie das Fortleben der Psyche eines sterblichen und gestorbenen Heros denken, dessen Leib im „Grabe“ ruht*"⁵). Ambiguous as they are, the rites of the Hyakinthia furnish evidence of a combination of 'düstere Tage' for Hyakinthos and 'heitere Verehrung' of Apollo. Later on they tried to make up for the degradation of the local god by a "*nachträgliche Wiedererhebung ins Götterreich*", as is shown by the altar with Hyakinthos' ascension to heaven.

¹) U n g e r *Philologus* 37 (1877), p. 22 sqq.

²) *Griech. Myth.* p. 833.

³) *Kl. Schr.* I, p. 24 sqq. Cf. Paus. II, 32, 2 and S. W i d e: *De sacris Troezeniorum* p. 61 sqq.

⁴) III, 19.

⁵) *Psyche*^{7/8}, p. 140.

This view had the charm of being new and looked also convincing, since it stated and tried to solve such problems as the relation Apollo-Hyakinthos at Amyklai and the meaning of the *ἐναγίζειν* to Hyakinthos before the sacrifice to Apollo, which as yet had been left out of consideration. The information Pausanias gives about the Amyklaion required accounting for, even when only the interpretation of the mythical figure was at issue, and its ancient authority soon procured credibility to Rohde's theory and the stamp of bygone romanticism to the vegetation-symbolism.

As time went on new ideas and discoveries appeared. Kretschmer's interpretation of the pre-Greek suffix *-ωνθος*¹⁾ silenced all previous etymologies. Excavations disclosed inscriptions and cultural connexions which inspired Nilsson with a new explanation of the Hyakinthos-figure. He penetrates into still deeper layers than Rohde, and makes Hyakinthos act as one of the chief illustrations in his theory concerning the Minoan divine child²⁾. Starting from the peculiar Cretan Zeus-mythology he reconstructs a typical Minoan conception of an annually born and dying child-god, Miss Harrison's *ἐναντιὸς δαίμων*, who is abandoned by his mother and reared by nymphs and animals. "In the myth of Hyakinthos the most striking feature is his death; this originated in his cult, for he had a tomb both at Sparta and at Tarentum, as Zeus had in Crete. But there is evidence that Hyakinthos resembled the Cretan Zeus in regard to his childhood also. At Cnidus Artemis *Ἰακυνθοτρόφος* was much venerated and had a temple and a festival. . . . *Ἰακυνθοτρόφος* signifies 'the nurse of Hyakinthos'; cf. e.g. *κουροτρόφος* This epithet shows that Hyakinthos like the Cretan Zeus was thought of as an infant child, which was not reared by its mother. The nurse is, however, neither an animal nor a nymph, but the Mistress of Animals and the foremost of the Nymphs, the pre-Greek goddess Artemis. This agrees so well that we are justified in saying that the Cretan Zeus and Hyakinthos, who are both pre-Greek, represent the same god of vegetation under different names."³⁾ So Hyakinthos is seen here, in broad connexion, as one of the manifestations of the Minoan divine child, whose reminiscences are also found in Erichthonios-Erechtheus, Ploutos of the mysteries and

¹⁾ *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1896), p. 404.

²⁾ *MMR* p. 461 sqq.; *GgR* p. 293 sqq.

³⁾ *MMR* p. 486 sq.

Dionysos. The insight R o h d e gained into the second-rate position of Hyakinthos, according to the description of Pausanias, still holds good, though the tomb appears to be a real one and the original figure is modified considerably: it is more like the pitifully perishing youth of the ingenuous early interpreters than like R o h d e's gloomy bearded earth-spirit.

This monograph on Hyakinthos wants to sum up the state of affairs at some length by combining the data and eliminating the contradictory ones. At the same time the later hypotheses and those not yet universally accepted will especially be examined and possibly strengthened. The subject requires entering the transition period between Greeks and pre-Greeks. The ground is dark and doubtful, but none the less attractive. The facts known to us have to be exploited as efficiently as possible, until perhaps the time will come that new discoveries will disturb illusions and disclose new horizons.

I. THE HYAKINTHIA.

The greater part of the tradition concerning Hyakinthos is connected with Laconian Amyklai. Here lay his shrine, described by Pausanias, hence colonists seem to have exported their cult elsewhere, from this, even in later times, Hyakinthos continues to derive his epithets and genealogies. Here, finally, the important festival of the Hyakinthia was celebrated, about which, besides some inscriptions and incidental remarks, a few pages of Athenaeus report particulars, though unfortunately not in unequivocal language, so that many a discussion could be devoted to the reconstruction of the course of things in the Amyclaeon festival.

In spite of the contradictions of the explanations hitherto proposed it is recommendable to begin with the examination of the rites, because, as the most concrete tradition about the Hyakinthos-cult, they are able to furnish suggestions as to the nature of the deity, and to exclude a number of hypotheses beforehand. The paths have already been cleared a little here, but do not point into one definite direction. Besides all sorts of preconceived expectations as to the kind of rites thought suitable to a cult of Hyakinthos, the presence and influence of Apollo in the Amyklaion acts as a confusing factor at first sight. Owing to his remarkable position he disturbs certainty and harmony in the presumed cult-complex, his contribution to the celebrations being both qualitatively and chronologically problematic. If we start from a definite hypothesis about Apollo's origin and his penetration into the cult-centre in question, the supposed boundary line may be easily traced; but the attainable maximum of certainty is given up. It is better not to seek a starting-point in the haze which envelops the prehistory of the Peloponnesus, so long as the description of the rites has not been exhausted. It is true, however, that some palpable results of excavations are available to illustrate and complete literary tradition.

The festival concerned is called Hyakinthia and thus derives its name from Hyakinthos, the most important clue to the question whom the rites originally were intended for. That Apollo had his share in the general celebration results from utterances of Pausanias ¹⁾

¹⁾ III, 10, 1; III, 19, 3.

and others. Whether the rites mentioned by Athenaeus were partly performed in his honour, and how far therefore the old flag covered a new cargo, will be examined from internal evidence only, for the time being.

The passage of Athenaeus referred to¹⁾ owes its origin to a description of all sorts of food and meals. The Spartans supply interesting material in this respect and one of the examples quoted is the ritual meal called *kopis* and celebrated for instance at the Hyakinthia. Various authors are cited in a nutshell and played off against each other because of their mutual contradictions. Owing to the lack of conciseness displayed both by Athenaeus and his predecessors in compiling and copying their models, quite a fragment of the description of the festival slips through, so that not only the culinary pleasures have come down to posterity.

The contradictions of the testimonies, alluded to by Athenaeus, bear upon the menu of the *kopis*. Several kinds of food are mentioned, and it is one of the chief problems of the Hyakinthia to differentiate properly between the meals held with them, for a special menu may give indications about the nature of the deity in the honour of which it is served. The somewhat confused impression given by the fragments Athenaeus quotes is to be investigated in view of the question if a greatest common divisor of opinions can be derived from the ancient authors²⁾.

Though strictly speaking the Hyakinthia are only mentioned in 139d, the transitory formula *Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πολέμων πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων Δίδυμος* proves that the preceding quotation from Polemon should be read in connexion with Didymos' and refers to the same subject³⁾. The previous chapters (138 e sqq) discuss the meal called *kopis* by the Laconians. That the *kopis* has indeed something to do with the Hyakinthia, is proved by the connexion in which it is mentioned by Polemon, namely in a commentary *περὶ τοῦ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι καννάθρον*. This *kannathron* is named by Xenophon *Agésilaios* 8, 7 in an argumentation concerning the king's frugality: *ἀκουσάτω δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ καννάθρον κατῆει εἰς Ἀμόκλας ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ*. If one compares with this the information Polycrates gives

¹⁾ 138 b—140 b.

²⁾ W. Kroll *R. E.* XI, 1362 sq thinks not.

³⁾ F. Bölte *Rhein. Mus.* 78, 1929, p. 134, 3 following Kaibel and Preller; independently Nilsson *GF* p. 131 sq.

in Athenaeus 139 f about the girls driving in *kannathra*, it is clear enough that all the references are to part of the Hyakinthia at Amyklai.

The quotation from Kratinos is plain (138 e): one of his characters is wondering whether indeed any stranger arriving there (among the Laconians) is entertained generously, sausages hanging ready to be bitten off. The *kopis* is therefore a Laconian meal in which friends and strangers are treated, among other things, to sausages. Eupolis' words (138 e, f) in themselves furnish no evidence that helots also belonged to the guests, but cf. 139 f. Then the first textual difficulty arises. While Polemon is still expected to be the authority from which details and quotations are borrowed at second hand, the description continues for instance with the remark that not only "those arriving from our country" but also "the foreigners staying in the country" are entertained. The periegete Polemon came from Troas, and was an Athenian citizen. The opposition between *ξένοι* and *ήμεδαποί* suggests that it is no longer Polemon speaking, but that he himself quotes a third author, as Gulick¹⁾ supposes, a Roman, as Kaibel thinks with more probability, one of the Laconians themselves²⁾. As this anonymous author, however, speaks once again in the third person of the organizers of the *kopis*, the latter cannot be identical with the rather wide notion of *ήμεδαποί*, the Laconians generally. This also appears from the remark *κοπιζει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ βουλόμενος*, which seems to mean that, on the other hand, any Spartan who wishes to do so is allowed to take part in holding, i.e. especially organizing the *kopis*. Here Bölte enters too much into details when he supposes³⁾ that there existed a special organizing-committee for the Hyakinthia (as for the Karneia), the election and task of which must have been described in the gap caused by the excerpting before the words *ἐπὶν δὲ κοπιζῶσιν*. They are also supposed to be the subject of *σημνάς ποιῶνται* and the other actions described. Thus Bölte arrives at a distinction between: 1^o an official entertainment, financed by the community of the Spartans, offered to all strangers and regula-

¹⁾ Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists*, London 1928, vol. II, p. 133 f and 134 a.

²⁾ Kaibel *Praefatio* p. XXVII in Athenaeus, vol. I (Teubner 1923). The name of the Lacedaemonian quoted will have dropped out through Athenaeus' epitomist.

³⁾ *L.c.* p. 135 sqq.

ted by a special committee; 2° a voluntary reception by some of the Spartans, meant first and foremost for native visitors. With this he criticizes Nilsson's remark that the *Amyclaeans* are to be contrasted with the Spartans who take a voluntary part in the proceedings¹). Bölte seems to think the division unfair, if the obligation of a gratis reception rests on the Amyclaeans only, whereas the others may choose what they want. The situation, however, can easily be explained, if the exceptional position of the Amyclaeans with respect to the Hyakinthia is taken into account. The Hyakinthia are not a state festival of Sparta, but a local, though prominent, festival of the obe Amyklai²). It is the Amyclaeans who start for the Hyakinthia with special leave during military campaigns; thus out of the entire army Agesilaos leaves the Amyclaeans behind at Lechaion³). The quality of being a Spartan is not sufficient in itself to become an organizer of the festival. Amyklai, the ancient site of the worship of Hyakinthos, maintained its priority at the Hyakinthia even in political respect, after the annexation by Sparta.

Let us return to the text of Athenaeus with the knowledge that we are to substitute the inhabitants of Amyklai as a subject for the festive preparations described⁴). We may extend then the sausage treat of Kratinos as follows: booths are set up *παρὰ τὸν θεόν*, in which wooden beds covered with carpets are put to receive the guests, not only the Laconians, but also any foreigners who happen to be in the country. Goats are the only victims sacrificed at the

¹) *GF* p. 132, 1.

²) U. Kahrstedt: *Griechisches Staatsrecht* I, p. 226, 2 and 279, 6.

V. Ehrenberg *Hermes* 59, 1924, p. 28 sqq (Amyklai as an obe). Agesilaos acts himself in some of the performances of the Hyakinthia, but as a guest and of his own choice (*Xen. Ag. cap. II, 17*). Kahrstedt qualifies this as one of his democratic demonstrations. Plutarch. *Ages.* 21, 3 recalls the king's enthusiasm for χοροί and ἀγῶνες.

³) *Xen. Hell.* IV, 5, 11: οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἀεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ἰακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, ἐὰν τε στρατοπεδουμένοι τυγχάνωσιν ἐὰν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες, καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαιῶ.

⁴) In two other ways it may be inferred from the text that the new quotation in 138 f sq indeed still gives particulars about the Hyakinthia and no other festival: 139 a the information that they also celebrate *kopides* at the Tithenidia (in contrast with the *kopides* in the festival already mentioned, the Hyakinthia), and then in the town (in contrast with Amyklai); and 138 f *σκηρὰς ποιῶνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν*, probably Apollo of Amyklai. Nilsson *GF* p. 132.

kopides, of which anyone partakes. Other foods served are: a sort of round roll, white cheese, tripe and sausages (as we know already), dessert consisting of dried figs, dried and fresh beans¹). At the Tithenidia too the *kopis* is a sacrificial repast, when sucking-pigs and oven-baked loaves are dished up, while, for the rest, the same customs are observed.

This is the end of the account of Polemon, who thus gives a picture of the *kopis* without contradicting himself. We learn nothing about the time of the banquet; it is only clear that it formed part of the celebration of the Hyakinthia at Amyklai. The testimonies of Epilykos and Molpis in 140 a agree with this. The former describes the *kopis* of Apollo at Amyklai as an opportunity of grabbing cakes (*βάραρες*²)), loaves and sweet broth³), while Molpis just sums up the menu: cakes, bread, meat, fresh vegetables, broth, figs, dessert (nuts probably) and lupine⁴). The characteristic foods have thus provisionally been determined.

More troublesome, however, is the passage quoted from Polycrates (139 d sqq) and intended to show that other descriptions of the course of things than Polemon's and his sources are also given. While one expects to read a flat contradiction on the subject of the *kopis*, there follows a general characterization of the Hyakinthia, in which the meals are discussed as one among a number of topics. The description of the rest of the festival has not been deleted, probably because the style did not easily allow the selecting of the passages merely referring to the foods. Nevertheless we have also to assume omissions for Polycrates' text to get a clear idea from his words. Such is Bölte's method, who wants to articulate the three days over which the festival extends as appears from the first sentence. The result is obtained by means of two lacunas and one conjecture⁵). If once an abbreviation of the text is supposed, it is preferable indeed to make the required additions consistently.

¹) Cf. Athen. II, 56 a.

²) Cf. the gloss in Bekker *Anecd.* I, 226, I: *παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν Βηρηλίαν λέγεσθαι, ἐν ἧ τοῖς θεοῖσι προσιθῆαι τοὺς βήρημας.* Lobeck *Aglaophamus* II, 1064 associates this with the Hyakinthia, but the festivals need not be identical.

³) Cf. Theodoretos *Graec. Affect. Cur.* VIII 907: *καὶ τὰ Ἑακίνθια δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιαῖται ἑορτὴν μεγίστην καὶ δημοθοινίαν ἐνόμιζον.*

⁴) The definition also given by Hesychius s.v. *κοπίς*.

⁵) *l.c.* p. 137 and 139 sq.

Didymos begins in indirect speech and presumably excerpted Polycrates' argumentation. Unfortunately the remains are not so clear as to allow only one way of filling the lacunas. Enough has remained to clear up the asserted contradiction with Polemon, however. In Athenaeus' context this must especially be found in the description of the *kopis*. Polycrates does not use this Laconian word; we are therefore compelled to assume that there are *kopides* among the *δειπνα* he describes. Firstly we are told that in the three days' sacrificial feast of the Hyakinthia the Laconians serve neither bread at the meals, nor cakes and the like, because of the mourning for Hyakinthos, that they also deviate from the usual festivities in other respects, and go home after a disciplined meal. It is impossible to interpret these frugal meals as *kopides*, since Polemon, the unnamed Laconian, Epilykos and Molpis unanimously declared that the guests did eat bread as well as cakes at the *kopides*, and frequently alluded to the invitation of foreigners. Polycrates therefore records a new kind of banquet belonging to the program of the Hyakinthia, namely meals of which only the Laconians (Amyclaeans?) themselves partake, going through special rites, to be discussed later on. The contradiction Athenaeus¹⁾ states between his and Polemon's version of the events is therefore imaginary and the result of inaccurate interpretation. This appears once more from the second statement Polycrates makes about meals (139 f), when the traditional text says that on the second day *ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύνοισι . . . καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους*. Here we recognize the generous treat of the *kopides*. It is true this does not apply explicitly to the *ξένοι*, but *οὐδεὶς ἀπολείπει τὴν θύσιν* and the word 'acquaintances' does not exclude foreigners. Here Bölte also wants to carry through his distinction between official and voluntary *kopis* and assumes that the official reception here, and the semi-official one in Polemon have been drowned in the lacunas. His argument is not persuasive and expects too great an accuracy

1) Or Didymos, for Athenaeus probably copied the whole passage, including the quotations, from some lexicon which had already excerpted and compiled fragments of various poems and learned treatises. Instead of verifying the quotations with the sources (Polemon, Molpis), Athenaeus presumably drew upon Didymos' *Δέξις κωμική* s.v. *κοπίς*, or more probably even upon Didymos' excerptor Pamphilos. This is suggested by Professor Vollgraff (cf. his notes on Athenaeus' way of using his sources *Rev. ét gr.* LIII, 1940, p. 177—180). Bölte l.c. holds a similar view.

from Polycrates, of whom after all nothing is known but this fragment in Athenaeus. Nilsson proceeds a bit rigorously in analysing the *kopis* and the other meals. He presumes that the ritual meal mentioned by Polycrates 139 d was the original and only genuine *kopis*, held without bread, and with the entertainment of the foreigners as guests of honour¹). With this, however, he violates all references, for Polycrates 139 d does not mention guests; Polemon, Epilykos and Molpis do mention bread. Of course we are allowed to assume some ignorance of these authors as regards the ancient Laconian rites, but Nilsson's method is too deductive in this case. So far as the *kopis* is concerned the text of Athenaeus can be maintained; the pretended contradiction has been cancelled and we know two sorts of meals in the Hyakinthia:

1°. a serious meal held by the Laconians (probably the Amyclaeans) themselves, without bread, cakes and the rest, 'because of the mourning for Hyakinthos';

2°. the *kopis*, when the Amyclaeans entertained anyone in booths set up near the god, sacrificed goats only, of which anyone partook, and offered bread, cakes, sausages, beans and the like.

Without being convinced that the different elements, originating from the worship of Hyakinthos and Apollo, can be distinguished clearly, some scholars have considered the first meal, in which the mourning for Hyakinthos is expressly mentioned, as more appropriate to this god, whereas the second, in the opinion of the comedians something like the land of Cockaigne, has rather been brought into connexion with Apollo²). Thus part of the peculiarities of the two *δεῖπνα* might be explained, but such questions as the alternative eating and avoiding of bread, and the exclusive choice of goats as victims remain to be accounted for. The *kopis* may be meant by the *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος θυσία* in Pausanias III, 19, 3; but it appears to have been celebrated with a menu characteristic in itself, though not in relation to Apollo. The preliminary sacrifice to Hyakinthos of which Pausanias l.c. speaks may have been offered at the first meal³). This, however, brings us already to the discussion of the arrangement of the various parts of the Hyakinthia, which also has

¹) *GF* 133 sq. Nobody else shares this view. Cf. Eitrem *R. E.* IX, 15 and Ziehen *ibid.* III A, 1519.

²) e.g. by Farnell *Cults* IV, p. 265.

³) Cf. Ziehen *R. E.* III A 1518.

to be consulted to find the explanation of the successive meals in a broader connexion.

So much is certain that Polycrates' words indicate a three days' duration of the festival, though the arrangement of the various performances in this space of time can hardly be gathered from the text at our disposal. If we stick to the letter, we may come for Polycrates' days to the following conclusion: three days of mourning for Hyakinthos, neither wreaths nor bread at the meals, no singing of the paean for the god. But on the second day the sadness relaxes and a great festival is celebrated: there is flute- and cither-playing, dancing, choirs, carriage-drives by girls and the *kopis*. The whole city turns out to see the spectacle.

Neither the third nor the first day is explicitly characterized, both of them seem to be contrasted with the second, as sober days with a *panegyris*¹⁾. Most scholars do not stop here and resort to conjectures in order to reconstruct a more satisfactory arrangement with a better defined program for each day. As the strongest argument proving the omission of some such indication as "on the first day" Bölte adduces that the Lacedaemonians at the sober meal *μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν* follows immediately after this and one cannot avoid suspecting that there is question of the transition from the first day to the second. Bölte assumes a lacuna at the same place as Greve did²⁾, namely behind *συντελοῦσι καὶ* in 139 d, for instance [*τὴν μὲν πρώτην τοῦ Ὑακίνθου ἰδίαν νομίζουσι καὶ*] *διὰ τὸ πένθος κτλ.* The division of the festival between Apollo and Hyakinthos had better remain for Bölte's account, but the possibility that the mentioning of the day has dropped out is undeniable. His distinction between the second day and the third³⁾, which necessitates an addition in 139 f between *ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν* and *ἰερεῖα . . . θύουσιν*, is much less probable. First the lively interest of the citizens in the carriage-drives and suchlike things is pictured, after which the feast "on that day" is mentioned especially to explain why all the people leave the town to join in the celebration of the Hyakinthia. The

¹⁾ Eitrem *R. E.* IX, 14 abides by this result, soberness being the characteristic feature of the festival throughout.

²⁾ Bölte *loc. cit.* p. 136 and Greve in Roscher's *M. L.* I, 2, 2761.

³⁾ Ziehen *R. E.* III A 1519 does not object to moving the *kopides* to the second day, if need be together with the agonistic games.

distinction between the first and middle day being accepted, the separate description of the last day may be supposed to have fallen out¹⁾. Various reasons offer themselves: the text of Polycrates has been compiled, he did not know the particulars himself or they were of no importance to outsiders, avoidance of an anti-climax after the *panegyris* &c.

In addition to the *kopis*, which may be recognized in 139 f, a considerable program is gone through on the second day. The details given by Polycrates can sometimes be completed by testimonies from elsewhere. Let us follow his description, which does not pretend to be a systematical one, for many parts of the rich program will have been enacted at the same time.

"Boys in high-girt tunics play the lyre, and, accompanied by the flute, besides playing upon all the strings with the plectrum, they sing in praise of the god in anapaestic rhythm and in a high pitched tone". Here we cannot avoid asking who is meant by "the god": Apollo or Hyakinthos? Polycrates does not mention Apollo at all, and even states explicitly that the serious meal concerns Hyakinthos. Rightly Eitrem²⁾ stresses the need of separating everything Apolline from the Hyakinthia, in order to arrive at the original cult of Hyakinthos. This appears to be difficult because of the close amalgamation, and Eitrem accordingly suspects that there have been resemblances between both gods from the very outset. Polycrates, however, speaks of *the* god and seems to be unaware of ambiguity. It is to be assumed generally that the sources which have come down to us use the expression δ θεός in connexion with the Hyakinthia to indicate Apollo Amyklaios³⁾, for example the Laconian in Athenaeus 138 f: the Amyclaeans *σημνάς ποιῶνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν* and Polycrates himself 139 d *τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ἔδουσαν*. The paean passes for a song of Apollo and also seems to be addressed to him here. Hyakinthos is called by his name and not qualified as a god, hero or otherwise.

The choirs of boys, accompanied by the flute and lyre, are not the only singers. A little further on it is described how numerous *χοροί* of youths enter and sing folk-songs, while in their midst

¹⁾ As stated by Fougères in Daremberg-Saglio III, 305.

²⁾ R. E. IX, 13.

³⁾ The use of the term δ θεός at Amyklai will have gone parallel with that of the title δ Ἀμυκλαῖος. Vide *infra*.

dancers perform archaic dances to the singing and flute-playing¹⁾. Xenophon declares that the Amyclaeans used to leave for the Hyakinthia ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα under all circumstances²⁾; elsewhere he mentions Agesilaos among the singers³⁾. The real "paean" was apparently sung by a men's choir⁴⁾.

Eitrem⁵⁾ concludes from the votive offerings found at Amyklai that also before Apollo made his entry choral singing with flute- or lyre-playing formed part of the celebration. A vase-fragment indeed shows the picture of a men's chorus⁶⁾ in which dancing men carry a lyre (traces of a second lyre are visible, the two men to the right hold a branch or twig), but it dates from the geometric period and might therefore have been made after the penetration of Apollo into Amyklai. A small bronze lyre, originally numbering seven strings just as the lyre on the sarcophagus from H. Triada⁷⁾, seems to be Late-Mycenaean, from the earliest period of the sanctu-

¹⁾ For this combination of singing and dancing Bölte (*R. E.* III A 1519) refers to *Iliad* XVIII 605 sq and *Od.* VII 378 sqq, where it is said that δαῖω κυβιστητῆρος are depicted among the singers on the shield of Achilles; and a dance is mentioned with the accompaniment by other young men. Evans *P. o. M.* IV, 2 p. 501 sqq considers the κυβιστητῆρος of the *Iliad* as the heirs of Minoan dances (Pl. LIV, j, Nos. 443, 444 etc, *P. o. M.* III, p. 68 sqq) which sometimes assume acrobatic characters.

²⁾ *Hell.* IV, 5, 11.

³⁾ Ages. II, 17: οἴκαδε ἀπέλθὼν εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπιτέλει. Here too the paean is addressed to τῷ θεῷ, Apollo.

⁴⁾ Cf. Ziehen *l.c.* 1518, 60 sqq. There need not be any contradiction with Polycrates' choir of boys. He gives only a selection from the festivities and seems to indicate himself (139 d) that it is the Amyclaeans, i.e. the full-grown men, who sing the paean.

⁵⁾ *R. E.* IX, 13.

⁶⁾ Tsountas *Eph. arch.* 1892, p. 14 and Pl. IV, 2. Cf. *AM* LII, 1927, p. 14. P. Dikaïos *BSA* XXXVII, 1936/37, p. 56 sqq gives analogous instances. The question at issue is whether these round dances are Greek or Oriental. F. Poulsen: *Der Orient und die frühgr. Kunst* (1912) p. 36 assumes Eastern connexions. Dikaïos also stresses the spreading in the East. E. Kunze: *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (1931) p. 213 sqq reckons with a "rein griechisches Element". Other instances given by A. Brinckmann *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1925, p. 130 sqq. A. Roes: *Oorsprong geom. kunst* p. 76 sq.

⁷⁾ Cf. L. Deubner: *AM* LIV, 1929, p. 194 sqq, who proves the existence of the seven-stringed lyre in Mycenaean times. Cf. also Köhler *AM* IX, pl. 6, pre-Greek island-figurines with double flute and lyre. The lyre from Amyklai *Eph. arch. l.c.* Pl. III, 5.

ary. Thus Apollo may have annexed a rite well-known to him, unless he himself only gradually adopted the lyre as his attribute in Greece¹⁾. There has also been found a small bronze at Amyklai, representing a naked boy with a peculiar wreath in his hair, who presumably held a lyre in his left hand, and a plectrum in his right²⁾. Tsountas thinks it is Apollo, Wolters³⁾ a chorus-leader of the Gymnopaedia (the find-spot tells against this); Eitrem Hyakinthos ἐνχαίτης himself. It is perhaps a dedication of one of the boys who took part in the performance as described by Polycrates.

The *neaniskoi* named in Athenaeus 139 e do not especially dance and sing in honour of Apollo. The archaic style of their movements and the ἐπιχώρια ποιήματα might fit in well with the part of the Hyakinthia transmitted of old. For the present we may accept Eitrem's theory concerning a celebration with songs, dances, flute- and lyre-playing since Mycenaean times as being well-founded. So the innovations introduced by Apollo into Amyklai need not be great as regards singing and dancing. It is more likely that after his appearance part of the traditional program was re-shaped into a choral homage for Apollo and labelled paean.

The parade of boys on decorated horses (Athen. 139 e) cannot easily be recognized in other testimonies⁴⁾, unless we attach some

¹⁾ Wilamowitz *Hermes* 38, 1903, p. 581 sq. Now that the lyre appears to be also a pre-Greek instrument, Apollo may have brought it with him even if he is of Eastern origin.

²⁾ *Eph. arch. lc.* col. 18 and pl. II. Height 12 cm. Tod and Wace *Catalogue Sparta* p. 226. A. de Ridder: *Catalogue des bronzes* No. 814, speaks of the wreath as a "calathos étrange". Cf. on this V. K. Müller *Der Polos* p. 27.

³⁾ *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1896, XI, p. 7 sqq. Hesychius s.v. *Γυμνοπαῖδια* indeed notes a rite in which the ephebes run round the altar in the Amyklaion, striking one another on their backs. He himself, however, rejects already the name of Gymnopaedia for this. The ceremony is otherwise unknown (Nilsson *GF* p. 142); perhaps rightly Kallim. *Hymn. in Del.* 320 sqq is compared, though the scholiast *ad loc.* thinks that it is the altar which is struck there. Cf. Pfister *Rhein. Mus.* 77, 1928, p. 185 sqq.

⁴⁾ Nilsson *GF* 136 assumes the parade in the theatre to be an invention of Polycrates' fancy, the horsemen rather being part of the procession. No traces of a theatre at Amyklai have been discovered. The word *θεατρον* should be interpreted "Festplatz" in passages like this, with Bölte *R. E.* III A 1365 sq.

military value to it and connect it with the cuirass of Timomachos, to be discussed later on.

It is true the drives of the girls in carriages reappear elsewhere. Polycrates is not explicit: some *παρθένοι*, he says, drive in sumptuously decorated *kannathra*, others *ἐφ' ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων ἐξευγμένων πομπέουσαι*, this may be taken as a procession enlivened by a contest of decoration, something therefore like a *corso*¹⁾; or rather as a parade of the girls in carriages drawn by race-horses²⁾. Of course several conjectures have been attempted³⁾. Bölte is probably right in supposing that driving private race-carts is a later custom, arisen after women had succeeded in amassing great fortunes. The original procession was held in the *kannathra*, which have a sacral value: Hesychius s.v. notes that in them the girls perform their solemn drive to the precinct of Helen. Agesilaos' daughter drove to Amyklai in a *πολιτικὸν κάρναθρον*⁴⁾, her carriage was not distinguished in any way from the others. The *kannathra* had wicker-work for covering or sides, as is corroborated by their name⁵⁾. The *Etym. Magnum* gives the *πεῖρινθος* (sic) as a parallel, also made of plaited twigs and probably adopted with the name from the pre-Greeks⁶⁾. It cannot be accidental that just in such processions as may have been kept in use ever since Mycenaean days this kind of carriages has survived. This is also suggested by the ornaments of the *kannathra*: they were phantastic vehicles, decorated with *εἶδωλα γροπῶν καὶ τραγελάφων*⁷⁾. This reminds us of the representations of Minoan fabulous animals and the chariot drawn by griffins in

¹⁾ Ziehen R. E. III A 1519.

²⁾ Bölte l.c. p. 137 sq.

³⁾ Kaibel: *ἐφ' ἀρμάτων ἡμίνοις ἐξευγμένων*.

Preller: *αἱ δ' ἐξ ἀμίλλης ἐφ' ἀρμάτων ἐξευγμένων*.

⁴⁾ Xen. Ages. VIII, 7 *ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ κάρναθρον κατήει εἰς Ἀμύκλας (ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ)*. The concluding words have been restored by conjecture, having dropped out in the adaptation (?) transmitted to us of Xenophon's Agesilaos. Plutarch Ages. 19, 5 read the full text. Cf. Preller: *Polemonis fragmenta* p. 134.

⁵⁾ Boisacq: *Dictionn. Etym.* p. 406, s.v. *κάρνα* = reed, Hesychius s.v. *κάρνα*, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *κάρναθρον κάρνη ἢ ψιλάθος* (rush-mat), Eusth. p. 1344, 44. Preller l.c. p. 135.

⁶⁾ Boisacq o.c. s.v. *πεῖρινθος*.

⁷⁾ Plutarch. Ages. 19, 5. Hesych. s.v.

which *women* drive on the short side of the H. Triada sarcophagus¹). The artistic fancy uses sphinxes and griffins as draught-animals, in the cult one has to put up with imitations.

Clever combinations have associated other things with these drives. The girls come in great numbers from Sparta to Amyklai, the place of the festival. Demetrios of Skepsis²) mentions a *Ἰαυυθίς ὁδός* in Laconia. K. O. Müller³) was the first to identify this with the way of procession from Sparta to Amyklai. Moreover we may assume that in this procession the women carried along the robe they annually wove for Apollo Amyklaios⁴). The best-known analogy to this is the *peplos* offered to Athena at the Panathenaia, though the custom of presenting and draping cult-statues with a dress is old and wide-spread among many peoples⁵). Sometimes the draped statues are still very primitive and have hardly outgrown the aniconic stage. In Minoan Crete robes were also used as votive offerings, as appears from finds at Knossos⁶). The custom may have arisen in Amyklai just as well independently as under foreign influence⁷). But the assignment of a date depends upon the time

1) The well-known wall painting from Tiryns shows only an ordinary cart, though also driven by women through an avenue. As to carriage-types Evans *P. o. M.* IV, 2, p. 307 sqq. Roman women drove in *pilenta* to religious or agonistic ceremonies: Livius V, 25; Festus s.v.; Isidorus *Etym.* XX, 12, 4. Women also drive in carriages to the great Eleusinia (Aristoph. *Plut.* 1013 with schol.) until it is forbidden by Lykourgos (Ps. *Plut. X Or. vitae* 842 a).

2) In Athen. IV, 173 f.

3) *Die Dorier*, II², p. 438.

4) Paus. III, 16, 2, in the room called Chiton.

5) Cf. Frazer *G. B.*³ V, p. 18, and ad Paus. V, 16, 2, and vol. II, p. 574 sq enumeration of dressed cult-statues. Especially goddesses enjoy the honour. Another instance for Sparta perhaps in Alkman's *Partheneion*, vs. 61, if *παῖνος* is the correct reading. This is offered by the girls after a *pannychis*, *vide infra* for an analogy with the *Hyacinthia*.

6) Nilsson *MMR* 268 in spite of Schweitzer *Gnomon* 1928, p. 178. The different material (cloth-terracotta) is no serious objection. Cf. Evans *P. o. M.* I, fig. 364; Elderkin *AJA* XLI, 1937, p. 424 sqq.

7) The finesses of the draping are not known for Amyklai, not even whether the robe served as a cover for the colossal statue after all, and for how many days. A comparison of the coin-types Imhoof Blumer-Gardner *Numism. Comment. on Paus.* Pl. N, XVI and XVII seems, however, to point to it, if indeed Apollo is meant here and represented true to nature.

when first an object of worship might have existed, capable of receiving such a gift.

Polycrates' second day culminates in and ends with the *kopis*. He does not mention any sacrificed animals by name, it is to be hoped that by his *ισορῆα παραληθῆ* he means indeed goats, which the anonymous author in Athenaeus 138 f qualifies as the only victims in the *kopides*. Among the excavated votive offerings there are horses and cows, a bronze deer and all sorts of Late-Mycenaean animals' heads¹). Buschor assumes that these have been dedicated by peasants who wished to recommend their cattle to the protection of the deity²). These dedications, being symbolical gifts to the god, need not exactly indicate a patronage of cattle-breeding, but from them we may draw the conclusion that such animals were also sacrificed *in vivo*. Carbonized remains of sheep and cattle have indeed been found near the excavated altar for burnt-offerings³). In a famous sanctuary as the Amyklaion there will have been occasional ceremonies and offerings apart from the Hyakinthia. In later days Apollo will surely not have objected to more considerable sacrifices besides the *kopis*⁴). Moreover one has to reckon with the probability that the sober meal of the first day was accompanied by a solemn sacrifice to Hyakinthos, which might have been more expensive than the treat of the next day, intended for an unlimited public. The technique of this sacrifice may be conceived analogous to that received by the Heros Archegetes at Tronis, when the Phocians τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι' ὀπῆς ἐσχέουσιν ἐς τὸν τάφον (Paus. X, 4, 10), the pouring of the blood into the grave being equivalent to the ἐναγίζειν διὰ θύρας χαλκῆς Pausanias III, 19, 3 describes for the

¹) Tsountas *Eph. arch. l.c.* col. 1 sqq, 14 and Pl. III, 4. Cf. DeRidder *l.c.* Nos. 992, 997, 1004, 1017.

²) *AM* LII, 1927, p. 12.

³) *Eph. arch. l.c.* col. 11, 16 sq.

⁴) Laconian coins show on the reverse the pillar-shaped statue of Apollo Amyklaios, and grouped round it a cock on an aplustre, a goat and a wreath. *B.M.C. Peloponnese* p. 121 sqq, No. 1, cf. Nos. 80 and 81; and Imhoof Blumer & Gardner *l.c.* This goat appears on coins, struck by Antigonos Doson, and may also be derived from the arms of the Macedonian dynasty. Cf. B. Schroeder *AM* XXIX, 1904, p. 28; F. Bompais *Étude historique et critique des portraits attribués à Cléomène III* (1870), p. 59 sqq. The wreath commemorates a victory, likewise the aplustre. For the goat as a Macedonian emblem see Head *Hist. Num.*² p. 219 sqq and p. 198 (Aegae).

altar of Hyakinthos¹⁾. The remnants of the victim may have been burnt on a separate altar, only to be excavated later on by Tsountas as carbonized sheep's bones and teeth of cows. Pausanias' words anyhow give the impression that the technique of the *ἐναγίζειν* was strictly observed at Amyklai. It is quite true he knows hero-offerings in which the flesh of the victim is consumed on the spot (for instance at Tronis l.c.), but then he mentions it as an additional special feature²⁾. Rohde's explanation of the opposition between *θύειν* and *ἐναγίζειν* fits the case in this stage, though the sacrifice for Hyakinthos need not have been *ἄγευστος* from the earliest times. Euripides at least speaks of a *βούθυτος ἄμερα* in commemoration of the slain Hyakinthos, which does not resemble a holocaust³⁾. Indications for the sacrificial rites of the earliest days are not only furnished by the Late-Mycenaean animal heads, but also by bronze double axes from Tsountas' excavations⁴⁾. It can only be guessed how substantial the offerings were they allude to, and what had been left of them, many centuries afterwards, in the days of Pausanias. The meal described by Polycrates 139 d does not intimate anything about sacrifice and sacrificial customs of the first day.

A relief from the third century B. C.⁵⁾ would have yielded some illustration, had it not been chipped off carefully by a Christian hand, before it was allowed to serve as a door-step. In vague contours the sorry remnants show scenes connected with the worship at Amyklai. They consist of two bands in relief with an inscription. The upper row shows the statue of Apollo with his right arm raised, which held the spear, an altar with flames and a man dragging a victim (bull?) towards it. It is doubtful whether all this means to depict a scene of the Hyakinthia. The victim is mutilated beyond recognition. Both the inscription⁶⁾ and the remains of the relief suggest a sacrifice for Apollo.

¹⁾ Stengel *Kultusaltert.* p. 15, 5 and Studniczka *Österr. Jahresh.* VI, 1903, p. 123 sqq. (*Altäre mit Grubenkammern*).

²⁾ For the meaning of *ἀναλίσκειν* on such places cf. Ziehen *R. E.* III A 1676.

³⁾ *Helena* 1474, cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 261 (for Zeus).

⁴⁾ *Eph. arch.* 1892, col. 12, Pl. III, 2.

⁵⁾ *AM* XXIX, 1904, p. 24 sqq., B. Schroeder. *Tod-Wace Catalogue Sparta* p. 202, No. 689.

⁶⁾ Tsountas *Eph. arch.* 1892, 9. *SGDI* 4515. *I.G.* V, 1, 145. ---] ἀρχον τῶν Ἀπέλλων καὶ τῶς στατῶς Ἀ[ὐτ]ολίε[ι]δαν Ἀπόλλιος, Δαιωδάμαντα, Ἀντίμαχον Τάσκου. Nilsson sees in the figures 3, 4 and 5 the *statoi* whose names are mentioned in the inscription. *GF* 137, 4.

More information is given by the lower band, for after some uncertainty as to the sex of the persons portrayed, it seems to have been settled that they represent five women, from the left to the right: 1. a dancing woman holding up her dress like the girl-dancers of the *kalathiskos* elsewhere¹), 2. and 3. spectators or reposing dancers, 4. a resting woman with a plectrum (lyre player?), 5. woman playing the flute. The head of the first dancer is hardly distinguishable, so that we cannot discover any traces of a possible headdress or wreath, but a confirmation of the performance of *kalathiskos*-dances in the Amyklaion may be found in Kallimachos, who names among the occasional occupations and abodes of Artemis: (*οὐδδ'*) ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ θρόνον ἐπλεκεν²), thus probably alluding to the plaiting of rushes, with which the girls apparently used to crown their heads while dancing in the domain³). Besides the occurrence of this kind of dance the part of Artemis is noteworthy: she led the cortège of girls in wreathing and dancing.

That this scene may belong to the Hyakinthia appears from the oldest literary source on Hyakinthos, a passage in Euripides' *Helena*⁴). The chorus is speaking to the princess, and describes how, at her return to Sparta, she might meet the Leukippides beside the river Eurotas, or elsewhere, χορόν τε ξυνελθοῦσα χοροῖς | ἢ κόμοις Ἰακίνθου | ῥύζιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν⁵). Here nocturnal rejoicings in which the girls celebrate the festival of Hyakinthos are mentioned. Hieronymus says the Lacedaemonians performed *nocturna sacra*, named Hyakinthia, during which Aristomenes carried off fifteen girls⁶). Usually it is the Karyateia which appear in this connexion, but then the attempt takes place μεθ' ἡμέραν⁷), from which it is

¹) E.g. in Stephani CR 1865, Atlas Pl. III, 2, 3 and p. 60. K. Latte *De saltationibus* p. 17 sq disputes the exactness of the denomination, the *kalathiskos* being no more than a dance-figure, no whole dance. Athen. XIV, 629 f.

²) *Aitia* I, 24 (Oxyrh. Pap. 1011).

³) Even boys wore peculiar wreaths, as the bronze lyre-player *Eph. arch.* 1892, Pl. II. It is less probable that the plaiting of rushes refers to the *kannathra*; they might rather have served as a frame for flowerwreaths, cf. Ovid. *Fasti* IV, 870.

⁴) vs. 1468 sqq.

⁵) vs. 1468—70 Murray.

⁶) *Adv. Iovinianum* I, 308 (Migne). Cf. Aristomenes' night attack on Amyklai Paus. IV, 18, 3.

⁷) Paus. IV, 16, 9.

clear that Hieronymus is not erring in a name, but gives new evidence of the nocturnal revels of the girls¹). It has not been handed down to us on which of the three days those nightly dances followed. Logically they link up with the procession in *kannathra* and precede perhaps the offering of the chiton to Apollo²).

Women appeared to have played a prominent part in the celebration of the festival, probably since the origin of the Hyakinthia, in view of the unimportant participation of women in the cults of Apollo³). At Amyklai this influence has always continued, as also appears from the votive offerings. Not only have there been found many hair-pins and *fibulae*⁴), moreover among the human figurines those representing women are in the majority, especially among the terracottas⁵). The Spartan catalogue mentions 60 female idols⁶); the later votive offerings include statuettes of Athena and Artemis⁷); others probably represent worshippers. The above mentioned goddesses are also found on the relief of the Hyakinthos-altar (Paus. III, 19, 4). Bathykles erected a statue of Artemis Leukophryene in the precinct (III, 18, 9). Nothing is known, so far as literary

¹) Wide LK p. 288, 1 wants to connect the passage of Plutarch. *Amat. Narr.* p. 775 d with the Hyakinthia, where the boycott of Damokrita and her daughters is described. Damokrita takes her revenge at a nocturnal festival ἐν ἧ γυναικες ἅμα παρθένους καὶ οὐκείους καὶ νηπίους ἐόρταζον, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἐν ἀνδρῶν μεγάλῳ διαπανόχισον. In the night she goes to the sanctuary when all celebrate τὸ μυστήριον... ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶν and endeavours to raise a fire with the wood lying ready for the offering. The men come to the rescue, kill her and her daughters and throw their corpses across the frontiers. Ἐφ' ᾧ μνησίκατος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν ἱστοροῦσι Λακεδαιμονίους οἰσιμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι. The place in Plutarchus shows little agreement with the facts known about the Hyakinthia. In the sacred precinct of the Amyklaion no building has been uncovered which may be called ἀνδρῶν μέγας. Nor do we hear anything about a mysterious character of the Hyakinthia from elsewhere.

²) Cf. the *Parthencion* of Alkman vs. 61, where the offering of a φᾶγος by girls takes place after a *παννυκτε*, Bowra *Greek Lyr. Poetry* p. 48; and the procession of the Panathenaea after the pannychis, at sunrise (*C.I.A.* II, 163). There is of course a difference between the processions at Athens and Amyklai, as the *kannathra* served as vehicles from Sparta.

³) Farnell *Cults* IV, p. 267.

M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in Apollo Cults* p. 38 sq.

⁴) *AM* LII, 1927, p. 13 (Buschor).

⁵) *ibid.* p. 39 (Von Massow). P. Perdrizet in *Rev. arch* XXX, 1897, p. 7 sqq also mentions leaden figurines of a winged goddess.

⁶) Tod-Wace No. 794.

⁷) *AM* l.c. p. 39.

evidence goes, of a cult of Polyboia, who, according to the representation on the relief, ascends to heaven together with Hyakinthos¹). Wide conjectures that the women's festivals were celebrated especially in her honour²). Her figure can only be interpreted in connexion with her brother's.

Two inscriptions³) of the Roman age mention women in the function of ἀρχηίς at the Hyakinthia: ἀρχηίδα καὶ θεωρὸν διὰ βίου τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἀγῶνος τῶν Ὑακινθίων, is their title. This seems to be an official function, not referring to the women's dances, but to the *agon* at the Hyakinthia. The evidence about agonistic games at Amyklai is mostly late without giving many particulars⁴), though here and there the local importance of the games is hinted at. It would be interesting to know, also in view of the still problematic origin of the great Greek games, whether the *agon* formed part of the Amyclaeon program from old. There are some indications pointing to an affirmative answer. Strabo for instance quotes an information from the Syracusan historian Antiochus (5th century B.C.)⁵), who speaks of an *agon* as already existing in the days of

¹) Cf. Wide LK p. 294.

²) So does Nilsson GF p. 139 sq.

³) I.G. V, 1, 586 sq.

⁴) Lactantius Placidus in Stat. *Theb.* IV, 223: *Hyacinthus in agone celebratur*; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 12, (593), where the Hyakinthia are put on a level with the Isthmia and Pythia. Hesychius s.v. *κωνάκις* speaks of *ἑπαιθία*, though in connexion with Apollo *Tetracheir*, which makes it doubtful whether the note bears upon the Hyakinthia (contra Bölte l.c. p. 140). The connexion between the Hyakinthia and Apollo with the four arms (who also had four ears, cf. R.E. II, 705 s.v. *Τετράχειρο*) suggested by Unger (*Philologus* 37, 1877, p. 22) is sometimes agreed to by others (Enmann *Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditekultes* p. 34 sqq; Wide LK p. 95; Farnell *Cults* IV, p. 127; Krapppe *Folklore* 34, 1923, p. 205 sq) so that this Ianus was taken for a kind of Apollo-Hyakinthos stuck together. Justly Greve *Roschers M.L.* I, 2, 2764 pointed to the lack of evidence for this relation. The figure of Tetracheir, however, may reach back to very ancient representations, cf. the monsters (*Molione?*) on *fibulae* in Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (1926) p. 165 sqq and R. Hampe *Frühe griech. Sagenbilder in Bötien* No. 28, Pl. 14, No. 10, Pl. 9, p. 45 sqq. A relief with the Tetracheir *AM* 1877, p. 382, No. 200. — Buschor's suggestion that the bronze tripods of pre-Dorian times the fragments of which have been found in the Amyklaion would have served as prizes for the agonistic contests, is admissible when the existence of agones in those days will be proved by testimonies from elsewhere. (*AM* l.c. p. 13).

⁵) Strabo VI, 3, 2 (p. 278, 2) τοῖς Ὑακινθίοις ἐν τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ συντελουμένον τοῦ ἀγῶνος.

the Partheniai conspiracy. Thus in the fifth century the games were so normal a feature, that they could be supposed to have existed in the time when Tarentum was founded, probably on the good ground of tradition. At Tarentum itself coin-types suggest that the Hyakinthia were held there and celebrated among other things with horse races¹). An indirect argument can be taken from a bronze disc excavated by Tsountas in the Amyklaion, dating from the sixth or fifth century B.C.²). It is not an athletic instrument, as may be concluded from its asymmetric shape, it seems therefore to have been manufactured as a prize of contest or a votive offering³). This is confirmed by an inscription discovered on its surface, *AEAEON AMYKAIATIO*, which may be read: ἀέ(θ)λον Ἀμυκλιαίο(ν), (prize) "of the Amyclaeian games"⁴) and thus affords an archaeological indication of games with prizes⁵).

This contest, including the throwing of the disc, constitutes an acceptable item for the program of the third day, about which Athenaeus is so little communicative. Its institution cannot be dated. The fact that Lactantius for instance thinks of an ἀγὼν ἐπιτάριος does not prove anything concerning the introduction of the *agon*, for this author relies on the reshaped Hyakinthos of the later saga⁶).

We need not attach religious importance to the exhibition of the bronze cuirass of Timomachos⁷), the man who played some part

¹) Evans *Horsemen of Tarentum* (*Num. Chron.* 1889, p. 185 sqq) revival in the third century. Evans also thinks he can recognize the *pileus* of the Partheniai rise: p. 16 and 37, Pl. II, 5. The legend would be partly aetiological then.

²) *Eph. arch.* 1892, 13. De Ridder *Catalogue* 530.

³) J. Jüthner *Diskoi* (*Österr. Jahresh.* 29, 1935, p. 40).

⁴) This reading is suggested by Professor C. W. Vollgraff and seems preferable to O. Walter's interpretation: Ἀε(θ)λον Ἀμυκλ <ι> αίω. Professor Vollgraff compares the inscription *JHS* 1926, p. 253 sqq: [h]έ[qas] Ἀ[ε]-ye[i]as ἐμὶ τῶν ἀφέθλων (on a bronze vase). He disputes the striking out of the ι, as we may have here a by-form of the place-name.

⁵) The sixth-century disc *I.G.* IX, I, 649 which Eusoidas dedicated to the Dioskouroi is indeed the missile of the athlete in question.

⁶) Ridgeway in *JHS* XXXI, 1911, p. XLVII sqq calls the Hyakinthia funeral games in honour of a hero. According to him the first day was a day of honouring the dead, the games being held on the second day. This theory fails to prove that Hyakinthos was not more than a hero.

⁷) Schol. in Pind. *Isthm.* 7, 18 (quoting Aristoteles fragm. 532 Rose). This cuirass is perhaps also mentioned in a mutilated inscription, which enumerates the

in the history of Amyklai (*vide infra*). The cuirass will have preserved the memory of an historical martial exploit, and may have been a later addition of the Dorians in accordance with their own taste.

If we survey the program of the Hyakinthia now, there is time left of the first and the third day, of which we do not know whether and how it was spent on the festival, while the second indeed invites us to say with Polycrates that it was devoted to a gay spectacle and a remarkable and great *panegyris*. It depends upon the extent of the agonistic contest, if the festivities exceeded the three days' period. Several scholars postulate a longer term, in order to find space for the homage due to Apollo. The entire division of the festival between the two gods is connected with this question. Especially the contrast between the serious character of the first part and the rejoicings of the middle day, which are insinuated to be incompatible with the mourning for Hyakinthos, gives occasion to a distinction of original and Apolline elements. Unger¹⁾ opposes the second day to the first and the third, and thinks that the *panegyris* is no matter of exuberant merry-making, but of a solemn joy of the spectators as in the tragic theatre²⁾. So he succeeds in maintaining the unity of the three days of mourning; but, owing to his interpretation of Apollo as the god of the summer-sun, he postulates a sequel to the three opening days as an addition consecrated especially to Apollo and his various ceremonies, such as the main sacrifice, the paean, and the offering of the chiton. This extension was agreed to for all sorts of reasons: Greve³⁾ thinks that the Hyakinthia, the principal festival of Sparta, could not be shorter than the Karneia, which lasted for nine days (!); Wide⁴⁾ and Fougères⁵⁾ adduced analogous arguments. Farnell *l.c.*

victories of an eloquent rhetor in the days of the Roman empire, namely after coronations at Nemea, Thebes, Lebadeia and Plataeae: ἀοιὸς τ' Ἀγγελῆν, θώρηξ [--- (Kaibel *Epigramm. Graeca* No. 931). This would prove the existence of a rhetoric contest belonging to the Hyakinthia in later days (Bölte *l.c.* p. 140).

¹⁾ *Philologus* 37 (1877) p. 30 sqq.

²⁾ Cf. Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* VI, 20.

³⁾ *Roschers M. L.* I, 2, 2761 sq.

⁴⁾ *LK* p. 290.

⁵⁾ Daremberg-Saglio III, 305. The arrangement is given by him as follows: three days for Hyakinthos, an interval of 1—2 days, then 5—8 days devoted to Apollo with offering, paean, *kopis* and *chiton*. Stengel *R. E.* IX, 1 assumes that the festival proper lasted for three days, the *ἑορτασμία* nine at least. Cf. also Ziehen *R. E.* III A 1518.

follows them hesitatingly, not inclined to assume a break of the rule *χωρίς ἢ τιμὴ θεῶν*. There are indeed some places which support this theory concerning a longer duration of the Hyakinthia, but they do not carry conviction. Herodotus ¹⁾ narrates how, before the battle of Plataeae, during ten days the Spartans put off the Athenian envoys with fair words, while they busied themselves with the Hyakinthia; the preparations for the festival, however, may be included in this period. During the siege of Eira the Spartans conclude an armistice lasting forty days, when the Hyakinthia are approaching ²⁾; they will have had other reasons too for choosing this otherwise excessive number of days. Polycrates is the only authority who records a definite duration of the Hyakinthia; it is preferable therefore to stick to his statement so long as no conclusive proof against him can be found. The addition of some extra-days for the games in later times ³⁾ is not even excluded by his statement, for he does not mention the contest and only speaks of the *θυσία*.

The season of the festival is of course of great importance as regards the original meaning of the cult. The usual difficulties connected with chronological calculations arise here, and besides that a gloss of Hesychius has led all speculations into wrong directions for a time. He notes *Ἐκατομβεὺς μὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοις, ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὑακίνθια*. It was rather astonishing that several places had a month which derived its name especially from Hyakinthos, but that Sparta had not, though for lack of new evidence one had to stick to the words of Hesychius. His information, however, was deprived of its authority, when it appeared from an inscription ⁴⁾ that Sparta too knew the month of Hyakinthios, namely the one immediately following Agrianios. Now Hesychius' note cannot have been utterly unfounded. Strabo ⁵⁾ calls Sparta *ἐκατόμπολις* ⁶⁾, the reason why annual Hekatombaia were offered there. Unger ⁷⁾ concludes that the Hyakinthia must have been identical with these

¹⁾ IX, 7—III. Eitrem *R. E.* IX, 14 compares the ten days' mourning rites of the Spartans (Plutarch. *Lyk.* 27; Herod. VI, 58). This may be a later influence.

²⁾ Paus. IV, 19, 4.

³⁾ Which Nilsson *GF* p. 138 also thinks possible.

⁴⁾ *I. G.* V, 1, 18 (38).

⁵⁾ VIII, 5, 4, p. 362.

⁶⁾ As Crete, *Iliad* B 649, Zeus is Hekatombaios there (Hesychius s.v.).

⁷⁾ *Philologus* 37, 1877, p. 33, followed by Greve in *Roschers M. L.* I, 2, 2762.

Laconian Hekatombaia. Nilsson¹⁾ rejects this identification and thinks the second festival apocryphal. But Hekatombaia is a, perhaps often exaggerating, general title which may be applied to special feasts; thus the Heraia at Argos are also called Hekatombaia²⁾. It is by no means unlikely that the Hyakinthia were designated by the same title in olden times. Besides, Amyklai belonged to the so-called *ἐκατόν πόλεις* of Laconia³⁾, which celebrated the Hekatombaia according to Strabo. The double denomination of the month of Hekatombeus-Hyakinthios gives no offence then. Moreover an inscription seems to document the month of Hekatombeus for Amyklai⁴⁾.

When we have got rid of this difficulty there remains as a more important question the arrangement of the Spartan calendar. Unanimity has not yet been achieved in these matters and Hyakinthios suffers particularly from the general uncertainty. Various dispositions of the months have been attempted, each sequence, however, involves its own improbabilities⁵⁾. Chronological speculations are given a chance in some places, especially in a passage of Xenophon⁶⁾ which proves that the Hyakinthia were celebrated shortly after the Isthmian games, with an interval of some five days or so. The Isthmia follow nine days after the Asklepieia at Epidauros⁷⁾, which fell in the Epidaurian month of Apellaios, the latter supposed to be equivalent to Skirophorion in Attica⁸⁾. From this Bischoff⁹⁾ presumed that the Hyakinthia were also still celebrated in the month of Skirophorion. This argumentation, though plausible in itself, was attacked by two other identifications. Unger¹⁰⁾ put the festival in the second half of the ancient spring and made the month correspond to the Attic Thargelion, one month earlier therefore than Skirophorion. Several scholars gave their adhesion to this, often

1) *GF* p. 138.

2) Schol. *Pind. Olymp.* VII, 152.

3) Eusth. ad *Iliad.* II, 584.

4) *I.G.* V, 1, 511. Cf. Von Massow in *AM* 1927, p. 62, *Beil.* XI.

5) Cf. Nilsson *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos* (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark* 1909) p. 123, 1.

6) *Hell.* IV, 5, 1—10.

7) Schol. ad *Pind. Nem.* III, 147.

8) P. Kavvadias in *Eph. arch.* 1901, p. 57 sqq.

9) *R. E.* IX, s.v. Hyakinthios.

10) *Philologus* 37, p. 19.

on grounds different from those adduced by him. Nilsson sought to infer the season from the choice of the fruit and vegetables eaten in the ritual meals: dried figs, while there are fresh ones from June on, one sort of beans dried and one fresh. Broad beans are gathered from the beginning of May, so that the Attic months of Skirophorion and Hekatombaion would be too late and only Thargelion (usually from the 24th of April to the 24th of May) would be correct¹).

A more serious rival in this dispute of synchronisms is the hypothesis which pleads for the rights of Attic Hekatombaion as an equivalent²). Formerly Nissen³) upheld it by means of intricate calculations concerning temple-orientation; and the inscription *I. G. V, 1, 18* induced Bischoff and Nilsson to endorse his view. Bischoff⁴) then came to a succession of Agrianos (June/July), Hyakinthios (July/August) and Karneios (August/September) in Lacedaemonia, Hyakinthios being contemporary with Hekatombaion in Attica. Nilsson hesitatingly admits that Hekatombaion is most likely to be the parallel⁵). Pareti provided this new proposition with an ample, though not irrefutable argumentation⁶).

The dispute has not been settled with all this. For Ziehen again prefers the synchronism of Hyakinthios and Skirophorion, because the Gymnopaedia already occupy Hekatombaion⁷). M. Giffler in his new speculations about the Spartan calendar moves the months upwards, so as to land Hyakinthios in Skirophorion⁸).

¹) *GF* p. 134 sq. Cf. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 165, 15.

²) A connexion of the denominations Hekatombeus-Hekatombaion is very doubtful. In the following computations a mistake of one of the sources cannot be assumed any longer, since Hekatombeus appeared to be a month with its own festival. Moreover the resemblance of names need not point to synchronism in Sparta and Attica.

³) *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 42, 1887, p. 64 sqq.

⁴) *R. E.* X, 1578, and 1591, 4.

⁵) *MMR* p. 486, 3; *GGR* p. 500, 3 and *Bull. Ac. Danemark l.c.*

⁶) *Note sul calendario spartano* (*Atti della R. Accademia di Torino* 45, 1909/10) p. 812—29, especially p. 820 sqq. The interpretation of the passage of Xenophon (p. 823), for instance, is not convincing.

⁷) *R. E.* III A 1518. For the date of the Gymnopaedia cf. Bölte *Rhein. Mus.* 1929, p. 129 and Merritt *Class. Phil.* 26, 1931, p. 70 sqq, especially p. 79 sq.

⁸) *Hermes* 75, 1940, p. 215 sqq: he makes Gerastios = Anthesterion, Artemisios = Elaphebolion, so that further on Phliasios = Mounychion, Agrianos = Thargelion and Hyakinthios = Skirophorion coincide.

We cannot do better than pronounce a *non liquet*, the more so as the various systems of intercalation never allow of an unconditional parallelism of months¹⁾. It may be stated generally that the Hyakinthia were celebrated in Sparta in summer, possibly in harvest-time, in the season corresponding to Thargelion, Skirophorion or Hekatombaion in Athens²⁾.

It is logical to suppose that the month of Hyakinthios, if it reappears elsewhere, has been named after the same festival, and may be able to yield further information relative to the season of the celebration. We may therefore make a short excursion outside Sparta. The confusion, however, proves to be the same there. In Thera the 25th of Hyakinthios is equivalent to the 18th of July in the year 150 A.D., Hyakinthios apparently corresponding to June/July³⁾. The result is analogous for Rhodus, where Hyakinthios precedes Panamos-Hekatombaion and thus is on the same height of the year as Skirophorion⁴⁾, June/July, after Agrianios. The calendar of Kos cannot yet be reconstructed. Bickermann here gives Mounychion⁵⁾, Giffler November as an equivalent⁶⁾, which strikes us as extravagant and need not be taken into consideration here. In Crete of the Roman age Hyakinthios appears as the ninth month of the solar calendar, from the 24th of May to the 22nd of June⁷⁾. Finally, in Byzantium, July is given as the translation for the month Hyakinthios⁸⁾.

We may conclude from all these comparisons that the period June/July is available as a margin for the situation of Hyakinthios, if necessary even with its beginnings in May (Thargelion in Sparta,

¹⁾ Cf. J. Beloch *Griech. Gesch.* I, 2, p. 147.

²⁾ At the time when Mardonius captured Athens (*Xen. Hell.* IV, 5). Preller-Robert I, p. 249. Cf. A. Mommsen *Bursians Jahresber.* 73, 1892, p. 15 sqq.

³⁾ *I. G.* XII, 3, 325. Cf. the offering of first-fruits on Hyakinthios the 5th, *ibid.* 436.

⁴⁾ Nilsson *Timbres amph.* p. 132. Bickermann *Chronologie* (Gercke-Norden III, 5) p. 6. Hiller von Gaertringen *R. E. Suppl.* V, 743 sqq. Bischoff *R. E.* X, 1582.

⁵⁾ *l.c.*

⁶⁾ *AJA* 1939, p. 445 sqq.

⁷⁾ Bischoff *R. E.* IX, 3 and X, 1590 sqq.

⁸⁾ K. F. Hermann *Philologus* II, p. 263 sqq.

Mountford *JHS* 43, 1923, p. 112.

and chiefly the Cretan dating). On the one side it is to be welcomed that the period of the festival can be approximated at all with chronological methods, though on the other side the precision is not great enough to give a valuable external support to interpretations of the festive rites. The data need not be strained, however. In spite of the many doubts so much is certain, that in different places Hyakinthios did not occur in an exactly corresponding constellation, which, besides, is the case with several months. The space computed is narrow enough to postulate a common ritual starting-point for the month. Through non-religious influence a slight shift in the position of the months may have been caused, as is still visible in some situations in historical times. For a more accurate fixing of the season of the Hyakinthia we shall have to follow the reverse method, trying to extract chronological information from the rites themselves; a method applied already by Nilsson when he used the beans consumed dry or green as a criterion for the season.

Here we may close the list of things worth knowing with respect to the Hyakinthia. They have developed into the leading Spartan festival of the year, as appears from the fact that it is mentioned together with the Isthmia and Pythia¹). The treaty between Athens and Sparta of the year 421 will annually be renewed in Athens at the Dionysia, in Sparta at the Hyakinthia²).

Concerning the daily worship of Hyakinthos at Amyklai no information has come down to us. An obscure source ascribes an oracle to him, from which no conclusions may be drawn³).

If we examine the enumerated data to get some idea of the religious background of the Hyakinthia, then, after deducting the indifferent and common festive externals, there remain no doubt characteristic materials. The contradictions of the testimonies, with which Athenaeus already had to contend, cannot be removed and are founded on the different character of the parts of the celebration.

¹) Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* II, 12.

²) Thuc. V, 23, 4. An official acknowledgement therefore, cf. V, 41, 3, where the Argives will come to Sparta to conclude a treaty at the Hyakinthia.

³) Lact. *Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* VII, 412. Cf. Philostr. *iun. Imag.* 14 and Eitrem *R. E.* IX, 15, who ascribes it to his nature of a hero. It is rather an Apolline symptom.

The rites group themselves of their own accord, because Polycrates' assertions concerning the first day of the festival are contradicted point by point.

1°. No wreaths are worn at the meals (Athenaeus 139 d. Macrobius¹⁾ states that at the Hyakinthia they crowned themselves with ivy-garlands in Bacchic style. The bronze statuette of the lyre player is wreathed²⁾; leaden votive crowns have been found in the Amyklaion³⁾; Philostratus alludes to wreaths of hyacinths⁴⁾, Kallimachos to crowns of rushes⁵⁾.

2°. On account of Polycrates' bread- and cake-prohibition and the discrepant statements, quoted by Didymos in Athenaeus, it appeared necessary to distinguish two kinds of ritual meals.

3°. From Polycrates' words: τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιῶνα οὐκ ἄδουσιν contrasted with 139 εὐτὸν θεὸν ἄδουσιν and Xenophon *Hell.* IV, 5, 11, it had to be inferred that the singing was only left out on the first day.

4°. The general character of the ceremony to which the beginning of Polycrates' story is devoted deviates from that of the normal *θυσίαι*, and the reason put forward by the informant is the mourning for Hyakinthos. Besides the *χαρά* which he himself mentions for the day of the panegyris, Euripides' *νύχιος εὐφροσύνα* proves that the festival of Hyakinthos did not consist of a series of gloomy oddities.

It is not likely that these flat contradictions are all due to chance or inaccurate tradition. The celebration of the first day has distinguished itself considerably from the further course of the festival. That we must recognize in this a characteristic *peripeteia* instead of cheerfulness grafted by Apollo upon a gloomy ritual, was formerly accepted without proof, confuted later on, but finally confirmed by the sources. It is true that no terracotta *ἀγρίσκοι* have come to light, but remains pointing to singing, dancing and lyre-playing in ancient times have indeed appeared⁶⁾. The *εὐφροσύνη* of the *panny-*

1) *Sat.* I, 18, 2.

2) *Eph. arch.* 1892, pl. II.

3) *AM* 1927, p. 34.

4) *Epist.* p. 344 (ed. Kayser II, p. 226, 15) οὐκ εἶδες οὖν Ἰακινθον; οὐδ' ἔστεφανώσω τῷ τριήμετι;

5) *Aitia* I, 24.

6) Cf. *supra* p. 14 sq.

*chides*¹⁾, kept by the girls, who certainly were closely connected with the festival from old, is not an Apolline element; the finds are in favour of wreathing, if one wishes to leave the name of Hyakinthos and the rest out of consideration.

When therefore the accumulation of oppositions: bread-no bread, wreaths-no wreaths, paean-no paean, *ἐὐφροσύνη-πένης* is of ancient origin, the explanation of the individual contradictions has to be found by a comparative method, admitting of mutual connexions; and it is not allowed to settle the prohibition of bread and garlands on the first day with the argument of primitiveness, as Nilsson formerly did²⁾. The rites may be primitive indeed, but their counterparts on the second day just as well. It is especially the sudden change in the course of the festival and in the single rites that needs explanation.

If we explain the abstinence from bread as a primitive survival, the bread-dish of the second day becomes meaningless. Primitivity is only to be assumed in definite cases, e.g. when the participants of a cult or the officiants are only allowed to eat unleavened bread. Owing to conservatism a custom of the good old days is then artificially kept up or recalled. The Roman *flamen Dialis* was not allowed to make up his menu with *farina fermento imbuta*³⁾. This is obviously a relic from days, when the process of fermentation was not yet applied; but the prohibition figures in the midst of not so rationally explicable taboos as the abstinence from dog's and goat's flesh and beans, and psychologically arises from a fear of the new and dangerous, against which men wish to safeguard priests and gods as long as possible. Primitive offerings as barley grains and porridge remain in vogue, when men's food has become more modern and consists already of leavened loaves⁴⁾. The unfermented bread of the Jewish Passover will probably be founded on a similar honouring of primitive customs, though it seems to be closely con-

¹⁾ Pannychides are celebrated by preference in vegetative and similar festivals of ancient origin, e.g. at Brauron at the Tauropolia (Menander *Epitrep.* ed. Wil. 234 sq, 255 sqq); at Letrinoi for Artemis Alpheiaia (Paus. VI, 22, 9); at Tegea for Athena Alea; for Helen and the Dioskouroi (Kallimachos *Diegeseis* X, 6 sqq), probably in Sparta.

²⁾ *GF* 135.

³⁾ Aulus Gellius *N. A.* X, 15, 19. Arbesmann *Fasten* p. 73.

⁴⁾ Miss Harrison *Proleg.* p. 85.

nected with harvest-rites¹). At Ras Shamra traces of analogous practices are found²).

Such a connexion with the harvest lends more importance to the abstinence from bread, as it appears then to be part of a significant whole. Several peoples practise fasting in connexion with harvest-ceremonies, either in the form of complete abstinence from food, or as a taboo on a special kind of food. On the whole the course followed is this: when the crop has been gathered in, and the first-fruits are to be offered, nobody is allowed to taste the costly new crop before the sacrifice has been performed³). After the offering a feast follows with songs and dances, often bearing Saturnalian features. The Yoruba celebrate such a feast for the agricultural god during the yam harvest, when everyone eats of the new crops and food is cooked for general use; the Jakun dance and sing at their annual harvest-festival; after the fasting a meal of the new corn with the "green corn dance" follows among the American Seminoles⁴). In New Guinea the chieftain fasts several days before the yam-feast. Among the Cherokees only those who had prepared themselves by fasting, praying and purifications could take part in the dance, when the new corn was eaten⁵). Numerous analogous instances are described in the ethnological literature. Often among primitive peoples fasting is a preparatory rite by which men wish to rid themselves of possible evil influences in view of the approaching ceremonies. Purgatives reinforce this materially interpreted cleaning of conscience⁶). But fasting as a part of harvest-rites is not an unspecified preparation for a religious act, but, as appears from the choice of food, a subjection to a special taboo which is

¹) E. R. E. V, 864 (F. H. Woods); B. D. Eerdman's *The Passover and the days of the unleavened bread* (*The Expositor* 7th series VIII, 1909, p. 448—462) sees in the unleavened bread not so much a relic, as a means of avoiding the danger which threatens the soul of the corn from the "unclean" ferment.

²) J. de Groot in *De Godsdiensten der Wereld* I, p. 270.

³) Cf. *Leviticus* 23, 14: "And ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor green ears, until the selfsame day that ye have brought an offering unto your God."

⁴) E. R. E. V, 805 (J. A. Macculloch). Frazer *G.B.*³ VIII (*Spirits of the corn* II) p. 76 sq and Chapter X and XI, moreover in his edition of Ovid. *Fasti* ad II, 520, vol. II, p. 425 sqq.

⁵) E. R. E. V, 761.

⁶) Frazer *G.B.*³ VIII, p. 75 sq.

only removed by the annual ceremonies¹). Miss HARRISON sees the possible origin of this taboo in a kind of game-law: in the days when the crops are ripening men have to keep their hands off in their own interest²). This is probably too much reasoned out; the temptation will not be great during the process of ripening, and the fast has its force and significance only just before the moment that the crops will be given free. It is an accentuation of the solemn reception of the annual gift of crops, which impresses all peoples in a special way and makes them conscious of a need for consecration.

The sense of this fasting in harvest-time is to be found in apotropaic trains of thought. Just as the leaven is a dangerous matter which, in critical circumstances, may not get into touch with the corn, likewise in the transition period from the old to the new corn a contact of the two seems to be avoided. Perhaps the only intention is to prevent the mixing of the old and decrepit corn with the young and undefiled crops, perhaps there is also a certain danger in the eating, i.e. killing of the corn in harvest-time, by the terror of which the soul of the grain might be scared away³). When a god has been formed, capable of receiving an offering of the first-fruits, then the animistic pattern may disappear behind an homage to the god: the tasting of the new cereals is deferred until the first-fruits have been sacrificed to whom they are due.

In the examples quoted from primitive nations it is not always clear whether the harvest-festivals are already connected with divinities, or still remain in a purely "naturalistic" stage. Sometimes there is question of an agrarian deity. In classical antiquity fasting has mainly be incorporated in deistic connexions. As a complete abstinence from food it seems to be rare, nor does it fit in well with Greek customs, which officially had outgrown such trends of thought. Traces of it are shown by the Thesmophoria, Skirophoria and the Eleusinian mysteries⁴). It is worth noting that here also fasting occurs in connexion with festivals of fertility and agriculture.

¹) Cf. Nilsson *GgR* p. 117; E. Gjerstad *ARW* 26, 1928, p. 158 sqq, p. 182.

²) *Proleg.* p. 83.

³) Cf. Eerdmans *l.c.*: "If the soul of the plant knows that the corn is to be killed, to be cooked or baked in order to be eaten, it might flight away." (p. 461), with instances of the rice-harvest in the Dutch Indies.

⁴) Nilsson *GgR* p. 85.

Arbesmann thinks it can be specified for the Thesmophoria, and supposes it will have affected the gifts of Demeter, so chiefly bread¹⁾. This remains doubtful.

The specializing is clearly demonstrated in Rome. There they knew two festivals with fast-rites for Ceres, both of them adapted from Greek examples: the *sacrum anniversarium Cereris*, celebrated in midsummer and sometimes called *castus Cereris*; and the *ieiunium Cereris*, annually held on the fourth of October in Augustan times²⁾. During the latter a total fast seems to have been imperative, but the *castus Cereris* is to be regarded as abstinence from bread. The proclamation of collective fasting in the cult has come to Rome from elsewhere³⁾. The rites of the Ceres-feast are Greek, though the pure parallels for the abstinence from bread are only to be found farther Eastward, from where such customs in later days penetrated to Rome: the names belonging to the *ieiunium panis* are Isis, Cybele, Attis, Mater Deum⁴⁾. The technical term of the Romans is here *castus* too, but the deliberate restriction appears from the reproach of Hieronymus, that "*ieiunium panis sagina carniū compensetur*"⁵⁾. Iulianus tries to explain this particular choice by marking chthonic products as counteracting the *ἀνοδος τῶν ψυχῶν*⁶⁾. His philosophical interpretation cannot be historically exact. The difficulty lies in the association of rites which belong to the predeistic harvest-customs to Oriental vegetation festivals in which gods as Kybelè, Attis and Isis are the centre of worship. The crowning and concluding of a period of abstinence by a festal removal of a taboo is complicated here, though recognizable. Just as in the Eleusinian rite the *μητέρα* precedes the drinking of the *κνέβων*, it precedes the mystery, hinted

¹⁾ *Fasten* p. 92.

²⁾ Arbesmann *Fasten* p. 94 sq. Ziehen *R. E.* XVII, 92.
Wissowa *R. u. K.* p. 300 sq. Preller *Röm. Myth.*² p. 46.

³⁾ Wissowa p. 59, 1.

⁴⁾ Arbesmann *l.c.* p. 11 sq.

⁵⁾ *Adv. Iovin.* II, 17 (Migne *P. L.* XXIII, 354). Cf. *Ibid.* II, 5 (Migne XXIII, p. 330): *de ciborum sibi placent abstinentia, quasi non et superstitione gentilium castum Matris Deum observet et Isis.*

Epist. CVII ad Laetam (*P. L.* XXII, p. 687): *cultores Isidis et Cybeles, qui gulosa abstinentia Phasides aves ac fumantes turtures vorant, ne scilicet Cerealia dona contaminent.*

Tertull. *De ieiunio* 16: *tu nostris xerophagiis blasphemias ingerens casto Isidis et Cybeles eas adaequas.*

⁶⁾ *Or.* V, p. 174 a sqq. Cf. Hepding *Attis* p. 150 sqq.

at by the words *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κομβάλου ἔπιον* in the Attis-cult¹). The *peripeteia* fasting-feasting, however, is crossed by that of the death and rebirth of the god, the main features of which (mourning-rejoicing) give a special character to the festival. As, on the other hand, fasting is also interpreted as a sign of mourning, it is difficult to make out what must be considered primary, and what as a consequence in the festivals discussed.

Fasting as an expression of mourning and grief is said to be apotropaic (fear of influences from the dead which may enter the body with food and drink²); though besides these magic conceptions indifference to eating and drinking in time of sorrow has also to be taken into account as a psychological factor³). From a combination of similar motives among some peoples originated fasting as a conventional sign of mourning⁴).

In the worship of Attis, which is well-known in its Roman form and therefore can be best taken as an example⁵), an explanation of the fast-rites from the mourning for the deceased god is obvious, but it is to be rejected for the same reason as the appeal to primitive conservatism: the choice of food eaten and forbidden is not elucidated by it. The only adequate foundation are the harvest-rites, and the question at issue is whether they have mixed up themselves with the rites of the god concerned, or historically preceded the latter, and continued and grew in gradual development, which can be explained best if the deity in question is a harvest- i.e. a corn-god. At the end of the harvest the corngod would have been imagined as dying, in the East only to rise again in the same festival and to provoke exuberant rejoicings, because of the certainty that the corn just as the dead god will go through the same birth and growth next year. The merry feast then coincided with the long expected banquet with the new corn-products, the mourning for the god with

¹) Arbesmann *Fasten* p. 85. Cf. F. Wehrli *ARW* 31, 1934, p. 78 sq, 89 sq on Eleusis.

²) *ibid.* p. 25 sqq.

³) *E. R. E.* V, 760 sqq (Macculloch).

⁴) That it occurs in this sense among the Greeks and Romans is assured and disputed resp. by Arbesmann *l.c.* and Ziehen *R. E.* XVII, 95.

⁵) For the course of the celebration see Hepding *Attis* p. 147 sqq and *C. I. L.* I², p. 312 sqq the calendar with a commentary by Mommsen. Graillet *Culte de Cybèle* p. 108 sqq.

the abstaining from bread as a preliminary taboo before the ritual feast.

It is probably not correct to postulate such a straight development for Attis. He rather gives the impression of a god who has developed on a broader base, being one might almost say more artistic and less utilitarian; and who has either created the harvest-rites, which also celebrated the turning of the season, as a part of his general ritual, or derived them from elsewhere and annexed them to his own festival. It is of course very difficult to reconstruct the way in which such a god developed. The general conception of the dying and reviving nature is clearly recognizable, but in practice Attis only grew up to Attis after many complications, and borrowing on his way all kinds of special, more or less kindred rites, such as the sacrifice of the bull and self-mutilation. Moreover he is no independent god, but one whose cult is inseparably connected with the great Mother's¹⁾. One can only guess which elements are to be called peripheral and which central ones; the castration for example does not seem to have occurred in the original ritual²⁾; when the celebration took place in March, as was the case in Rome, the harvest-rites have shifted to the spring, which also points to a later addition.

Among peoples where the cult is mostly concerned with the edible vegetation, the two conceptions come nearer together. Frazer quoting the Arabic author El Maqrissi (10th century) mentions a Tâ-uz festival in July³⁾, during which the women lamented and did not eat anything which had been ground in a mill. This is a further stage of development of Tammuz, who, in a one-sided agrarian civilization, has become the corn-god who is honoured by abstinence from bread. Modifying an explanation of Lagrange, Frazer sees in the mourning for Tammuz and Adonis crocodile tears of the harvesting people, who injure the crops and in them the vegetation-spirit by their proceedings. This primitive conciliatory policy may perhaps be accepted as a factor of some influence in

¹⁾ Hepding-o.c. p. 127, Wissowa o.c. p. 326.

²⁾ Hepding *Attis* p. 161 sq.

³⁾ *G.B.*³ V, p. 230 sqq, cf. p. 272 on Attis. For the survival of the Tammuz-cult see Jeremias Roscher's *M. L.* V, 70; Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* p. 111; Jeremias *ATAO*⁴ p. 691 sq.

later stages, but not as a universal explanation of the wide-spread oriental mourning for the dying vegetation.

Abstinence from bread finally appears without mentioning details in the cult of the fertility-god Hadaranes in Syria¹). It is at any rate a curious coincidence that, when we look for parallels to the ritual bread- and cake-prohibition which Polycrates has handed down to us as belonging to the first day 'of the Hyakinthia, we are referred to Oriental regions and to figures as Attis, Kybele, Isis, the mythology of whom had been compared to 'Hyakinthos' since long. The relation of such gods as Attis to the special sphere of the growth of corn will therefore be considered again later on, as a part of the general comparison.

Before we follow up this trace we may first examine the other oppositions mentioned, namely the alternative admittance and avoidance of garlands and paean, to see if they fit in with the bread-rites. In some way the sequence: wreaths forbidden-wreaths applied is closely akin to the corn-ritual, only the area of operations is more extended and covers the vegetation in general. The explanations of the rule against crowns are also analogous: primitive conservatism as well as mourning are adduced as the possible origin²). In historical times garlands were realised to be incompatible with grief and gloomy circumstances³). It is remarkable that there existed a prohibition of the wearing of flower-wreaths by the *Θεομοφοριάζουσαι*⁴), while the narcissus on the other hand is called *μεγάλαν θεᾶν ἀρχαῖον στεφάνωμα*⁵) and also seems to be represented in a garland of a Demeter-priestess⁶). It is not clear whether the prohibition was here also completed by its removal, or if it was only applied in favour of other garlands (ears of corn?).

¹) Arbesmann *o.c.* p. 73. *C. I. L.* III, 13608. Cumont *R. E.* VII, 2163. Graillot *o.c.* p. 120, 1.

²) Concerning garlands in antiquity cf. L. Deubner *ARW* 30, 1933, p. 70 sqq, who rightly thinks wreathing compatible with primitiveness, cf. p. 93 *l.c.*

³) Aristoteles ap. Athen. 675 a. *R. E.* XI, p. 1588 sqq (*Ganszyniec*). Stengel *Kultusalt.* p. 108 sq. Halliday *Class. Quarterly* XXI, 1927, p. 39.

⁴) Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 681.

⁵) Soph. *Oed. Col.* 681. Cf. Ziehen *Leges sacrae* 90, who on this ground ascribes a small sanctuary in Delos, where flower-garlands are prohibited, to Demeter.

⁶) Stephani *CR* 1865, title-page. 4th century B. C., thought to be a priestess of Demeter by Stephani.

Farnell¹⁾ rightly interprets the prohibition of wreaths in the Hyacinthia as a vegetative rite, sympathetic with the withering of the verdure. The bread-rites make him also think of the corn-harvest, though in neither case does he justice to the *peripeteia*: Apollo is credited for the positive elements, which appeared to conflict with the finds and traditions.

Finally the silence of the paean on the first day of the Amyclaeen festival points to an extension of the soberness of which fasting and absence of wreaths also bore witness, to a seriousness which begins to resemble mourning. Flute-music and paean belong to the sacrifice²⁾. In Sparta the paean was sung during the meals³⁾. The rites which accompany the end of the season of corn and vegetation and release the crops for a common banquet could, though they need not, be understood without having resort to the mourning for someone deceased. The silence imposed on the paean⁴⁾ suggests that

¹⁾ *Cults* IV, p. 265. The interpretation of the Hyacinthia as a pre-harvest-festival involves new difficulties in view of the place of the month of Hyakinthios. Cf. also H. J. Rose in *E. R. E.* V, 862.

²⁾ Stengel *Kultusalt.* p. 115.

³⁾ H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* (1931) p. 93, cf. p. 85 sqq on the paean.

⁴⁾ Cf. Aesch. fragm. 167 *μῶρος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δῶρον ἐστὶν . . . οὐδὲ παύεται*. Euripides *Iph. Taur.* 185; and Ziehen *Leges Sacrae* 109, where a paeanless offering to the nymphs on Thasos is mentioned, perhaps also wreathless as the sacrifice to the Charites on Paros, Apollod. III, 15, 7 (against this Seyrig *BCH* 51, 1927, p. 183 sq). Ziehen suspects that Apollo is an intruder here also, the cult points to chthonic i.e. funeral worship. Studniczka *Österr. Jahresh.* VI, 1903, p. 159 sqq reconstructs the Thasian altar concerned as belonging to the type of fireplace for sacrifices with a door, just as the altar at Amyklai. He can only describe the origin of this type as having its roots "in den Tiefen der hellenischen Urzeit." H. Seyrig l.c. p. 178 sqq thinks that the prohibition of the paean on Thasos and at Amyklai was a later necessity, because the intruder Apollo would otherwise have introduced his paean into the chthonic cults of the nymphs (who, by the way, were indeed honoured with the paean at Miletus- Von Blumenthal *R. E.* XVIII, 2340 sqq) and Hyakinthos. Music, however, appeared to be an authentic element of the Amyclaeen celebration. The word paean is not to be taken merely Apolline, as we saw already; what matters is not the word but its contents, when explaining the avoidance of the choral homage. The playing of the lyre on the H. Triada sarcophagus need not be considered contrary to the incompatibility of funeral rites and music, as it may also be interpreted as an accompaniment to the *Jenseitshoffnungen* and faith in resurrection, preceded by the mourning for the deceased. — Concerning the possible Cretan origin of the paean cf. M. H. Swindler *Cretan elements in Apollo Cults* p. 59 sqq.

Polycrates not unjustly speaks of *πένης* for Hyakinthos, and that therefore a divine figure has put itself in the centre of the complete change from taboo into feasting; thus transferring the entire opposition to the deistic sphere: death and reappearance of the vegetation-god. A confirmation of this dying of Hyakinthos in the Amyclaeen cult can be drawn from the myth which has been woven around his death, probably reaching back in this respect to ancient traditions. Moreover we have the valuable testimony of Pausanias, that the Amyclaeen monument round which the worship of Hyakinthos was centred, was his *tomb*, on which the promise of his rising again had been depicted in the shape of his ascent to heaven¹⁾. Literary evidence of this revival is doubtful²⁾.

Various parts of the program for the *panegyris* of the second day of the Hyakinthia are characteristic for a vegetative ritual of fertility. The bread is dished up in a special form: *βάρακες, φρούκιλλοι*, terms needing technical explanation: obviously they are "Gebildbrot", which is in general use at year-festivals for vegetative deities³⁾. In Greece, for example, special loaves were baked at the Thalysia (*θαλύσιος ἄστος*) and in Delos at the Megalartia (named *ἀχαῖνη*)⁴⁾. Besides loaves and barley-cakes (*μῆζαι*) the *kopis* contained also agrarian products made into broth (*ζωμός*), together with dried figs and beans, fresh beans and green vegetables and lupine (*θέριμος*). The latter category may also have been made into broth or some such course, as is the case in many fertility customs brought together under the name of *panspermia*, such as the Thargelia, Pyanopsia and the similar Thalysia⁵⁾ above mentioned. This would accord with the character of a harvest festival which was to be inferred from the bread-rites. The connexion with agrarian fertility is also clear without a *panspermia*. The menu reminds one of the plain food which Plato (*Polit.* 372 b-c) dishes up for the countrymen. The meal is for common use, conducive to

¹⁾ Paus. III, 19, 3 sq. Cf. M. H. Swindler o.c. p. 39.

²⁾ Nonnos *Dionys.* XIX, 95 sq, narrative how *ἐνχαίτην Ὑάκινθον ἀνεζώρησεν Ἀπόλλων*.

³⁾ R. V. IV, 184 sq (E. Hammerstedt).

⁴⁾ Nilsson *GF* 333 sq, *GgR* 439. See also Athen. XIV, 646 A (in Sparta).

⁵⁾ Cf. E. R. E. V, 805, J. A. Macculloch about the harvest-festival of the Yoruba: "Quantities of vegetable foods are cooked and set out for general use." Gjerstad *ARW* 26, 1928, p. 154 sqq.

the purpose: everyone partakes of the food offered¹⁾, as Polemon explicitly assures²⁾.

The primitiveness which is especially peculiar to agrarian rites³⁾ may justly be taken into account as a conservative factor in the *kopis*. In Rome porridge of peas and beans also belongs to the food of the common people⁴⁾. At the rural Floralia, the festival of the flowering corn, *cicer*, *faba*, *lupinus* were distributed among the people⁵⁾, later on only promised on coupons (*tesserae*) issued on that occasion by candidates for the magistracy. The origin of this method of application is to be found in a panspermia which belonged to the ancient festival of Flora.

The *τωὸς χλωρός* fits in well with the rural menu. The meal is raised to a more festive level by the abundance of victims: goats, of which everyone receives his share and which amply counterbalance the vegetarian dishes: *κρεάς, γαστήρ, φύσκη*. The choosing

¹⁾ The same in the harvest-feasts of primitive peoples, Frazer *G.B.*³ VIII, p. 54 sq and elsewhere.

²⁾ Perhaps the *kopis* owes its name to the circumstance that everyone gets his portion of the ritual foods. Hesychius s.v. *κοπίς· μερίς, δείπνον, μάζα, ἄστος, κρέα, λάχανον ὀμόν, ζωμός, οὔκον, τράχημα, θερός*. The definition is borrowed from Molpis, the word *μερίς* will be a further explanation of the name of the meal. Cf. Suidas *κοπιόδοσιον· τρύφος υ*. This may be read with an ancient correction: *κοπίς· δόσιον τρύφος υ*: a bit of a meal, which is allotted to the partakers. *Kopis* as a denomination taken from the use of the cook's knife *κοπίς* (Pollux I, 33: τὰ δὲ πρὸς θυσίαισιν σιγῆσαι, σφαγίδες, κοπίδες, πελέκεις, ὀβελοί, λίανα, κανᾶ, χέριβες) cleaver, is possible, though strange.

³⁾ Nilsson *GF* 318 sq.

⁴⁾ Horatius *Sat.* I, 6, 114 sq, *Ars Poet.* 249.

⁵⁾ Horatius *Sat.* II, 3, 182 sq:

*in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis
latus ut in circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes . . .*

Persius *Sat.* V, 177 sqq:

*vigila, et cicer ingere large
rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint
aprici meminisse senes.*

The scholiast *ad l.* gives a nice fertility interpretation: *Cicer. Hoc enim in ludis Floralibus inter cetera munera iactabatur, quando terrae ludos colebant, et omnia semina super populum spargebant, ut tellus veluti visceralibus suis placaretur*. So he thinks rather of an analogy with the Greek *καταχθούματα* and *οδλοχίται* than of an eaten panspermia.

On the Floralia Wisowa *R. u. K.* p. 197 sq and Bücheler *Rhein. Mus.* 42, 472.

of the goat as a victim will not only have been induced by the circumstances of the worshippers¹⁾, but also by the character of the ceremony. Goats are often sacrificed at festivals of sowing and reaping²⁾, they are the typical fertility-daemons for the crops of the fields³⁾ and can serve best when a peasant wishes to present the guiding powers with a representative of his trade. Besides the North-European parallels described at great length by Mannhardt, an analogy with the ancient East presents itself, where on Mesopotamian cylinder-seals plants and goats by preference figure together in a vegetative-religious connexion⁴⁾. This is a new trace which might lead us to gods as Tammuz and deserves closer examination. The Greek gods who were mostly honoured with goat-sacrifices may be Dionysos⁵⁾ and Artemis⁶⁾; the desire of fertility extends to all crops, animals and men⁷⁾. The goat genus, it is true, lent itself best for daily use and accordingly became the commonest kind of victims, in which not always the purpose of fructifying need be presumed. We can, however, still assume it for the Hyakinthia⁸⁾.

The entourage in which the rural meal is eaten preserves still other traditions from the old stock of agrarian customs: booths were erected, just as at the Karneia and Tithenidia in Sparta⁹⁾. These constructions, probably improvised from botanic materials, also belong to the inventory of the Thesmophoria¹⁰⁾ and the

¹⁾ J. Harrison *Prolegomena* p. 85.

²⁾ Cf. e.g. Frazer *G.B.*³ VII, p. 281 sqq.

³⁾ Mannhardt *AWFK* p. 143 sqq. Neustadt *De Iove Cretico* p. 41 sqq.

⁴⁾ See e.g. H. Frankfort *Iraq* I, 1, 1934, p. 13 sq.

⁵⁾ Nilsson *GF* p. 41, 2. Other related customs of the Hyakinthia are the ivy-garlands and the pannychides.

⁶⁾ Stengel *Kultusalt.* p. 122 sq; *R. E.* II, 1440.

⁷⁾ Cf. for the latter Iuno Caprotina Wissowa *R. u. K.* p. 184.

⁸⁾ Farnell's interpretation of the goat as a special victim for Apollo depends on the origin of Apollo as a goat-herd. Against which M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements* p. 19 sq with various arguments. It matters little that Apollo is to be recognized as the hunter of the famous goats of Crete (W. Wroth in *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 28 sqq), because we have to see in this a later development of the god, to be discussed afterwards.

⁹⁾ Nilsson *GF* 122 sq, to be distinguished from the tents in which the guests camp, *ibid.* 189, 1. Cf. Frazer ad Paus. I, 18, 1, who does not distinguish them properly. At Sparta also a festival *Ἐπίοικηρα* (Hesychius s.v.).

¹⁰⁾ Nilsson *GF* 318 sq.

Skiercia (at Alea ¹)). They are the inspiring and appropriate surroundings when the powers of vegetation are honoured, as also appears from Roman ²) and Egyptian customs ³).

So the original frugality is kept by, though the rejoicings do not suffer from it. How glad and free from gloom people felt, appears from the invitation addressed to citizens, foreigners and even slaves, to take part in the festivities. It did not suit the seriousness of the first day to invite guests, so much the better after the removal of the prohibitions and the change to a day of feasting and displaying of joy. In the harvest and first-fruit festivals of primitive nations the licentiousness often passes to extravagant orgies ⁴); the next-morning headache of the Hyacinthia-feasters will not have been so bad. Yet especially the entertainment of the slaves recalls "Saturnalian" customs to which harvest-banquets and other festive dates in the agrarian calendar give rise. In Rome the plebeians invited one another to banquets at the Cerialia ⁵). As regards the Saturnalia known from Greek surroundings it is contested to what extent they are agrarian in origin. Partly they will have sprung from bursts of generosity of the harvest-feasters ⁶).

¹) *ibid.* p. 299 sq.

²) Nonae Caprotinae, Neptunalia, festival of Anna Perenna, rural festival in Tibullus II, 1, 23 sq. Cf. Weinstock *R. E.* XVII, 854.

³) For the tabernacles in Egypt in the cult of Osiris see H. Gressmann *The Expositor* 3, 1925, p. 416 sqq (p. 430: "The plant-pavillon is a vegetation-temple.") and R. Kittel *O.L.Z.* XXVII, 1924, No. 7 p. 390, who, however, thinks the practical purpose primary. W. B. Kristensen: "*De loofhut en het loofhutfest in den Egyptischen cultus*" deals at great length with the symbolism of the booth in the worship of vegetation and the dead. "*De loofhut is de natuurlijke woning van den god der vegetatie*", thus of Osiris, Ptah and Geb. Death and resurrection have been brought into connexion with the vegetative earth-life and represented in the "leaf-hut". The god lives in the "leaf-hut", the deified dead man borrows his dwelling. But cf. A. Wiedemann *ARW* 26, 1928, p. 347. In Northern Europe the "Pfungskönig", Queen of May live in the "leaf-hut" (Mannhardt *BK* p. 187, 315, 353 sq). The Jewish Feast of Tabernacles has sprung from a harvest-festival in the autumn after the gathering of the fruits (*ibid.* p. 282).

⁴) e.g. Frazer *G.B.* VIII, p. 62 (Ashantees) p. 66 (Zulus).

⁵) Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* XVIII, 2, 11. Plautus *Men.* 100 sq. Wissowa *R. u. K.* p. 299.

⁶) Saturnalia: Nilsson *GF* 27 sqq (Heraia and Komyria in Caria), p. 35 sqq (Peloria, Kronia, at Cyrene and Phlius), Athen. VI, 263 f at Kydonia, XIV, 639 b in Crete and at Troizen. Nilsson *GgR* p. 482 sq.

As already remarked, the partaking of all available persons, foreigners and slaves included, of the meal has the effect that the blessings of the new harvest can spread unhindered. An analogous phenomenon presents itself at the Pithoigia in Athens, where after the removal of the taboo on the new wine domestic slaves as well as hired servants freely get their share of the gifts of Dionysos¹⁾. On the other hand the prohibition of the eating of unleavened bread was in force for all people, particularly for foreigners too, in Canaan²⁾.

It is obvious that we can also interpret the *κίθησις ἀρχαϊκή* of the *δοχισταί* who according to Polycrates mingle among the singers, as a vegetative rite. In addition to general evidence, such as the occurrence of dances in the harvest-festivals of primitive peoples, examples from Crete³⁾, Italy⁴⁾, and Greece itself⁵⁾ can bear out the connexion of vegetative fertility with dance-ritual, though we need not attach too much importance to the occurrence of dances in the harvest-festivals, where they naturally form part of the exuberant celebrations. Promotion of the growth of the crops is not necessarily their purpose⁶⁾.

The dances of the Hyakinthia were old-fashioned and may since long have belonged to the program of festivities, as noted above. They do not seem to have been offensive, like other fertility-dances, especially in the Laconian Artemis-cult. Polycrates only mentions male dancers; it appeared from the Amyclaeon relief and the allusion of Kallimachos that we may reconstruct a *kalathiskos*-dance, probably performed by girls at the Hyakinthia. The figure on the

¹⁾ Deubner *Att. Feste* p. 93 sq. J. Harrison *Proleg.* p. 33, *Themis* p. 253. The Roman Nonae Caprotinae were also celebrated by free women and bondwomen: Wissowa *R. u. K.* p. 184, Weinstock *R. E.* XVII, 849 sqq.

During the festival Charila at Delphi the basileus serves out bread and pulse to all, foreigners as well as citizens: Plutarch. *Ait. Gr.* 293 d sq.

²⁾ *Exodus* 12, 19.

³⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 14 note 1, moreover the vegetative dance of the Kouretes (Frazer ad Ovid. *Fast.* II, 520, vol. II, p. 425 sqq), the dance in the Minoan tree-cult e.g. GgR Pl. 13, 5, 7, 8.

⁴⁾ Verg. *Georg.* I, 338 sqq in a rural procession in honour of Ceres. Nilsson *GF* p. 114, 1.

⁵⁾ K. Latte *De Saltationibus* p. 78 sqq.

⁶⁾ This is rather to be expected in festivals which are celebrated earlier in the season; but the magic of fertility is not restricted to agrarian vegetation.

relief seems to represent a girl, though other pictures which represent similar dances also show youths who, adorned with the *kalathiskos*, execute elegant dance-steps¹⁾. Sometimes boys and girls take part in the same dance.

Much has been written about this peculiar dance-figure, but the hope that it will give us a concrete indication concerning the cult in which it is performed, is not fulfilled. With the extension of the number of pictures referring to it the possibilities of its performance widened. *Kalathiskos*-dances²⁾ occur in honour of Dionysos³⁾, Artemis⁴⁾, and Karneios⁵⁾. Artemis has special connexions⁶⁾, in the case in question because she is mentioned by Kallimachos, in general in consequence of the glory of the Karyatides and the dance of the *kalathoi* in Lydia near the Gygaean lake⁷⁾. From there, as is frequently supposed, the rite came to Laconia. We may refer to other, partly historical influence on Sparta by Lydia, and to the meaning of reeds in the cult of Kybele and Attis, which is obscure but undeniable⁸⁾. From Laconia the *kalathiskos*-dance reached Southern Italy, where in the neighbourhood of Taranto several vases with pictures referring to it have been found⁹⁾. A crater with volute

¹⁾ e.g. V. Müller *Der Polos* Pl. VI.

²⁾ An enumeration in V. Müller *o.c.* p. 82 sqq. Cf. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926) p. 44 sqq.

³⁾ *Arch. Anz.* 1895, p. 39 sq fig. 16 (Berlin, inv. No. 3326, redfig. crater, girl-dancer). Watzinger ap. Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griech. Vasenmalerei* III, p. 323 sq thinks the crater Boeotian. Perhaps Stephani CR 1869, atlas Pl. VI, 5 (this may also allude to a funeral banquet). Satyr with *kalathiskos* in Bulgaria: *Rev. Ét. Gr.* LII, 1939, p. 153 sq, fig. 14.

⁴⁾ *Röm. Mitt.* XXIV, 1909, p. 119 fig. 6 (Berlin inv. No. 4520, Apulian crater): naked girl-dancer.

⁵⁾ *Rev. Arch.* 1938, II, p. 3 sqq (P. Wuilleumier: *Cratère inédit de Ceglie*).

⁶⁾ Stephani thinks also of Artemis Phakelitis in this connexion because of the gloss of Photius: *φάκελος τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φόρημα*.

⁷⁾ E. Curtius *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, p. 150 sq. Strabo 626. Nilsson *GF* 253 sq supposes them to be real baskets instead of garlands.

⁸⁾ Heping *Attis* p. 147 sq.

In Sparta at the otherwise unknown festival of the Promacheia men wore crowns of reeds, Athen. XV, p. 647 a, Nilsson *GF* 470. Cook *Zeus* III, p. 988 sqq thinks that Alkman introduced the *kalathiskos*-dance into Sparta (p. 1008).

⁹⁾ N. Moon *Papers of the Brit. School at Rome* XI, 1929, p. 30 sqq.

handles in the museum of Taranto is of special importance¹⁾, as it depicts a mixed *kalathiskos*-ballet (besides a scene with Dionysos and one with Perseus), while the *kalathiskoi* are of two different types. A *cippus* bears for inscription: *KAPNEIOS*, thus documenting the occurrence of the dance-figure in question for the Karneia. W u i l l e u m i e r introduces the bronze of the lyre-player from the Amyklaion, who wears a rush-like *kalathiskos*²⁾, and the glosses about the Gymnopaedia, to conclude to a confusion of rites and traditions which he can solve only by calling the Hyakinthia, Gymnopaedia and Karneia three festivals, consecrated to three aspects of the same god. Indeed there are contradictions in the testimonies, but W u i l l e u m i e r's levelling goes too far. The bronze statuette of the lyre-player need not wear the Thyreatic wreath of the Gymnopaedia, but may be adorned with the rushes Artemis twisted in the Amyklaion. It is possible therefore that boy- and girl-dancers have performed the *kalathiskos* in the Amyklaion under the auspices of Artemis, and that this rite had been imported from Asia Minor.

Here we may put an end to the examination of the Hyakinthia for the time being. The convergence of the various customs towards vegetative, partly harvest-ritual can now be compared with the results of the chronological computations which placed the month of Hyakinthios in the period from the end of May till the beginning of August. These data of two different kinds do not clash. In Greece the harvest is gathered in about the end of May or the beginning of June, early therefore in the supposed period. For a harvest-festival in Sparta the month coinciding with Skirophorion will be the utmost limit, while the summer-month of Hekatombaion is too late. Yet it is not justified to make an assignment in the Spartan month-problem on the ground of the evidence furnished by the rites. There may be reasons which caused a shifting of the festive season. The fast- and bread-rites of the Attis-festival cannot easily be brought into line with the season of the celebration (March) either. In an imported festival the climate of the original country

¹⁾ W u i l l e u m i e r *loc.*; Scheurleer *Griekesche Ceramiek* (1936) p. 125 and Pl. 39, 110; A. D. Trendall *Frühitaliotische Vasen* (Leipzig 1938) p. 24 sq, Pl. 24—26. Cf. R. Herbig *Arch. Jahrb.* 1940, 55, p. 58 sqq, who discovers the crown of reeds among the Philistines, supposes that it has been in use in the Orthia-worship, and phantastically makes it into an Illyrian head-dress, to be found back "im ostdeutschen Raum"!

²⁾ *Eph. arch.* 1892, Pl. II. W o l t e r s *Arch. Jahrb.* XI, 1896, p. 7 sqq.

can maintain its effect, so that the Greek harvest-time need not be the standard. Moreover the significance of a harvest-festival may fade on the spot, a process we must doubtless assume for the Hyakinthia, where only rudiments point to the original character. When the primary meaning is worn off in that way, a gradual move of the rites meets with no resistance, say to the month of Hekatombaion, when there is plenty of time available to celebrate a festival, because the days of agricultural anxiety are over then ¹⁾).

It will be possible to choose between the various solutions when new finds of inscriptions will have procured more certainty regarding the arrangement of the Spartan calendar. The relation of Hyakinthos to the harvest-ritual which has been traced is a problem which anyhow asks to be solved. As appeared already from Attis' example, we must examine whether the *peripeteia* from mourning to rejoicing has been combined with the bread-ritual from old, in which case we had to think of a dying and reviving corn-god, or to what extent heterogeneous but similar rites have blended, a process which in itself furnishes an explanation for seasonal anomalies.

To this purpose we may first inquire into the form which Hyakinthos displays in the earliest stages that can be traced, as given by the other sources.

¹⁾ Cf. the Kronia in Hekatombaion. Nilsson GgR 484.

II. HYAKINTHOS AS A DIVINE CHILD.

It is not much what has come down to us as a reminiscence of the earlier idea embodied in Hyakinthos: some fragments of incidental tradition, from which we can only reconstruct an image by hypotheses and comparisons, in the hope that once the spade may bring further information to light, and with the consolation that no doubt figures of greater importance are hidden in still deeper darkness.

The name of the month Hyakinthios, which covers an area from Byzantium to Crete and from Sparta to Rhodos, may be left out for the moment, so long as the origin and the spreading of the god is not yet discussed. The attention may be focussed on the statements which add remarkable details to the mentioning of the god's name; symptoms which suggested the diagnosis: "divine child" to Nilsson. They come from two sides:

1°. At Amyklai the cult centres round the *tomb* of Hyakinthos, who is therefore thought dying. A similar situation occurs at Tarentum, for which Polybius mentions¹⁾ the tomb of Hyakinthos (or, as some people called it, of Apollo Hyakinthos!). Though the testimony from the Spartan colony of Tarentum cannot claim the same old conclusive force as that from Amyklai, yet it stresses the significance of the element of the *grave* in the cult concerned. This transferring of the worship by the colonists to their new residence may have taken place simultaneously with the first expedition, which, moreover, followed the failure of a *Putsch* during the Hyakinthia²⁾. And in their new home too, instead of a proper Greek temple, an un-Greek tomb is the monument of Hyakinthos, which therefore enjoyed complete honours at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century. A pre-Doric tradition at Tarentum is possible as to the previous population³⁾, though hypothetical and almost too accidental⁴⁾. The different localization of

¹⁾ VIII, 30, 28.

²⁾ Strabo VI, 3, 2 (p. 278, 2).

³⁾ Strabo *l.c.* speaks of Cretans by whom the colonists were admitted there. For pre-Greek settlements near Taranto see Schachermeier *Etrusk. Frühgeschichte* p. 69; Fimmen² p. 100; G. Säflund in *Dragma* M. P. Nilsson p. 458 sqq.

⁴⁾ Also in connexion with Apollo's analogous appearance here.

Hyakinthos' tomb of course fits in well with the supposition that he was a god of vegetation, as this dies everywhere and can be mourned for at numerous graves.

2°. Knidos' furnishes the complement for the career of the god. About 200 B.C. a new festival was founded there on account of an epiphany of Artemis Hiakynthotrophos¹⁾, the Hiakynthotrophia. At Kos²⁾ and Delphi³⁾ inscriptions have been found from which it appears that *θεωροί* were sent from there to the festival. The goddess is called Artamis Hiakynthotrophos Epiphanes since her appearance⁴⁾, and will have used this artifice only to breathe new life into her cult, which no doubt descends from much earlier times⁵⁾. For the epithet shows that she was thought of as the nurse of Hyakinthos and therefore took over the care of the youthful god from his mother; a feature belonging to the myth of the divine child: when young it is committed to the care of nymphs or other nature-powers.

Let us assume for the moment that it is correct to bring Hyakinthos into these connexions, relying on his name with the non-Greek suffix for the old age of the tradition. Then it is necessary to look for other traces of the myth and cult of the childgod in the surroundings of Hyakinthos.

In this connexion what has been stated for Amyklai is at once encouraging: the prominent part allotted to the women in the cult, from the Mycenaean idols down to the *ἀρχηὴς καὶ θεωρὸς* of Roman age. Picard speaks already of a mother-goddess, *Terre-mère*, as a Hyakinthotrophos at Amyklai, on account of the finds⁶⁾. It will be more correct to leave the *terre mère* and to resort to more special figures for the *τροφός*. On Bathykles' altar-relief Hyakinthos is accompanied in his ascent to heaven by Polyboia, *Ύακίνθου καθὰ*

¹⁾ For the metathesis *v—i* > *i—v* cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* XXVIII, p. 244, 1. Newton *Discoveries at Halicarnassus* II, p. 746, k.

²⁾ Herzog *Arch. Anz.* 1905, p. 11, No. 3.

³⁾ *Fouilles de Delphes* III, 1, p. 170, No. 308 (on the Cnidian treasury).

⁴⁾ *SGDI* III, 3502, 3512. The festival also in 3501; 3512 (Newton *o.c.* II, p. 745 sq. No. 28, Pl. XC) commends a boy to the goddess, as may be expected in a cult of the Hyakinthotrophos.

⁵⁾ For epiphanies see Picard in *Xenia, Hommage intern. à l'Université de Grèce* p. 67 sqq, especially 78 sq, and in *Ephèse et Claros* p. 362 sq. They are particularly frequent in Asia Minor. Pfister *R. E. Suppl.* IV, 299.

⁶⁾ *L'Acropole* IV, 1929, p. 211.

λέγουσιν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔτι παρθένον¹⁾). According to this statement she is like a female double of Hyakinthos, and *via* this conception we can understand the identification with Kore (a youthful goddess of vegetation who, it is true, does not die, but stays temporarily in the underworld in the Greek manner), quoted by Hesychius as maintained by some authors²⁾). The alternative of Artemis leads to more analogies. In the first place Artemis appeared to be honoured at Knidos as a goddess who has reared Hyakinthos. In general she is the nature-goddess who cares for the fertility of men and animals, and especially for the growing up of young children and animals, as is pointed out by her epithets *κουροτρόφος*³⁾, *φιλομειράξ*⁴⁾, and *παιδοτρόφος*⁵⁾). The clothes of women in childbed are dedicated to Artemis Chitone⁶⁾, an act by which thanks are given and blessings expected for both mothers and children. Even if this function cannot be called Artemis' most important one or is a later acquisition of hers, the result for our argument is the same: Artemis may have occupied a prominent place in the cult of Hyakinthos since long, be it on her own merits, or in consequence of her not merely local succession of a *kourotrophos*-figure.

In the remnants of the tradition about the Amyklaion she appears repeatedly:
 in Kallimachos as staying in the Amyklaion to wreath garlands of rushes⁷⁾;
 in the excavations represented by votive statuettes⁸⁾;
 according to Pausanias as Artemis Leukophryene, the Magnesian goddess, erected as a votive gift by Bathykles⁹⁾;

¹⁾ Paus. III, 19, 4.

²⁾ Πολύβοια· θεός τις· ὑπ' ἐνίων μὲν Ἄρτεμις, ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλων Κόρη. Kerényi ARW 30, 1933, p. 292 sqq (cf. p. 306 in *Nachträge*) wrongly exploits this note to strain the interpretation of the relief. Nor can the Aberdeen reliefs (*AM* 1877, p. 381 sq, No. 197 sq; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Sculpture* A. H. Smith III, I, p. 370 sqq, No. 811 sqq) prove much for Amyklai, because of their undetermined origin. Cf. Wullemier *Rev. Arch.* 35, 1932, 1, p. 59.

³⁾ Diodorus V, 73.

⁴⁾ Paus. VI, 23, 8.

⁵⁾ Paus. IV, 34, 6.

⁶⁾ Schol. Kallim. *Hymn. in Iov.* 77.

⁷⁾ *Aitia* I, 24.

⁸⁾ *AM* 1927, p. 39.

⁹⁾ Paus. III, 18, 9.

on the altar of Hyakinthos in the relief ¹⁾); and as a supporting figure under one of the tripods, put up as a tithe of the booty of the Messenian war ²⁾).

Besides Artemis many other goddesses appear in the Amyklaion, whose functions are to be explained in a similar way, so far as they are not merely given a formal hospitality. For various reasons the nature of the goddesses makes them suitable to be thought of as the attendants of the divine child. The counterparts of Artemis under the tripods are Aphrodite and Kore; Bathykles dedicated not only Artemis but also the Charites after completing the throne. The throne itself was supported by the Charites and Horai; on the altar is a statue of Biris ³⁾, whose meaning has not yet been made out, moreover the goddesses Semele, Ino, Demeter, Kore, the Moirai, Horai, Aphrodite and Athena, the daughters of Thestios, the Muses, and the Horai once again. -

With some good will we can already find allusions to the myth of the divine child brought up by other persons in the reliefs of the throne, though in the abundance of representations not too much abstruseness may be interpreted into any of them. Hermes carries the young Dionysos to heaven ⁴⁾); Peleus takes Achilleus to Cheiron ⁵⁾), a well-known educator to whom also Aristaïos ⁶⁾ is entrusted and in whom the *kourotrophos*-idea takes shape in one of its variants. Picard ⁷⁾ emphasizes the scenes of the relief in which the translation to heaven of various mythical figures is depicted: Paus. III, 18, 10 sqq notes the abduction of Taygete and Alkyone by Poseidon and Zeus, the rape of the Leukippides, how Dionysos is led to the

¹⁾ *ibid.* III, 19, 4.

²⁾ *ibid.* III, 18, 8.

³⁾ Paus. III, 19, 3. She also appears in rock-inscriptions on Thera I.G. XII, 3, 365, near the temple of Apollo Karneios. Her name, if identical to *Flōis*, would be a flowername for a goddess who must have been more than a personification of the flower or the rainbow. Cf. on the form of the name Boisacq *Dictionn. étym.* p. 381 and Hiller von Gaertringen *Klio* 33, 1940, p. 69.

⁴⁾ Paus. III, 18, 11.

⁵⁾ *ibid.* 18, 12.

⁶⁾ Apoll. Rhod. II, 509 sq. Aristaïos has mythical features in common with the divine child, but also appears as a *kourotrophos* himself. Cf. Jeanmaire *Couroi et Courètes* p. 283 sqq, especially 289 sqq.

⁷⁾ *L'Acropole* IV, 1929, p. 219 sq.

gods by Hermes, Herakles by Athena and how Kephalos is carried off by Hemera, as reliefs of the throne; and as for the altar (19, 3 sqq) Semele, Ino, Hyakinthos, Polyboia and Herakles as figures an apotheosis of which is represented or known from elsewhere. "*Tant d'allusions à des Bienheureux déifiés, n'est-ce pas très significatif? Survivances d'idées minoennes sur l'autre vie, restées comme flottantes autour du reliquaire d'Hyakinthos, nouvelles doctrines des religions de salut regreffées sur le fonds pré-hellénique, voilà à quoi ces sujets font penser avec insistance.*" The allusions are significant indeed, and the reliefs of the throne are richer in ascents to heaven than in divine child-mythology. For both, however, we may suppose a late echo of old conceptions floating round the sanctuary. The adornments with which Bathykses provided the grave-altar of Hyakinthos deserve special attention, because there were good reasons to depict the traditions which were still in circulation on it.

Of the loose figures of Biris, Poseidon and Amphitrite the presence of Poseidon surprises by no means in the Laconian surroundings¹). Zeus and Hermes are conversing with each other, Zeus himself a god with a divine child record, Hermes the foster-father and carrier of many childgods²). Close to them are Dionysos, once more a representative of the type in question; Semele the earth, his mother who disappears from his birthmyth; and Ino, the foster-mother who takes over the care for the child Dionysos. On the altar Demeter, Kore and Plouton also figure, derived from the Eleusinian version of the vegetation-myth, in which the maid as the goddess of the crops of the fields stays in the underworld for a part of the year, to rise to the upper world with the corn, and from which the mysteries gathered a doctrine of salvation for the individuals. The Moirai and Horai, Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis follow. Moirai and Horai are fertility-goddesses whom we may think to be "*Muttergestalten*"³), filled with care for the young nature-god. Like Aphrodite the Moirai appear at the birth⁴). That Athena is not out of keeping in this milieu, is proved by her important part in the myth of Erichthonios.

¹) The name of Poseidon in pre-Doric form ΠΟΗΟΙΑΑΝ on a bronze fish from the Amyklaion AM 1927, p. 63; SGDI II, 340.

²) Dionysos, Erichthonios, Ion, Aristaos.

³) Cf. Van der Leeuw *Phänom. der Religion* p. 75. The Horai according to Olen reared Hera, Paus. II, 13, 3.

⁴) Paus. I, 19, 2. Nilsson *GgR* p. 494.

The completing scene, which showed how Herakles too was conveyed to heaven by Athena and other deities, lays stress upon the apotheosis of Hyakinthos¹⁾. The Thestiades²⁾, Muses and Horai mentioned further on will have served as intermediate figures, at the same time extending the list of female beings whose place in the Hyakinthos-cult has meanwhile become clear: they are the mythical attendants and nurses of the young god, a cortège of *κουροτρόφοι*, from the midst of which one can arise as a goddess and then becomes for example the Artemis Hyakinthotrophos, or Polyboia (the "Vielnährende, Nahrungsreiche"³⁾). The name of Polyboia is also given to the sister of Amphiaraios⁴⁾ and the step-mother of Tennes at Tenedos⁵⁾; it is a general title, used by Euphorion as a beneficial epithet of peace⁶⁾ and certainly due to the foster-mother of the divine child⁷⁾.

So in the Polyboia of the Amyclaeon relief we are to recognize

1) Concerning the reliefs of the altar see L. Maltén *ARW* 12, 1909, p. 424 sq.

2) Leda, Hypermestra and Althaia usually pass for the daughters of the Aetolian Thestios. The Laconian Thestios may also be meant here, whose daughters are called Leda, Klytia and Melite (or Melanippe) by Ioann. Antiochen. *FHG* IV, p. 549, frgm. 20.

3) Welcker *Kleine Schriften* I, p. 24 sqq and *Griechische Götterlehre* I, p. 472 sqq.

4) Diodorus IV, 68, 5.

5) Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 124, 304, cf. Pape-Benseler s.v.

6) Wilamowitz *Hermes* LIX, 1924, p. 262 sq, who thought that he detected the Amyclaeon Polyboia, has been refuted by the discovery of a new fragment of Euphorion: P. Maas *Gnomon* 1935, p. 102 sqq. Cf. the *εὐφρονη κουροτρόφος* Hesiod *Erga* 228.

7) It is doubtful whether the further speculations which for example Gruppe attempts with the name of Polyboia, supposing it equivalent to Meliboia or Periboia (as W. F. Otto *Dionysos* p. 189 sqq wrongly calls the Amyclaeon figure) are allowed, though that much is remarkable:

1^o. The foster-mother of Oidipous is called Periboia, her husband Polybos (or Meliboios). In the Sicynian legend Oidipous is cast adrift in a chest (Gruppe p. 124, 521), just as

2^o. Tennes, a late eponymous figure (Halliday *Class. Quart.* XXI, 1927, p. 37 sqq), who will have borrowed these details from Palaimon, the childgod characteristic for Tenedos, together with the step-mother Polyboia (merely a difference in shade with the foster-mother of Hyakinthos) Gruppe p. 124 and 304.

3^o. Meliboia and Amyklas are the surviving Niobids at Argos. She lives on in ancient surroundings (Leto, Hera Antheia) and is artificially associated with

rather a Hyakinthotrophos than a bride of Hyakinthos¹⁾ or a vague heroine²⁾. Why she is supposed to die in her youth, is not quite clear. It is possible that the death of the *trophoi* was an old element of the myth, but it rather looks like a later invention of the *exegetai* who did not know what to make of the meaning of Polyboia. She may have been thought of as the sister of Hyakinthos from old; in folktales of deserted orphans too the sister acts as a nurse³⁾.

We can therefore specify the relation which *W i d e* supposed to have existed between Polyboia and the part of the women in the Hyakinthia. Just as Polyboia, Artemis Hyakinthotrophos and their retinue take up and rear the young god, so in the cult it is the young women who devote themselves especially to his worship and celebrate Hyakinthos with their nightly revels. They might be given the title of Hyakinthotrophoi, and their part reminds us of the Maenads, the *ιθῆραι* who perform the cult of Dionysos in similar ways.

The name of *ιθῆραι* for the worshippers of the divine child meets with an external point of contact in the Laconian festival of the Tithenidia, which received its name from *ιθῆραι* and raises the question whether further traces of the mythology which once surrounded Hyakinthos and other divine children, have survived here. The threads which may connect the Hyakinthia with the Tithenidia can be found⁴⁾. The latter festival is only known to us from Polemon's account of the *kopides*, as quoted by Athenaeus (139 a, b): when the Tithenidia are celebrated they make *kopides* in the town *ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων*, while the nurses take the male children into the country, i.e. to the temple of Artemis Korythalia. This is situated in the neighbourhood of Amyklai⁵⁾, so a connexion with the cult there is possible as regards the topography. Moreover the

Niobe. See Paus. II, 21, 9 and V, 16, 4, according to Telesilla: Apollodorus III, V, 6.

Are the connexions:

Meliboia = Chloris = goddess of vegetation, the sister who cares for Amyklas = the Amyclaeon god? Cf. *infra* p. 102 note 3 for the possibility of Hyakinthia at Argos.

¹⁾ As Frazer *Adonis Attis Osiris* I, p. 316 proposed, in spite of the "roman incestueux" (Picard) it involves.

²⁾ Enmann *Kypros* p. 34 sqq (grave with hair-offerings).

³⁾ Kerényi *Das göttliche Kind* p. 27.

⁴⁾ W. F. Otto *Dionysos* p. 190 sq points out the possibility of the connexion.

⁵⁾ Paus. III, 18, 6 compared with Athen. *l.c.*

fact that *kopides* are celebrated in both festivals points to ritual affinities. For the *kopis* of the Tithenidia ὄρθαγορίσκει = sucking-pigs, and oven-baked bread are expressly mentioned¹⁾. The ritual is here also conducive to the growth of men, animals and crops. Artemis of course again appears as the goddess to the care of whom the young offspring is committed. Her epithet Korythalia should not detract from the importance of the Tithenidia. Κορυθάλη, κορυθαλία or κορυθαλῖς is a fertility-branch like the εἰρεσιώνη, which is beneficial to ephebes and brides. This *korythale* is no doubt of old age. W i d e²⁾ explains the name by splitting it up into *κορFos = κοῦρος and θάλλω, by which one obtains an epithet like κοροτρόφος, worthy of a goddess who protects the young children. Nilsson protested and called this an inversion of the real development³⁾, the may-bough being very old, while the care of the children will have been associated with it later on. If we want to find the Greek etymology of κορυθάλη, we shall also have to take into account the connotation of κόρος = κοῦρος = bough in the explanation, as the *Etym. Magn.* does⁴⁾. The use of the *korythale* as a may-branch proves that the starting-point of this growth-promoting cult is vegetative, lying in the growth of the plants. Probably κορυθάλη is a Greek adaptation of a non-Greek word⁵⁾, in which the Greeks heard a compound expressing the essence of the may-bough and the goddess, and interchanging the two facets characteristic for the Tithenidia: κοῦρος-bough and κοῦρος-boy.

The old parallelism of the growth of men and plants is given utterance here. The phases of the transition from Korythale to Tithenidia are no longer distinguishable; long ago the may-bough will have figured at the beginning of a development which soon introduced the figure of a beneficent goddess whose name was at the same time that of the branch in her cult, just as the boughs carried in honour of Bacchos bore his name⁶⁾. For lack of an

¹⁾ *ἱππίδας ἄριονες* also offered to Zeus Taletitas *I.G.* V, 1, 363, 18 (in conjunction with the vegetative goddesses Auxesia and Damoia).

²⁾ *LK* p. 123 sq.

³⁾ *GF* p. 183 sq.

⁴⁾ Cf. Nilsson *GgR* p. 113.

⁵⁾ P. Chantraine in *Mélanges Glotz* I, p. 165 sqq enumerates a series of words beginning with κορυ- which have no Indo-European cognates, and classes κορυθάλη among them.

⁶⁾ Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 408. Gruppe *G.M.* p. 781, 1418, o. It seems unlikely that this is a late metaphorical use.

etymology for the oldest phase we can only confine ourselves to the acceptance of the situation as taken over by the Greeks. Concerning Amyklai it is probable then, that the Tithenidia, being akin to the Hyakinthia, likewise reach back to Mycenaean traditions, and possibly even affected the same god originally. According to the description of Polemon it is the human children in whose favour the rites are performed; and a divine prototype is not mentioned. Of course the cult of a divine vegetation-child which is reared under the care of a beneficent goddess, gives occasion to practical minds, and not merely to those, of recommending their own children to the protection of that goddess. So far as it is hypothetically known, Nilsson's divine child represents the vegetation of the year, but parallelism with the growing up of the young animals and men may date back from pre-Greek stages, as perhaps has been preserved from old in the hymn of Palaikastro.

So we have to recognize in Artemis Korythalia, who had her temple near the Tiasos, a figure related to the Knidian Hiakynthotrophos, and one which may have been involved of old in the Amyclaeon cult-complex. Hyakinthos is nowhere explicitly brought into connexion with her, though things have come so far that his successor Apollo had to submit to Korythalia as his *τιθήνη*¹⁾, being part of his Amyclaeon inheritance.

The little boys only enjoyed the honour of being taken to the temple of Korythalia by their nurses. That the female children were not left to thrive on their own account, is suggested by Herodotus' narrative about Ariston's third wife²⁾, who, as a child, was taken every day by her nurse to the precinct of Helen at Therapnae to invoke the assistance of the goddess. We have seen that the girls went in *kannathra*-procession to that Mycenaean temple³⁾. A statement of Plutarch says of the *kannathra*: *ἐν οἷς κομίζουσι τὰς παῖδας ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς*⁴⁾, by which the conveying of the little girls in the procession may be meant.

So there have been preserved cult-traditions at Amyklai and its Mycenaean surroundings, especially as regards the part of the women in the celebrations, in which traces of an ancient and borrowed

1) Plutarch *Quaest. symp.* 675 e.

2) VI, 61.

3) Hesychius s.v. *κάνναθρα*.

4) *Ages.* XIX, 5.

world of conceptions may be recognized. Armed with these preliminary data concerning the entourage of Hyakinthos /we shall have to test the curious information which has come down to us from quite another direction: Attica¹⁾.

Unfortunately it has fallen a prey to all kinds of confusion and fancy to combine, and ekes out its life almost exclusively in lexica. Suidas and Photius s.v. *παρθέναι* state that the six daughters of Erechtheus were called so, named from the eldest downwards: Protogeneia, Pandora, Prokris, Kreousa, Oreithyia and Chthonia. Protogeneia and Pandora are said *δοῦναι ἑαυτὰς σφαγήῃν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, στρατιᾶς ἔλθούσης ἐκ Βοιωτίας. ἐσφαγιάσθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰακινθῷ καλουμένῳ πάρῳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν Σφενδορίων. διὸ καὶ οὕτως καλοῦνται παρθέναι Ἰακινθίδες, καθάπερ μαρτυρεῖ Φανόδημος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ Ἀιθίδι, μεμνημένος τῆς τιμῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ Φρόνυχος Μονοτρόπῳ.*

This account with the reliable indication of its sources must contain some elements of truth. Wilamowitz²⁾ brings the topographical indication *ὑπὲρ τῶν Σφενδορίων* into connexion with a gloss elsewhere which explains *Σφενδόνα* as a *τόπος Ἀθήνησι*³⁾, where statues are found, as Wilamowitz supposes of the very Hyakinthides. This would be accidental but adds little to the facts.

So, according to Suidas and Photius, daughters of Erechtheus = Hyakinthides would have enjoyed worship on the hill Hyakinthos, after they had sacrificed themselves on behalf of their country. If we trace back what is further mentioned of the Hyakinthides, we find, on the one side, a tradition which agrees with this⁴⁾, but other sources call them explicitly the daughters of Hyakinthos the Lacedaemonian⁵⁾. One of those daughters bears the name of Lousia,

¹⁾ The double localization of Hyakinthos in Attica and pre-Doric Lacedaemonia is paralleled by Helen's appearance at Therapne and Aphidna. Cf. Nilsson *Myc. Origin Gr. Myth.* p. 170.

²⁾ *G. d. H.* I, p. 106, 1.

³⁾ Bekker *Anecdota* I, p. 202. *Ἀφιδρόματα ἐν ταῖς Σφενδόναϊς ἀφιδρόματα μὲν τὰ ἀγάλματα, Σφενδόνα δὲ τόπος Ἀθήνησι.* Valckenaer's change of Suidas' *Σφενδορίων* into *Σφενδαλέων*, which is defended by Schwartz, Leo and others, is uncertain. (Schwartz: *Erechtheus et Theseus* p. 23, 1: *Nam Σφενδόνα τόπος Ἀθήνησι . . supra quem nullo modo Hyacinthus collis situs esse dici potest* — Why not?) Cf. Wrede *R. E.* III A, 1695, s.v. Sphendale.

⁴⁾ Pseudo-Demosth. *Or.* LX, 27.

⁵⁾ Suidas himself and Harpocration s.v. *Ἰακινθίδες*.

after whom a deme of the Attic phyle Oineis has been named¹). Apollodorus gives this version at greater length in a story which in its outline shows a resemblance with the saga of the Erechtheides. When Minos wages war against the Athenians, and Zeus, at his entreaty, sends them famine and plague, *κατὰ λόγιον Ἀθηναῖοι παλαιὸν τὰς Ὑακίνθου κόρας, Ἀνθηίδα, Αἰγληίδα, Ανταίαν, Ὀρθαίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Γεραίστον τοῦ Κύκλωπος τάφρον κατέσφαξαν. τούτων δὲ ὁ πατήρ Ὑάκινθος ἐλθὼν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος Ἀθήνας κατέχει*²). The treatment of Hyakinthos, who according to this ingenious mythology is an emigrant foreigner, is rather discourteous, though for the rest the narrative gives new details and names. Hyginus says the Spartan Hyakinthos only sacrificed his daughter Antheis for the sake of the Athenians, at the advice of an oracle³). Finally the patriotic sacrifice of the Hyakinthides is also mentioned without any genealogical indications⁴).

It appears from the tale of Apollodorus that the Hyakinthides led an independent existence and did not only occur as a surname of the daughters of Erechtheus. They are mixed up with them in Suidas and Photius, one of the causes of which was the similar saga on both groups, putting an end to their lives by a human sacrifice in hard times. Wilamowitz⁵) argues that the existence of a cult of the Hyakinthides led to the invention of an aetiological legend, as its meaning was no longer understood. An analogous fate is to be assumed for the daughters of Erechtheus, who were also worshipped⁶), though there did not exist an essential reason for their immolation in the legend either. The expiatory human sacrifice in times of distress, failure of crops and plague is a well-known figure in mythology, while an oracle mostly issues the cruel order⁷).

¹) Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ανοβία*, cf. Wilamowitz *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893) II, p. 152, 18.

²) Apollod. III, 15, 8. Meursius reads after Steph. Byz. *Ανοβίαν* instead of *Ανταίαν*; Eitrem *R. E.* IX, 2 conjectures *Lyaia*. The MSS give in addition the name *Ἐνθηίδα*.

³) Fab. 238. (*qui filias suas occiderunt*). In the same breath with Hyakinthos he mentions Erechtheus who sacrifices Chthonia.

⁴) Diodorus XVII, 15, 2. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV, 21, 128.

⁵) *G. d. H.* I, p. 106.

⁶) Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 101, with *νηφάλια σπονδαί*.

⁷) The scheme is limited. Causes giving rise to expiatory sacrifices are drought, famine, failure of the crops, or the ensuring of victory in a war. In the version

Ino even takes advantage of this situation to forge such an oracle¹). At Athens the daughters of Leos too²), sometimes also Kekrops's are said to have been offered, who in their turn are again confused with the daughters of Erechtheus³). "*Von diesen Göttinnen, die einst auf der Erde gewandelt haben sollten, musste man eine heroische Tat erzählen, die sie der Verehrung besonders würdig machen sollte; man wählte dazu das Menschenopfer*"⁴).

If therefore the human sacrifice can be detached as a secondary addition from similar female figures of the myths, a proper reason must be found for their worship. This may be of a different character for the kinds of *Parthenoi* venerated in various regions; in the present case it is important to see which was the sphere of influence of the Hyakinthides, and of the Erechtheides mixed up with them for some reason or other. They may have been kindred beings, or owe their identification largely to mutual vagueness.

The family-tie between the Attic Hyakinthides and the Laconian Hyakinthos does not make a reliable impression⁵). From Amyclaeon surroundings no indications are known for a fatherhood or marriage of Hyakinthos. Rather than giving a new turn to his career, we have to see in the Hyakinthides the female beings who also used to attend to the god elsewhere, when he was committed to the protection of nymphs and nature-powers in his youth. Then the *Ἰακινθίδες* are the Attic group of *Ἰακινθοειδέες*, who have not been concentrated here into one leading figure, nor have moreover been able to enter a glorious career. As the remnants of an earlier cult their

of Apollodorus both causes have accumulated. The victims undergo their fate sometimes voluntarily, sometimes compulsorily. Cf. Nilsson *GgR* p. 371, 375; *GF* p. 11, 228, 460. Rohde *Psyche* I, p. 177 sqq. Frazer ad Apollod. III, XV, 8 (vol. II, p. 118 sq n. 1).

¹) Schol. *Iliad* VII, 86: Athamas should sacrifice Phrixos to ward off the unfruitfulness of the corn.

²) Suidas s.v. *Λεωκόριον*. Here too the legend will have arisen to explain the sanctuary. Cf. F. Schwenn *Menschenopfer* p. 127 sqq. Gruppe *G. M.* II, p. 922.

³) Lobeck *Aglaophamus* I, p. 210 sqq; L. Weber *Klio* 21, 1927, p. 263, 1; Schwartz *Erechtheus et Theseus* p. 36 sq.

⁴) Schwenn *o.c.* p. 132.

⁵) Weber *ARW* 1925, p. 237 unjustly wants to disconnect the Attic and Laconian legends altogether. There exists a fundamental agreement, which has been forgotten, not by anti-Spartan chauvinism, but because of its high age (contra Schwartz's hypothesis *o.c.* p. 33).

name and legend still bear witness of a former occurrence of Hyakinthos in Attica too¹). The fact that they derived their name from the god is quite as well explicable in this way, as when they were genealogically entitled to his name. In the worship of Dionysos, when *τιθήναι* rear the god, the worshippers also bear names as Dionysiades²) and Bacchai. The question whether the Hyakinthides were a mythical projection of the cult-servants, or fully worshipped goddesses, may remain undecided, because either will have been true from the beginning onwards: cult and myth have grown together, the one as the form of expression of the other.

The proper names of the Hyakinthides suit the part allotted to them of nature powers, tending the youthful god of vegetation: Antheis, Aigleis doubtless, Lousia as an epithet of Demeter³), Lytaia and Orthaia remind one of Artemis (Lysaia⁴) and Orthia); though they do not provide us with any further news. What their worship in Attica will have looked like can at most be guessed from the *Ἑακίνθος καλούμενος πάγος* on which Protogeneia and her sister according to Suidas have been immolated. So the sanctuary, if we may use this word, was here also situated on a hill, which presumably was not called Hyakinthos, but also gets this title to explain the surname of the daughters of Erechtheus: Hyakinthides. In the story of the sacrifice of the Hyakinthides themselves this argumentation is superfluous, and accordingly quite another indication of the site of the execution appears here: the tomb of Geraistos, the Cyclop (or son of the Cyclop). As Apollodorus does not add any topographical descriptions it is possible that the *πάγος* in Suidas is identical with the grave mentioned here. At any rate the grave may have had the aspect of a hill.

¹) In Athens another late indication of sacral importance concerning Hyakinthos has been preserved. In an inscription of the Roman age, found on the Akropolis, we read the word Hyakinthion in connexion with the enumeration of various precincts, unfortunately deprived of further description by lacunas. *Eph. arch.* 1884, 170, line 52, (T s o u n t a s), and *I. G.* II², 1035. It is possible that before *Ἑακίνθιον* no full stop should be read, but that the context is: --- *ἔην κατὰ χρῆσιν καὶ τὸν οἰκοδομηθέντα τόπον πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ Ἑακίνθιον* --- A place named *Ἑακίνθιον* not looking like an ordinary altar or temple, is conceivable as a centre of Hyakinthos-worship.

²) In Laconia, Paus. III, 13, 7.

³) At Thelpousa, Paus. VIII, 25, 5-6.

⁴) Gruppe *G. M.* 1268, 9. Neustadt *De Iove Cretico* p. 51.

The appearance of the "Cyclop Geraistos" is a curious feature in this connexion, but his antecedents can be found and take us back to familiar regions. The cult of Poseidon Geraistios on Euboia is well-known¹⁾; Tainaros and Kalauros are said to be brothers of the eponymous Geraistos of Euboia, who have sailed to the Peloponnese²⁾. Gera(i)stios is a month at Kalymna, Kalaureia, Kos, Lacedaemon and Troizen³⁾, in the latter of which a clan of *Geraistiastai* is also mentioned⁴⁾. The Greek etymologies of these names are not convincing, like the connexion with *γέρας* and *γεραίρειν*, adduced by the *Etym. Magn.* to explain lemmata which procure credentials for the Attic Geraistos:

Γεραιστιάδες οὕτω νύμφαι καλοῦνται ἐν Γορτύνη τῆς Κρήτης· ὅτι τὸν Δία τρέφουσαι ἐγείραρον.

Γεραίσιων χωρίον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, παρὰ τὸ γέρας· ὅτι τίμῶν ἐστιν, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὸν Δία σπαργανωθῆναι.

This explains much. In Crete nymphs were worshipped who perhaps derived their title from an un-Greek name Geraistos, in the same way as it happened to the Hyakinthides and Hyakinthos. This Geraistos will be a Minoan heirloom, as appears from his character of a youthful Zeus with attendant nymphs. Here again Arcadia was a match for Crete and had a *Γεραίσιων* of its own, where the divine child had been swathed. But Lesbos too knew a Geraistion⁵⁾; the birth of the god of vegetation takes place everywhere and is celebrated everywhere, as well as his death.

The Geraistiades have not only been preserved from oblivion *via* the lexica. On a votive relief of the 4th century B.C.⁶⁾ which was put up in a sanctuary near the old mouth of the Kephisos the dedication is addressed among other deities (e.g. Hestia, Leto, Artemis Lochia, Eileithyia) to *Γεραισιαῖς νύμφαις γενεθλίας*: the nymphs who, in olden times, bestowed their care on the divine child, have

¹⁾ Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 159.

²⁾ Nilsson *GF* p. 68 sqq., Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ταίναρος*.

³⁾ Bischoff *R.E.* VIII, 1245.

⁴⁾ *BCH* 10, 1886, p. 141, line 13; *I.G.* IV, 757, B 12; *SGDI* III, 3364. Cf. E. Meyer *R.E.* VII A p. 647.

⁵⁾ Sappho fragm. 98 Dieh¹², l. 33.

⁶⁾ *I.G.* II—III², 3, 4547. Cf. Wilamowitz *Hermes* 61, 1926, p. 281; Homolle *Rev. arch.* XI, 1920, 1, p. 5 No. 4; Walter *Eph. arch.* 1937, 97 sqq.

preserved their relation to the new-born and seem to be invoked here as the protectors of the young children¹). Accordingly the relief depicts, how Xenokrateia guides her little son Xeniadēs to Kephisos and other *κουροτρόφοι*-figures.

So in the myth the care of the Geraistiades or *νύμφαι Γεραίσται* is bestowed upon the divine vegetation-child, which on this occasion seems to bear the title of Geraistos. This may be one of many names by which in the cult the child that was reared by the nymphs was indicated. A local restriction of it cannot be determined in view of the scarcity of our information. At any rate it is clear that Geraistos like Hyakinthos covers both Doric and Attic regions. The meaning of the stem of the word is to be explained with the aid of un-Greek layers. Perhaps the Greeks have fashioned the names under the influence of *γέρας* and *γεραίωσις*. The glosses of the *Etymologicum Magnum* only suggest that the Geraistion had something to do with the *σπαργάνωσις* of the Minoan child. The *Γεραίσται νύμφαι γενέθλιαι* may imply in their double title an explanation of the unintelligible first half, so that the words *γεραίσιος* and *γενέθλιος* might be synonyms. Then *Γεραίστιον* would indicate the place of birth, Geraistos the new-born child.

This connexion is perhaps supported by the relations which Poseidon established with some relics of Geraistos. On Euböia he has taken possession of the festival Geraistia²) and the surname Geraistios³). Geraistos is the name of a cape and port on Euböia, the eponymous founder is said to be a son of Zeus⁴). This might point into the right direction, though it is probable that most of the Euböean Geraistos-tradition is a late combination. There is no real proof that the month Geraistios derived its name from Poseidon. The sea-god, however, bears the epithets Genethlios (at Sparta⁵))

¹) Cf. Nilsson GgR p. 230 sq for this function of the nymphs. An archaic relief from the Acropolis (Payne-Young 128, 3; Langlotz-Schuchhardt No. 20) shows Hermes playing the flute to the dancing of three nymphs and a small boy. Whether Erichthonios is meant here or a mortal boy, is not essential: the care of the nymphs comprises both.

²) Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 159.

³) Aristoph. *Equit.* 561; Nilsson *GF* p. 72.

⁴) Steph. Byz. s.v.

⁵) Paus. III, 15, 10, cf. Apollon. Rhod. II, 3; Wide *LK* p. 45; *De sacris Troezeniorum* p. 12 sq.

and Genesios (at Lerna¹⁾), perhaps as a tutelary deity of the families²⁾, or as a god of animal fecundity³⁾. It may be left undecided whether this is an authentic title of Poseidon or a later acquisition. It is remarkable that sacred spots in the territory of Lerna and Troizen are indicated as Genesion and Genethlion respectively⁴⁾, the latter the alleged birthplace of Theseus. An independent use of the notion of a birthplace presumably preceded the annexation to Poseidon Genethlios. In the neighbourhood of Troizen, which knew a Geraistian month and clan⁵⁾, a Geraistion would not be surprising; perhaps a trace of it has been left in the Genethlion of Theseus. When of old Poseidon exercised the protection of the families and clans in his capacity of Genethlios, this might have given rise to the blending with Geraistos-relics as clearly recognizable in Euboia⁶⁾. An original cult-relation of the two figures cannot be found. Pohoidan appears in the Amyklaion, but without mythical connexions⁷⁾. His association with Erichthonios, another divine child, is only due to local circumstances, not to identity or similarity⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Paus. II, 38, 4. Cf. O. Walter *Eph. arch.* 1937, p. 99,2 and Homolle *Rev. arch.* XI, 1920, p. 48 sq.

²⁾ Nilsson *GgR* p. 423.

³⁾ Gruppe *G. M.* 1159.

⁴⁾ Paus. II, 38, 4; II, 32, 9; VIII, 7, 2. Bölte *R. E.* VII, 1133, not to be identified.

⁵⁾ See p. 60 n. 4. Though Troizen has not yielded very ancient remains (Meyer *R. E.* VII A, 620; Nilsson *Myc. Or. Gr. Myth.* p. 166 sqq) its name (cf. Troezene in Caria, Plin. *N.H.* V, 109) and the neighbourhood of Kalaureia allow the existence of old traditions in these regions.

⁶⁾ Along other lines too an external resemblance in appellatives may have given rise to confusion, i.e. if Poseidon is considered the god to whom names as Geren (Steph. Byz. s.v.: κώμη Γερέου, ἀπὸ Γέροντος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος), Gerenia, Gerenios, Geres (Strabo XIV, I, 3, Boeotian colonist of Teos), Gerenichos (*I. G.* VII, 3179) belong. Cf. Gruppe *G. M.* 293, 2, who conjectures a faded Orchoemenian cult-name. It does not seem likely that these names would contain the same stem as Geraistos (cf. Herzog *Koische Forschungen* p. 29, 1 and Nilsson *GF* p. 456), though the similarity may have brought about the joining of the two. In Kos analogously the proper name Gerastiphanes occurs besides Gerontiphanes, in which perhaps the ἄλιος γέρον takes over the place of Gerastos (Sittig *Nomina theophora* p. 75, Paton-Hicks 346, 7).

⁷⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 51.

⁸⁾ Escher *R. E.* VI, 405; Nilsson *GgR* p. 421.

Derived proper names occur on Euboea: Geraistios¹); and Kos: Gerastis, Gerastiphanes, Geraistis²). In Euboea a direct connexion with Poseidon is obvious. For Kos we may rather assume an old tradition, the same which perpetuated the name of the month in various regions.

Tradition gives no clue as to what the festival which gave its title to the month looked like. The Geraistia on Euboea are not described (the scholiast *l.c.* only says that they were celebrated in honour of Poseidon on account of the tempest which once raged there)³). At Troizen in Geraistios an unnamed festival, lasting many days, was kept, in which slaves and citizens gambled together and the slaves were treated by their masters⁴). These may have been Geraistian Saturnalia from old, but the gist of the matter is not mentioned. The place of the month is probably parallel to Attic Mounychion = April/May, for Kos perhaps earlier⁵). For a birth-festival of the divine child this is perhaps not yet early enough in the season, but how the cycle was gone through and by what festivities it was marked, cannot be determined for the present. The occurrence in one calendar of Gerastios and Hyakinthios (as in Sparta and Kos) may point to different high-days in the career of the divine child (birth-death), rather than issuing from a combination of originally independent celebrations into one calendar. For in Attica the Hyakinthides are associated with the tomb of Geraistos, which conjunction of elements suggests that Geraistos and Hyakinthos are only various denominations for the one divine child which was reared by Geraistiades or Hyakinthides. The *tomb* of Geraistos may then also be understood as one of the graves of the vegetation-god, like those of Hyakinthos at Amyklai and Zeus on Crete; unless we

¹) *I. G.* XII, 9, 28.

²) Paton-Hicks 368, V, 48, 54, VII, 65; 387, 24; 388, 6; 10 d 67 (Gerastis); 368, I, 63, 66, 69, II, 30; 346, 7 (Gerastiphanes). *I. G.* XII, 1, 1442, 32. Herzog *Koische Forschungen* 12, 11; 175, 18 and 20.

³) For Geraistos a cult of Artemis *Boloola* is mentioned (Procopius *De bello Goth.* IV, 22, 27) to whom Agamemnon dedicated a stone ship, made by Tynnichos. In other cases the epithet is given to Eileithyia (*Etym. Magn.* and *Etym. Gud.*) and would fit a *τροφός* of the divine child Geraistos well, though the derivation is uncertain (not from *βολαί* = *ᾠδῖνες*, as the *Etym. Magn.* and *Gud.* suppose, perhaps hunting-goddess from *βόλος* = *ἡ διὰ σαγήνης ἄγχα*. *Etym. Gud.*)

⁴) Athen. XIV, p. 639 c. Nilsson *GF* p. 36.

⁵) Bischoff *R. E.* X, 1578 sqq. Cf. M. Giffler *AJA* 1939, p. 445 sq.

wish to consider the grave in the saga of Apollodorus a later element, inserted to provide the human sacrifice with a worthy place of destination. That the celebration of the birth (*c.q.* upbringing) and death of the god is enacted at the same place, is quite conceivable in this cult. The god of vegetation dies annually, and rises annually from the dead; his epiphany may take place at his tomb ¹⁾.

Though it is possible that the Gerairai of the Anthesteria have something to do with the Geraistiades ²⁾, because of their connexion with Dionysos, they are more likely to have an origin of their own as venerable matrons to whom separate sacral functions were allotted, for example at the *τερός γάμος* of Dionysos and the *basilinna*, than to be a kind of nurses of a childgod. In this ritual Dionysos is no longer a child: to the stately Athenian performance the youthful nymphs hardly belong. Moreover the *γερα(ι)ραί* cannot easily be separated from the *γερα(ι)ράδες* who dressed the statue of Athena at Argos and are indicated as *τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν γυναικες* ³⁾. According to Wackernagel *γεραιρά* can be derived as a feminine from *γεραρός*, venerable ⁴⁾.

Finally the assertion that Geraistos, on whose tomb the Hyakinthides were sacrificed, was a Cyclop, asks for an explanation. The reason is rather obscure, but the category of the Cyclopes does not counterbalance the connexions with Minoan conceptions which the proper name suggested, and a reminiscence of which may be the transferring of the sacrifice of the Hyakinthides to the days, when Minos besieged Athens. Cyclopes are *ὠμησθαί* and may for that reason be requisitioned to receive human victims ⁵⁾. Their only further place of worship is their altar in the domain of the childgod Palaimon ⁶⁾, how and why is not described. External factors may have stamped the forgotten Geraistos into an old-fashioned curiosity as a Cyclop, to which finally the Euboean connexion with Poseidon may also have contributed ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. the Idaean cave, where Zeus was born (Kallim. *Hymn.* I, 6), brought up (Diodorus V, 70) and buried (Porphyr. *Vita Pyth.* 17).

²⁾ As Gruppe *G. M.* p. 1151 assumes.

³⁾ Bekker *Anecdota* I, 231, 30.

⁴⁾ *ap.* Deubner *Att. Feste* p. 100, 5.

⁵⁾ Eitrem *R. E.* XI, 2346.

⁶⁾ Paus. II, 2, 1.

⁷⁾ Cf. Gruppe *G. M.* p. 1151.

When thus the Hyakinthides in Attica have appeared to remind us as late remnants of a form of worship borrowed from Crete, and celebrated under various epithets on the mainland, then it is tempting to elucidate the confusions and identifications which have been committed with them with the aid of the ancient principles traced. In addition to the Hyakinthides-Geraistiades, who acted in the Attic version, the Erechtheides and Hyades occupy part of the tradition. If it were sure that these identifications date from late times, it would be superfluous to dig up reasons for them from scattered legends, the chronology of which moreover is by no means certain. A comparison of the names of Hyakinthides and Hyades, for example, may give sufficient cause to confusion in a syncretistic mind¹⁾. But a blending may already be stated for Euripides' days, which may have its cause in earlier layers. Then we may yet look for mythical and cult-affinities.

The human sacrifice appeared to be one of the links which facilitated the process of contamination. But the substratum which lent itself to this purpose has been homogeneous from the beginning. The "daughters of Erechtheus" and the Hyades are youthful female beings, of no exactly limited number, many of which were honoured in Greece under various proper names and general titles such as *παρθένοι*. Sometimes they are brought into connexion with a cult and other figures, which was expressed in a myth and specified the function of the women.

The maidens Protogeneia, Pandora etc. are reputed to descend from Erechtheus-Erichthonios, though it is as improbable here as in the family of Hyakinthos that they have always passed for his daughters. Escher²⁾ ascribes an origin to them as the mythical retinue of Athena, corresponding with the cult-servants such as Errephoroi and Ergastinai. This is right, provided we take Athena in her association with Erechtheus, for he mythically adopted the girls. The earth-born Erichthonios, son of the *ζείδωρος ἄρουρα*, whom Athena reared³⁾, who was buried in her domain⁴⁾, claims a descent from the Minoan divine child⁵⁾. Athena as his nurse is at

¹⁾ That there is really question of an abbreviation of the name will not be admitted to E. Maass *Hermes* 25, 1890, p. 405 sq.

²⁾ *R. E.* VI, 406 sq.

³⁾ *Iliad* B 547 sq, cf. Herodot. VIII, 55; Euripides *Ion* 267. He is honoured with annual sacrifices of bulls and rams cf. J. Harrison *Themis* p. 169.

⁴⁾ Apollod. III, 14, 7.

⁵⁾ Nilsson *MMR* p. 490 sqq, *GgR* p. 294 sq.

the head of a group of Parthenoi on whom the task of upbringing the son of the earth rests. Individual names for these figures are mostly of a later date, as for the Hyakinthides. As the "daughters" of Erechtheus are given Protogeneia, Pandora, Prokris, Kreousa, Chthonia, Oreithyia¹⁾, but also Aglauros, Herse and Pandrosos²⁾, whose function has remained well-known in mythology and whose names stress their task³⁾. These attendants of Erechtheus, who frequently appear as a motive in ancient art, mostly pass for the "daughters" of Kekrops, whose resemblance to Erichthonios-Erechtheus is well-known⁴⁾. Since a genealogical link was sought the fatherhood suited Kekrops better than Erechtheus-Erichthonios, who had first to be brought up by the maidens. About Aglauros and her sisters the same legend with its variants concerning the expiatory sacrifice is told as about Protogeneia and hers⁵⁾.

A conjunction of the *παιδῆναι* of Erichthonios with those of Hyakinthos could therefore be based on so much affinity that we may even think of one original cult to which the different epithets of the divine child were associated. But if the theory of the childgod is right, he may have been worshipped in Attica in various places, so that of course local variants in designation occurred, no doubt also because Greek substitutes and corruptions of Minoan names were made.

A third trace of the many-sided cult of the divine child in Attica might be found in the identification of Hyades and Erechtheides, though the conjectures here outnumber the facts. Euripides in his *Erechtheus* made the three daughters of this king become Hyades⁶⁾. Whether he has worked out a wholly new idea with it or resorted to existing connexions, cannot be inferred from other testimonies⁷⁾. So much can be said that the identification is not arbitrary. In various scholia the Hyades give rise to similar guesses and speculations

¹⁾ Suidas s.v. *παρθέναι*.

²⁾ Schol. Aristid. *Panathen.* (XIII) p. 118, 10 and 118, 20.

³⁾ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀγλαυρή* --- ἀπὸ τῶν αὐξάντων τοῦ: καροῦς ὀνομασμέναι.

⁴⁾ Nilsson *MMR* p. 491 sq: almost his double.

⁵⁾ Schol. Aristid. *l.c.* Agrauros sacrificed by Erechtheus, Herse and Pandrosos voluntarily follow her into death. Philochoros frg. 14 (FHG I, p. 386): Agrauros sacrifices herself by flinging herself from the wall.

⁶⁾ Erg. 357 Nauck² (Schol. Arat. 172).

⁷⁾ Schwartz *o.c.* p. 34 and L. Weber *Klio* 21, 1927, p. 263, 1 assume an innovation of Euripides.

concerning their origin and denomination. They form a constellation of stars, but as mythical figures they are considered nurses of Dionysos¹⁾, bearing appropriate names as Bromie, Kisseis, Thyone, Baccho; or sisters of Hyas²⁾. With the first indication we get on familiar ground: once again a representative of the type of the childgod, reared by the nymphs. This function of the Hyades may be ancient, perhaps early associated with the constellation³⁾. The *υδῆραι* in this case are not called Bacchai after Bacchos, but Hyades after Hyas or Hyes. Hyes is a cultname imported from foreign regions, in use as an epithet for Dionysos⁴⁾, and Zeus⁵⁾. Sabazios is called Hyeus⁶⁾, Semele Hye⁷⁾. The god originally designated by this name may have been the youthful god of vegetation in Dionysiac version, who has penetrated into Greece by the Northern route⁸⁾. His name is also borne by Hyas, the "brother" of the Hyades, of whom mythology only narrates how he meets with a sudden death through a wild boar or a lion⁹⁾, after which his sisters bewail him. These features he shares with Attis, the Oriental dying god; and the rapprochement of the two seems also to be demonstrated in the well-known formula *ἕης ἄτης ἄτης ἕης*. The god Dionysos-Hyes has preserved exotic traces, in contrast with Erichthonios, who may pass for an aboriginal Attic divine child. Nevertheless the former's nurses could be identified with the reputed daughters of Erechtheus, who, on the other hand, seem to have enjoyed a common cult with Dionysos in Attica, with *ρηπάλαι θύοιαι*¹⁰⁾.

The various confusions and identifications therefore are intelligible in so far as they all embroider the same theme. The scheme is as follows:

¹⁾ *Etym. Magn. s.v.* "Υης ("Hydes"); Hygin. *fab.* 192; Ovid. *Fasti* V, 167; Serv. *Aen.* I, 744; schol. *Georg.* I, 138. Cf. Hesych. *s.v.* ἑαστοπος (τὰς Βάρυχας Ὑάδας ἔλεγον).

²⁾ Hyg. *fab.* 248; Ovid *Fasti* V, 170 sqq; Serv. *l.c.*

³⁾ Cf. the Pleiades and their mythology.

⁴⁾ *Etym. Magn. s.v.*

⁵⁾, ⁶⁾, ⁷⁾ Hesych. *s.v.*

⁸⁾ Sturtevant *Language* I, 1925, p. 78 assumes a Lydian god Hyves, because of oral Huvelll — in the month of Huves. Cf. Jongkees *Mnemosyne* VI, 1938, p. 357 sq.

⁹⁾ Hygin. *fab.* 248; Ovid. *Fasti* V, 178; Serv. *ad Aen.* I, 744; *ad Georg.* I, 138; Schol. Σ 486 (killed by a snake when hunting in Lybia).

¹⁰⁾ Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 101, cf. Harrison *Proleg.* 90 sqq.

<i>τιθηναί</i>	Hyakinthides	Geraistiades	"daughters" of Erechtheus (Kekrops)	Hyades
divine child	Hyakinthos	Geraistos	Erechtheus Erichthonios (Kekrops?)	Hyes- Hyas- Dionysos

Of those Hyakinthos, Geraistiades and Hyes are not known from direct tradition in Attica. The regularity of this construction is an objection, as the development will not have followed such a pure scheme. Concerning the Hyades there is some suspicion that they existed already as nymphs of another kind before the resemblance in name with Dionysos Hyes stamped them as his nurses.

Finally some words may be said about the fate that awaited the *Parthenoi* in mythology. They often meet with a tragic death: Hyakinthides and Erechtheides as expiatory victims, the Erechtheides also by throwing themselves in frenzy from the Akropolis, after they had opened the chest of Erichthonios; the Hyades die with grief for the sake of the *katasterismos*, but also plunge in madness into the sea¹). Possibly there lies more behind all these unfortunate deaths than the desire to explain curious rests of a cult. Only the Geraistiades are spared those calamities. The Cretan nymphs who bring up Zeus are not afflicted with such a fate. Perhaps the death of the *τιθηναί* is an element which originated especially in Dionysiac mythology²), so in a later stage of the mythology of the divine child. Ino too is smitten with madness, after she has reared this god, and she too finally plunges into the sea³).

The traces of Hyakinthos from which a cult may be concluded of the divine child type assumed by Nilsson for Minoan times have now almost been exhausted. If the method is allowed, two inscriptions may still be used as vague indications, mentioning the month Hyakinthios in indirect connexion with religious proceedings.

Blinkenberg published a Rhodian cult-regulation in which an offering to Zeus Amalos is described, on the tenth of Hyakinthios⁴). This epithet is not known from elsewhere; if we are allowed

¹) Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* I, 744.

²) Cf. W. F. Otto *Dionysos* p. 190.

³) E.g. Schol. *Lycophr. Alex.* 107.

⁴) *Dragma* M. P. Nilsson p. 96 sqq, No. 1.

to think with the publisher of a "*culte de Zeus enfant*", starting from ἀμαλός = young, tender, then the assumption of links with the name of the month and the festival from which it was borrowed is obvious.

Conclusions based on the correspondence of the Cretan months Velchanios at Knossos and Bakinthios at Lato seem more trustworthy¹). Velchanos is a youthful Cretan "Zeus" with Minoan connexions and vegetative power. His festival Velchania (at Gortyn, Lyttos and Knossos) might have been celebrated in the same season as the Hyakinthia; a new indication for a local differentiation of the divine child-cult. The text of the treaty, concluded at Lato in the month of Hyakinthios, was to be placed there in the temple of Eileithyia, whose prominent position suits the supposed cult of the divine foster-child well.

¹) *BCH* XXIX, 1905, p. 204 sqq. As to the festival Velchania see Nilsson *MMR* p. 479.

III. HYAKINTHOS' RELATIONS.

Now that it has appeared that Hyakinthos has probably been worshipped in olden times as a childgod, left in the charge of a group of nymphs, after his mother had disappeared from the foreground, it is of some importance to ascertain whether the ancient conception of Hyakinthos has been exhausted with this, and what his relations are to other specimens of the genus childgod.

Generally speaking sharp theoretical boundary lines should be drawn, when considering this category, sharper for example than Kerényi does in his remarks on the divine child¹). Of course in practice no rigorous limits can be maintained, but some fundamental criteria have to be laid down. Kerényi examines instances from various regions and asks the question whether the mythical divine child preceded the human orphan or not²). "*Was ist hier Primäres, Märchen oder Mythos?*" This question cannot be answered in general, but the distinction must indeed be applied to the individual cases. The separation of "*Märchen*" and "*Mythos*", however, is not sufficient for an analysis, at least not when Kerényi's method of interpretation is followed. For he sees in the divine child a "*Mythologem*" in which the "*Weltgehalt*" finds its expression, tells something about origin, birth and childhood of the world; and has then touched the depth of depths. Jung comes to his aid from the psychological side, making use of the circumstance that the psychic structure of mankind has expressed itself in analogous forms through the ages, admitting of a distinction of various *archetypes*. His way of defining the archetype "child" is unduly adapted to the psychical development of a modern patient. The complicated backgrounds and conflicts of consciousness which he demonstrates cannot be projected to a far past; for the same reason which makes Kerényi's depth-inquiries disputable: excessive abstraction. The sense they discover in myth and archetype, is a one-sided modern vision of a symbol abstracted from many variants; which yields little profit for a contemplation of a concrete instance from remote antiquity.

1) Kerényi-Jung *Das göttliche Kind* (1940). F. Wotke: *Haft.* in R. E. XVIII, 2428—2435 gives mainly an enumeration of the instances.

2) o.c. p. 27.

The Minoan divine child immediately invites the investigator to draw a more careful distinction between *Märchen* and myth, and to complete it with the subdivision into pure mythology and religious mythology. Of a *Märchen* one expects a tale with motives of frequent occurrence, formed by a playful and natural liveliness of mind and phantasy, inspired by every-day reality. In so far the human abandoned orphan precedes that of the folk-tale, though in the folk-tale it is introduced into an atmosphere which implies a regeneration. It is not a big jump from the folktale to the myth as the career of the god, but it only takes place in a stage, when the gods via the cults have been formed into beings which lend themselves to biographical embellishment. Between the orphan of the folk-tale and the childgod, such as Hyakinthos is supposed to represent, there is a gulf, or rather a difference in level must be stated, which points out the functioning of different psychic organs in the creation of the two figures. When facing a folktale one is a charmed spectator; whereas the religious figure owes its origin to the mighty impression which has overpowered mankind and continues to dominate, as long as the cult actually lives on. This is no question of pastime but of holy compulsion. In the present case the annual revival (and death) of vegetation is the source which creates religion. This close connexion of the idea of a child with awaking nature is intelligible and emotionally acceptable, as well from a symbolic point of view as from the point of view of parallelism (*Miteinanderwuchs*). With every new spring a new cycle starts, a new young life which may be represented by a childgod. Our conception of the new year as a rosy babe who comes to relieve his predecessor on the 1st of January is a bloodless though comparable allegory of the new beginning. Far more pregnant, however, is the religious connexion of a child and the beginnings of vegetation, a symbolic relation which makes the impression of being complete in itself without needing further explanation. The worship which responded in overflowing emotion to the annual rebirth of nature centred in the cult of the divine child, and assumed special forms in it. Meanwhile motives appeared, reminiscent of the folk-tale (on Crete the upbringing of the child by the powers of nature: wild animals and nymphs), which indeed, outside religious connexions, could be annexed to biographic mythology: many hero-sagas¹⁾, the

¹⁾ Nilsson *GgR* p. 297, 7. Usener *Sintflutsagen* p. 110 sq. Cf. E. S.

Greek birthlegend of Zeus. Strictly speaking a degradation of the first type has been effected here: the Cretan Zeus, a childfigure worshipped actually and provided with cult-mythology, has Olympically been levelled down to an episode of the youth of the supreme god, without religious quality, in the later view.

The latter type is represented in Greek mythology by Apollo and Hermes. Their precocity is a feature borrowed from the arsenal of folk-tales, after they had made their reputations as adults. Notably the fabulous stories about Hermes in the first years of his childhood show a primitive delight in the cunning with which an apparently young and weak being overtrumps the world ¹). The childhood of these gods cannot be adduced in a comparative examination of childgods, at most they may betray incidental borrowings from religious terrain.

If comparisons must be made in the same cultural sphere at all, we have to look for childern of whom a cult or cult-remnants can be traced. They are not numerous in Greek mythology, and, so far as they do not turn out to be variants of the Minoan type in question, may serve to bring out the mutual characteristics. Figures as Palaimon, Archemoros, the dolphin-rider of Tarentine and other coins loom up then, the *Ἄνακτες παῖδες* and Dioskouroi, with the additional problem of their plurality ²). It remains to be seen to what extent these figures have exhausted their repertory with their appearance as childern. Archemoros e.g. dies in childhood from a snake-bite ³), Palaimon meets with an equally untimely death, when Ino leaps with him into the sea ⁴). This concludes their career on earth, they die as childern and as childern they are worshipped, both of them with athletic contests. It seems doubtful that this should have been the original form of their legend; only the episode of their youth has probably been kept in remembrance, associated

McCartney *Greek and Roman lore of animal-nursed infants*. Papers of the Michigan Academy IV, 1, 1924, p. 15—42, especially p. 17 sqq.

¹) Cf. Allen-Halliday-Sikes *The Homeric Hymns*², p. 269 and ad *Hymn. in Apoll.* 127, 214.

K. Bielohlawek *ARW* 28, 1930, p. 203 sqq.

M. A. Grant *The childhood of the gods* (*Class. Journ.* XXIV, 1929) p. 585 sqq.

²) Palaimones are also invoked: Kallimachos *Pap. Oxyrh.* 661, col. I. (Hermes of Ainos).

³) Paus. II, 15, 2 sq.

⁴) *Schol. Lyc. Alex.* 107.

with the legend of the foundation of the games, and gradually wandering from the original contents ¹⁾.

The Minoan child in virtue of its very nature as a god of vegetation raises other expectations. The care of the nature-powers and nymphs like the Pandrosides intends to effect a prosperous growing up of the newborn god. The episode in which the birth and rearing of the child are celebrated requires completion by stages in which the result of the annual growth is given expression; when therefore the child has grown up and appears in the prime of life. Moreover the ritual importance of the grave implies that the youthful pupil is out of its swaddling-clothes: the vegetation is not nipped in the

¹⁾ Several points in the traditions about both figures may be adduced as possible indications for a "Minoan" descent. As to Archemoros Rose *Handbook of Greek Myth.* p. 191 stressed the importance of the funeral rites, the predominance of the nurse instead of the mother, and the snake which also elsewhere appears in connexion with the divine child. Hypsipyle, the foster-mother, reoccurs in Lemnian and Dionysiac mythology. Archemoros-Opheltes was worshipped in a grove of cypresses (Paus. *l.c.*), his double name may betray a conjunction of two figures; Opheltes is perhaps a fertility-god, from *ὄφελω* cf. the name of Auxesia.

For Melikertes-Palaimon too the question of the double denomination is to be noticed, corresponding with that of Ino-Leukothea. Here again a *βρέφος-τροφός* relation, perhaps association with harvest-rites (Eitrem *R. E.* XII, 2302 sqq), sacred plants and trees (*σέλινον, πίτυς*), grave-ritual (*θρήνος τελευτικός* Philostr. *Her.* 325, 1; mysteries Aristid. *Εἰς Ποσειδῶνα* 27 and elsewhere), resurrection of the dead boy by cooking in a *λέβης* as a rejuvenating cure (Lesky *R. E.* XV, 514 sqq). Reeds also appear in this mythology of an exposed child: Melikertes' body is found at *Schoinountia* and brought to Corinth by *Donakinos* (Schol. *Lyc. Alex.* 229). Some doubt is allowed whether Melikertes was indeed a honey-cutter; cf. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 136, 4, Melikertes as a surname of Simonides. Honey is a drink for children (the child Zeus), before they drink milk their lips are anointed with honey: Usener *Rb. Mus.* 57, 1902, p. 193; cf. Harrison *Themis* p. 198, fig. 50, where the lips of the divine child Mars are anointed during a rejuvenation through fire.

It is remarkable that these two child-figures are both honoured with agonistic games, a parallel for the contests at the Hyakinthia. We may ask whether a connexion existed between the dying and reviving childgod and the celebration of *agones*. Pelops, to whom the Olympia were consecrated according to some sources, shows kindred traits. Only the Pythia cannot be fitted into this scheme, even if the snake is considered the centre of the worship. Cf. Clem. *Alex. Protr.* II, 34 and Schol. Pind. *Isthm. Hypoth.* 1. For the Minoan connexions of Palaimon see Farnell *Hero Cults* p. 35 sqq, for the *agones* Jeanmaire *Couroi et Courètes* p. 341 sqq and F. M. Cornford *ap. J. Harrison Themis* p. 245 sqq.

bud but dies after having attained to full growth. Theoretically we may construct then a career of the divine child which in the seasons from spring to autumn lives in an accelerated pace through the whole cycle of man's life. These phases are to be recognized indeed in the Eleusinian modification of the divine child: Ploutos, who is represented as a child, a boy and a grey-haired man¹⁾. This parallelism of the two *tempi* of development is an idea applied to the sun in Egypt: as a child he is brought forth by heaven every morning, while in the evening, become grey in one day, he enters the lower world as an old man²⁾. In Vergil's fourth eclogue the divine child-redeemer grows up parallel to the era on which it impresses its influence, and lives through a *magnum aevum*, while its own human *aetas* is here drawn out over a much larger distance³⁾. The Oriental conception created the god whose fate rises and falls with the cycle of nature. The ἐναντιὸς δαίμων in every year of vegetation lives a whole life from child to man or old man. The grey-haired Ploutos perhaps is still derived from mystery-knowledge, allotting a yearly cycle to him. The Olympian Zeus annexed the episode of the youth of the Minoan child without scruples to his own biography, but normalized the tempo and abolished the endless repetition: he remains perpetuated in his grown-up stage⁴⁾. So here the borrowing is restricted to the birth-legend, which, according to Nilsson's investigations, is a typical Minoan element in the conception of the vegetation-god⁵⁾. Death and resurrection also occur among Oriental gods, but the special attention paid to the birth-episode and expressed in the ritual seems to be exclusively Cretan. This conclusion is recommended by the abundance of myths about foundlings and the heterodox treatment of the figure of Zeus in Crete. Tradition is more circumstantial in describing the birth than about the further course of the divine career destined to the grave. In spite of the precariousness of 'all systematization'⁶⁾ we must find out

1) Nilsson *GgR* Pl. 44, 1; 45, 1; 46, 1, 2; 42, 1; p. 296.

2) Erman *Religion der Ägypter* p. 18.

3) Cf. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* p. 44, p. 57. Kerényi *Klio* 29, 1936, p. 24 sq.

4) Save for some relics and archaisms, as the cult of Zeus παῖς at Aigium (Paus. VII, 24, 4), deviating from the current ideal-type.

5) On the divine child Nilsson *MMR* Chapter XVI; *GgR* p. 293 sqq., p. 345 sqq.

6) Nilsson *MMR* 484.

what aspects may be distinguished in the Minoan god of vegetation. For Hyakinthos is looked upon as one of his manifestations, so that a reconstruction of his original figure and his immigration into Hellas can only be given in this broader connexion.

The birth-mythology has been discussed at great length by Nilsson. For want of archaeological testimonies the characteristic Cretan myths serve as the main source. The birth takes place annually with a great flash of fire in the Idaean cave¹). The divine child is indicated as Zeus, analogous versions are circulating of Miletos, and Phylakides and Philandros. With a pre-Greek name it may have been called Geraistos, as we saw already. Traces on the mainland are discovered by Nilsson in Ploutos, Erichthonios, Dionysos, Hyakinthos. Sosipolis of Olympia²) and Zeus Amalos of Rhodos³) may probably be added to the list. The powers of nature which nourish the child are animals as goat, cow, sow, bitch, bees⁴),

¹) Fire belongs to the *Mythologem* of the divine birth, because of its immortalizing (cf. Demeter who treats Demophon with it at Eleusis, Isis the royal infant at Byblos, Thetis Achilleus (Apollod. III, 13, 6), Menerva Mars on an Etrurian cista J. Harrison *Themis* fig. 50) and rejuvenating power (cf. the magic rejuvenation by boiling in a cauldron in the myths of Medea-Pelias, Pelops, Palaimon), Dionysos shares this phenomenon with Zeus, cf. Harrison *Proleg.* 409 sq. The annual flash of fire in the sanctuary of Dionysos in Thrace (Pseudo-Arist. *Mirab. ausc.* 122) is closely connected still with the growth of vegetation, *vide infra*. The Armenian-Iranian divine child Vahagn is born from reeds amidst smoke and flames (H. Gelzer *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.* 48, 1896, p. 104, cf. Kerényi *Göttl. Kind* p. 37). The birth of the divine child at Eleusis too is a mystery, taking place *ὑπὸ πολλῶν πυρῶν* (Hippolytus *Refut.* V, 8). As to fire-rites see also Jeanmaire *Couroi et Courètes* p. 297 sqq., Frazer ad Apollod. vol. II, p. 311 sqq.

²) Cf. *MMR* 503, 2; C. Robert *AM* 1893, p. 37 sqq; Cornford *ap. Harrison Themis* p. 238 sqq. The combination with Eileithyia, the *cornucopiae* and the snake-shape, together with Pindar's expression *Ol. V, 40 Ἰδαίων ἄντρον* plead for Robert's theory. Cf. Farnell *Cults* I, 38.

The Zeus Sosipolis of Magnesia on the Maeander (Nilsson *GF* 23 sqq) is also a yearly vegetation-spirit; the rites of his celebration fit in well with the supposed meaning, and the surroundings of Asia Minor may have preserved ancient traditions. Sopolis at Ephesus (J. Keil *Anatolian Studies pres. to W. H. Buckler* 1939, p. 120 sq No. 3) is bound to be akin to him, though Keil has his doubts. The Kouretes in his entourage are proof enough. He need not be identified with Zeus, for that reason.

³) See p. 68 *supra*. On Crete Zeus bears epithets as *Ἐλαφρός, ἐπιγονίτιος, οὐλίλλιος* (cf. Dionysos *Σκυλλίτης*, also a vegetation-god, Mingazzini *ARW* 23, 1925, p. 61). Aly *Kret. Zeusreligion* p. 472 sqq.

⁴) Svoronos *Eph. arch.* 1893, 1 sqq.

half-way transformed into nymphs in Amaltheia and Melissa ¹⁾, wholly anthropomorphized in Geraistiades, and single figures as Eileithyia ²⁾, Diktyinna ³⁾, perhaps Bolosia ⁴⁾. Crete is the focus of religious divine child-mythology. The folk-tale motives later on eagerly clung to it (the suckling of a foundling by wild animals, the swallowing of the children by Kronos, and their being delivered up again unhurt), but the childgod stands at the beginning of the development ⁵⁾. Yet the monuments of Minoan Crete, so far as they are known to us, are silent about this characteristic figure. Only the M. M. II gem-impression on a clay sealing from the palace at Knossos ⁶⁾ on which a goat or sheep is depicted with a small boy might be interpreted as furnishing evidence. The meaning of the representation, however, is disputed; no connexion between the child and the goat is indicated and the background is enigmatic. Above the goat stretches a lance or arrow, by the side reticulated work. The loose lance has sometimes given rise to an interpretation of the three small figures as hieroglyphics ⁷⁾, but it may also be seen as an allusion to the nature of the child as a youthful hunting-god ⁸⁾. It is difficult to decide whether this seal-impression is connected with any religious conception. In general early Cretan art does not know mythological or cult-scenes. Matz accordingly calls the seal in question nothing but a "ländliche Szene" ⁹⁾. That a scene is meant indeed, and more than a formal grouping of hieroglyphics,

¹⁾ Neustadt *De Iove Cretico*, *passim*.

²⁾ With Sosipolis, at Lato on Crete, p. 69 *supra*.

³⁾ On coins showing the child Zeus and the Kouretes Overbeck *Kunst-myth.* p. 331; Svoronos *Crète* p. 121 sqq., Pl. XXXIII, 23 sq; *B. M. C. Crete* Pl. I, 9. A possible connexion with the Amyklaion *Eph. arch.* 1892, 24 (No. 6, 25 sq).

⁴⁾ See p. 63, note 3 (at Geraistos).

⁵⁾ *MMR* 469.

⁶⁾ Evans *P. o. M.* I, p. 272, p. 515; III, 467; *JHS* 1901 p. 129. Nilsson *GgR* Pl. 26, 6; Matz *Frühkret. Siegel* p. 25 C.

⁷⁾ K. Müller *Arch. Jahrb.* 1915, p. 275. Cf. Evans *Scripta Minoa* I, p. 181, 2 a; lance p. 186, 14; reticulated work p. 140, 85.

⁸⁾ Al Boomcultus in *de Minoische godsdiens* p. 31 sq. The reticulated work of the background might be interpreted then as an indication of hunting-nets. Picard *Les origines du polythéisme hellénique* I, p. 89 calls the "lance" a *main de justice*. Evans' reproduction makes that impression indeed, Evans himself calls it a "spear- or oar-like object".

⁹⁾ *Frühkretische Siegel* p. 115 sq.

might be inferred from the nature of the other seal-impressions of the same hieroglyphic deposit, which give animal pictures in a naturalistic style ¹⁾). For the hieroglyphic value of the signs another seal may be compared ²⁾), on which a sitting little man, a lance and an animal head (goat, or ass?) are represented beside one another, which apparently here mean a word, perhaps the name of a god. Crete was a country of famous goats and hunters. On later coins goat and arrow or spear frequently occur together, thus alluding to the chase, sometimes with a bee on the obverse, which, on the other hand, points to the youth of the Cretan "Zeus" ³⁾). The longitudinal stripes on the arrowhead sometimes return here. For the lack of contact between man and animal on the seal we may therefore also think of a hunter-game relation, but the animal concerned looks too peaceful for that. The parallels indeed compensate the missing action to a certain extent; it remains possible that a youthful hunting-god entered his mythical career as a divine child already in the Middle Minoan II.

Thus the objection raised by Farnell against Nilsson's view of the matter would be removed. Farnell does not credit the child on the seal-impression concerned with any "divine air" and on the lack of a cult of a divine child he bases a distinction between a purely Minoan period and one influenced by the Phrygians, in Cretan religion ⁴⁾). This is likewise hypothetical and will be discussed later on.

The traces of the grown-up Minoan god of vegetation can be found on various seals. He appears as a youth armed with the spear, shield or bow, presumably in his quality of a hunting-god ⁵⁾). Besides Zeus (*ἀγέμετος* ⁶⁾) as Pausanias quotes several images of him), Vel-

¹⁾ Evans *P. o. M.* I, p. 272, fig. 202 a—d.

²⁾ Evans *Scripta Minoa* P 29, p. 115, a.

³⁾ Svoronos *Crète* Pl. XII, 9 sqq (Elyros) goat-head with arrow-head (reverse type—a bee), Hyrtacina Pl. XVIII, 7 sqq, *B. M. C. Crete* XII, 5 (bee on the reverse), Polyrrhenion (Svoronos *Crète* XXV, 33 sq; XXVI, 1 sqq) and elsewhere: Praisos, Tarrha. Cf. Wroth *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 32 sq; Svoronos *Eph. arch.* 1893, p. 153 sqq, *BCH* 1894, 117. Also on a bronze cuirass Kunze *Kretische Bronzereliefs* Pl. 51 C.

⁴⁾ *Cretan influence in Greek religion (Essays in Aegean archaeology presented to Sir A. Evans)* p. 14 sqq.

⁵⁾ Cf. *Al Minoische Boomcultus* p. 24 sqq; Nilsson *MMR* 343 sqq.

⁶⁾ *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Δίχρη*.

chanos is given as his title, at Phaistos among other places, a figure which is connected with a tree-nymph. As μέγιστος κοῦρος he is invoked in the hymn of Palaikastro¹⁾, the leader of a group of vegetation-daemons.

About the circumstances in which the god is thought dying the sources are silent in word and image. His graves are mentioned, but if his death was celebrated and with what ritual is unknown for Crete. Nor does the Minoan god appear as a grey-haired man like Ploutos. It is even improbable that he was imagined to reach a venerable old age, in view of the parallels which may be adduced from elsewhere.

The comparative material is found best by starting from the middle phase of the growing year-god: his figure of a youth, current on the Minoan representations. Also taking into account the death of the god of vegetation, we come of course across Oriental figures as Adonis, Attis, Osiris, who seem to lend themselves for a comparison, and bring along all kinds of features into a complex which makes affinities probable. They, however, share the peculiarity of being associated with the figure of a goddess who overshadows them and whose relation to them is one of the most characteristic elements in eastern mythology: she is in turn mother, sister and bride. The same relation cannot be proved for the Minoan god; so at the very outset important points of difference appear to exist, requiring caution. But the god of the seals and the divine child are also connected with a goddess or a group of nymphs, so that there can still be question of various ramifications departing from one stem. The possibility of comparison is decided by the course of life of the youthful vegetation-gods themselves, which attests backgrounds similar to those supposed for Crete.

The nucleus seems to be the cycle of vegetation. The annual revival of the vegetable world in spring and its rapid decline in autumn or summer, when the season is wearing itself out, finds its religious expression in the worship of a vegetation-god annually reborn in spring and dying in autumn, *i.e.* in this form the Oriental gods present themselves to us, after they have probably gone through a development from a primitive to a somewhat abstracter form. The data concerning the various modifications of this deity are

¹⁾ Nilsson *MMR* 476 sqq; Latte *De salt.* p. 43 sqq; J. Harrison *Themis* p. 1 sqq; Jeanmaire *Couroi et Courètes* p. 427 sqq.

incomplete. So the particulars which have come down to us about the earliest appearing *Tammuz* can only give a fragmentary image of what his cult must have been once. Nevertheless they contain features which must be considered essential to the type we try to recognize. Since the third millennium at least his cult is found in Mesopotamia¹⁾. But the situation existing there at the beginning of history must have succeeded a long preceding development, and even displays already signs of decay²⁾. So even the oldest form of a vegetation-god which can be quoted from the East for the purpose of comparison seems yet to have been imported together with a civilization which reached Mesopotamia from elsewhere. Scholars presume at least that one original form existed³⁾, which in the newly occupied territory differentiated locally and into several cults, just as it happened on a larger scale to Adonis, Attis, Osiris and suchlike. Thus among the Sumerians appear fertility-gods of various denomination, such as Tammuz (*Dumu-zi*), Ningizzida, Ninurta, Ningirsu, Abu, by whom most probably are meant epithets of one commonly received type, special aspects of which were accentuated locally⁴⁾. Hence a combination of various data about these derived forms may be expected to give some explanation concerning the proper nature of the deity originally worshipped by the Sumerians.

"Tammuz" serves us here as a general designation and collective idea. His name describes him as a son (*dumu*), accordingly he is thought accompanied by the mother-goddess Ishtar (likewise embodied in several figures: Inanna, Geshtinanna), but the great goddess also performs the part of his sister, bride and wife⁵⁾. This appears

¹⁾ R. E. IV A, 2147 sq (Preisendanz); Langdon *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 3.

²⁾ Contenau *Le déluge babylonien* p. 148. Zimmern *Der babylonische Gott Tamuz* p. 701 sqq.

³⁾ Frankfort *Cylinder Seals* p. 110 sqq.

⁴⁾ Frankfort *Iraq* I, 1934, p. 13 and 16. Contenau *Déluge* p. 200 sq. Witzel *Tammuzliturgien* p. VI sq.

⁵⁾ E.g. Jeremias *Handbuch altor. Geisteskultur*² p. 333 sqq. Preisendanz *l.c.* 2139 sq. Böhl *Godsdiensten der wereld* I, p. 119 sq. Langdon *o.c.* p. 24 and Ch. II.

Cf. Ishtar with the divine child on terracotta-reliefs Böhl *l.c.* fig. 57 sq; Jeremias *ATAO*¹ p. 673 sqq, fig. 267 sqq and cylinder seals depicting a goddess holding a child on her lap, Frankfort *Cylinder Seals* p. 129 sq, Pl. XXII c.

passim from the texts which have come down to us, many of which seem to contain hymns, sung in accompaniment to Tammuz-ritual, and thus allow a reconstruction of the cult. The chief moments are found in the growing up, dying and reviving of the vegetation-god. Apparently the mourning is stressed, while texts referring to the joyous part of the celebrations, though they are not wanting altogether, yet are so much in the minority that it cannot merely be accidental. The god Tammuz is overpowered, we hear of tempest, waves and flood, on the other hand of heat, waste land, shrivelling of flora and fauna, the god has sunk down, has been carried off, enchained. Funeral music accompanies this stage¹⁾. The part of tempest and flood recalls the periodical rises of the river, which are of so great importance to the fertility of the country, but represents an aspect bound up with local surroundings. This is not the case with the fate of the vegetation and the herds, which everywhere is a cause for concern to the population. Tammuz is intimately related to both, as results from the fact that both cease growing after his disappearance, and begin to flourish again (especially the vegetable world) when the joyous time of his return has come²⁾; cf. Ininna's song of joy about the revival of nature, and Tammuz's reply (in the translation of C. Frank): "*Auf der Erde wegen ihres Krautes meine Freude flackere auf! Frau bin ich, das Kraut wird üppig, die Pauke dröhnt, das Grün wird üppig, die Pauke dröhnt. Das Getreide . . . das Erstarrte wird üppig, das Grün . . . der Ölbaum ergrünt . . . Seitdem das Kraut Rispen trägt . . . seitdem das Getreide Ähren trägt, seitdem der Ölbaum Blüten trägt*"

¹⁾ Tempest Witzel *Tammuzliturgien passim*.

Flood and waves Frank *Kultlieder aus dem Ishtar-Tamuzkreis* II, III, 25.

Heat Frank 10, 158 sqq.

Shrivelling of flora and fauna Frank 10, 72 sqq, Witzel 8 a, Line 27 sq *passim*.

Waste land Frank 11, II, 14.

Sunk down Frank 10, 170 sqq.

Carried off Witzel 42, 20 sqq.

Enchained Frank 11, I, 10.

Funeral music Witzel 12, p. 155 sq; 34, p. 305, 28 sqq.

²⁾ Frank 8, 1 sqq; 10, 72 sqq, nature become rigid. *Ibid.* 11, IV, 9 sqq; 10, 245 sqq (*Mit dem Herrn das Feld erstrahlt*). Zimmermann *Tamuzlieder* p. 242 sqq, *Der babyl. Gott Tamuz* p. 726.

.... seitdem das Grün Dolden trägt ist üppiges Wachstum, meine Schwester, lasst uns darüber jubeln!"¹⁾).

In spite of the comparative scarcity of unequivocal testimonies the relation of the bemoaned and glorified god to vegetable and animal life can be stated more precisely, both with the aid of the traditional hymns, and from the representations on cylinder seals for which a sphere of similar religious conceptions may be assumed. Let us start with the vegetative side of the deity, which beforehand raises interest in view of the possible descendant Hyakinthos. Tammuz is connected with all sorts of plants; in general he passes for "Lord of the verdure"²⁾, "Lord of the great plantations"³⁾ "Man of the trees and herbs"⁴⁾, or his beneficial influence on the growth of dates⁵⁾, corn and beans⁶⁾ is mentioned. His sanctuary is called "green precinct"⁷⁾, or described as a wood of odorous cedars⁸⁾. But in some indications a directer relation is expressed. Tammuz is not only compared to all kinds of trees and plants as tamarisk, tree-top, willow, *gu*-plant⁹⁾, sometimes he is a tree, especially a cedar¹⁰⁾. It is possible that some of the examples quoted are taken from uncertain translations, but the gist of the matter seems reliable enough: Frank e.g. already speaks of a "tree-motive" and "cedar-motive"¹¹⁾. The supposition is obvious that the identity of god and tree was no late symbolism, but the starting-point; so that one may even ask whether the absence of proper names for the Sumerian god of vegetation can be explained in this way, that he first bore the name of the tree he was, and from which he was only detached later on as a vegetative power to receive various epithets. The goddess accompanying him displays the same curious relation to the vege-

1) Frank II, IV, 8 sqq.

2) Witzel 43, p. 351, 14.

3) Witzel 8 a, line 35.

4) Witzel 67, p. 447, 7.

5) Frank 8, 1 sqq.

6) Witzel 24, p. 249, 4.

7) Witzel 36, p. 313, 14.

8) Witzel 17, p. 215, 4.

9) Witzel p. 237, 16 sqq. Zimmern *Tamuzlieder* p. 220, 16 sqq, *Gott Tamuz* p. 725.

10) Frank II, I, 1 sqq. Witzel 12, p. 155, 23 sqq.

11) ad 10, 58 and 10, 140 sq. Cf. Tammuz's birth "near a glossy cedar" Jeremias Roschers *M. L. V*, 52 sqq, *Handbuch altor. Geistesk.* p. 345. Langdon o.c. p. 7 and 10. Zimmern *Tamuzlieder* p. 236, 5.

table world. She is "mit Grün umgeben"¹⁾, is compared to reed, rushes, *sarbatu*-tree, twigs, tamarisk²⁾, but the clue seems to lie in Frank's "Zedern-Ammenmotiv", which occurs in this utterance of Tammuz: "Die geweihte Zeder (von) der hašur-Zeder ist meine strotzende Amme, ja die Zeder."³⁾ The cedar-god has a cedar for mother-nurse, as Adonis is the son of a myrrh-tree. In this stage of dendromorphism no essential difference between god and goddess can be traced. Their development along this way can only have been parallel, until later on the presence of a tree-god and tree-goddess gave rise to the creation of a many-sided relation.

Before discussing the representations which may easily be selected from the great variety of Mesopotamian cylinder seals as referring to these two gods we shall first inquire into their relation to the fauna, which plastic arts inseparably connect with the vegetative symbolism. The situation here is similar: the distance from the animal world may be so large that Tammuz is thought of as the lord of the herds, and so small that a difference cannot be traced. His patronage of the flocks, especially goats and sheep, resulted already from their dependence on his appearance and disappearance, and is often formally expressed in epithets like "herdsman", "shepherd's boy"⁴⁾. But how near the animal world god and goddess are, can be inferred from the names with which they are preferably addressed, not only in comparisons, but also directly: "Mother-sheep—lamb", "goat—kid"⁵⁾, "cow—calf"⁶⁾, "wild cow—

1) Witzel II, Reverse IV, 17.

2) Witzel 28, 121 sqq.

3) Frank 10, 140 sq and 240 sq. Cf. an interesting "poem of contest" between the goat as a representative of Zoroastrian faith and the Assyrian tree, discussed by S. Smith *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution vol. IV, 1926—28, p. 69—76, in which the goat insults the tree by saying: "Am I a self-conceited person like one who is born of a courtesan." (= Ishtar!) *L.c.* p. 75. The divine mother and child are interchangeable with a tree-mother and child. Cf. H. Danthine *Palmier-Dattier* p. 139, 1, and p. 149, 153. The Yakuts know a suckling tree: U. Holmberg *Annales Academiae scientiarum Fennicae* B, XVI, 1922—23, p. 57 sqq.

4) Witzel II, II, 2; II, III, 7; II, V, 16 sq and *passim*. Preisendanz *R. E.* IV A 2140 sq. Baudissin *Adonis* p. 101, 166 sq. Langdon *o.c.* p. 10, 14, 54 sq. Zimmern *Der babyl. Gott Tammuz* p. 706.

5) Witzel 54, p. 397, 16 sqq; No. 71; 20, p. 231, 1 sqq; 45, 43 sqq; 69, p. 455, 6 sqq and *passim*. Frank VI, 29.

6) Witzel 38, 16 sqq; Ishtar 34, p. 305, 40.

wild bull" ¹⁾). In this connexion the milk-offerings must be explained which the god receives according to the texts ²⁾); and originally there must have existed a very close relationship between the gods and these animals. The equalization will also have found its expression in the cult ³⁾), and the question arises how this animal form of the two gods can be reconciled with the vegetative origin stated before, and what may be the genetic or chronological relation of both forms of appearance.

For this we can best resort to the clear language spoken by plastic art concerning the conjunction of both motives. If we look for the oldest representations which may point to a tree-cult, then (in Sumer and Elam) only pictures present themselves on which quadrupeds as sheep, ram, goat, deer and so forth group themselves round the vegetative symbol or are brought into some other connexion with it ⁴⁾). To what extent we may indeed speak here of a religious symbolism and how the conjunction of vegetative and animal symbols has continued through the ages, has especially been investigated by Mrs. Douglas van Buren ⁵⁾). The representations illustrate the conclusions which could already be drawn from the texts. Even before the third millennium, in the Uruk-period (Uruk IV), cylinder seals show scenes containing ceremonies for the promotion of fertility. The symbol of the mother-goddess appears already: a gate-post adorned with a streamer. The implements for the sacrifice are always put up in duplicate, which points to the supposition of a second receiver: the male god. It is dubious whether god and goddess already appear themselves and anthropomorphised ⁶⁾), nor does

¹⁾ Frank I, 10 sqq; Witzel 8 a, 24; 10, 28; 12, 5; 9, V, 7; 48, 1 sqq etc.

²⁾ Witzel 22, p. 243, 7; 62, p. 429; 68, p. 451, 19.

³⁾ Cf. C. W. Vollgraff *Mededeelingen Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Afd. Lett.* 57, A, 1924, p. 28 sq.

⁴⁾ Cf. N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré* etc. p. 36 sqq. H. Danthine *Le palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés* p. 158. L. H. Vincent *Syria* V, 1924, p. 91 sqq (p. 102).

⁵⁾ *Sheep and Corn* (*Orientalia* V, 1936) p. 127—137. *The ear of Corn* (*Analecta Orientalia* 12) p. 327—335. Cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIII, 1939, p. 32—45.

⁶⁾ Mrs Douglas van Buren assumes it for the alabaster vase from Uruk *Arch. f. Or. l.c.* p. 32 sqq. Disputed for the seals of the Uruk-period by Frankfort *Cylinder Seals* p. 22. As to anthropomorphism cf. Vincent *Mélanges Dussaud* I, p. 373—390 (pro), Malten *Arch. Jahrb.* 43, 1928, p. 107.

it matter much, because the nature of the principles worshipped is not expressed in their outward appearance, but in the entourage of the rites: ears of corn, branches, rosettes, palms; rams, sheep, goats, bulls. It is not necessary to divide these symbols rigorously into attributes of the god or the goddess¹⁾. Since plants and animals as yet perform the principal part in this fertility-symbolism, these seals seem to date back from a stage in which the anthropomorphous gods had hardly detached themselves from nature. Anyhow the divine principle manifests itself in bulls and gigantic ears of corn, for example²⁾.

It is possible that these representations have only arisen after a long period of development and must be explained by means of anthropomorphous, though not yet visibly depicted divinities. But if these scenes, in which animals and plants abundantly appear, often reigning supreme on the field, are compared with the later representations of sacral character, then a line of development can be discerned the beginning of which one would like to reconstruct for the past. The god and goddess of vegetation who are pictured for instance on the cylinder seals of Sargonid age signify their connexions with flora and fauna by means of attributes. Tammuz, the "man of trees and plants" holds a branch (ear of corn) in his hand, or shrubs spring from the ground near him; Tammuz, "the herdsman", is characterized by an attendant goat³⁾. The fact that branches and ears sometimes sprout from the head, shoulders, hands and dress of god and goddess, suggests both a way of adorning statues⁴⁾ (as with Dionysos) and a dendromorphous origin. Animals and plants, however, have definitely given way here to the embodiment of the vegetative forces in human shape.

This excursion to the archaeological material informs us that, as regards the relation goat, bull, sheep etc. — tree, plant, it is impossible to make a demarcation line between the two groups of fertility-symbols and to derive the deities from one of the two categories. Without quadrupeds the tree-cult does not seem to have occurred, the cattle as a manifestation of divine virtues was always

¹⁾ Frankfort *o.c.* p. 21, 3.

²⁾ Frankfort *o.c.* pl. V b. See the illustrations Mrs Van Buren *l.c.* H. Danthine *o.c.* p. 107 a series of instances.

³⁾ Frankfort *o.c.* pl. XX. *Iraq* I, 1934, p. 8 sqq. Vegetation-gods with branches H. Danthine *o.c.* Ch. IV, p. 126 sqq.

⁴⁾ Cf. Frankfort *Cyl. Seals* Textfig. 32.

provided with vegetative emblems: it nibbles at or keeps watch over the sacred shrubs. The growth of flocks and crops was one and the same, as appears from an abundance of illustrations¹⁾. The assignment of priority or a higher importance to animals or plants is a rather impossible task, when only the above mentioned sphere of representations is considered²⁾. Any attempt at an explanation naturally remains hypothetical, if we try to analyse the very ancient fertility-symbolism further. Perhaps the vegetative element is the most essential, since it occupies the central position in the heraldic scheme, and serves as food for the animals, while its *numen* (the corn-spirit for example) is often thought to be embodied in quadrupeds³⁾. But we need not endeavour to go further on this way of hypotheses, and penetrate into the genesis proper of the oriental fertility-cult, now that the elements essential to our purpose have been determined.

As to Tammuz and his close relations many things may still be noticed which result directly from his connexions with plants and animals. Thus he receives offerings of grain and fruits⁴⁾, is called "when grown up submerged in the corn"⁵⁾, and carries the plough as an attribute⁶⁾. Milk-offerings were mentioned above⁷⁾; in the Akkadian period a goat-offering is illustrated, in gratitude for the welfare of the flocks⁸⁾. While all this depends largely upon one aspect of the god of vegetation, other spheres of influence too are covered by his various denominations. Here too, as with many fertility-gods, the snake appears in the chthonic inventory. Besides

¹⁾ Cf. Frankfort *Iraq* I, p. 13 sq. Ningirsu, who has a field near Lagash where all kinds of plants flowered, was the son of a goat. Cf. the cult-relief from Assur, e.g. Mrs Douglas van Buren *The flowing vase and the god with streams* (1933) fig. 62, p. 102 sqq.

²⁾ Cf. N. Perrot *o.c.* p. 25. Contenau *Rev. Arch.* XIII, 1939, p. 222 sq.

³⁾ Cf. p. 41 *supra*.

⁴⁾ On the alabaster vase from Uruk, Mrs Douglas van Buren *Arch. f. Orientf.* 1939, XIII, p. 32 sqq. Literary testimony: Witzel No. 55.

⁵⁾ Frank 9, IV, p. 67. This aspect predominates later on in his Syrian worship (*Supra* p. 36). Zimmern *Babyl. Tamuzlieder* p. 208, B. 21 sq, cf. p. 214; *Der babyl. Gott Tamuz* p. 727 sq.

⁶⁾ Frankfort *Cyl. Seals* pl. XX, d.

⁷⁾ Presumably also on the vase from Uruk, in the bowls which are carried to the main scene, Mrs. Douglas van Buren *l.c.*

⁸⁾ Mrs. Douglas van Buren *Orientalia* V, 1936, fig. 1. Frankfort *Cyl. Seals* pl. XX b.

prehistoric idols seals also illustrate the connexion ¹⁾, likewise passing from the animals themselves to the anthropomorphous Ningizzida, to whom snakes are given as attributes, but who in the intermediate stages appears as a Kekrops Thallophoros ²⁾, or with snakes projecting from his dress ³⁾. His influence on the vegetation is often clearly indicated. The martial hunter-aspect is embodied in Ninurta, a Herakles-like figure with bow and lion's skin, also characterized with plants and a goat ⁴⁾. Perhaps the lion-headed eagle belongs to him as a symbol ⁵⁾.

The sphere of influence of this god has now been explored to some extent. His adventures and the part of the goddess in them have been discussed; with the aid of the seals some details can be added to them. After his death the god seems to dwell in a mountain-grave, over which his mother keeps guard ⁶⁾. He is released from the lower world by the goddess with the assistance of the "Herakles"-figure, while a hostile god in his turn attacks the vegetation ⁷⁾. Many of these features were adopted later on by the figure of the sungod ⁸⁾. The happy ending of the sojourn in the lower world is crowned by the *ιερός γάμος*, which is not only mentioned for the Marduk-ceremonies in the first millennium, but also for the days of Gudea, and is then celebrated by Tammuz and the great goddess ⁹⁾. In early dynastic times the seals already allude to it ¹⁰⁾.

A motive which reappears in the mythology of various divine children and succeeded in maintaining its mysterious power in later days as a *cista mystica* seems to be hinted at with the words, that

¹⁾ Frankfort *Iraq* I, p. 8 sqq, *Cyl. Seals* p. 119 sqq.

²⁾ W. H. Ward *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910) fig. 362. Cf. Frankfort *Cyl. Seals* Pl. XXI, b, f.

³⁾ Frankfort Textfig. 35.

⁴⁾ Frankfort p. 107, pl. XX and p. 115. H. Danthine *o.c.* p. 127.

⁵⁾ Frankfort p. 17.

⁶⁾ Frankfort pl. XX g.

⁷⁾ Frankfort p. 106 sqq, 116 sqq. The "mountain" is represented by a bent tree, cf. H. Danthine p. 63, note and p. 121 sq; but its form points to a kind of hiding-place. The god emerges from the tree, see *Encyclop. phot. de Part* 13, (II, 3), fig. 42, p. 73.

⁸⁾ Frankfort p. 96 sq.

⁹⁾ Frankfort p. 97. Gudea Cylinder B (*The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* ed. G. A. Barton p. 237 sqq).

¹⁰⁾ Frankfort p. 77.

Tammuz "as a child lies in a sinking ship" ¹⁾). This may refer to his having been exposed as a foundling and recalls the adventures of Osiris and Adonis, to be discussed later on. It is the river then which inspired ritual and mythology in Mesopotamia and Egypt, as could already be presumed from the flood-liturgies. Cylinders also show a "vegetative" boat, the function of which is not quite clear ²⁾), we may think of an epiphany from the river after the period of disappearance.

Finally the season of the Tammuz-celebrations is of some importance. Since the mourning appeared to be the gist of the cult, we expect at any rate rites accompanying the decay of vegetation. The annual death implies a resurrection, the promise of which may have given rise to the conclusion of the mournful rites with a joyous expectation of revival, possibly spread over ceremonies of some days, while the revival may also have been celebrated separately in spring. The month of the Tammuz-festival in Babylonia since the days of Sargon corresponds to June-July, which fits in with the decease of the vegetable world in summer ³⁾); but at Lagash his month is November, at Umma March ⁴⁾). So various phases have been celebrated or the festivals have soon shifted, perhaps influenced by other than vegetative factors.

These traces of a vegetation-cult in the ancient near East and its relations to the animal fecundity have been discussed at some length, because they may represent the purest form of the substratum we try to find, and show starting-points for all sorts of peculiarities in the cults of neighbouring and related figures, among which are hidden ones like Hyakinthos, but also many who have acquired more renown than the Sumerian predecessor.

Tammuz's relation to *Adonis*, who extended his power to Phoenicia, Cyprus and Greece, has not yet been cleared up, but suggests a common origin ⁵⁾). In the course of their locally different develop-

¹⁾ Frank 9, verso IV, 13. See Jeremias *Roschers M.L. V*, 52 sqq. *Handbuch der altor. Geistesg.* p. 345. Zimmern *Der babyl. Gott Tamuz* p. 727 sq.

²⁾ E. Douglas van Buren *Arch. f. Orientf. l.c.* p. 37; Frankfort o.c. Pl. III d, e.

³⁾ Baudissin *Adonis* p. 100; Jeremias *Handbuch* p. 344; Langdon o.c. p. 9; Zimmern *Der babyl. Gott Tamuz* p. 731.

⁴⁾ Preisendanz *R.E. IV A*, 2144.

⁵⁾ Preisendanz *R.E. IV A* 2147 sq; Baudissin o.c. p. 368, 382 sqq.

ments interaction may still have occurred. Since the third century A. D. the authors identify them again¹⁾. Certain resemblances with the Minoan tree-cult shown by the cult of Adonis tempted Evans to some forced interpretations of seal-pictures, though their existence must be acknowledged²⁾. A comparative study of Al³⁾ reviews the analogies in cult and myth of Adonis and the god of the Minoan tree-cult, stressing the important points of contact. The traditions concerning Adonis are later, more abundant and confused than those about Tammuz, so they offer more chances not only of striking parallels but also of uncorrect conclusions.

His descent is uncertain, probably he has been inherited by the Phoenicians from other peoples⁴⁾. He is inseparably connected with the goddess (Aphrodite-Astarte), the way in which he is loved by her (*ισθός γάμος* at Alexandria⁵⁾) cautions once more against excessive levelling with the Minoan god. But the fundamental idea of the waving line of vegetation here as with Tammuz forms the most typical feature. The festival of resurrection is sometimes thought to be a later addition to his cult⁶⁾, but it is inseparable from the annual death and at most the celebrations may have paid less attention to it. The *peripeteia*, which was also found to be characteristic for the Hyakinthia, is sharply indicated by Lucianus: *πρῶτα μὲν καταγίζουσι τῷ Ἀδάωνιδι ὄκως ἐόντι νέκνῳ, μετὰ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ζῶειν τὲ μιν μυθολογέουσι καὶ ἐς τὸν ἥερα πέμπουσι κτλ*⁷⁾.

Here the concentration of mourning and rejoicings into one festival is clearly expressed⁸⁾. This happened best in the season of the death of the vegetation-god. Accordingly the month of June-July

¹⁾ Baudissin o.c. p. 94 sqq.

²⁾ Nilsson GgR 690.

³⁾ *Min. Boomcultus* p. 46 sqq.

⁴⁾ Al o.c. p. 47, Baudissin o.c. p. 368 sqq.

⁵⁾ Frazer G.B.³ V, 11 sqq; Baudissin p. 180 sq.

⁶⁾ Al o.c. p. 50 sq; Baudissin p. 133 sqq rightly reduces the question to a difference in accentuation. Cf. K. Pruemm on Adonis *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 1934, 58, p. 475 sqq.

⁷⁾ *De dea Syria* 6, the continuation about the shaving of the hairs can be interpreted as fertility-magic with Clemen *Der alte Orient* 37, 3, (1938) p. 32 sq.

⁸⁾ Cf. Baudissin o.c. p. 137 and H. Zimmermann on the Babylonian New Year's festival, where Marduk appears as a Tammuz-like suffering and released god: "Statt im Verlauf von Monaten kann sich im Mythos dieser Vorgang auch in kürzerer Frist, etwa im Verlauf von nur drei Tagen abspielen." *Der alte Orient* 25, 3², p. 14.

has the largest claim of being the time of celebration. This explains the fact that the resurrection is less stressed, while the withering of the vegetable world through the summersun suits the supposed connexion as a natural cause. Allusions to rites in spring and autumn may yet be perceived¹); this agrees with the varying place of the Tammuz-festival and offers some consolation for the uncertainty which surrounds the month Hyakinthios: such vegetative ceremonies can settle on different moments of the season, which procedure impresses its influence on the rites.

Adonis seems to have been more exclusively vegetative and less manly than Tammuz²). His connexions with the flora are also expressed in his mythical entourage. He is born from a myrrh-tree³), a relation almost as direct as the "Zedern-Ammenmotiv" of Tammuz. The interpretation of Adonis as the god of the ripe crops is mainly a philosophical explanation⁴).

The Greek Adonis-mythology knows him in later days as a foundling on whom nymphs bestow their cares⁵). Older perhaps is the motive according to which Aphrodite hides him *ἐν κήπιον* in a chest (*λάγναξ*) without the knowledge of the gods, and commits him to the charge of Persephone⁶). The chest-motive (*Truhenmotiv*) is old and wide-spread⁷), and need not have special significance; though it may date back from a common influence that it has attached itself to the myths of Adonis, Tammuz and Osiris. Tammuz and Osiris float in their chest on the waves, a variant re-

¹) Al o.c. p. 74 note 56; Nilsson GgR 689, 3; Baudissin o.c. p. 121—133; Mannhardt AWFK p. 277, 282 sq. For an illustration of the Adonis-rites on Cyprus see the Ormidhia-vase, Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros, Textband* p. 99, fig. 134, Perrot-Chipiez III, p. 711, fig. 523.

²) Baudissin p. 355 sq.

³) The tale of Myrrha and her father is of course secondary, though it may be of ancient origin itself. — The dead Osiris-Adonis also hides in a tree. Plutarch *Is. et Osir.* 357 a sqq. Baudissin p. 174. M. Guarducci *Atti della R. Accademia Naz. dei Lincei Serie 6a, II, 1926*, p. 401 sqq.

⁴) Nilsson GF 387, Baudissin 161 sqq, Mannhardt AWFK 281.

⁵) Al o.c. p. 58.

⁶) Apollod. III, 14, 4.

⁷) Baudissin o.c. p. 365. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 1171, 1. The old age appears for instance from the chest of Sargon, who was saved in the Euphrates. Baudissin p. 367, 6.

Jeremias *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*⁴ p. 400 sqq. Stith Thompson *Motif-index of folk-literature* S 141, S 331.

appearing in the mythology of Dionysos¹), and thus reinforcing the surmise of the high date of the combination, as here again a divine child is the principal person in the story. The result of the "exposure in the chest" agrees at any rate with the characteristics of the Minoan child; after the birth the mother disappears from the legend and the child is abandoned to other powers. The women figuring with the chest are not always the mothers. It is the sister of Moses who watches over the fate of the foundling. Aphrodite need not take the tree-born Adonis to Persephone in her capacity of mother.

In the myth of Adonis the cast is not clear because it is crossed by the symbolism of the vegetation which spends a part of the year in the lower world with Persephone²). In the Greek offshoots of the divine child-complex the motive has unequivocally come down to us for Erichthonios. Athena, his foster-mother, entrusts him to the Aglaurids; the chest remains on dry land here and is already surrounded with the uncanny sphere which really envelops it in the mysteries³). For Crete no traces of this version can be found. Probably the two ways in which the divine child is abandoned by its mother have not been combined there: the exposure until animals take pity on it and nurse it; and the putting of a chest in the water till human aid turns up⁴). They may reflect different ritual or social practices, and also give an indication for the course of the connecting lines to be traced.

¹) E.g. at Brasiai in Laconia Paus. III, 24, 3 sq, cf. *Wide LK* p. 163 sq. Hypsipyle, who at Nemea appears as the foster-mother of the (perhaps Minoan) child Archemoros, also commits the Dionysiac Thoas in a *larnax* to the waves. Apollon. Rhod. I, 620 sqq. Tennes too suffers this fate, perhaps as an inheritance from Palaimon. *Gruppe Gr. Myth.* p. 304, cf. p. 52, n. 6 *supra*.

²) There may also have occurred confusion between the foundling-instrument *larnax* and agrarian utensils with religious meaning as the winnowing-fan.

³) The catastrophic effect of the opening of the chest also occurs in the mythology of Dionysos: Paus. VII, 19, 6 sq (Eurypylos); and at the opening of the *κίστη μητροῦς Πέας* by Demophon, who got it from Phyllis (Apollod. *Epitome* VI, 16 sq).

⁴) The drifting ashore of the dead Palaimon-Melikertes on the Isthmus in this connexion strikes us almost as a failure of an exposure in a chest, though it is doubtful whether the myth owes its origin to such a caprice of fancy only. Cf. J. Harrison *Themis* p. 22, who in the myths of Atreus and Thyestes, Demeter and Demophon speaks of the resurrection being obscured by the dramatic element. — A distinction between the two types of exposure is also made by I. Harrie *ARW* 1925, 28, p. 369 sqq, who reconstructs an analogous legend for the cave near Bethlehem (where the Adonis-cult alternates with the Christian).

The way in which Adonis meets his sudden fate is of less importance here than the fact that his life is mercilessly broken off in the prime of youth. This feature reappears in the mythology of Hyakinthos and characterizes a series of related figures such as Attis, Hylas, Linos, and Narkissos. For an explanation of the various motives which gave rise to their abrupt dying we can only refer to combinations formed outside the cult. The death of the god of vegetation in the season of summer or autumn has itself been a religious experience, which only had to be symbolized in the time when a myth was woven round an anthropomorphous deity. The death of Adonis is most clearly expressed by the ritual of the *Ἀδωνίδος κήποι*, which give an intensified representation of the miraculous growth and the cruel ending of the vegetable world. When Adonis meets his fate, he is still in the prime of his years: the plant-raiment of the earth suddenly shrivels under the too powerful heat and drought. He does not attain a ripe old age like Ploutos; the Eleusinian god may owe this to his agrarian meaning: the fruits of the field do make the impression that they have lived their lives out, when the crops can be gathered in.

Besides Tammuz and Adonis other figures appear in the ancient East, which can claim more or less close affinities. *Osiris*¹⁾, though he shows much similarity in fundamental conceptions, has yet apparently developed more independently. He is annually reborn, possesses many graves too, is especially concerned with corn-growing, and gives his worshippers rise to lamentations for his death and resurrection-festivals²⁾. Probably the resemblances to Asia reach back to ancient connexions, which, besides, in later times had not broken off: between Egypt and Byblos mutual influences existed, Adonis and Osiris were both identified with Dionysos³⁾. Whether

¹⁾ Baudissin *o.c.* p. 185 sqq; Gressmann *Die orient. Religionen im hell.-röm. Zeitalter* p. 23 sqq; Erman *Religion der Ägypter* p. 40 sqq; Frazer *G. B.* VI.

²⁾ It is disputed to what extent the Djed-pillar was a vegetative Osiris-symbol. Cf. Schäfer *Studies presented to Griffith* p. 424 sqq; Sethe *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Äg.* p. 16; Kees *Götterglaube* p. 95 sqq (independent of Osiris); E. d. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums*^v I, 2, p. 76. At any rate the ceremonial of re-erecting the pole was realized to be appropriate to Osiris. Erman *Rel. der Äg.* p. 42.

³⁾ Baudissin 185 sqq; Breasted *The dawn of conscience* p. 95 sqq. Cf. also the tree-god Khay-Tau of Byblos. P. Montet *Syria* IV, 1923, p. 181—192, *id.* *Byblos et l'Égypte* (1928) p. 288 sq.

Osiris has indeed originally been a king, cannot detract much from the religious meaning of the vegetation-god, which can be recognized in his figure¹). From a general point of view one might suppose that he only obtained his royal rank after the vegetative symbolism had been applied to human life.

The child-aspect of the vegetation-god is represented in Egypt for instance by the popular Harpocrates, who liberally adopts all sorts of elements and reminds us of Ploutos by his *cornucopiae* and ageing²).

It is less hazardous to compare *Attis* with the supposed West Asiatic complex of conceptions. His rites were already referred to in the discussion of the *Hyakinthia*. It is especially the obvious reversal in the ritual that concerns us here, as it again joins death and resurrection as its main features. Yet the season once more appears to differ: the festival of *Attis* at Rome and in Phrygia took place in spring. Though in the mournful part proceedings are passionate enough, the resurrection of the god seems to have been emphasized most: the *Hilaria* are exuberantly celebrated. According to *Baudissin* this difference in accent is due to the more northerly regions to which *Attis* belongs³). It is again a proof of the modifications to which the presumed substratum was submitted in its later development among different peoples.

The cult of *Attis* is strongly overshadowed by that of the accompanying goddess, the great mother, and orgiastic elements have penetrated into it which elsewhere do not seem to go with the entourage of the dying god (e.g. the self-mutilation). Moreover the *Korybant*es appear here in the mythical apparatus, a feature only paralleled by the *Kouretes* of the Cretan divine child. Death overtakes *Attis* also in the prime of his years⁴), he dies under a pine-tree and is buried at *Pessinus*⁵). The fact that this tree represents

1) His kingship is defended by *Kees Götterglaube* p. 111 sq. Against the historical explanation e.g. *K. Pruemm o.c.* p. 480 sqq. A similar process inserted *Tammuz* and other gods into the lists of Sumerian kings. See e.g. the chronological tablets *Barton o.c.* p. 341, 347, 349.

2) *Ermann Rel. der Äg.* p. 392 sq, fig. 165.

3) *o.c.* p. 370 sq.

4) He dies, wounded by a boar, or as a result of his castration. *Hepding Attis* p. 121 assumes the former to be the Lydian legend, the latter Phrygian.

5) *Paus.* I, 4, 5.

the god in the ritual points out the priority of the tree-cult¹⁾. His power is thought to extend over the agrarian vegetation, as appeared from the fasting-rites²⁾. In the birth-mythology it is an almond-tree from which Attis is indirectly born³⁾, when Nana culls one of its fruits and puts it into her bosom. The child is exposed, but tended by a he-goat. Sometimes the exposure takes place at the river Gallos, to which perhaps the preliminary Roman rite of the Cannophori alludes⁴⁾.

The prominent figures from the ancient near East have now passed in review. Their series can be completed with minor gods the adventures of whom show unmistakable resemblances in the main features, such as Eshmun, minutely compared with Adonis and Tammuz by Baudissin⁵⁾; the Hittite Telepinus⁶⁾; Aleyan-Ba'al of Ras-Shamra, who is especially a rain-bringing dying and reviving god, and when killed hunting, is searched by his sister-consort 'Anat⁷⁾, and others. Many details concerning the original forms in which they have presented themselves will possibly be brought to light by future excavations. Even without further information the hypothesis of a common underlying stratum repeatedly recommends itself, the origin of which apparently must be found among a people which has spread ethnical and religious influences in its surroundings, so that the offshoots reached Greece and Egypt.

¹⁾ Cf. Frazer *G. B.*³ V, p. 277 sqq.

²⁾ His connexion with the thriving of the fields appears from the offering of a six years old bull for the benefit of the fields in the mountains on the 15th of March. Hepding *Attis* p. 147 sq.

³⁾ Paus. VII, 17, 11. Hepding *Attis* p. 106 sq. Cf. the flower which, according to Ovid, Flora gives to Iuno, and from which Mars was born (*Fasti* V, 251 sqq).

⁴⁾ Julianus *Or.* 5, p. 165 b, 180 a; Sallustius *De dis et mundo* cap. IV. Decharme connects the reeds with the exposure on the banks of the river, Hepding *Attis* p. 149. It will only loosely be related with the reed-birth preferred by divine children, Kerényi *Das göttliche Kind* p. 37.

⁵⁾ *O.c.* p. 345 sqq, 372 sqq.

⁶⁾ G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* p. 40 sq, 82 sqq.

⁷⁾ J. de Groot *De godsdiensten der wereld* I² p. 264 sqq; T. H. Gaster *Iraq VI*, 1939, p. 109 sqq. In this mythology the dying and reviving god has been combined with the battle of seasons, hence the enemy Mot. Aleyan Baal is called for instance "Lord of green things". The comparisons Gaster makes with Dionysos and Artemis are often strained in details. — For his death when hunting cf. Virolleaud *Syria XVI*, 1935, p. 247 sqq.

The hypothetical ancestor of Tammuz, Adonis, Attis, Osiris and the others will have shown something like this character, combined from the traits which frequently made their appearance in his modifications:

A year-god (*ἐνιαυτός δαίμων*) whose sphere of influence is young nature beginning to flower again in spring, especially the plants and trees, which sometimes still take the place of the anthropomorphous god (Tammuz: cedar and other trees; Adonis: plants; Osiris: plants; Attis: tree). He is born and dies with the vegetation, two events which are ritually celebrated and in close connexion to each other, so as to bring out in full relief the dramatic course of the growth and the turn in nature. His mother, a mighty nature goddess, has a changing part in the myth of the year-god. After his birth the young god is in a helpless situation as a foundling, but soon others take pity on him. Once grown up, he becomes the lover of the goddess, whose mourning for his abrupt death is vehemently uttered.

So the common factors which were to be abstracted from the various modifications already show a rather complicated deity. Many resemblances may have been established by a lasting contact, but the starting-point seems to have been a non-accidental structure. Where this originated must as yet remain undecided, since it appeared that the Mesopotamian traces of the fourth millennium cannot even be considered autochthonous. It can be stated, however, that Western Asia, with Syria, Egypt and the Aegaeen area as its confines, underwent the influence of the hypothetical radiating centre. The names of the various modifications in which the god presents himself cannot furnish any indication as to the linguistic group of the original worshippers, but have been chosen by each people for itself, often in all sorts of variations.

The deepest and farthest backgrounds of this cult-form, which once acquired so much renown, may here be left out of consideration, as we only intend to inquire into the descent of a very unpretentious figure as Hyakinthos, and with Hyakinthos' that of his Minoan relations. It is evident that the conception of a vegetation-god, as found among the Minoan Cretans, fits in with the prototype in basic idea. As remarked already, it deviates to some extent from it in the place of the goddess with respect to the youthful god. Velchanos, it is true, appeared to celebrate a *ἱερός γάμος*, but with a young tree-nymph. The Minoan seal-goddesses are nowhere depicted in such a connexion with the youthful god which may give rise to the

reconstruction of a Meter-Attis relation. It looks rather as if the Minoan recasting has split up the parts of mother and bride of the god of vegetation, perhaps already on ethical grounds. For the rest analogies just with the Attis-cult present themselves, so as to make it advisable to ascertain whether among the many representatives of the dying and reviving god more or less close relations to the Minoan-type can be traced, in order to get some elucidation as to the ways along which the conception reached Crete and the Aegaeon area.

Peculiarities common to the Cretan and Attis-cult are for instance the attendant function of daemons like the Kouretes-Korybantes, and the celebration of the festival in spring. How much the Korybantes and Kouretes have come to belong to the birth-scene of the divine child, appears from the later representations of plastic art where time and again they are depicted at their armed dance round the Zeus-child (with or without attendant nymph¹⁾) or the child Dionysos²⁾. It can hardly be inferred from the scanty data how old their part in the ritual of the divine child is. The hymn of Palai-kastro has given rise to many suppositions, but concrete information concerning the ritual importance of the Kouretes cannot be derived from it³⁾. Perhaps they are meant by the daemons who will appear led by Zeus, so that they would form a plurality of youthful vegetation-gods⁴⁾. But if we suppose that the μέγιστος κοῦρος has developed from the group, then he cannot from the beginning have been the vegetation-god of Asia Minor who was worshipped as one figure and followed a characteristic course of life, which a μέγιστος κοῦρος only could have adopted after his ascension from the group. The most cautious way is not to equate the δαίμονες to the Kouretes; the κοῦρος can even without *thiasos* of similar beings be invoked as μέγιστος. The Kouretes, then, have their own place in the Cretan pantheon as fertility-daemons, who especially patronize the increase of the flocks and hunting⁵⁾. Their dances are fertility-dances,

1) Overbeck *Kunstmythologie* vol. II, p. 322 sqq. *Head Hist. Num.* p. 413. Immisch in Roscher's *M. L.* II, 1. 1824 sqq.

2) Harrison *Themis* p. 241, fig. 61. Cook *Zeus* I, p. 153, fig. 128. *Vide infra* p. 152 sq.

3) Cf. Nilsson *GgR* 299.

4) Nilsson *MMR* 476 sq.

5) Nilsson *MMR* 472 sqq. Latte *De salt.* p. 42 sqq.

which because of their apotropaic by-meaning could also be joined to the birth of the divine child¹).

The Korybantes, who have an analogous function in regard to the child²), are more orgiastic in character, in accordance with their Phrygian origin, but were always further assimilated to the Kouretes, if they cannot even claim a common descent. It is remarkable that both Korybantes and Kouretes are associated with nymphs³), the Korybantes at Erythrae (in the coastal district of Lydia, rich in remnants of the child-cult) with the *ῥογίων* of *Herse*, . . . *ore* and *Phanis*⁴), who remind us of the Athenian *Herse* and *Aglauros*, and perhaps also took charge of a divine child.

Some indirect allusions suggest that the celebration of the adventures of the Minoan god of vegetation especially affected his birth in spring⁵). In the first place mythology has more eagerly specialized in birth-tales than in the dying of the god, which is not attractive, it is true, and for a figure titled Zeus abominable, but neither raises excessive mourning of the accompanying goddess or nymphs. The women, who passionately lament Adonis, seem to have a more active part in the rearing of the infant in Crete. In both situations the prominence of the women in the cult accords with what is thought to be characteristic for customs of Asia Minor, but Crete is independent in the working out of the scheme. About the death of the Minoan god only Hyakinthos' tradition furnishes some particulars, for Zeus the authors only mention his graves on Crete. Lucianus seems to hint at a joyous celebration of the birth of the childgod in spring⁶).

¹) *Al Minoische boomcultus* p. 67 sqq. Nilsson *MMR* 474. Latte *o.c.* p. 51. Thus they dance round the tree on which Amaltheia has hung the cradle with the child Zeus (*Hyginus fab.* 139): action for a rite? Cf. Attis- and Osiris-statues in trees (*Firmicus Matern. De err. prof. rel.* 27, 1) and the manipulations with a cradle-child in a ritual agrarian scene on Cyprus (bronze age, *Syria* 1932, pl. LXII, P. Dikaios).

²) Cf. Schol. *Arat.* 30, 1: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἐναντιὸν τὸν Δία ἔθρονον. But cf. *Aratus Phaen.* 32 sqq. (Kouretes).

³) Latte *o.c.* p. 42. Jeanmaire *Couroi et Courètes* p. 437 sqq.

⁴) Wilamowitz *Abh. Akad. Berlin* 1909, p. 32 N^o 8. J. Keil *Österr. Jahresh.* XIII, 1910, *Beiblatt Sp.* 28 sqq, N^o 3. Keil also thinks of affinity with the Aglaurids.

⁵) Cf. *Al o.c.* p. 69.

⁶) *Tragoedopodagra* vs. 36 sqq: festival for Attis in Phrygia, of the Lydians on the Tmolos, of the Korybantes on Crete *πρόταις ἔαρος ἐν ὥραις*. Cf. *Hepding Attis* p. 132.

These are two features which may justify the assumption of a closer relation between the Attis-cult and the worship of the Minoan *ἐναντιὸς δαίμων*. The typological resemblances in the myths of the two gods will be discussed separately¹⁾, while the rather striking parallelism in bread-ritual may be recalled here. Further detailed comparisons are of no use, because then the positive results cannot counterbalance the indifferent remainder. It is, however, of importance to point to the differences in mentality and sphere in which the Asiatic cult of Attis and the Minoan cult were celebrated, though the basic idea is analogous and the worship of Attis even appeared to be closer related to Crete than the Eastern parallels. One might be inclined to call the cult of Attis more primitive and barbarous, compared with the idea we have of the Minoan cult. Now this statement is precarious, for our conception of the Cretan Zeus, for example, has been handed down to us mainly by the Greeks and is therefore transformed in a Greek sense, however un-Greek it may have looked in the beginning. Moreover there is a danger that features in the mythology of Attis (and Adonis) which strike us as familiar and which readily would be employed for comparisons owe their origin resp. reform to the Greek interest and participation in the worship in question. This is surely not the case with the above mentioned fundamental correspondence, and a closer resemblance of Attis and the Minoan god may be maintained for the present.

The question of the Greek interference again raises the problem, how old the Minoan *ἐναντιὸς δαίμων* may be. Farnell's objections against the appearance of the divine child in the purely Minoan periods have been mentioned already²⁾. The M.M. seal-impression from Knossos, burdened with heavy responsibility, could almost refute his arguments³⁾. Moreover the child-aspect of the vegetation-god must not be isolated, but connected as a first phase in a mythical year-cycle. The adult god did appear on the monuments, be it according to Farnell only as "inevitable in goddess-cult, subordinate and kept in the background"⁴⁾. His adventurous entry into life seems, however, inseparable from his youthful figure, as Tammuz

¹⁾ See Chapter V.

²⁾ *Essays in Aegaeon Archaeology pres. to Sir A. Evans* p. 14 sqq.

³⁾ Cf. p. 76 sq *supra*.

⁴⁾ *O.c.* p. 11.

for instance already floated as a child in a ship on the waves, and not only emerged as a grown-up god from the realm of the dead.

Besides, Farnell's radical solution and classification in periods raises difficulties. He splits up the Cretan influence in Greek religion into three phases: the first is purely Minoan, does not yet know the Kouretes and the divine child, and is distinguished by this very absence from the middle period, in which the cult of Rhea and the infant Zeus arises. This worship shows an orgiastic character of the ritual, which seems Dionysiac, and the main figures of which accordingly can be paralleled with cognates: Kouretes-Korybantēs, Rhea-Kybele, Zeus-Dionysos. The resemblances with the Dionysos-cult of Asia Minor are important indeed and at least deserve explanation by means of a provisional hypothesis. Farnell solves the problem by supposing a direct impulse from Phrygia to Crete¹), which would have taken place before the hellenization of Crete, and would have brought to Crete the orgiastic ritual of birth, death and resurrection of the god of vegetation. Rhea's Cretan name superseded that of Semele, the Greeks who came to Crete did not know the name of the child (Dionysos or Zagreus, according to Farnell) and misnamed it Zeus. When later on in the eleventh century the cult of Dionysos reached the Greeks via Thrace, Dionysos was no longer brought into connexion with his Cretan modification. Farnell's third period of post-Homeric influence does not concern us here.

The hypothesis of a Phrygian influence on Crete in the supposed epoch would surely have to be provided with more foundation than only the alleged sudden appearance of the cult of the childgod²). Moreover it does not leave enough space to explain how both childgod-mythologies (Cretan Zeus-Dionysos) have reached Greece separately and in individual form. Dionysos, as Farnell himself

¹) A similar hypothesis was already proposed by Welcker *Griech. Götterlehre* II, p. 219, 9. His remarks p. 218 sqq are fundamental for the interpretations of the Cretan Zeus.

²) Waves of immigration are supposed to have reached Crete repeatedly, but the certainty available is not great as yet. The Kydones (cf. *Odyssey* τ 172 sqq) according to Fick (*Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* p. 16 sqq) immigrated from the Phrygian North Western part of Asia Minor to Crete as a Mysian-Lydia-Phrygian mixed race (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* XXVIII, p. 108 sqq), after the Aegæan migration. One meets with chronological difficulties, however, when trying to combine the hypothesis of the Kydones with Farnell's theory.

supposes, made his appearance in the eleventh century. The epoch of the Phrygian immigration must succeed a period of purely Minoan influence on the Greeks, and so perhaps belong to the thirteenth century, though even then direct testimonies for the divine child are wanting. This chronological distance is not sufficient to explain the absence of connexions in Greece between Dionysos and the Cretan Zeus.

Moreover the presumed Oriental origin of the type of vegetation-god in question makes a transmission by the Indo-Germanic Phrygians to Minoan Crete superfluous and improbable, like the priority of Semele (with her Indo-Germanic name) to Rhea in the divine child-mythology. The connexions with the cult of Dionysos have been analysed by Nilsson¹⁾, who assigns only a secondary rôle to the Phrygians, and thinks the *eniautos daimon* Bakchos (Bakis) originated with the Lydians, who may have borrowed him from the same substratum as the Cretans their "Zeus". According to Nilsson the Greeks received a fusion of Asiatic year-god elements and orgiastic, trieteric ritual from Thrace in the figure of Dionysos. The Cretan childgod had then for the most part faded on the mainland and only led a continued and relatively glorious existence as the youthful Zeus. In later days both figures were again brought nearer together in Asia Minor, so that in Lydia both Bacchos and Zeus Goniaios enjoy worship²⁾, and the representations of works of art often leave it doubtful whether the child Zeus or Dionysos is meant.

The development in the early stages is here of more importance, however. The connexions of the Cretan Zeus with the complex of Asia Minor are unmistakable. His nearest relations are found in the West: Attis, as it appeared, and Dionysos. An analysis of the resemblances between the Minoan god of vegetation and Dionysos of Asia Minor (with his foster-mother Hipta and his double Sabazios) may for the greater part be omitted since Nilsson's inquiries. Dionysos has always preserved traces of his vegetative power. Besides epithets which connect him with the growth of plants and trees in general, as *Αενδρίτης*, *Ἐνδενδρος*, *Φλεύς*, *Φλοιός*, *Ἰνυλλοφόρος*,

¹⁾ *MMR* 492 sqq., *GgR* 545 sqq.

²⁾ References in Farnell *Cults* I, p. 140 sq., V, p. 158 sq., 296 sq. Cook *Zeus* I, p. 148 sqq.

Σκυλλίτας, *Ανόδιος¹⁾, he bears titles which describe him as a patron of the vine- and fig-culture, and in later times also general agrarian names as *Αὐξίτης* and *Κάρπιος*²⁾. In Asia Minor, at Teos, he appears under an ideal name for the year-god of the crops: *Σητάνειος*, the god of the annual vegetation³⁾. When a good season is approaching, there shines annually in a Thracian sanctuary of Dionysos a great blaze of fire, which fails to come when the crops will be bad⁴⁾. An obvious parallel is the yearly glare radiating from the Cretan Zeus-cave when Zeus is born⁵⁾. A similar relic may be supposed to lie behind the harvest-prognosis of Dionysos, the birth of the divine vegetation-child being coupled with the same phenomena.

It appears in general that the relationship is very close, even in comparison with Attis, whose cult yet showed remarkable agreements. So Dionysos and the Cretan Zeus approach each other in the pedigree which ramifies starting from the hypothetical prototype in the dim past. The Meter-Attis relation is absent in both cults, they have been emancipated from the figure of the goddess, and are provided with separate mothers, nurses and brides. The parallelism is promoted by the Greek influence on both traditions, but it may none the less be considered important and gives a hint as to the area with which Crete will have been most closely bound up in religious matters. So Farnell's idea is correct in its general tendency, but the localization and chronology are forced. It is not necessary to prefer a wave of immigration to interaction; and a

¹⁾ See Nilsson *GgR* 550 sqq, Farnell *Cults* V, p. 118 sq and 280 sqq. Cf. also the twigs which adorn his images, and his semi-vegetative shape on throne-reliefs at Berlin and Athens (E. Langlotz *Die Antike* 8, 1932, p. 170 sqq, fig. 17 sqq).

²⁾ Farnell *l.c.* p. 123.

³⁾ G. Quandt *De Baccho in Asia Minore culto* p. 155 and 244; Farnell *Cults* V, p. 123; Picard *Ephèse et Claros* p. 405 sqq. On the word *σητάνειος* cf. W. Kroll *AJPh* LX, 1939, p. 105—07.

⁴⁾ Pseudo Arist. *Mirab. ausc.* 122 (Bekker 842 a) ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς εὐειρηρίαν μέλλῃ ποιεῖν, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι μέγα σέλας πυρός --- ὅταν δ' ἀκαρπίαν, μὴ φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς. Cf. for this fire-epiphany of Dionysos J. Harrison *Proleg.* p. 409 sq.

⁵⁾ Antonin. Lib. 19: ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ἀφωρισμένῃ δοῦναι καθ' ἑκάστον ἔτος πλείστον ἐκλάμπον ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου πῦρ. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὅταν ἐκζέῃ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως αἷμα.

common descent of the peoples and gods concerned is, generally speaking, the most probable solution.

Before tracing the nearer connexions of Zeus and Dionysos as Minoan and ancient Lydian vegetation-gods with other regions, we have to fix the place of Hyakinthos, who for the present only profited by the argument in his capacity of a manifestation of the Minoan divine child. Geographical and linguistic points of view may be utilized for this.

For the diffusion of the cult of Hyakinthos in its original form we depend largely on accidental records. The frequency of the name of the month Hyakinthios, as well as the Tarentine cult, can better be left out of account here, because it may be the Dorian colonists who are responsible for this expansion. Nevertheless five localizations remain a higher age of which is probable for some reason or another:

1° The *Amyklaion*;

2° *Attica* (with traditions of its own concerning the Hyakinthides);

3° *Tenos*. Here inscriptions mention a phyle *Ἰακυνθίς*, the inhabitant of which is named *Ἰακυνθεύς*¹⁾, and a place *Ὄϊον Ἰακυνθίων*²⁾. The unusual spelling confirms what the Ionian sphere of influence suggests: an independent tradition of these old titles, derived from a cult.

4° *Knidos*. The revival of the Hiakynthotrophia about the year 200 B.C. adds an otherwise unknown element to the cult of Hyakinthos. Though a Dorian transmission is well conceivable, we need not exclude the possibility of a continuation of aboriginal traditions³⁾.

5° *Crete*. The evidence of an autochthonous tradition, one therefore not transplanted from Laconia, is not strong, when we consult the inscriptions only. At Lato and Malla the month Bakin-

¹⁾ *I. G.* XII, 5, 864, 872 *passim*, 875, 898.

²⁾ *Ibid.* 873. Cf. Fick *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* p. 58.

³⁾ For the history of Knidos see Newton *Discoveries at Halicarnassus* II, p. 346 sqq; Bürchner *R. E.* XI, 919. In historical times it was a member of a Dorian confederation, and there are traditions connecting it with Lacedaemonia (Herodot. I, 174) and the Spartan colony of Tarentum (Herod. III, 138). Cf. *CAH* III, 676.

thios occurs¹⁾, which is named for the whole of Crete in hemerologia of later date²⁾. Moreover Hyakinthia (*Ἰακίνθια*) seem to be mentioned in a fifth-century treaty which regulated the relations between Knossos, its western neighbour Tyliisos and Argos³⁾. This is important, because the name of the month is hardly anywhere accompanied by traces of the festival.

Arguments of a general character and *petitio principii* do recommend the classing of Crete as an autonomous cult-centre of Hyakinthos. The form in which his name is given there must be the original one (*vide infra*), his relation with the Cretan Zeus draws attention to Crete for his origin too, and Minoan Crete can best be imagined as a link between the western offshoots of the vegetation-god type and the abundance of relations in Asia Minor, since it influenced the regions where Hyakinthos appears culturally and religiously. The archaeological evidence will be discussed in the next chapter.

The spreading indicated by the five placenames mentioned covers a field in which a greater density of cult-centres may as well be supposed to have existed in earlier days. For the question how early those days are, and who were the original propagators of the Hyakinthos-cult, we can resort to an analysis of the name of the god, which has the somewhat notorious suffix *-ιθος*. This element was recognized as pre-Greek by Kretschmer⁴⁾. It has been adopted by Greek immigrants in all sorts of words for objects and plants unknown to them before⁵⁾, and the question at issue is from which people it ultimately descends. Since it has been introduced in

¹⁾ Lato: *BCH* XXIX p. 204, 67.

Malla: *SGDI* 5101 (supplied).

²⁾ According to a Florentine hemerologium (in *Laurentianus* containing Ptolemaeus and Theon) *BCH* III, p. 303 the sixth month for the whole of Crete (reckoned from January onwards) is *Ἰακίνθιος*, almost certainly to be corrected into *Βακίνθιος*, cf. Nilsson *GF* 139, 2. The month passed into the Roman solar calendar of the province of Crete as the ninth month, from May 24th till June 22nd. Bischoff *R.E.* IX, 3. A Leyden hemerologium gives the correct reading of the name.

³⁾ C. W. Vollgraff *BCH* 1913, XXXVII, p. 279 sqq, 298 and Pl. IV. M. N. Tod *Greek historical inscriptions* No. 33. A new interpretation of the political relations between the three states mentioned is maintained by U. Kahrstedt *Klio* 34, 1941, p. 72 sqq, who seems to assume Hyakinthia for Argos too (p. 81). Cf. the above mentioned Amyklas and Meliboia at Argos as possible relics of some such cult (p. 52, note 7).

⁴⁾ *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech. Sprache* p. 404.

⁵⁾ For parallels cf. also Fick *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* p. 58 and 153 sq.

times about which the investigations are still proceeding and often have to settle mutual disputes it is one of the victims suffering from the diversity of opinions concerning the course of the Indo-Germanization of Greece, and the ethnical problems of Asia Minor.

Without judging of the special questions we can at least compare the religious data with an anthology of archaeological and linguistic opinions. It is an established fact that the -nthos suffix is not originally Greek. But it remains as yet problematical whether it is Indo-Germanic, "proto-Indo-Germanic", *Urindogermanisch* or not, the more so as these notions themselves have not yet been conclusively cleared up. It corresponds with the unaspirated -nt- and -nd- suffixes in Asia Minor, which cannot be ascribed with any amount of certainty to a distinct race. Mostly the Luvians are supposed to be the origin, for instance by Forrer¹⁾, Götze²⁾, Kretschmer³⁾. The site of their country is unknown but may be found in southwestern Asia Minor⁴⁾. The aspiration of the form -nth- occurring in Greece must have been effected under the influence of another race; "Aegaeans"⁵⁾, notably "Tyrrhenians" are held responsible for it⁶⁾. A word like Hyakinthos may therefore, according to these hypotheses, reach back to the Luvian stratum, or immediately have been formed with the -nth- suffix by the Tyrrhenians. In both cases we may ask what the ethnical origin is, though the question can only be answered with the utmost reserve. Kretschmer for example uses the very -nt- suffix as an indication for suggesting a proto-Indo-Germanic invasion⁷⁾, with which the value of the usual distinctions is made problematical and a claim is put for a sharper determination of the ethnic ramifications, though it cannot be complied with as yet. The Luvians, who are said to have immigrated into Asia Minor in the third or the beginning of the second millennium⁸⁾, are sometimes taken for a genuine first

1) Cf. Friedrich R.V. I, 134, Brandenstein R.E. Suppl. VI, 177.

2) *Kleinasien, Kulturgeschichte* p. 53 sqq.

3) *Glotta* XXVIII, 1940, p. 246 and 115.

4) Götze *l.c.*, cf. Friedrich *l.c.*, Kretschmer *Glotta* XXVIII,

p. 114 sq.

5) Brandenstein *l.c.* p. 169.

6) Kretschmer *Glotta* XIV, 1925, p. 84 sqq.

7) *Glotta* XIV *l.c.*

8) Friedrich R.V. *l.c.*, Brandenstein *l.c.* 177, Krahe *Die Antike* 15, 1939, p. 185 sq.

Indo-Germanic influx, so that the peculiarities of the Luvians in comparison with the other Indo-Germanic languages would only be a question of age ¹⁾, while K r e t s c h m e r has no levelling in view but a difference in degrees of descent with his proto-Indo-Germanic theory. Anyhow during their stay in Asia Minor the vaguely Indo-European Luvians came under a strong non-Indo-European anatolian influence, which asserted itself as well in their language as in their religion and culture ²⁾.

The question of the Indo-Germanism comes to this: what for a long time was thought typical non-Indo-Germanic, after all appears now to be "Indo-Germanic" (a notion which perhaps also needs revision) by a roundabout way, which, however, religion and culture cannot possibly have followed without drastic change and development. So what counts for our purpose are not subtle linguistic distinctions, but the question whether sufficient chronological distance can be observed from the Greek line of development. Both as regards the -nd- and the -nth- suffixes we can answer this in the affirmative. For matters are analogous with the -nth- modification. Not only along linguistic ways but also via archaeological arguments K r e t s c h m e r recently suspected Indo-Germanic relations behind it, by connecting his proto-Indo-Germanic theory with the Danubian origin of the stroke-ornamented ware recognized in Greece (defended especially by German scholars) ³⁾. For Greece, Crete and Asia Minor he combines two kinds of currents which dominated there in the third millennium: 1° an Eastern one, resulting in the Anatolian stratum, to which apparently the Leleges belong and as archaeological fossils the labrys and beaked jug; 2° a radiation from the centre of the stroke-ornamented pottery Bohemia-Moravia, from where Danubian races (Pelasgians, "Protindogermans", now rather *Urpelasger*) will have taken with them both the ceramics typical for them and the linguistic innovations -nth-, Larissa and the like.

The distinguishing of the various pre-Greek elements into two broad strata is a rejoicing dawning in the dark early ages, and corresponds with the fundamental differences found in Asia Minor between Proto-Hatti and Aegaeans. But the identification of the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenian linguistic stratum with the race of the Danubian

¹⁾ Götze *o.c.* p. 56; Krahe *l.c.*

²⁾ Cf. also Schachermeyr *Etruskische Frühgeschichte* p. 233 sqq.

³⁾ Kretschmer *Glotta* 28, 1940, p. 231 sqq.

Bandkeramik, which Kretschmer takes over from Matz¹), is a dangerous experiment, so long as the archaeological materials still give rise to numerous controversies. The resemblances perceived in the spiral-maeander ceramics of the middle Danube basin and South Eastern Europe and the Aegaeis point to influences which may also have had the character of interplay, but in which the parts of starting-point and border area have not been assigned yet²). So the support which can be found in these hypothetical identifications is misleading. In cultural matters one is inclined to think a derivation from Eastern regions more probable, in view of the chronological handicap of the other areas. At any rate the -nth-suffix in the name of the vegetation-god in question cannot even via archaeological combinations move him from his Aegaeic native country to more northwesterly regions. That the -nth- race created the figure of Hyakinthos in mutual contact with the general Oriental prototype of the dying god, in the modification typical for western Asia Minor and Minoan Crete, appeared from earlier considerations and is not impaired by the linguistic data. We may add that he originates from the Tyrrheno-Pelasgians, who presumably will have been the most western worshippers of the dying god, either from old, or after their immigration familiar with the Eastern conception discussed.

We may subject the name of Hyakinthos to a further examination. As regards its sense the suffix -inthos is not elucidating, perhaps it indicated properties like "belonging to", "situated on"³), sometimes it seems diminutive⁴), but an essential element of the meaning

¹) *Die frühkeret. Siegel* p. 264. Cf. *Die Antike* 1935, p. 172 sqq.

²) Cf. Matz *o.c.*; Schweitzer *Gnomon* 1928, p. 601 sqq (review of Matz); Fuchs *Die griech. Fundgruppen* and the review by Matz *Gnomon* 1939, p. 69 sqq; Schachermeyr *Klio* 1939, p. 239 sqq; as the one party. Kraiker rejects the identification of Protindogermans as makers of stroke-ornamented pottery (relying on internal criteria), he looks for the Protindogermans among races of the battleaxe cultures: *Die Antike* 1939, p. 202 sqq. The opposing party is represented especially by V. G. Childe, cf. *JHS* 1930, 255—262 (the relations between the Danube area and the East of the Mediterranean start from Anatolia), *BSA* 1936/37 p. 26—35, *JHS* 1937, p. 253 sqq (review of Fuchs); cf. V. J. Fewkes *AJA* 1939, p. 360 and Wace and Blegen *Klio* 1939, 14, p. 131 sqq, especially p. 132 and 139.

³) Kretschmer *Glotta* XIV, 1925, p. 84 sqq.

⁴) Kretschmer *Glotta* XIV, 1925, p. 313, 2. Cf. M. G. F. Ventris *AJA* 1940, p. 503, 25 and 506, 36.

of the god's name cannot be taken from it. This must be hidden in the initial syllables, which may represent an i-stem, behind which the -nthos suffix presumably developed¹⁾. The Greek form of the name of god and flower *δάκνθος* is not the original one, but seems to have become general Greek via the Ionian-Attic dialect. The older form can be reconstructed from the Cretan inscriptions, since they have preserved the name of the month *Βακίνθιος*²⁾ and the festival *Φακίνθια*³⁾. The Ionians rendered the w-sound they had lost by an *v* or *o*, as in *Velia* — *Ἐελῆ* (or with omission of the *v*-sound: *Elea*, in southern Italy), *Ῥαξος* for Cretan *Φάξος*, *Ῥαγνις* - *Φάγνις*⁴⁾. Kretschmer gives more parallels for this, which point to it that **Φάκνθος* must be considered the primary form. The sound-substitution *F* > *v* was not merely a graphical process, but the *v* was vocalized and like any initial *v* aspirated, so that the form *δάκνθος* came into being, which Homer uses already for the flower⁵⁾. God and flower cannot be separated, as is formally attested by the Latin flower-name *vaccinium*, which according to a hypothesis of J. H. Voss would be connected with *δάκνθος*, and which contains the same initial syllable *vac-* as the Cretan name of the god. Latin will not have borrowed this word from the Greek, but from an Aegaeon predecessor of *δάκνθος*⁶⁾ which perhaps had yet another form than **Φάκνθος*. Then at least the corruption to *vaccinium* becomes intelligible, in which popular etymology seems to have found a connexion with *vacca*, *vaccinus*⁷⁾. The identity of the plants appears for instance from Dioscourides: *δάκνθος* --- *Ῥωμαῖοι βάκκονι, οἱ δὲ οὐακκίνιονι*⁸⁾. The first equivalent also points to yet another original than **Φάκνθος*. A form *baccus* = *βάκος* seems to have continued as a name for the flower, as testified by

¹⁾ Kretschmer *Glotta* XXVIII, 1940, p. 269 sqq.

²⁾ *BCH* XXIX, p. 204, 67.

³⁾ *BCH* XXXVII, 1913, p. 279 sqq; *Tod* No. 33.

⁴⁾ Kretschmer *Wiener Eranos* 1909, p. 118 sqq; *Glotta* III, p. 321, *Glotta* XIII, 1924, p. 248. Cf. Boisacq *Dictionnaire étymol. s.v. Ῥακίνθος*.

⁵⁾ *Ε* 348, adjectively *ζ* 231, *ψ* 158 *δακίνθος*.

⁶⁾ A. Meillet *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*³ (1933) p. 86. Ernout-Meillet *Dictionn. étym. de la langue latine* (Paris 1932) s.v.

⁷⁾ Unless *vacca* derives from the same unknown stem, which opens possibilities for etymological conjectures.

⁸⁾ IV, 62 RV. Cf. Pseudo Philargyr. ad Verg. *Georg.* IV, 183.

Dioscourides and a botanic gloss: βᾱκος· τὸ ὑᾱκινθον¹). The initial b- will here also be a later graphic representative of the v-sound, but this much is clear, that the name of the flower has also survived without the suffix -inthos. The root -ḡak- will have to be the starting-point for etymologies, which unfortunately have but little chance because of the pre-Hellenic and non-Indo-European origin which must be assigned to it.

Besides the career of the Oriental ἐπιαντὸς δαίμων notably his sphere of influence shows a striking resemblance in the various manifestations. From the scanty records about Hyakinthos referring to this matter some points can be stressed on which he closely parallels his relatives from Crete, Asia Minor and even Mesopotamia (to be represented here resp. by "Zeus", Dionysos, and Tammuz): his connexions with the animal and vegetable world.

The prominence of the goat as a victim at the Hyakinthia was mentioned in the discussion of the ritual²), and for an explanation the association of goats and crops, which also occurs elsewhere, was referred to. It is possible that this association derives its special sense from the connexion which existed from the earliest times between the goat and the dying year-god of the ancient East. Tammuz and his mother were symbolized and probably formerly worshipped in the shape of a kid and a goat (or a bull and a cow)³). In the tradition concerning Dionysos traces of his appearance as a he-goat have been preserved⁴), though later on the goat is only joined to him as an attributive animal⁵), as to Tammuz on Sargonid seals⁶)

¹) *Thesaurus linguae graecae* (Stephanus) II, 55 s.v. Βᾱκος (Lexicon MS cod. Reg. 1843, in Ducange *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis* Tomus II, Appendix p. 34). It is disputable from a palaeographical point of view that the same word should be meant in *Etym. Gud.* Σιώονα· γούνα, ἀγνιον στέγασιρον, τετραχωμένον, τούτῳ βᾱκος, ὃ ἐστὶ δέσμα (reading of Stephanus l.c.), which would point to a connexion with the goat.

²) Cf. *supra* p. 41.

³) The snake-aspect of the Sumerian god of vegetation, which does not reappear in the Hyakinthos-cult, does characterize Erichthonios, Sosipolis, perhaps Archemoros.

⁴) Cf. C. W. Vollgraff *Med. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Afd. Lett.* 57 A, p. 3 (21). Cook *Zeus* I, p. 706 sqq.

⁵) E.g. Gerhard *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* 37 (Reinach *R.V.P.* II, 30, 8) and C.V.A. *Espagne* III He Pl. 18, 2.

⁶) E.g. Frankfort *Cylinder seals* XX, b, d, e.

and to the Amyclaeon god on Laconian coins¹). That Minoan Crete also knew a theriomorphic worship of the vegetation-god and his mother, is a very probable conclusion drawn from an iconographical comparison by C. W. Vollgraff, who interprets the well-known M.M. III faience-reliefs with the suckling goat and cow in the above mentioned connexion²). Then the mother would have longest preserved her animal form in Crete, so that the extensive Cretan foundling-mythology in which the divine child is nourished by a goat (or a cow) here finds its religious origin³), though it soon passes on to the sphere of folk-tales and is very productive there.

If the choice of the victim for the Hyakinthia indeed reaches back to olden times, similar antecedents may be supposed for it, the (he)-goat having passed from a worshipped being to an attribute and offering. The relation with the vegetable world, which also characterizes the goat in northern Europe⁴), all the more applies to the sphere of the dying year-god. For Mesopotamia and Elam we referred already to representations dating back from the fourth millennium which group goats and similar animals round a sacred shrub or tree⁵). Minoan-Mycenaean art also knows this motive, and with the image the religious sense will have wandered through the ages⁶). The twigs sometimes grow as it were from the animals, thus illustrating the union of the vital force of both⁷).

The affinities shown in the connexion with the plant-world need

¹) *E.g.* Cook *Zeus* I, p. 713, fig. 529 (Overbeck III, *Münztafel* I, 13-16). But cf. p. 18 note 4 *supra* (Bompois).

²) O. c. p. 11 (29) sqq. Cf. the motive on the *larnax* from Gournia, a L.M. III sarcophagus (*Gournia* X, 44; Pendlebury *Archaeology of Crete* (1939) pl. XL, 4). On Cyprus in the first Bronze Age *Syria* XIII, 1932, Pl. LXXV, 5, where the mother with the child also appear in human form (pl. LXX, LXXIII, 1 and 3).

³) It is not necessary that the motive "exposure in the chest" is a mere folk-tale ingredient either, but it may descend from an epiphany from the sea (a river): Tammuz, Dionysos, Tennes-Palaimon, cf. the dolphin-riders Melikertes and Phalanthos. Cf. p. 87 *supra*.

⁴) Mannhardt *AWFK* p. 143 sqq.

⁵) Cf. *supra* p. 83.

⁶) Evans *Mycenaean tree and pillar-cult* fig. 30, 31, 32, 34, 55. H. Danthine *Palmier-dattier* p. 194 sq.

⁷) Evans *o.c.* fig. 55 and 34. This may be an iconographical echo of the Mesopotamian animals "passant devant des plantes", cf. *e.g.* H. Danthine *o.c.* fig. 26, 646, 704 etc.

no longer be treated extensively. The botanic symbols which time and again appear with, and probably also before the animal embodiment of the divine principle, are peculiar to any of the figures compared, in the shape of special tree-sorts, but also as branches, plants and shrubs which cannot even be identified. Moreover ears of corn already appeared to act as bearers of the vegetative forces in the Mesopotamian early representations. So there is no reason to assign a later date to the agrarian stage of culture, and on that account to assume a difference in level with *e.g.* an older god of the verdure of the meadows, essential to nomads. On the other hand the tree-shapes of Tammuz, Adonis, Attis, which partly appear in the ritual up to historical times, prove that there is no question of a one-sided development, even long after the corn-growing was thought incorporated in the domain of the year-god.

It is likely that specializations and more general figures have existed side by side. The Syrian Tâ-uz is an example of the former category, with his limited sphere of influence of a corn-god, as an offshoot of Tammuz. He has been split up from the great god, while the latter himself in olden times will have developed by a reverse process from a synthesis of special vegetative powers (individual tree-gods *e.g.*)¹). Similar reflexions must provide us with an explanation for the blending of harvest-rites with general vegetative mourning-rites, which has been stated both for the Attideia and the Hyakinthia. Neither Attis nor Hyakinthos are exclusively corn-gods, but both of them take the cereals under their protection with the rest of the vegetation, as since millennia the Eastern year-god did. Special harvest-rites like the preparatory fasting and the banquet with the corn- and bean-dishes can therefore naturally be incorporated in the ritual, though perhaps they themselves do not descend from the ancient Oriental inventory of the year-festival. The equal rights of the rest of the vegetation must also be regarded when determining the season of the mourning. For Tammuz and Adonis it is June-July, with which the Hyakinthia may accord

¹) Cf. Baudissin *Adonis* p. 173, Tammuz as a tree-god, "so mag auch Adonis zuerst ein Baum oder eine andere Pflanze gewesen sein, woran man das Ergrünen im Frühjahr und das Verdorren im Hochsommer beobachtete." Frazer *G.B.*³ V, p. 233 sqq. But the texts and pictures which have come down to us do not couple one god with one special tree or plant. Cf. H. D a nthine *Palmier-Dattier* p. 157, 162.

(Skirophorion as an equivalent), celebrated after the harvest, but during the withering of the vegetable world through the summer-heat, the background sought from old for Adonis and Hyakinthos.

The track along which these rites and conceptions reached the countries and periods in which they are found is for the greater part still to be reconstructed. New excavations in Asia Minor may be expected to yield decisive information about the links which connect Tammuz on the one side and Dionysos and the Minoan god on the other. It is at least probable that in the third millennium the anatolian influence penetrated to Crete principally via Asia Minor, as Dussaud supposes: via Lydia¹⁾, while the ancient action of Egypt of course may not be left out of consideration. The route through Asia Minor and possibly Lydia (an area with a natural aptitude to maintain elements specific to anatolian culture and to resist Hittite and Phrygian influence²⁾) is recommended by the close relationship between the Lydian Bakis-Dionysos and the Minoan Zeus. The repercussion of the ancient connexions later gave rise to a parallelism and syncretism of the Cretan Zeus with Dionysos-Zagreus and Sabazios, by a combination of Cretan-Lydian and Phrygian elements³⁾.

Hyakinthos, a manifestation of the Cretan year-god, was explained by W. F. Otto, on account of the Greek tradition only, as a figure closely resembling Dionysos⁴⁾. There is no reason for bringing him closer to Dionysos than to the Cretan Zeus. A few details which might lead to it, such as the ivy-garlands *bacchico ritu*⁵⁾, cannot claim an old age, but may be introduced later on just because of their internal affinities. The Minoan god is less known, so that the points of contact with Dionysiac ritual are more obvious. One of the fundamental resemblances with the Dionysiac sphere of influence is the vegetative background which can directly be connected with the name of both gods. *Bάκχος* stands for the god as well as for the

¹⁾ *Rapports entre la Crète ancienne et la Babylonie* (Iraq VI, 1939, p. 53—65). Cf. on these relations P. Demargne *Rev. arch.* 1936, 2, p. 80—91 and *Annales de l'école des hautes études de Gand* II, 1938, p. 31—66.

²⁾ R. Dussaud *La Lydie et ses voisins* p. 80 sqq, 88 sqq. J. Keil *Die Kulte Lydiens* (Anatolian Studies pres. to Sir W. Ramsay) p. 243 sq.

³⁾ Dussaud *La Lydie* etc. p. 160 sqq.

⁴⁾ *Dionysos* p. 189 sqq.

⁵⁾ Macrobius *Saturn.* I, 18, 2.

sacred garland or branch used in his cult¹⁾; βάζχη is not only the vine but also the myrtle and a kind of pear-tree²⁾). According to Hesychius βάζχην is equivalent to: wear an ivy-crown, while the god himself is worshipped in semi-tree-shape, and adorned with sprouting twigs³⁾).

The direct dependence of the fate of the year-god upon that of the vegetation is demonstrated by the name of Hyakinthos, just as the earlier interpreters presumed: a powerful bloom of youth surprised by sudden death in summer or autumn, a *drama* repeated annually and celebrated with annual rites. The derivation of the name brings us close to the origin of the god, closer than can be the case with allied figures such as Adonis, Tammuz and Attis, though for their worship too a plant- and tree-cult is to be assumed as a first stage.

Hyakinthos' title points out that it was a flower which served as a starting-point for the young deity. It cannot be determined from ancient sources which kind of flower thus inspired religious imagination. Anyway suggestions have been made to identify the *δάκρυθος* as: "our" hyacinth (*hyacinthus orientalis* L.), corn-flag, iris, other sorts of lilies, larkspur (*delphinium Aiacis*) and fritillary⁴⁾. The description of the form of the *δάκρυθος* gives as much scope for conjectures as that of its colour, which is said to be πορφύρεος, *suave rubens, ferrugineus, niger*. The illustration in Dioscourides⁵⁾ shows a bulbous plant which never perfectly corresponds with the interpretations proposed, certainly is not meant to be a fritillary or larkspur, and most resembles the ordinary hyacinth. The colour of the precious stone called hyacinth⁶⁾ is orange-red, brown and purple. Besides the scientific illustration in Dioscourides we have a picture of the plant on a vase with Aias and Tekmessa⁷⁾, if we are

¹⁾ Cf. p. 54 *supra*. Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 408. Bekker *Anecdota* I, p. 224: βάζχος· ὁ κερὸς Διονύσου ἀνήρ, καὶ κλάδος ὁ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς. ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, σιεφάνους ὑπὸ Δωριέων.

²⁾ Nicander *Theb.* 512, with schol. and Hesych. s.v. Cf. Latin *baca, bacca* berry, which is derived from a mediterranean pre-Indo-European speech (Walde-Hoffmann *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*² s.v.).

³⁾ W. Wrede *AM* 1928, p. 83 sq (note 1 for references) cf. p. 100, n. 1 *supra*.

⁴⁾ C. Garlick *What was the Greek hyacinth?* (*Class. Rev.* XXXV, 1921, p. 146 sq).

⁵⁾ Codex Vindob. fol. 357 verso.

⁶⁾ Plinius *N. H.* XXXVII, 125.

⁷⁾ Micali *Monumenti inediti* Firenze 1844, tav. 38.

indeed allowed to see the *hyakinthos* in the flower of the Aias-legend. This painting too suggests first the modern hyacinth. Tarentine coins¹⁾ give too vague an indication of the flower to allow its identification. An expert examination of the models used by Minoan artists for their plant-frescoes states the presence of narcissus, corn-flag, saffron, and other plants, but no hyacinth²⁾.

It is rather irrelevant for a closer contemplation of cult and myth whether we can or cannot prove with certainty the botanical identity; and the forms of the letters AI AI which should occur on the petals may be recognized on various flowers if we take a lenient view of the matter which is current for such discoveries. We may stick to the direct data, that the *hyakinthos* is a spring-flower which appears only after *λευκόιον, ἶον, νόμισσος, λείριον, ἀνεμώνη* and other flowers, and blossoms fairly long³⁾. When admitting that the exact representative of the denomination *ὑάκινθος* is unknown to us, we probably find ourselves in the company of many a classical author, especially of later times⁴⁾, which is not to be wondered at, because to the poets the notion "hyacinth" had in the first place a mythical sense. Perhaps this is what also happened to the earliest worshippers, as the sphere of influence of their youthful god extended to the whole vegetable world. We may feel satisfied when after a tradition of about five millennia "our" hyacinth still shows a distant resemblance to his archetype.

That a festival or a god are named after a plant or tree is of course not without parallels among many other peoples⁵⁾, and in many cases vegetative ritual will have been connected with it. Hyakinthos, however, distinguishes himself by the characteristic ritual with the Western-Asiatic structure of the death and resurrection of a vegetation-god. This ritual presents itself in Crete in its own adaptation, while the flower-world on the other hand enjoys an honour and attention there which make the presence of a figure

¹⁾ *Ann. d. Inst.* 1830 Tav. M 1, 2 (Duc De Luynes p. 337 sqq).

²⁾ M. Möbius *Arch. Jahrb.* 1933, 48, p. 1 sqq. Evans suggested that the hyacinth is one of the flowers offered by an attendant votary to the seated goddess on the great signet ring from Mycenae (*JHS* 21, 1901, p. 148).

³⁾ Theophrast. *Hist. Pl.* VI, 8. Plinius *N.H.* XXI, 64 sq.

⁴⁾ Cf. Stadler *R.E.* IX, 7. Greve *Roscher's M. L.* I, 2, 2764.

⁵⁾ Cf. e.g. Frazer *G.B.*³ V, p. 47 sq, p. 240. Furlani *Relig. degli Hitt.* p. 249 sqq, festival of the plant an-tah-šum. Götze *Kulturgesch. Kleinasien* p. 154.

like Hyakinthos in every respect acceptable. Art is an eloquent witness of the delight with which the Minoans contemplated the richly coloured plant-world¹⁾. Cretan nymphs bear vegetative names as Akakallis²⁾, who passes for the mother of Kydon³⁾, Miletos⁴⁾, or Philandros and Phylakides, sons who share the Cretan lot of foundlings⁵⁾, and are perhaps to be explained as variants of the theme of the vegetation-god.

The Hyakinthia as a Minoan festival remain, however, hypothetical, though we may ask ourselves whether in the earliest celebration of the Hyakinthia the flower has been one of the important requisites. General considerations certainly suggest it, and as well as the *βάκχος*, eponymous mystery-bough and garland, the *ὑάκινθος*-spring-flower will have been used in the ritual. For Amyklai hardly any traces have been left of this⁶⁾, though the hyacinth itself is to be considered in the first place for the garlands used on the joyous day, besides rushes and ivy which are mentioned explicitly.

Yet the lack of prominence of the eponymous flower in the festive rites might also be explained from the fact that the god Hyakinthos has not known an exclusive connexion with any kind of flowers, but has developed in general as the *numen* of the flowering plants displaying themselves to the eyes of the worshippers. The divine power resides in any flower, not specialized in botanic

1) And for the ritual use of flowers, cf. the saffron-gatherer and the priest-king "wearing a plumed lily crown and collar" Evans *P. o. M.* II, 2, Frontispiece pl. XIV, fig. 504 b, 508, and p. 780.

2) Paus. VIII, 53, 4 and X, 16, 5. Akakallis is a flower described as *νάομισός*, *ὑάκινθος*, *θραυλλίς* by Hesychius s.v. *ἀγαλλίς*, *κακαλίς*, *ἀκακαλίς*, *ἀγαγαλλίς*.

3) *N.b.* *κυδωνία* = quince tree.

4) Anton. Lib. 30.

5) Nilsson *MMR* 467 sqq for Kydon, Paus. *l.c.* for the twins.

6) Philostr. *Epist.* p. 344. Sappho frg. 105 D (56 B) makes Leda find a *ὑακίνθινον πεπεκάδμενον ὄϊον*. This place, vexed with many conjectures, may refer to a hyacinthine colour of the egg, but also to a wreathing with hyacinth. On the vase paintings the egg is apparently lying on twigs. See R. Kekulé *Über ein griechisches Vasengemälde zu Bonn* (1879) fig. p. 13 and 20 (with Plate) and *Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.* 1908, XXXII, 691 sqq, pl. VII, 1. Votive robes for the Samian Hera have a *ἔξασιν ὑακινθίνην*, of hyacinthine colour *h.l.* (Michel *Recueil d'inscriptions* 832, 15 sq). Untimely cracked hyacinths Sappho frg. 117 D (94 B). — The 12 maidens who sing the epithalamium to Helen wear crowns of hyacinths, Theocrit. XVIII, 2. This can be taken as an interesting survival of the ritual use of this flower in ancient times.

species. The meaning of the stem *uak-* will have made the name suitable to a god who manifested himself in flowers with different names too. Perhaps in the earliest period the title hyacinth was not even limited to a botanical species, but applicable to many beautiful spring-flowers. A tendency to generalization lies already in the nature of plant-worship; while the tree-cult on the contrary may very well be focussed on an individual specimen which because of its stateliness lends itself to this concentration of the rites. Plant-species have not been personified into gods, instead of in religious connexions their individual characteristics were worked up in pharmacy and magic, resulting in a queer medley of science, sorcery and superstition, to which little importance can be attached. Thus it is uncorrect to start from the "medical" application of the hyacinth to find the deeper meaning of the god¹⁾. Moreover the data are heterogeneous: Plinius mentions anterotoc power of the bulbous root²⁾ (not of the flower, which, however, is of greater importance), further it may be resorted to in case of dysentery, bites of snakes and scorpions, and such inconveniences. As regards its erotic aspect this wisdom has rather been derived from the legend of Hyakinthos than *vice versa*³⁾.

While for a ritual connexion of the hyacinth and the Hyakinthia hardly any testimonies can be quoted, it appears from other allusions that the hyacinth has indeed been one of the representative flowers in the ritual of other vegetative and spring-festivals. Pausanias is often quoted in support of the use of hyacinths in the cult, as he notes that at the summer festival of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione children wear garlands of *κοσμοσάνδαλον*, which he thinks is the hyacinth⁴⁾. It proves at any rate that similar flowers were used for

¹⁾ Cf. e.g. Eitrem R.E. IX, 2. Jeanmaire *Couroi et Courètes* p. 530.

²⁾ N.H. XXI, 170. Cf. Nicander *Ther.* 902 sqq., Dioscourides IV, 62.

³⁾ Therefore Hauser more justly points to the medical use of the plant when discussing a vase with Hyakinthos and Zephyros.

⁴⁾ Paus. II, 35, 5. Cf. S. Wide *De sacris Troezeniorum* p. 50. This perhaps allows us to find a reference to hyacinth-garlands at Sparta in the quotations from Klearchos (*FHG* II, p. 303) and Antiphanes (Kock II, p. 57) in Athenaeus XV, 681 c: ὄρα --- τοὺς τὸ κοσμοσάνδαλον ἀνείροντας Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τὸν παλαιότατον τῆς πολιτικῆς κόσμον συμπαιθεύοντες ἐξετραχίλισθησαν. διόπερ καλῶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηκεν ὁ κομφιδιοποιὸς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαριστῇ

ὄκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες ὡς ἀπόρθητοὶ ποιεῖ;

νῦν δ' ὀμηρεῖονσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κερυφάλους;

For hyacinths used for garlands in general cf. Athen. 681 a, 684 c, 685 a and c,

wreathing in vegetative festivals. Nor is the hyacinth absent in important mythical scenes, which sometimes can be taken as a projection of ritual ¹⁾. Thus in the *Iliad* at the *ἱερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera, where besides luxuriant grass, lotos and crocusses the earth makes *ὑάκινθον πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακὸν* germinate. Another myth in which the hyacinth is frequently mentioned with honour among the flowers of spring is that of the rape of Kore and other goddesses. In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter ²⁾ Hades is described as carrying off the young goddess:

παίζουσαν κόρησι σὺν Ὠκεανοῦ βαθυκόλποις
 ἄνθεα τ' αἰνυμένην ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον ἦδ' ἴα καλὰ
 λειμῶν ἄμ μαλακὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἦδ' ὑάκινθον
 νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκῶπιδι κόρη
 Γαῖα γαί.

where the emphasis is laid on the narcissus (flower of Demeter, according to Hesychius ³⁾); but the whole scene breathes a flowery delight which is felt really suitable to the young goddess of vegetation, who herself bears the epithet *καλυκῶπις* and is thus compared to flower buds. The abduction of a flower-gathering nymph has even become a famous theme in mythology: the Erechtheides Oreithyia ⁴⁾ and Kreousa ⁵⁾, Helen too ⁶⁾ and Europe ⁷⁾ are surprised at their anthology, and whenever the scene is described at some length, the hyacinth appears in the series of springflowers. The flower-gathering seems to belong to an old, perhaps Minoan ritual which was performed in spring in honour of various goddesses ⁸⁾. Especially Demeter and Kore ⁹⁾ must be mentioned in this

various quotations. Hyacinths and violets are chosen to be the first in the garlands, Theocrit. X, 29.

¹⁾ Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griech. Mythologie* p. 256.

²⁾ v. 5 sqq. Cf. v. 425 sqq, where Kore describes her adventure.

³⁾ Cf. *Roscher's M. L.* II, 1314 and Preller *Demeter und Persephone* p. 83 sq. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 779 sqq. Ovid *Fasti* IV, 429 also a multi-coloured description of Kore's anthology (439: hyacinth).

⁴⁾ Choirilos Sam. frg. 5 ap. Kinkel *Ep. Gr. Fragm.* I, p. 269.

⁵⁾ Euripides *Ion* 887 sqq.

⁶⁾ Euripides *Helena* 243 sqq.

⁷⁾ Moschos *Idyll.* II, 65 sqq.

⁸⁾ See especially Allen-Halliday-Sikes *Homeric Hymns* p. 127 sqq.

⁹⁾ Cf. Strabo VI, 256 c, at Hipponium anthology of Kore, *ἐκ δὲ τούτου ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐν ἔθει γέγονεν ἀνθολογεῖν τε καὶ στεφανηπολεῖν, ὥστε ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰσχρὸν εἶναι στεφάνους ἀνητῶν φροεῖν.*

connexion, but also Hera ¹⁾, Aphrodite ²⁾, even Athena and Artemis, who pose as girls with flower-baskets on their heads in the temple of Demeter and Kore at Megalopolis ³⁾. A ritual application of the hyacinth may be reconstructed from such myths, which all refer to the growth of vegetative nature. But there exists a complex of spring-flowers which is often enumerated when a similar scene is described: narcissus, crocus, rose, violet, hyacinth are the representatives of the flower-world, which became a literary cliché, perhaps because they embellished the sacral customs from old. Thus the robe of Aphrodite has been dyed in these five kinds of spring-flowers by the Horai and Charites ⁴⁾. When Pan and the nymphs pass through the meadows, crocusses and flowering fragrant hyacinths are mingled in the grass round their feet ⁵⁾. About many of these spring-flowers separate legends are told ⁶⁾, but their unanimous appearance in religious mythology reinforces the supposition that at the Hyakinthia the hyacinth has originally not displayed an intolerant exclusivity either. The myths suggest better than any botanical analysis the living inspiration which the Greeks still drew from hyacinths and kindred flowers: they incorporated the irresistible power of reviving nature in its most charming form.

Whether in olden times reflexions had already connected speculations concerning the human hereafter with the Oriental ritual, especially in its modifications of Crete and Western Asia Minor, remains uncertain and cannot be elucidated with the aid of the traces of Hyakinthos' worship. The rites which affect the vegetation are performed with strong emotions, as appears for instance from the Minoan monuments. But no single irrefutable interpretation

¹⁾ Hera Antheia at Argos Paus. II, 22, 1.

²⁾ Antheia at Knossos.

³⁾ Paus. VIII, 31, 2. Cf. *R. E.* I, 2371. So the goddesses especially are brought into connexion and worshipped with the spring-flowers, a fact not to be wondered at and corresponding with the general prominence of women in any vegetation-cult (Van der Leeuw *Phänomen. der Religion* p. 77 sq). But a youthful god, and notably one who is attended by nymphs, may very well be represented as a flower-god, because of his tender age, also among other peoples: Nefertem in Egypt. Cf. Archemoros who is innocently gathering flowers when he is killed by a snake. Euripid. frg. 754 Nauck².

⁴⁾ Kypria *ap.* Athen. XV, 682 e.

⁵⁾ *Hymn. Pan* 22 sqq.

⁶⁾ Cf. Eitrem *R. E.* XVI, 1726 s.v. Narkissos.

forces itself upon our minds for the actions performed with branches, flowers and twigs, not to mention the deeper sense of these ceremonies. For the sarcophagus of H. Triada for instance, scholars have thought of a parallelism of human life with the cycle of vegetation¹⁾. But it remains doubtful whether this parallelism, which indeed is often expressed during the growing up of both²⁾, had already created some kind of belief in immortality in Minoan days. The allusions to apotheoses, which the Amyclaeon reliefs appeared to contain, have originated in a period which knew the anthropocentric adaptation of the vegetative cycle, and when at Eleusis and round Dionysos also men aspired to personal resurrection. Vase paintings illustrate the promises of future life, expressed in floral symbols³⁾. The age of this connexion must as yet remain hypothetical; it is very well conceivable that the Minoans and their relatives have glorified and bemoaned the youthful bloom and the cruel dying of the vegetation-god without egocentric by-purposes, but with complete abandon to the rhythmically manifesting wonder of the plant-world.

¹⁾ E.g. R. Vallois *Rev. ét. anc.* 1926, XXVIII, p. 127 sqq.

²⁾ Cf. Nilsson *GF* 323.

³⁾ Cf. e.g. *C.V.A. Italia Fasc. XV, Taranto IVd, r Tav. 13, No. 1 and 4*: an Apulian vase on which the dead woman is depicted in a heroon, with side-pictures of an anodos and a woman's head rising from a calyx (13, 14) in the midst of tendrils of flowers. The same symbolism, frequent in Southern Italy (cf. also Cook *Zeus* III, pl. XXX and fig. 420; vases at Chiusi; *Annali* 1843, pl. M—O; *R.V.P.* I, 266 sq, 480) in South Russia: Stephani *CR* 1865, Suppl. p. 5 (vignette): a goddess's head adorned with a kalathos rises from a calyx, while on both sides griffins jump from it. On Apulian vases the dead also keep flowers in their hands, or a bird is perched symbolically on a tendril (*C.V.A. Lc.* IV, d, r, tav. 14, 1 and 3, IV, d, s, tav. 1, 3, 4). Cf. A. von Salis *Sitz. Ber. Heidelb.* 27, 1936—37, p. 12 sqq on the survival of this motive.

IV. THE AMYKLAION AND AMYKLAI.

The Laconian sanctuary which rescued Hyakinthos from oblivion deserves a separate examination. For especially the earliest development gives us a chance of finding the influences supposed to have been at work in the world of religion before the predominance of the Greeks. It will, however, appear difficult to rise above the level of hypotheses, because the contributions concerning the genesis of the cult-centre in question descend from various directions and sources, and cannot easily be joined to an unquestionable whole. But from linguistic criteria, from inscriptions, other archaeological material, and from the pseudo-historical tradition of the Greeks themselves, with the aid of the religious connexions assumed, some elucidation may often be gathered for the Hyakinthian darkness.

It may be stated beforehand that a difference exists between the town of Amyklai and the sanctuary of the Amyklaion, topographically at any rate, historically perhaps. Through the excavations the site of the Amyklaion has been lifted from the sphere of doubt in which Amyklai itself remains hidden yet: the *temenos* stood on the hill of H. Kyriakí, north-west of Tsaúsi ¹⁾, at an hour's walk from Sparta. From stratigraphical data therefore reliable lines of development can be traced for the precinct. Matters are less favourable in the case of the town Amyklai, remnants of which have not yet been discovered and are presumed in several directions: south-west of H. Kyriakí, where inscriptions have been found, or north-west on a group of hills ²⁾. By means of a comparison of the archaeological results it would have been possible to trace the connexion of the town and the sanctuary. As long as this cannot be done with the aid of concrete data, the general hypothesis may hold good that the Amyklaion will have strongly depended upon the vicissitudes of the town. As regards the hill with its *temenos* stratigraphy gives

¹⁾ For the topography see F. Bölte *AM* 34, 1909, p. 384 sqq and *R. E.* III A, 1328 sq (1929, revised opinion).

²⁾ G. Loeschke *AM* 3, 1878, p. 169 sq; F. Bölte *loc.*; Buschor *AM* 1927, p. 2; Fiechter *Arch. Jb.* 1918, p. 123; Picard *L'Acropole* IV, 1929, p. 208 (who requires greater diligence in tracing the site).

a historical scheme, which for the moment can only be compared with the less certain, mainly literary tradition about Amyklai. In these circumstances it is preferable not to neglect any indications concerning the town, in order to find some explanation from the side of Amyklai for the cardinal questions of the Amyklaion: when was it founded, and how was it that Apollo made his entry there?

As to its name the little town may reach directly back to the predecessors of the Greeks. The occurrence of the name on Crete and Cyprus need not be used as an argument here. It is sufficient to point out that Greek parallels are wanting. Glosses like ἀμυκαλαίαι ἀκίδες τῶν βελῶν and ἀμυκλῆς γλυκός, ἡδύς in Hesychius will also explain un-Greek words, and hardly afford any support for translating the place-name. Via the second gloss Amyklai was rendered by *die Anmutige*¹⁾. Nearer the truth seem less poetical interpretations which start from the "barbed hooks of arrow-heads" and think that the word denotes pointed objects²⁾. The shoes called Ἀμυκλῆδες³⁾ will only indicate their place of origin with this denomination, no longer alluding to the meaning of the word-stem⁴⁾. But some such notion as "pointed" or "oblong" may be used in a place-name as a sign of the local situation. Then this may not only apply to Amyklai, but also to names of a kindred sound like Mykale and Mykalessos⁵⁾, in which the syncope of the -a- has not yet taken place, no more than in ἀμυκαλαί. The initial a- is then to be considered a deictic prefix and a pre-Hellenic ("proto-Hattic") characteristic⁶⁾, which points to a fairly high age of the denomination. The spreading from Asia Minor to Boeotia and the

¹⁾ Hirschfeld *R.E.* I, 1996.

²⁾ Fick *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* p. 91.

³⁾ Suidas s.v. and Pollux VII, 88.

⁴⁾ Contra Mau *R.E.* I. 1997.

⁵⁾ Fick *l.c.*

⁶⁾ Brandenstein *R.E. Suppl.* VI, 201: Amyklaion = lying at a projecting mountain-ridge (= μυκάλη). Cf. for the prefix Krahe *Die Antike* 15, 1939, p. 186. For the root-element the word μύκλος may also be compared, with which a black stripe or a fold on the neck (and feet) of an ass is meant (Hesychius and *Etym. Magn. s.v.*). The derivation remains extremely uncertain, though the non-Hellenic origin seems to have been settled, in spite of attempts to detect cognation between √ muk- to rip up, ἀμύσσω, *micro* and ἀμυκαλαί (F. Muller in his *Latin Dictionary*; T. G. Tucker *A concise etymological dictionary of Latin s.v. micro*. Ernout-Meillet: not more than a *simple possibilité*).

Peloponnese may correspond with an origin in the E.H. period of the pre-Greek name-giving¹⁾. The further diffusion will be discussed in historical connexion (Crete, Cyprus, Italy, Africa), it may only be noticed that in Latium the lake called after the town in question has the name of *Μυκλαία λίμνη*, thus affording a new instance of the prefix-character of the *a*-²⁾.

The name of the Laconian town envelops its origin in prehistoric darkness. When it is mentioned by ancient authors, they refer to much later episodes, a vague memory of which has been preserved: the penetration of the Dorians into the valley of the Eurotas and their experiences with respect to the previous inhabitants. Amyklai passed for one of the most representative centres of the earlier population, the confrontation of which with the Dorians is described in various ways, but is always marked as an important stage in the formation of Dorian Laconia.

It has not been one vigorous blow which succeeded in incorporating the Amyclaeans under Dorian rule. It is true Pindar uses as a poetical licence an expression suggesting it³⁾, but the rest of the tradition is unanimous in ascribing an exceptional position to Amyklai. Modern historians do not agree as to what extent the independence of the ancient town remained intact and how the collisions with the Dorians went on. Ancient tradition too admits of a distinction of two versions:

1° After the return of the Herakleidai Amyklai maintains its independence and only collapses as a centre of opposition under later kings;

2° Laconia and Amyklai are betrayed to the Dorians, who reward the traitor by placing Amyklai under his command.

As traditions have come down to us via Dorized Laconia, the version which flatters the Dorians least will probably contain more truth than the episode of the treason, which intends to make them lord and master of the field from the beginning. But in both ways of putting things the actors are of some importance. Pausanias represents the first category: Under Teleklos, son of Archelaos and

1) Cf. Haley-Blegen *AJA* 1928, p. 141 sqq on the period of the pre-Greek names.

2) Isionus frg. 17, *FHG* IV, p. 437 (if the textual tradition can be relied on).

3) *Pyth.* I, 65. The scholiast *ad loc.* accordingly states a poetical use of Amyklai for Sparta, Laconia.

the seventh king after Eurysthenes, the Spartans capture Pharis and Geranthrai without meeting resistance, and Amyklai only after a tough opposition of the Achaeans¹⁾. Satisfied with the results, the Dorians erected a tropaion in memory of their victory over the Achaeans and especially the Amyclaeans²⁾. The scholiasts on Pindar give further particulars about the fight³⁾. At first the Spartans did not succeed in subjecting the Amyclaeans, and at the advice of Apollo they called in the aid of the Aigeidai from Thebes. The latter were led by Timomachos, who brought military operations to a successful conclusion and enjoyed great honour among the Lacedaemonians. In memory of his exploits his bronze cuirass was shown afterwards at the Hyakinthia. It is difficult to estimate the historical value of these details, but a similar history, which did not reach back too far, must indeed have been connected with the cuirass of Timomachos. For the period which separates the capture of Amyklai from the beginning of reliable historical tradition has probably not been large.

According to ancient chronology Teleklos, under whose reign Amyklai was conquered, ruled from 853—814⁴⁾. These dates cannot be accepted; like many events the fight against the Achaeans seems also to have been ascribed to a too remote past. It may have been the eighth century in which Sparta extended its power to the southern regions. Berve supposes that the struggle with Amyklai began about 800⁵⁾, Toynbee⁶⁾ and Lenschau⁷⁾ estimate it later, in the second half of the eighth century. So the Spartans dwelled in their new settlement north of Amyklai many centuries, before they succeeded in penetrating southward, following their tactics of building an opposing fortress, which they also applied elsewhere⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Paus. III, 2, 6.

²⁾ Paus. III, 12, 9.

³⁾ Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* VI(I), 18 (after Aristoteles, frg. 532 Rose) and *Pyth.* V, 101.

⁴⁾ V. Ehrenberg *R. E.* V A, 324 sq, cf. *R. E.* III A 1375 sq.

⁵⁾ *Griech. Gesch.* I, p. 71. Cf. E. Kirsten *Neue Jahrb. f. Wiss.* 12, 1936, p. 385 sqq.

⁶⁾ *JHS* 1913, 23, p. 252 sqq.

⁷⁾ *Rhein. Mus.* 88, 1939, p. 137 sq; *Bursians Jahrb.* 261, 1938, p. 227 sq.

⁸⁾ E. d. Meyer *Gesch. d. Alt.* III², p. 252 sq (against Corinth the hill Solygeios, against Argos Temenion).

The final settlement of the quarrels seems to have been found in a compromise. The legal status of the Amyclaeans in the new situation is a privileged one in comparison with the rest of the subjected inhabitants. It cannot be said with certainty what their exact position became. Hampl is too sceptical when he doubts of the special treatment awarded to the population of Amyklai in contrast with the helots¹⁾. On the other hand Busolt's interpretation, that the traditions of the conquest reflect no military but political troubles²⁾, ascribes too important a part to constitutional difficulties. The armed fight against the ancient pre-Doric centre has late been brought to an issue and apparently did not pass off so successfully that an arbitrary oppression could be inflicted upon the opponents. This appears for instance from the fact that the Amyclaeans form part of the Spartan army³⁾, and that an inscription mentions Amyklai as an obe⁴⁾. The Amyclaeans were therefore incorporated in the Spartan state, probably on an equal footing with the Dorians⁵⁾. Only after the settlement of the struggle with the Achaeans it became possible to divide the country definitively into *kleroi*⁶⁾. Lenschrau⁷⁾ builds up a theory which assigns an important part in the reconstituting of the Spartan state to the Amyclaeans. He too thinks that only a political reform could put an end to the resistance of Amyklai; there followed a synoikism in which the inhabitants of Amyklai for the greater part migrated to Sparta; a new local division into obes included the ancient Dorian districts Limnai and Kynosoura, besides Pitane and Mesoa, formed by the extension, while Amyklai with the remainder of its citizens was counted as a fifth obe; this synoikism is said to have found its charter in the old rhetra. Lenschrau goes so far as to associate the Achaeans (and their centre Amyklai) with the royal house of

¹⁾ *Hermes* 1937, p. 40 (*Die lakedämonischen Periöken*).

²⁾ *Griech. Gesch.* I², p. 207.

³⁾ *Xen. Hell.* IV, 5, 11.

⁴⁾ Loeschke *AM* 3, 1878, p. 164 sqq; *I. G.* V, 1, 26; *SGDI* 4516; *Tod-Wace Catalogue* No. 441.

⁵⁾ Berve *Griech. Gesch.* I, p. 71; id. *Sparta* p. 14 sq. Bölte *R. E.* III A 1329; Glotz *Histoire grecque* I, p. 342. Pareti *Storia di Sparta arcaica* p. 175 sqq.

⁶⁾ Ehrenberg *R. E.* III A 1375 sqq.

⁷⁾ *Die Entstehung des spartanischen Staates* (*Klio* 30, 1937, p. 269—289); *Königshäuser Spartas* (*Rhein. Mus.* 88, 1939, p. 123—146).

the Agiadai, which under Teleklos became reconciled to the Dorian Eurypontidai and established itself in the new Spartan obes. To this annexation of the Achaeans with their pre-Hellenic admixture he ascribes the cultural revival of Sparta in the eighth and seventh centuries.

Some links of this argumentation have not yet been verified. The synoikism can hardly be confirmed and has been disputed¹⁾. For the position of the Amyklaion after the Dorian penetration, which is the point at issue, it is rather irrelevant whether Lenschau's interpretations are accepted or not, for he supposes the continuance of an obe Amyklai, which with the rest of its original population may have guaranteed the carrying on of the traditions. If the new obes were formed in this transition period, they probably obtained the greater part of their inhabitants from elsewhere (perhaps Achaeans who had joined the defenders of the Amyclaeian centre of resistance), while the real Amyclaeans remained in their quarters, even later on locally distinguished, in spite of their spreading over the whole army²⁾. A connexion of the royal house of the Agiadai with Amyklai does not appear anywhere; to what extent it is Achaean in origin may be left out of consideration here.*

It is less easy to remove the clan of the Aigeidai, which according to Aristoteles and others came to the rescue of the Dorians against Amyklai³⁾. Lenschau explains away the question of the Aigeidai as a *künstliche Hinaufschiebung eines späteren, geschichtlichen Ereignisses*, while others suppose them to be a third Spartan royal house⁴⁾. Traditions are so intricate that they are distrusted and give rise to other, contradictory combinations. K. O. Müller for example declares that the tradition is falsified and associates the Aigeidai with the Achaeans, who received them into Amyklai⁵⁾. Toynbee⁶⁾ and Wade-Gery⁷⁾ connect them with the Minyans who dwelled in Laconia, and suspect the leaders of this race behind them, which according to them was played off by

1) Toynbee *JHS* 23, 1913, p. 255 n. 35.

2) *Xen. Hell.* IV, 5, 11.

3) *Schol. Pind. Isthm.* VI(I), 18.

4) Lenschau *Rh. Mus.* 88, 1939, p. 133 sq., Toynbee *l.c.* p. 253.

5) *Orchomenos und die Minyer* p. 330 sq.

6) *JHS* 1913, p. 251 sqq.

7) *CAH* II, p. 539 sq.

the Dorians against the Achaeans and thereby received *isonomia* for itself. The falsification of tradition will probably not have gone so far as to reverse the factions. Though the auxiliary expedition of the Aigeidai gives rise to various explications in the ancient scholia¹⁾, their clan is persistently brought into connexion with Thebes²⁾. How lively the memory of this relation remained, appears from the fact that the Thebans knew the cuirass of Timomachos of the Hyakinthia and called it *δαλον*, according to the fragment of Aristoteles. It is possible that the Aigeidai left Thebes for Sparta only in later times. Their alleged earlier arrival with the Herakleidai in the days of Aristodemos³⁾ is no more than a later double to enhance the præstige of their clan. Since they fight against Amyklai, we cannot expect any contribution for the early development of this place from them.

As regards the Amyklaion, the sanctuary of the Amyclaeans, we can conclude from what precedes that in the transition period from Achaean to Dorian it had a fair chance to maintain itself in its original form. The Spartans were compelled to offer a privileged position in their state to the Amyclaeans and probably did not endeavour nor want to attack the principal cult of their new companions. They generally adopted a receptive attitude towards the religious institutions of the subdued populations⁴⁾; this was the more likely to happen after the pacific settlement of the dissensions with Amyklai. The Dorization does not appear to have had the meaning of a radical change for the cult in the Amyklaion, so that we may assume with some confidence that the local religious traditions continued in this phase.

None the less earlier revolutions of a more or less important character may have affected the site. For our knowledge of conditions at Amyklai before the compromise with Sparta the second version of the Dorization-legends is interesting, which describes an immediate occupation of the valley of the Eurotas and works with Amyklai on lines different from the episode of Teleklos. As stated above, a pro-Spartan tendency asserts itself here, derogatory to the

¹⁾ Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* VI(I), 18; cf. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* V, 96 and V, 101.

²⁾ The cult of the Erinyes of Laios and Oedipus, founded by the Aigeidai at Sparta, also points to Thebes (Herodot. IV, 149, 2).

³⁾ Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* VI(I), 18; *Pyth.* V, 101.

⁴⁾ Ed. Meyer *G. d. A.* III², p. 260.

trustworthiness of the accounts. Ephorus for instance describes how at the return of the Herakleidai Philonomos betrayed the country to the Dorians. The Achaeans were persuaded to go with their ruler to the Ionian area which since has been called Achaia; in reward of his treason Philonomos gets Amyklai as his separate share¹). As appears from his name this Philonomos is a typical abstraction to smooth over the exceptional situation of Amyklai, as if the Dorians had sanctioned the independent kingship there. According to Conon, who apparently also eliminates the Achaeans, the subjects of Philonomos came from Imbros and Lemnos²). But in the third generation they quarrelled with the Dorians, and together with some Spartans under the direction of Polis and Delphos they start for Crete, where they settle in Gortyn, after having left a contingent on Melos in passing.

This way of representing things perverts the facts but contains also valuable information. It need not be analysed separately, because it belongs to a complex of migratory legends which already appears in Herodotus. Amyklai does not yet play a part there. Minyans, descendants of the Argonauts, are expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians (who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron) and sail to Lacedaemon, where they are admitted into the phyles by the Lacedaemonians (because of the voyage of the Tyndaridai in the Argo). Later on, mistrusted and saved only by a feminine stratagem, they withdraw, some accompanying Theras in the colonization of Thera, most of them emigrating to Triphylia³). All this happens in the days of Proklos and Eurysthenes. The same version, though less circumstantial, may be extracted from Pausanias⁴).

The link between Herodotus and Conon is formed by the account of Plutarch⁵): The sons of the Tyrrhenians who had abducted the Athenian women from Brauron were expelled by the Athenians from Lemnos and Imbros. They came to Tainaron, supported the Spartans in the war of the Helots and received civil rights and

¹) *ap.* Strabo VIII, 5, 4 sq (p. 364 sq).

²) *Narr.* 36. Cf. Nicolaus Damasc. *Hist. Exc.* p. 445 (after an *interregnum* of the Herakleidai Philonomos comes from Lemnos with aspirant-inhabitants for Amyklai) and Conon *Narr.* 47. Both accounts are derived from Ephorus: Pareti *Storia di Sparta* p. 126 sq; Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* p. 24 sqq.

³) Herod. IV, 145—150.

⁴) VII, 2, 2 (cf. IV, 3, 4 and III, I, 7 on Theras).

⁵) *Mul. virt. Tyrrhenides, Moralia* 247 a-f and *Ait. Gr.* 296 B sq.

epigamy. Suspected, locked up, and saved by their wives the Pelasgians (!) are sent out as colonists led by the Spartans Pollis, Delphos and Krataidas¹). Some land on Melos, most of them, led by Pollis, on Crete. According to an oracle they are to found a town where they lose their anchor and goddess; this happens at Lyktos. Plutarch does not mention Amyklai as a starting-point either, but the oracle of the anchor is connected with the colonization of the Amyclaeans by Stephanus of Byzantium²), so that still other mosaic legends, more of the type of Conon, will no doubt have circulated, in which Amyklai was clearly inserted in the beginning of the tale.

A comparison of the three versions in Herodotus, Plutarch and Conon shows that a combinative fiction has been woven round many elements of truth, the motives of which cannot easily be traced separately and are partly irrelevant. Toynbee rightly exposes the attempt of fitting all traces of Minyans into a single genealogy³), so as to make one systematic connexion comprise Thessaly, Lemnos, Imbros, Laconia, Triphylia and other areas. But we shall indeed have to assume prehistoric connexions between the areas for which the logographers later on reconstructed migrations in the Dorian age; and it is interesting to see how Amyklai was involved in them.

In Sparta pre-Doric groups of inhabitants survived who probably were only of semi-Greek origin, as may be inferred from their mythical descent: sons of the Minyan Argonauts and the Lemnian women. They came presumably by sea, just as the legends have preserved it, and landed in places like Tainaron. These may be traces of trade-relations which have also been maintained with other centres from Late Mycenaean times onwards, among them "Minyan" ones⁴). Relations with Kalaureia and the Kalaurian league may be presumed from the foundation legend of the cult-places of Poseidon at Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron⁵). The allusions to Lemnos and Imbros class these islands among the bases which these seafaring Minyans may have had at their disposal.

Amyklai, which is provided with similar elements of population

¹) The text here is uncertain as regards the names.

²) s.v. Ὀνάχιον. Cf. Kirsten *R. E.* XVIII, 534.

³) *JHS* 23, 1913, p. 252.

⁴) Cf. Nilsson's opinions concerning the Minyan question *Myc. Or. Greek Myth.* p. 129 sqq, 149 sqq.

⁵) Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταύραος. *Wide LK* 42 sq. Nilsson *GF* 67 sqq.

in the version of Ephorus, may also have taken part in the relations mentioned, as a commercial town, via ports as Tainaron and Helos. But it is doubtful whether it may therefore be stamped as a Minyan trading-post. Herodotus, who gives the earliest version of the legends of the Minyans concerning Laconia, mentions only the Taygetos as the area of settlement, and as places of evacuation Thera and especially Triphylia¹). In the other and later accounts we hear of Melos and Crete, and it is no longer a matter of Minyans but of Tyrrhenians or Lemno-Imbrians. The Dorian colonization of Melos and Crete marked the direction for this late version of an emigration from Laconia, while the scheme for a dispute with a group of Spartiatai which was not considered of equal rank was found in the uprising of the Partheniai, which likewise was quelled with colonization (of Tarentum)²). The latter event is historical and served as a model for the replica in the dim past with the Lemno-Minyans as actors.

The solution of colonization was all the more welcome, because relations with Triphylia and Crete could indeed be traced. Triphylia belongs to the Herodotean legend of the Minyans, Crete to the recasting which involves Amyklai too in the fictive migrations. This looks as if with Amyklai a new element has been added to the stories of the Minyans, namely the relations with Crete, and that the latter may be of an older age than the Lemno-Imbrian connexions. The whole embroidery which Plutarch, Ephorus and Conon place before us is late Spartan fiction about intervention by the Dorians in affairs which were achieved wholly outside their competency. The distorted situation allows us to recognize Minyans who traded to the coasts of Sparta, and groups of inhabitants whose adventures were confused with theirs, and who are alleged to have withdrawn to Crete and Melos to meet the convenience of the Dorians. So far as we learn from the historical status of Amyklai, a retreat from Amyklai to Crete has been out of the question. The inhabitants fought for their rights against the intruders and saw their persistence rewarded. The evacuation to Crete, modelled upon the Dorian colonization of this island and Tarentum, can only be seen, just as the immigration from Lemnos and Imbros, as an explanation of

¹) Cf. Wade-Gery *CAH* III, p. 530.

²) See Toynbee *l.c.* p. 254 sq and Hiller von Gaertringen *Klio* 33, 1940, p. 62.

unmistakable relations, the original direction of which need not be the pretended one. The oracle of the fluke of the anchor, the interpretation of the name ³Ὀρύχτιον together with the colonization by the Amyclaeans fit in the later form of the legend, which claims the initiative and the honour for the Dorians. Other data, like the stereotypy of the story and the abiding residence of the Amyclaeans after the Achaean war, suggest that facts have been reversed here.

A town and a port Amyklaion were situated on Crete¹⁾, not far from Gortyn, as we also know from inscriptions²⁾. These facts provided the legends concerning the penetration of the Dorians with materials to eliminate the Amyclaeans and to open the field to the Dorian hegemony, in the way described by Ephorus and his followers. As this Dorian interpretation is to be rejected, we are free to give another explanation of the homonymy, namely with the aid of a pre-Dorian colonization from Crete to Laconia, especially Amyklai. The trend of the influence expressed in the names will have been from south to north. In this manner it becomes clear how Amyklai intruded into the story of the Minyan adventures in Laconia. For it contained relics of a population of non-Greek (*i.e.* Minoan) origin, which gave a ready opportunity for confusion with other *μυσοβάραροι* in these regions: the Minyans or Tyrrhenopelasgians. The homonymous Cretan place of evacuation formed a suitable termination of the revolt of the minorities, developed according to the models. Moreover, even if Crete is to be marked as the native country of the Amyclaeans, commercial relations may have been established with the "Minyans" who traded to Tainaron and presumably were the successors of the Cretan sailors.

The Graecizing of these groups of population will have made steady progress: a first stage was completed with the transition from Cretans to Minyans, while at Amyklai the Minoan component of the population will probably no more have prevailed than at other L.H. centres of the mainland. When fighting against the intruding Dorians was necessary, it were the Achaeans who managed to wage war successfully for centuries, and to make of their town the pre-Dorian stronghold the menace of which could only be warded off by a compromise. In the meantime the Amyclaean *μυσοβάραροι* have been absorbed in the Achaean majority, as we may suppose.

¹⁾ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμύκλαι, Eusth. ad Il. II, 584.

²⁾ SGDI 5025 (3rd-2nd century from Gortyn).

Thus Conon's paper migrations, which make Amyklai change population three times during the Dorian conquest (Achaean, Lemnians, Dorians), do not involve a real danger of a drastic interruption of the continuity.

A third Amyklai exists, which has not gained much fame and survived only through the phrase *tacitae Amyclae* (*Amunclae*, *Amynciae*). It was situated in South Latium near Tarracina and is said to have been founded by Laconians, companions of Castor and Pollux, who came to Italy with Glaukos, the son of Minos¹). These indications move the foundation to the Mycenaean age at least, presumably directly from Crete to Italy. The proverb *tacitae Amyclae* is explained in many ways and later on also referred to the Laconian Amyklai, which is uncorrect since the references are of a late date and all of them Roman²). It is said that the Latin town was deserted by its inhabitants because of a snake plague³); the name was only kept in remembrance with indications in the surroundings as *sinus Amyclanus*⁴), *mare Amyclanum*⁵), *λίμνη Μυκλαία*⁶).

The form *Amunclae*, which perhaps betrays Etruscan influence⁷), crops up again in North Africa, where between the Syrtes another town *Ἀμοδύκλα* appears in the list⁸). No particulars are given about it anywhere, perhaps the African settlement owes its origin to trade voyages in the same days when Amyclaeans landed in Latium. Then we may reconstruct a rather extensive *Lebensraum* of these pre-Greeks.

In historical days no colonization has been undertaken starting from Laconian Amyklai; though it was concerned in the foundation of Tarentum, as may be guessed from the account Antiochus gives

¹) Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* X, 564. Wuilleumier *Tarente* p. 44.

²) Verg. *Aen.* X, 564; *Pervig. Ven.* 92; Sil. It. *Pun.* VIII, 528; Auson. *Prof.* 15, 6 and *Epist.* 29, 26 etc. Hirschfeld *R.E.* I, 1997; A. Otto *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890) p. 24, No. 103.

³) Plin. *N. H.* III, 59 and VIII, 104; Isigonus frg. 17, *FHG* IV, 437.

⁴) Plin. *N. H.* XIV, 61.

⁵) Tac. *Ann.* IV, 59.

⁶) Isigonus *l.c.*

⁷) Cf. K. W. F. Schmidt *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, p. 1650 for parallels in Lucania.

⁸) Ptolemaeus IV, 3, 42.

of it, quoted by Strabo¹). After the Messenian war the sons who had been born during the campaign and were considered *ἄγιοι* (the *Παρθενίαι*) conspired and prepared an attempt which was to be carried out when Phalanthos gave a sign (by putting on his cap) during the *agon* at the Hyakinthia, in the Amyklaion. Treason makes the *coup d'état* a failure. It is not suppressed with violence but diverted by colonization to Tarentum, at the advice of the oracle. Phalanthos starts for it with his Partheniai and is welcomed by the barbarians and Cretans who were already living there.

The fact that this conflict broke out just during the Hyakinthia (a detail which in its preciseness may be historical) suggests that Amyclaeans were involved in the conspiracy. But as tradition does not make further mention of this, W uilleumier's idea that the colonization is an exclusively Amyclaean expedition is exaggerated²). Tarentum was founded in the last decennium of the eighth century³). The days of the fierce fight between Sparta and Amyklai had only just passed, and possibly some Achaean rancour contributed to the plot. Amyklai and the Hyakinthia were therefore a suitable opportunity to carry out an attempt against the Dorians; though from the choice of the terrain it also appears that the Spartans had penetrated there and attended the celebration of the Hyakinthia, otherwise the design had no sense. At Tarentum, where hardly any traces of pre-Dorian dialect have been left, the tomb of Apollo Hyakinthos⁴) bears witness to a transmission of the cult in olden times and in its Amyclaean form, probably effected under the influence of colonists from the Achaean centre itself.

T o y n b e e's hypothesis⁵) that Phalanthos, the leader of the conspiracy and the colonization, was the last king of the Aigeidai,

¹) Strabo VI, 3, 2 (278 sq) *FHG* I, p. 184, frg. 14. For a discussion of the various sources about the colonization of Tarentum see P. W uilleumier *Tarente* p. 29 sqq; J. B é r a r d *La colonisation grecque* etc. p. 176 sqq; P a r e t i o.c. p. 208 sq, 224 sqq; B u s o l t *Griech. Gesch.* I², p. 405 sqq.

²) Some late sources (B é r a r d o.c. p. 183, 7) have no demonstrative force because of their poetical use of the name of Amyklai. W uilleumier o.c. p. 40 sqq.

³) W uilleumier p. 45 sqq; B é r a r d p. 184; M y r e s *CAH* III, p. 649 and 674; W a d e - G e r y *ibid.* p. 537; E h r e n b e r g *R. E.* XIX, 1623 sq.

⁴) Polybius VIII, 30, 28. G i a n n e l l i *Culti e miti della magna Grecia* p. 18 sqq.

⁵) *JHS* 1913, p. 256.

which clan according to him exercised the patronage over the Hyakinthia, cannot be accepted for lack of evidence. Presumably Phalanthos is not an historical figure¹⁾, but his meaning had better be left out of discussion here. The form of the Amyclaeon cult at Tarentum will be considered later on.

The historical and quasi-historical traditions about Amyklai which may be thought of some importance for the development of the Amyklaion are as good as exhausted with this. There exist many other allusions to the little town, which, however, as a poetical licence must be reduced to the conclusion, that by its tenacious resistance Amyklai became a famous pre-Doric centre to which all kinds of mythical traditions were attached which originally did not descend from there. Thus it has to be explained, when Agamemnon is said to have died at Amyklai²⁾, and when a grave of Agamemnon is shown on the spot³⁾. The Spartans themselves cultivated such traditions, intended to magnify the glory of their country in Mycenaean days. Thus the ancient Amyclaeon goddess Alexandra was connected with the Trojan saga via Alexandros-Paris, and proclaimed Cassandra⁴⁾; while Klytaimnestra was erected in effigy⁵⁾, all this to promote the illusion that Amyklai had been the ancient residence of Agamemnon. In the matter of colonization this method makes Pindar say that Peisander and Orestes leave Amyklai for Tenedos⁶⁾. When finally Kyrene is alleged to have been inhabited by Amyclaeon men⁷⁾, the ethnical indication is entirely due to the metonymical use of Amyklai. Since the time of Pindar Amyklai has passed for the ancient Sparta *par excellence*⁸⁾; when apart from the poetical records no confirmation can be found, the testimonies

¹⁾ Ehrenberg *R.E.* XIX, 1624; Bérard *o.c.* p. 184 sq; Willeumier *o.c.* p. 36 sqq, the latter sees a Tarentine fusion of Apollo and Hyakinthos in Phalanthos, a hypothesis yielding little elucidation. Cf. p. 518.

²⁾ Pindar *Pyth.* XI, 31 sq.

³⁾ Paus. III, 19, 6.

⁴⁾ Cf. I. Harrie *ARW* 23, 1925, p. 359 sqq, who thinks that these traditions were formed in the 7th century. Farnell *Hero Cults* p. 329 sqq.

⁵⁾ Paus. III, 19, 6.

⁶⁾ Pind. *Nem.* XI, 33 sqq. Cf. Nilsson *Myc. Or. Gr. Myth.* p. 69 sqq. Herakles is said to have been purified by Deiphobos at Amyklai (Apollod. II, VI, 2), probably also late make.

⁷⁾ Dionysius *Perieg.* 213 with Eusth. *ad l.*

⁸⁾ Cf. Wade-Gery *CAH* II, p. 539.

are useless for the investigation of real relations maintained by Amyklai.

Beside the data thus collected about the history of the town (later *obe*) of Amyklai, we may put the stratification of the Amyklaion, which has been recorded after repeated excavations¹). By a comparison we can see whether the parallelism in development which may be reasonably expected can indeed be found to have existed between tradition and archaeological remains. In what precedes the Amyklaion has already incidentally been mentioned in connexion with the adventures of Amyklai itself; here the history of the sanctuary comes first and if possible will be linked up with the facts discussed already. A comparison of the two heterogeneous traditions remains hypothetical in character, of course. If the site of Amyklai itself had been identified, prehistoric remains would probably come to light, furnishing a much directer illustration of the connexion with the Amyklaion.

The hill on which the Amyklaion stood, and which later bore a little church of H. Kyriakí (demolished for the sake of the excavations), was an inhabited place already in the early bronze age (B 4), like other heights which dominate the valley of the Eurotas²). Remnants have been found of a wall of rough stones (B 4, F 126), a grave with a small bronze knife (Ts 14), remnants of cottages, animal bones, mill-stones and obsidian (B 4, T-W No. 693, 19, obsidian continues to be in use in the bronze age, found elsewhere in Laconia T-W 221, probably originating from Melos). The finds of ceramics consist for two thirds of sherds of rough and unpainted pottery, which need not be extremely old (B 9). The black variety of the Minyan ware predominates³), with hanging curves as orna-

¹) Tsountas in the year 1891 (*Eph. arch.* 1892, 1-26);

Furtwängler in the year 1904, completed by Fiechter and Skias 1907 (*Arch. Jb.* 1918, p. 107-245); Buschor and Von Massow in the year 1925 (*Gnomon* II, 1926, p. 120, *AM* 52, 1927, p. 1-85).

N.B. The principal publications will be cited in the following survey as resp. Ts, F, B with the number of the pages. Furthermore T-W: *Tod-Wace A catalogue of the Sparta Museum.*

²) Cf. Picard *L'Acropole* 1929, p. 209.

³) Description by C. W. Vollgraff *BCH* 30, 1906, p. 11 sqq, fig. 9-14, at Argos. Also at Mycenae, Korakou (*Blegen Korakou*, 1921, p. 17 sqq speaks of a local, probably Peloponnesian imitation of the grey Minyan), Zygouries (*Blegen Zygouries*, 1928, p. 126, only a dozen of sherds), Prosymna (*Blegen*

ments (B fig. 1—5), the grey Minyan is only one sixth of the black ware (B 6). Buschor explains this proportion by supposing a different import, resp. from Argolis and Boeotia, but we have to reckon with local varieties and need not too readily think of one centre of export¹). Matt-painted pottery is scanty (two vases Ts 12, B *Beilage* I, 4, 5); the glazed variety continues still in the same period (B 6), moreover some sherds with incised lines (B 8). This collection gives a fair possibility of dating; especially the period from 2000—1800 is to be considered for the first inhabitation (B 9).

Sherds of *Urfirnis*, however, allow a moving up of the date to the end of the third millennium, though they occur rather sporadically²). So the continuous group of the earliest finds on the hill may be supposed to cover a period from c. 2200—1800. After this no regular development can be stated. Though the fragmentary character of the first excavations and the compulsory interruptions of these investigations do not allow an incontestable reconstruction of the stratification, this much is clear that after the opening period of the inhabitation a break in the continuity occurred. In view of the vicinity of prehistoric and protogeometric sherds Furtwängler already arrived at the conclusion that the hill must have been inhabited in pre- or early Mycenaean days, while only in the Late Mycenaean period a sanctuary seems to have existed (F 126 sq.). Buschor had new evidence at his disposal and stated that a gap of some centuries separated the pre-Mycenaean debris from the next cultural remains (B 10). The Late Mycenaean finds which he could add to those of his predecessors are *schichtenmässig* not connected with the preceding ware (B 10). The break can be stated in the washed-away debris at the foot of the hill. Buschor concludes that the hill must have been unoccupied for some time³).

This inference agrees with Furtwängler's surmise of a

Prosymna, 1937 p. 379, few fragments, fig. 639, 5—7). Cf. Wace-Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912) p. 223 about the technique. The proportion of black to grey Minyan is typical for Amyklai.

¹) Wace-Blegen *Klio* 32, 1939, p. 132 sqq.

Cf. Furtwängler p. 127: no import, but local products.

²) Cf. S. Fuchs *Die griech. Fundgruppen* p. 152, E 21: two sauce-boats.

³) Even if the makers of the simple prehistoric ceramics left the hill only under the sudden pressure of the newcomers, conclusions for the cult-history remain the same.

difference between a normal habitation in earlier age and a later use of the hill as a precinct. Busehor adopts this supposition. Before the break not a single obvious votive offering came to light among the finds, and the remnants of the huts rather point to a profane settlement (B 9 sq, F 125 sq).

So the results of the excavations plead against a continuity from the earliest period onwards, and as regards the history of the cult they dissuade us to think of a derivation of un-Hellenic names as Amyklaion and Hyakinthos from the first occupants; which theoretically would have been possible, because in the transition period from E. H. to M. H. especially a pre-Greek population can be expected. We may assume therefore that on the elevation of the Amyklaion at the beginning of the second millennium a little village was situated, similar to many others, where no doubt gods will have been worshipped, though not on a large and *temenos*-like scale, as afterwards on the same spot. The inhabitants remain unknown to us, even if one would like to call them Leleges or some other race mentioned for Laconia. The sources of the history of Amyklai do not reach back far enough to elucidate this question.

Though it is possible that in these old times Amyklai existed already and continued its existence independent of the inhabitation of the hill, it appeared from the local traditions that it is probably a settlement originating from Crete. This point may well agree with the archaeological results, for the first signs of occupation after the supposed gap of a few centuries are sherds of the Knossos Palace Style (B 10, T-W 245, No. 798), probably local imitations, but yet a signal of a direct influence of Crete at the moment when the renewal begins. It may be presumed that commercial relations of Crete led to the establishment of Amyklai in Laconia¹⁾, and that this factory, called into being by Minoan merchants, soon got a mixed population by the participation of the surrounding Achaeans. The latter were in all respects the receiving and learning party, so that a transmission of the Hyakinthos-cult from Crete to Amyklai, a *τόπος καλλιδενδρότατος και καλλιχαρπότητος*²⁾, becomes rather likely for this period. A domain was chosen for the deity, which, as a hill, fulfilled the requirements of the cult, and was annexed to Amyklai,

¹⁾ Cf. Tod-Wace p. 222.

²⁾ Polybius V, 19, 2.

though it maintained probably connexions with other Mycenaean centres of the neighbourhood too¹). The Cretans introduced their rites and institutions into it, so that the palpable evidence of the sherds of the palace style may pass for a pendant of the traditional name and other traces of Hyakinthos. So for Amyklai his origin in the Late Minoan age is most acceptable, through which also for other places (e.g. Attica) a tradition from E.H. onwards loses much of its probability.

The Cretan sherds with their "bold flower patterns" (T-W 245) are soon followed by fragments of Late Mycenaean pottery and the votive offerings which were mentioned in the discussion of the rites: female idols, cows, horses, labrys and the like (B 10 sqq, T-W 798 I b, 550, Ts 13 sq), all of this in sufficient quantity to illustrate how at Amyklai too the Minoan influence is assimilated by the inhabitants of the mainland²). From this development we can clearly see that even after Minoan influence ceased the Amyklaion could continue its traditions. The series of *ex voto's* is uninterrupted up to the Roman age. Ceramics are also represented continuously, but in a succession and mutual relation of styles which is variously interpreted. The sub-Mycenaean and protogeometric layers overlap (B 12), at about 1100 therefore both styles were used at the Amyklaion. Buschor calls this an indication of a new impulse, given by the Dorian immigration. He conceives the contact of Amyklai with the Dorians in the form of an alliance, so long as Amyklai had not yet been captured (B 12 sq). Since it appeared from the

¹) Cf. the vegetative rites that have been proved for the neighbouring Vaphio by gems as Nilsson *GgR* pl. 7, 4 and 13, 8.

²) Owing to the lack of international communication we can only refer in a note to the thesis of F. R. Grace (*AJA* 1940, p. 105), who curiously defends that no votive offerings can be dated before 700 B. C. and that therefore the archaic *temenos* of Apollo is the earliest thing of its kind on the hill. Not to mention the difficulty of the late dating of the idols and the rest, this theory is untenable because it excludes the possibility of a Hyakinthos-cult existent at Amyklai. Moreover at the end of the eighth century there were already Hyakinthia (*Putsch* of the Partheniai) so before Grace's *temenos*. It is true there exists difference of opinion as to the age of some pieces, for instance the two terracotta heads (of different age?) Tsountas pl. IV, 4 and 5, col. 13 sq, which are dated from Mycenaean to Late Geometric: Tod-Wace p. 222 sq. Kunze *AM* 55, 1930, p. 155 sq (dangerous way of interpreting); Jenkins *BSA* 1932/33 p. 68, 1; Buschor p. 11; R. Hampe *Frühe griech. Sagenbilder* p. 32 and pl. 31, 2.

tradition that the alliance came only into being after enmity and military conflicts, B u s c h o r's solution is not a happy one. In view of the protogeometric finds of Amyklai, though they differ from the Spartan protogeometric ware, S k e a t goes so far as to postulate a Dorian culture for Amyklai (if a politically independent one, but then the influence is quite enigmatic) and to declare that the historical traditions are untrustworthy¹). He opposes the seeking of connexions between the Mycenaean and protogeometric art of the Amyklaion. J. P. D r o o p is more guarded in his statements²), pointing to the possibility that the typical protogeometric "Amyklaion-style" is the earliest form taken by geometric ware in Laconia, on a site where L.H. was found. But this does not imply any connexion between the two wares, for according to D r o o p the old settlement may have been one of the first places of residence of the new immigrants.

One of the causes of these difficulties is the reserving of the geometric (or protogeometric) style for the Dorians. Amyklai is one of the contra-proofs which cannot be explained away. The proto-geometric style of the Amyklaion had better be considered a creation of the Achaeans, as M y r e s³) and K r a i k e r⁴) defend. Attica is another instance of the forming of the new style without Dorian influence: "*Da Attika, das durch die dorische Wanderung selbst nicht berührt wurde, am schnellsten zu einer neuen Form gelangte und diese am reinsten ausbildete, dürfen wir sogar die Möglichkeit nicht abweisen, dass das vordorische Griechentum, das in dem Masse, wie in spätmykenischer Zeit die aus Fremdem genährte mykenische Kultur in sich zusammenfiel, auf seine eigene Gestaltungskraft hingewiesen wurde, auch ohne dorischen Kräftezustrom zur eigenen Form hindurchgefunden hätte*" (K ü b l e r⁵)). Such argumentations, which properly speaking are psychological, involve certain dangers but may not be eliminated. For Amyklai and the Amyklaion K ü b l e r's representation has a chance of cor-

1) *The Dorians in archaeology* p. 32 sqq, cf. p. 63. Another appreciation of the protogeometric ware by H e u r t l e y - S k e a t *BSA* 31, 1930/31, p. 41 sqq.

2) *Artemis Orthia* (Ed. by R. M. D a w k i n s) p. 60 sqq.

3) *Who were the Greeks?* (1930) p. 477.

4) Review of S k e a t *The Dorians*, *Gnomon* 1935, 641—649, especially 643—4; *Die Antike* 1939, p. 221 sqq. *Kerameikos I*, p. 162 sqq.

5) *Kerameikos I*, p. 217.

rectness. The rather strong Minoan influx, which in a regular interplay between Achaean and Minoan elements had produced a Late Mycenaean style, ceased and deprived the Amyclaeans, after a period of gliding on along the old grooves (sub-Mycenaean), of their inspiratory sources. They will probably not have come to the creation of the newly appearing linear decoration-style in total independence. The analogous situation elsewhere, for instance in Attica, with its extensive protogeometric finds of the Kerameikos, of course supposes contact between the various centres of manufacture. Accordingly a continuation of the mutual connexions between the Achaean inhabitants of several regions may be assumed, even after the Dorian interference.

From which centre the renewing influence, soon to instruct the Dorians too, issued, is a question which at present belongs to the unsolved problems and which can only be elucidated by a study of the materials, which it is hoped will augment before long. The striking parallels in figural motives with the near East (Elam), a great number of which has been documented by A. R o e s, point to the origin of one of the components¹⁾, though the part of intermediary cannot yet be assigned to a special race or country. Moreover we must neither eliminate the Mycenaean inheritance, if only in its gradually decayed sub-Mycenaean form²⁾, nor the artistic disposition of the Greek receivers and assimilators of the influences. For Attica and Amyklai these seem to have been Achaeans, in the small Laconian town always somewhat lagging behind the development in less provincial regions like Attica. Yet the formation of this new style is also for Amyklai quite an event, which must be considered parallel to the offering of the first successful resistance against the Dorian intruders: two circumstances suitable to strengthen the Achaean-Amyclaeian self-confidence. In this time the Minoan remainder of the population will probably have been pushed to the background, and we may expect to find traces of this revival in religious respect too. Without anticipating the development of the

¹⁾ A. R o e s *De oorsprong der geometrische kunst* (1931).

²⁾ Very recently M. P a l l o t t i n o (*Critica d'Arte* VII, 1942, p. 1—17) defended again the continuous development of the Greek from the Mycenaean art, referring e.g. to new Lemnian finds. His archaeological argumentation does not exhaust the material, though part of it is acceptable. The accompanying historical theory is very revolutionary.

cult, we may in this connexion hint at the possibility of the intrusion of Apollo.

The higher strata of the Amyklaion-hill give less occasion to divergences of opinion. Geometric develops quietly from proto-geometric and profits by the same argumentations. Both sorts of remains lie together in the filling behind the wall which in the archaic age was run up round the temenos (B 32), while an archaic to Hellenistic layer before the wall of the terrace speaks of fire and destruction in early Christian age. The development which may be read from the excavated remains, ranging from archaic times onwards, is of great importance for the sanctuary, because then it rose to a very considerable official cult-complex. As regards ethnical and racial differences there is no longer matter for discussion, since the Dorians became reconciled to Amyklai and its god and diligently contributed to its prosperity. In accordance with the historical reconstruction no traces are found of the coming of the Dorians (for only penetration by violence would have been sharply marked), but the extension of the temenos during the archaic period (B 155qq), the golden age of the Amyklaion, is due to their assistance. While during the geometric period only part of the hill was occupied by the sanctuary, without a reconstruction being possible from palpable remnants, in archaic days the whole of the hill is annexed to it; a peribolos-wall surrounds the open sides of the height, and after some time, about 500, the Magnesians Bathykles comes to devote his talents to the monumentalizing of the domain. The Amyklaion has then acquired great fame and in the form it has obtained it remains one of Sparta's most important cult-centres, as it is even attested in official state-documents¹⁾.

Summarizing we may give something like the following chronology based on tradition and stratification:

15th century: foundation of Amyklai and the Amyklaion by Cretans.

Mixed culture, increasing participation of the Achaeans.

c. 1100/1000: The Achaeans, thrown for the most part on their own resources, adopt a new artistic style and in military respect an attitude of alertness. Prolonged struggle with the Dorians.

c. 750: conclusion by a compromise, status of the Amyklaeans

¹⁾ Thuc. V, 23, 4.

unimpaired. The Dorians take part in the cult and raise Apollo Amyklaios to one of their leading deities.

c. 500: activity of Bathykles in the enlarged *temenos*.

It appeared from the gradual and peaceful shifting from Minoans to Achaeans and Dorians that the continuity in the sanctuary was never sharply interrupted. This is a satisfactory result for the examination of the rites, for the very ancient descent of the traditional customs need not be denied. Now there remain two points in the religious development which require explanation:

- 1° When and how penetrated Apollo into the Amyklaion?
- 2° What is the meaning of the "throne" and pillar-shaped statue, elaborately described by Pausanias, a structure crowning the hill instead of a temple?

The superposition of Apollo on Hyakinthos at Amyklai, since Rohde no longer disputed, could most simply be explained if the conquering Dorians had set aside the old cult and triumphantly introduced Apollo into the domain. But on the one hand the entry of the Dorians was not quite so suitable for a similar display of superiority, and on the other hand the Amyclaeian Apollo appears to enjoy a wider prevalence than the Dorians could have gained for him. Moreover legend would probably have preserved vestiges of an arrival in the eighth century. The intrusion of Apollo must therefore have occurred in an earlier phase, for which the Achaeans alone may be held responsible. The much disputed question of the origin and primary nature of Apollo may remain largely undecided in our case. Whether the Achaeans introduced him as a deity of their own or as one they inherited from Asia Minor does not make any difference for Amyklai. What matters is how he succeeded in invading the sanctuary of Hyakinthos.

For this purpose we may first trace the diffusion of his worship ¹⁾. In addition to the Amyklaion itself and Epidauros, where a votive inscription to Apollo Amyklaios ²⁾ bears witness of a probably single transmission, two important localizations are generally adduced: Cyprus and Crete. The value of the Cyprian records has

¹⁾ On Apollo Amyklaios see W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* p. 10 sqq and M. H. Swindler *Cretan elements in the cults of Apollo* p. 33 sqq.

²⁾ I. G. IV², 1, 445.

rather often been doubted because of the curious bilingual inscription (Phoenician-Greek) which identifies Apollon Amyklos to Resheph Mkl¹). Foucart²) and Ohnefalsch-Richter³) for instance already assumed that men wanted to indicate the Phoenician god with a Greek name and thus hit upon Apollo of Amyklai because of an external sound-affinity. It was a curious procedure to put more confidence in the title Mkl (which also occurs in some other Phoenician inscriptions of Cyprus but the vocalization of which is unknown) than in Amyklaios, well-known from elsewhere. Moreover in a second Cyprian inscription Apollo Amyklaios appears autonomous⁴). This is left out of account by the Phoenicizing argumentations, as well as by the later literature which has occupied itself with the mysterious Mkl. For a new perspective was opened by the discovery of a god Mkr or Mkl (in Egyptian script) in the N. Palestine Beth Shan, who was worshipped there in the 15th century B.C.⁵). The Cyprian Mkl of more than a millennium later was quoted and decided the spelling alternative in favour of Mkl, as he was recognized to be a later offshoot of the Canaanite god. Mkl would then have been imported to Cyprus by Phoenicians⁶) or earlier by Syrians⁷), and have been translated into Amyklaios afterwards owing to an "ingenious adaptation" of the Greeks⁸). The identity of Mkl and Mkl/r, however, is not an established fact, so a strong support cannot be found in the Canaanite past⁹). Nor

¹) *SGDI* I, 59; *CIS* I, 1, No. 89 and pl. XIII (c. 375 B.C.).

²) *BCH* 1883, p. 513.

³) *Kypros* p. 171, 4; 341 sq. The speculations about Apollo Amyklaios, which Ohnefalsch-Richter borrows from Meister (*Die griech. Dialekte* II, p. 147 sqq), are nonsense, for *iv vñau āšadū bei eingetretener Dürre* would have to reappear in the Phoenician text too, which, however, concludes with a blessing, like the Greek.

⁴) *Rev. arch.* 1874, 1, p. 90 (G. Colonna Ceccaldi), discovered at Dali (Idalion).

⁵) A. Rowe *The topography and history of Beth-Shan* p. 10 sqq.

⁶) A. Mallon *Syria* IX, 1928, p. 124 sqq.

⁷) E. Power *The ancient gods and language of Cyprus* etc. (*Biblica* 10, 1929, p. 165 sqq).

⁸) Adherents of this adaptation-theory are Mallon *loc. cit.*; Power *loc. cit.* p. 129 sqq; Vincent (*Le Ba'al Cananéen et sa Parèdre, Revue Biblique* 37, 1928, p. 524 sqq); Eissfeldt *ARW* 1934, 31, p. 27 sqq, Hesitatingly S. A. Cook *The religion of ancient Palestine in the light of archaeology* (1930) p. 128 sqq.

⁹) A. Rowe *loc. cit.* p. 15.

is it necessary to take Mkl of Cyprus, whom Power thinks he recognizes in a theophorous proper name and an Akkadian inscription of Amathus¹⁾, for a derivative of Amyklaios. It may be a question of chance assonance, perhaps not even a striking one in view of the unknown vowels of Mkl. Apollo Amyklaios, who appears at Idalion both independent and with Phoenician interpretation as Resheph Mkl²⁾, has not been summoned late and from an out-of-the-way place to Cyprus in order to Graecize Mkl, but must have been worshipped there for a long time already as an inheritance of Greek colonists. Expeditions to the East, starting from the Peloponnese, brought Achaeans to Cyprus, and it is they who will have to be held responsible for the presence of the Amyclaeian god in the island³⁾.

Finally it is again the turn of Crete, with the question how this time the parts of starting-point and sphere of influence have to be divided. But first of all the materials concerned of the island must be inspected. In addition to the town of Amyklaion and its inhabitants *Ἀμυκλαῖοι* in the neighbourhood of Gortyn⁴⁾, for the same region a god *Ἀμυκλαῖος* and a homonymous month are mentioned. The month appears in a treaty between Gortyn and Knossos⁵⁾ as the first month of the Gortynian calendar, falling in autumn, and coinciding with Nekysios at Knossos. The god is discovered in the law of Gortyn, according to which women swear to *Ἀρτεμιν παρ' Ἀμυκλαῖον παρὰ τὰν Τοκσίαν*⁶⁾. Commentators agree that *selbstverständlich* Apollo is meant here⁷⁾. This solution is logical for a fifth century inscription, but perhaps this very indication of the god by the name Amyklaios gives a clue for the way in which Apollo achieved his penetration. It appears from the name of the month Amyklaios that this title, if originally local, yet soon got a religious value. "The god of Amyklai" is a terminology used by the worshippers in Crete as well as in Laconia. As late as in the days of

1) o.c. p. 133 and 141.

2) Cf. Evans on the attempts at identification *P. o. M.* II, p. 480.

3) Cf. Myres *CAH* III, p. 644. S. Casson *Ancient Cyprus* (1937) p. 57.

4) Steph. Byz. s.v., *SGDI* I, 5025.

5) *SGDI* 5016, 24 — *Monum. Antichi* I, p. 50, Cf. p. 55 and 58, frg. 2 (Halbherr). Bischoff *R.E.* X, 1581 sq.

6) *SGDI* 4991, col. III, 7 — *AM* 1884, IX, 376. Cf. M. Guarducci *Studi e Materiali di Stor. d. Rel.* XII, 1936, p. 181 sqq.

7) *SGDI* l.c.

Pausanias the god is called by this name¹). It is conceivable that this title of Amyklaïos was applied to the local god from old, also in the days when Hyakinthos had no rival to fear yet. Then Apollo could present himself as a second possibility of interpretation for the title and by this process make an unpretentious entry without impairing the existent local customs. The god remained Amyklaïos, by which men formerly understood the Cretan Hyakinthos, afterwards an adapted Apollo, who met with more comprehension from the side of the later Greeks than the curious heritage of the Minoans.

So the title "Ἀρτεμις παρ' Ἀμυκλαίων παρ τὰν Τοκσίαν need not be accepted as a proof that on Crete Apollo Amyklaïos was worshipped. "Amyklaïos" may have been preserved here from the dim past as a name of the vegetation-god, in whose surroundings the figure of Artemis is as appropriate as in Apollo's²). Τοκσία, itself an epithet of Artemis³), seems to allude here to another goddess again.

The usurpation of the local and religious title of Amyklaïos is one side of the arrival of Apollo, and the one which left the most permanent impression upon Laconian Amyklai. But the immediate cause and the possibility of the Apolline penetration have to be found in essential points of contact. In connexion with the rites of the Hyakinthia the affinities of the joyous part of the celebrations (among which lyre playing and paeon) to Apolline ritual were pointed out. Apollo was a many-sided god who could absorb all sorts of aspects of minor deities. With the Minoan god of hunting and vegetation (who appears on the seals) he has the handling of bow and arrow in common⁴). It is true we have no tradition mentioning hunting as

¹) III, 18, 9; III, 19, 6 (the Amyclaeans θεῶν σέβουσι --- τὸν τε Ἀμυκλαίων καὶ Διώνυσον), IV, 14, 2. Cf. Wilamowitz *Hermes* 38, 1903, p. 581 sq about the god of Amyklai.

M. H. Swindler justly stresses the parallelism in titles Delphinios-Delphinion (god-temenos), Smintheus-Sminthion, Amyklaïos-Amyklaion (p. 66). The title of Apollo is already Ἀπόλλων ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ in Thucydides V, 23, 5, as the stamps of the tiles found in the Amyklaion also read (*AM* 1927, p. 64).

²) The title παρ' Ἀμυκλαίων may be compared with Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Ἀμυκλαίῳ καλουμένη Paus. III, 18, 8. M. Guarducci *l.c.* thinks the Cretan Amyklaïos is an import of Achaeans, though she separates him from the port of Amyklaion and the village of the Amyklaioi.

³) R. E. VI A, 1845 sq (Kruse). Cf. M. Guarducci *l.c.*

⁴) Cf. R. D. Miller *The origin of Apollo* p. 52 sq, p. 58.

a characteristic occupation of Hyakinthos¹), but it is proper to the type and the pillar-statue of Amyklai, which carries the hunting weapons. The mysterious disc of the Hyakinthos-legend too seems to descend from a lump of stone, handled less from sportive pleasure than for hunting purposes²). On Crete Apollo shows features similar to those connecting him with Hyakinthos³). Cretan stone-throwing figures are the Minotauros⁴) and Talos⁵), who rather aim at human prey, but a hunter out for game with bow and stone is a coin-type representing Apollo in a Cretan modification. At Eleutherna he frequently appears in this way⁶). Not only bow and stone, but also tree motives are associated with him; a dog accompanies him when hunting; on other coins a lyre proves his identity⁷). The connexion with the vegetation should not be considered a chance decorative motive, but points to tree-cult associations of the hunting god, a combination current from old on Crete and apparently annexed without any scruples by Apollo. At Tyllissos on the N. coast of Crete⁸) Apollo figures as a reverse type of coins representing Hera Antheia, here provided with attributes as a bow, a goat's head which he carries in his hand⁹), a shrub or little tree, and some-

¹) Except in Ovid *Met.* X, 171 sqq, perhaps from an ancient source.

²) Cf. S. Solders *ARW* 32, 1935, p. 150, who, however, goes too far with his hypothesis of a stoning aition for the Hyakinthia. See Ch. V *infra*, for the mythology.

³) For the Cretan Apollo cf. the works quoted of W. Aly and M. H. Swindler, and C. Picard *Ephèse et Claros* p. 458 sq, 467 and 563.

⁴) On coins, e.g. Cook *Zeus* I, p. 720, fig. 536 at Knossos.

⁵) See Frazer ad Paus. I, 21, 4. Cf. Aktaion at Orchomenos Paus. IX, 38, 5.

⁶) Svoronos *Crète* pl. XI, 4. The disc-lump has given rise to many conjectures. Svoronos proposes: Apollo Styrakites. But the parallels of Talos and other coins bear out the interpretation of the stone as a hunting weapon. Cf. Aly *o.c.* p. 6 sq. W. Wroth *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 28 sqq, pl. II, 5: Apollo as a Cretan hunter, coins of the fifth century.

⁷) Svoronos pl. XII, 4 and 5.

⁸) *ibid.* pl. XXX, 29—32; Wroth *l.c.* pl. II, 8; Aly p. 48, 1. Tyllissos is the state which concluded a treaty with Knossos and Argos in which the *Faxivdia* are mentioned: *BCH* 1913, p. 279 sqq. A comparison of the coin-types of Tyllissos and Argos (*Head Hist. Num.* p. 478 and 438) demonstrates that Tyllissos as well as Argos worshipped Hera Antheia (Paus. II, 22, 1). Cf. the coins of Knossos, *Head* p. 461.

⁹) Hunting connexion, with the Cretan Zeus, however, an allusion to the youth-saga.

times an arrow-head. In some cases the plants are clearly accentuated¹⁾. On Gortynian coins Apollo sits on a rock as a hunter holding bow and arrows²⁾. More significant is his seat at Chersonesos, which by the way is connected by Plutarch with the arrival of the Lemnians and Imbrians³⁾. As the reverse of an Artemis-type appears *Apollon nu, assis sur le tronc d'un arbre, tenant de la main gauche une lyre, et de la dr. un disque*⁴⁾. Connexions with the saga of Hyakinthos are not even excluded here, if the object Apollo holds in his hand is indeed to be explained as a quoit. Apollo sits on a tree trunk, holding a garland and a lyre, on a Cretan didrachm of unknown provenance⁵⁾.

In summing up we can state that the attributes of the Cretan Apollo: bow and arrow, disc-stone, hound, goat's head, lyre, shrubs, trees and plants mark him as a successor of the Minoan hunting god in his youthful, but grown-up stage. He has not adopted the child-form with its peculiar mythology, perhaps because the story of his birth had been fixed before on Delos, perhaps also because Zeus forestalled him in annexing those Minoan oddities⁶⁾. The association of Apollo and the Cretan hunter god was no *tour de force* but a natural solution, when the Achaeans (to whom Apollo was familiar, even if he had been imported) sought a denomination for the god with the hunting attributes in their own experience. The vegetative emblems become somewhat less prominent, though Apollo's laurel guarantees his being no new-comer on this terrain either.

Thus the succession Hyakinthos-Apollo finds its illustration on Cretan coin-types. The transition has not been a violent or a forced one, but a gradual substitution of denomination for a somewhat

¹⁾ Svoronos pl. XXI, 6.

²⁾ Wroth *l.c.* p. 38, pl. II, 9.

³⁾ *Virt. Mul.* 8; Svoronos introduction to the chapter on Chersonesos *o.c.* p. 49, Kirsten *R.E. Suppl.* VII, p. 84—90.

⁴⁾ Svoronos *o.c.* pl. III, 17. 4th century? The Artemis type of the obverse probably represents Britomartis, who had a temple at Chersonesos (*Head Hist. Num.* p. 460).

⁵⁾ Svoronos pl. XXXI, 8; Gardner *Types* pl. IX, 15/16.

⁶⁾ Cf. Aly *o.c.* p. 49; Swindler *o.c.* p. 67 sq. Cf. Cicero *De natura deorum* III, 23; Apollo *Corybantis filius, natus in Creta, cuius de illa insula cum Iove ipso certamen fuisse traditur.*

comparable religious form. But the reform remains inadequate, for one phase of the god of vegetation who annually evolved through all phases was made absolute by the Greeks, to whom this *point d'appui* was surely welcome. The consciousness of the difference between the two figures was always present in its germ and was intensified according as Hyakinthos fell into oblivion and Apollo Amyklaios was more and more connected with the general Apollo. In this way it was possible that the myth originated, which confronts them as two separate figures, while at first they seem to have been but two denominations for the one Amyklaios.

That the Apolline interpretation was an invention of the Achaean revival about 1100, which also gives evidence of a seeking of new values by adopting the protogeometric style, is acceptable in view of the spirit of the age and for other reasons too an average date which may be assumed by way of hypothesis. A sufficient number of centuries elapse then to leave an ample space to the development of the myth with the opposition of the two gods.

Armed with this hypothesis about Apollo's superposition we may inquire into the peculiar form of the Laconian sanctuary, without being obliged by a general uncertainty concerning the penetration to leave any assignment undecided. Nothing has directly come down to us about the original form of the *temenos*. We can only start from the configuration described for the historical period, completed by the results of excavations, and ask how far it reaches back. The Amyclaeân complex is a very characteristic one indeed, not so much for Apollo, who elsewhere will not appear as a martial hunter god standing on a throne, as for the local tradition, which makes an impression of high antiquity. We are justified to ask for a possible religious meaning of the dispositions existing still in the historical age.

The "throne" of Apollo at Amyklai, which Kallisthenes seems to have mentioned already half a millennium before Pausanias¹⁾, and which is at great length described by Pausanias himself, is a notorious archaeological puzzle. Several reconstructions, strikingly reflecting the fashion of the periods when they were made, have been published before and after the excavations in the Amyklaion²⁾.

¹⁾ P. Wolters *Philol.* 86, 1931, p. 419 sqq.

²⁾ Anthology and literature in Fiechter *Arch. Jb. l.c.* and Hitzig-Bluemner *Paus.* I, p. 828 sqq.

For an examination of the cult one question is of importance, which also has to be solved to allow attempts at reconstruction: how far the building of Bathykles deserved the name of "throne". Had it the unmistakable shape of a chair? From the explicit description of Pausanias¹⁾ one cannot but conclude that the earlier reconstructors justly stuck to the throne-form. The periegete compares the throne of Zeus at Olympia with that at Amyklai²⁾, and speaks of the fictive sitting of the colossus on the throne. Had not the monument displayed a chair-like appearance, Pausanias would rather have protested against the name and not drawn parallels with obvious seats like that of Zeus at Olympia.

When Bathykles circa 500 builds a throne in the Amyklaion, then a famous sanctuary, the statue is standing there already³⁾. But did he and his contemporaries who charged him with the work introduce the idea of a "throne" as something new in the domain, or did a similar, less richly adorned construction exist there before his architectural activities? W. Reichel answered this question in the affirmative⁴⁾; but his argumentation, which assumes a throne cult for Mycenaean times, rests on unstable ground so far as the monumental data are concerned. He very properly points to the worship of thrones occurring in the East⁵⁾, especially on the mountain-tops in Asia Minor⁶⁾. In view of the connexions which in the ancient East propagated many a religious idea it would not be impossible that in olden times a similar cult penetrated to Amyklai via Crete. But some scepticism with respect to Reichel's arguments remains justified, because monumental sources bear no witness to a throne cult for the Minoan age. His proposition has to be supported along other lines.

We may endeavour to extract chronological information from the curious conjunction of pillar-statue and throne. Reichel cannot think that this is old and dates the idol (also because of the *καίος*

¹⁾ III, 18, 9 sqq; 19, 1 sqq. Cf. Furtwängler *Meisterwerke* p. 690 sq and p. 703 fig. 134.

²⁾ V, 11, 4.

³⁾ Otherwise it would have been sitting, notes Versakis *Eph. arch.* 1912, p. 192. Cf., besides, Paus. III, 19, 2.

⁴⁾ *Vorhell. Götterculte* p. 13 sqq.

⁵⁾ *ibid.* p. 22 sqq.

⁶⁾ Cf. E. Honigmann *R.E.* VI A, 616, and V. Chapot *Daremberg-Saglio* V, 278 sqq. H. Danthine *Mélanges DUSSAUD* II, p. 857—866.

and technical difficulties of the construction) c. 8th-7th century, supposing that it is the tropaion erected on the occasion of the conquest of Amyklai by the Spartans. That the Spartans could not afford such an operation in the Amyklaion has been remarked above. In spite of the details of the statue which might require a later dating it is possible to ascribe the erecting of the (bronze) pillar, probably a wooden core with bronze mounting, to the predecessors of the Dorians. It appears from the gilding of the face of the Amyclaeen colossus, which happened in the days of Kroisos¹⁾, that in the course of years a primitive image may be fashioned and embellished. The bronze idol therefore need not be considered because of its nature to be a younger element of the sanctuary which had separately intruded.

The anorganic conjunction of a standing statue and a throne at Amyklai is no unique thing. A well-known parallel gives the Thracian Ainos, where coins²⁾ show a solid and adorned throne on which a statue of Hermes stands (Reichel again assumes here a successive erection with a reconstruction of the throne in the sixth century). The coins which are thought to depict the Amyclaeen idol³⁾ unfortunately show it without architectural entourage, but the disposition at Ainos will probably have to be imagined different in proportions only. About the monument at Ainos, however, still less is known than about that at Amyklai⁴⁾. Pausanias (III, 10, 8) tells of the image of Apollo *Πυθαεὺς* at Thornax, north of Sparta, that it is *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις πεποιημένον*. The gold of Kroisos with which the Amyclaeen statue was adorned had originally been destined for that at Thornax⁵⁾. Cook may be right in

¹⁾ Athen. VI, 232 a.

²⁾ *Head Hist. Num.* p. 246 sqq, from 450 B.C. onwards.

B. M. C. Thrace etc. p. 77, 1 and 80, 23—26.

Cf. C. Seltman *Greek coins* (1933) pl. 29, 8: throne as a small symbol on the reverse besides a goat.

³⁾ *B. M. C. Peloponnese* p. 121 sqq, No. 1, 80—81. *Head Hist. Num.* p. 434 and 436.

⁴⁾ Is this image of Hermes on the throne identical with that of which Kallimachos describes the adventures? (*Diegesis* VII, 33 sqq—VIII, 20: found in the sea, made by Epeios, to account for its antiquity). Cf. Pfeiffer *Sitz. Ber. Ak. München* 1934, 10, p. 29.

⁵⁾ Paus. III, 19, 8. Herod. I, 69, 4. Cf. on this Furtwängler *Meisterwerke* p. 696.

interpreting the text of Pausanias in this way, that the statue of Apollo Thornakios was also standing on a throne¹). He finds a confirmation of this view in the etymology *θρόναξ* = *θρόναξ* = *ὑποπόδιον*²). Then a second combination of throne and pillar-shaped statue would have occurred in Sparta.

These are the only two parallels, when we look for analogies in Greece³), and neither of them can throw much light on the meaning of the combination. The question of priority of throne or idol cannot easily be solved. Fiechter⁴), modifying Reichel's views, comes to a compromise: he presumes that in olden times an idol stood upright on a high throne-*bathron* in the Amyklaion. This conception is not so old as that of the oriental throne-cult, but is said to have sooner penetrated to Amyklai via Crete or Asia Minor. With a second eastern current Bathykle is supposed to have brought the pure throne-motive to Laconia. So Fiechter too uses the idea of a throne before Bathykle starts his building activities.

We must imagine the human shape of the idol to have been very primitive, representing one of the first stages after the aniconic one⁵). Perhaps the entirely aniconic phase even preceded at Amyklai, so that the colossus with its weapons and rough human features was only erected later on instead of a pole or *κλον*, as a kind of improved edition while maintaining the original situation. A simple pole may reach back to very ancient times and meets with analogies in the fetish worship among many other peoples. The height estimated by Pausanias (30 *πίχεις*) may be slightly exaggerated but is not impossible. The statue stands on a pedestal in the form of an altar, which was regarded as the tomb of Hyakinthos and originally,

¹) Zeus vol. II, p. 893 sq.

²) Hesychius s.v. *Θρόναξ*. Cf. Bölte R.E. VI A 347 sqq.

³) Cf. a Corinthian pyxis, which formerly was misinterpreted as representing the birth of Dionysos, and which contains a scene with women adorning a cult-statue(?) of a goddess which *stands on a seat*. The women hold a bough and a garland. The other scenes (e.g. the bringing of victims, flute-player, procession) suggest that we have to do with preparations for a religious ceremony. C.V.A. France, fasc. 7 (Bibl. Nat. 1) pl. 17, 5.

A parallel at Ninive (9th century, non-Assyrian god) Perrot-Chipiez III, fig. 13 sq, p. 76 sq; H. Gressmann *Altor. Texte und Bilder zum alten Testamente* II, fig. 90.

⁴) *l.c.* p. 182 sqq.

⁵) Paus. III, 19, 2: save for its face, hands, feet, helmet, lance and bow it resembles a bronze *κλον*. Cf. Furtwängler *o.c.* p. 693.

though without the adornment of the Bathyklæan reliefs, may have belonged to the first edition of the Amyklaion. As to pillar-worship Evans's treatise about the Mycenaean Pillar Cult may be referred to¹⁾, and even if Nilsson's objections against this theory are admitted²⁾, the seals continue to bear witness to the sacral meaning of greater or smaller detached columns. On a gold signet-ring from Knossos³⁾ a high pole stands before a tree-shrine, its top being cut off by the edge of the image. So its height may be imagined to be considerable. From the air the youthful hunting-god descends with his hair flowing behind him, in front of him stands a goddess or a worshipping woman. The entourage indicated is open country. Evans assumes that the aniconic image was looked upon as the abode of the deity and later on as his tomb-stone, he even suggests that the gold signet-ring may be taken to foreshadow the "Tomb of Zeus". Without indulging in far reaching speculations we have to acknowledge the points of contact between the Minoan situation and that at Amyklai. Why the tomb-feature should be secondary in this pole-cult is not clear. The dying gods of the orient may have been connected from old with a pillar as the haunt or image of the deceased⁴⁾, and as the centre of his worship.

The throne does not seldom appear in connexion with funeral cult either⁵⁾. On Greek reliefs representing funeral banquets it precedes the couch (notably in Sparta) and as a votive offering it is put in the graves⁶⁾. At Stymphalos a throne has been hewn into the natural rock over a chamber-tomb⁷⁾. At Eretria⁸⁾ and in

¹⁾ *JHS* 1901.

²⁾ *MMR* 201 sqq. Cf. for the affirmative part p. 221.

³⁾ Evans *P. o. M.* I, p. 159 sqq, fig. 115; II, p. 838; Nilsson *GgR* pl.

13, 4.

⁴⁾ Cf. the poles worshipped at Byblos, which probably were connected with the Adonis-cult. J. de Groot *De godsdiensten der wereld* I, p. 261. Frazer *G.B. V*³, p. 34 sqq. Osiris too had connexions with a pillar, the Djed-pillar, which seems to be of a vegetative origin and with which resurrection-symbolism is associated, as with the *pinus* of Attis. Here the transition from fetishism to tree-cult appears.

⁵⁾ For a summary see Chapot Daremberg-Saglio V, 278—283, and T. Klauser: *Die Cathedra im Totenkult* (1927).

⁶⁾ Pfuhl *AM* 1903, 333 and *Arch. Jb.* 1905, 59.

⁷⁾ Lattermann-Hiller von Gaertringen *AM* 1915, 75 sqq.

⁸⁾ *AM* 1901, p. 333 sqq, pl. XIII sq, under Macedonian influence, 3rd century B.C. Cf. Klauser *o.c.* p. 75 sqq, 83 sqq.

Macedonia¹⁾ large thrones have been discovered in graves. In Etrurian graves *canopos*-like idols stand on bronze or clay seats²⁾. For Crete a late testimony gives a vague indication³⁾. Generally speaking the connexion tomb-throne is well guaranteed as belonging to an ancient conception, which provides the immaterial deceased with a resting-point, to which the worship by the living can attach. This is not directly contrary to pillar-worship, for the pole is a first attempt of making the god or deceased visible, which could give rise to a heterogeneous and probably soon abandoned combination, where the erection of a throne was in use. Along this line of thought some other parallels to the situation at Amyklai might be adduced. The connexion throne-column is most obvious at Phalasarna in the extreme West of Crete⁴⁾. Near the acropolis some rock thrones have been discovered, one of which (height 2 metres) shows in low relief on the inner surface of its back a column on a base. The top is damaged and seems to show the contour of a gable, so that this column might belong to the category of columns with a constructive purpose which are meant as an abbreviation of a sanctuary. But the connexion with the throne allows us to consider the column in the first place as a symbol of a deity or a deceased. Savignoni presumes an affinity with the image of the *μήτηρ θεῶν* on Akrokorinthos of which Pausanias II, 4, 7 says: *μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ στήλη καὶ θρόνος, λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος*. By *αὐτὴ* we pos-

1) *Arch. Anz.* 1940, col. 275 sqq, fig. 83; *BCH* LXIII, 1939, p. 316 sq fig. 31, likewise of the 3rd century. The paintings of these and the former thrones belong to the Orientally influenced belief of future life.

2) J. Martha *L'art étrusque* (1889) p. 201. In the necropolis at Chiusi bronze seats were found in the graves (fig. 157, urn standing on the seat), cf. fig. 156: seats hewn into the rock in the sepulchral chamber. Canopus-urns also stand on terracotta seats (p. 336, fig. 226 and 231) 6th-5th century at Chiusi. Later on the grave-statues sit. Cf. D. Levi *Il Museo Civico di Chiusi* (1935) fig. 58, 59 and pl. VI. Klauser o.c. p. 74 sq.

A L.H. III idol as Bossert *Altikreta*³ fig. 83 c is perhaps meant to sit, though practically it also stands on the terracotta chair.

3) *Oracul. Sibyll.* VIII, 45 sqq: *ποῦ Πείης, ἢ Κρόνοιο,*
ἢ Διὸς γενεή, καὶ πάντων, ὧν ἐσεβάσθης
δαίμονας ἀνύχους, νεκρῶν εἶδωλα καμόντων,
ὧν Κρήτη καύχημα τάφου ἢ δόμορος ἔξει,
θρησκέουσα θρόνοισιν ἀναισθήτοις νεκέουσαι;

Cf. Klauser o.c. p. 44 sqq.

4) L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis *Monum. Ant.* XI, 1901, p. 364 sqq, fig. 61. Cook *Zeus* I, p. 148, fig. 112.

sibly have to understand the goddess in pillar-shape. Where the *μήτηρ θεῶν* is concerned, neither the *θρόνος*¹⁾, nor the fetishistic appearance of the worship surprises²⁾. On Akrokorinthos the column would stand free, according to Savignoni Apollo Amyklaios, attired as a human being, is a further stage. Not much is said about the date of the Phalasarnian throne, it may be much older than the finds of the 6th and 5th centuries from its surroundings, and Phalasarna itself is a pre-Hellenic settlement, as appears from its name. Kirsten³⁾ simply thinks the thrones are seats of the dead to enjoy the funeral banquet, but he neglects the column. A small votive seat of the funeral cult from Amathus on Cyprus may be compared, which on its back between the panels shows a little Ionian column⁴⁾. It is a bit too small to compete as a full parallel, but it may belong to the connexion mentioned⁵⁾.

So there is no abundance of evidence, but just parallels enough not to reject categorically the possibility of an ancient origin of throne and pillar worship at Amyklai, both of them suitable to the cult of a god or deceased, or the combination of the two: the dying god. This connexion with the grave fits the religious sphere of the Hyakinthos-cult. We may ask whether other points of agreement between the cult and the form of the domain can be found. Hitherto the ritual use of the *θρόνος*, as known from literature, has been left out of consideration. Though references partly date from dangerously late times, yet they take us to familiar areas.

1) Cf. not only the thrones in Asia Minor but also the *στρωμνίσαι θρόνους* by priestesses for the Great Mother and Attis at Athens in the second century B.C.: *I.G.* II², 1, 1328, 9—10. (Ziehen *Leges sacrae* 44, p. 124). At Chios: *BCH* III, 1879, p. 324, No. 11.

When Iulianus *Or.* 5, 167 B speaks of *Κορύβας* --- *ὁ σύνθρονος τῆ μητρὶ* this may be a reminiscence of the old ritual, but the expression may as well be entirely profane.

2) Savignoni compares Pessinus.

3) *R.E.* XIX, 1653 sqq.

4) *Arch. Jb.* 1918, p. 179, 1; fig. 43.

5) Cook *Zeus* I, p. 782 mentions a small limestone throne of Hellenistic date from Tyre, which carries two *stelai* representing the goddess (Astarte) and the dedicant. Illustrated pl. III, 3 *Mélanges Dussaud* II, H. Danthine p. 857 sqq.

Diodorus V, 46, 6 says that Zeus Triphylios on Crete has a *κλίση* in the centre of which stands a great golden *stèle* with inscriptions. At any rate the connexion throne-column seems to belong to the sphere of Asia Minor-Crete-Cyprus-Syria.

Plato *Euthydemus* 277 D mentions the rite of the *θρόνωσις* at the initiation of the Korybantes¹⁾, when a dance is performed round the seated aspirant. Owing to the function of the patrons of their order it is difficult to make a strict separation between the rite of the *θρόνωσις* of the *κορυβαντιῶνες* and the use of the *θρόνος* in the Idaean cave on Crete, as Rohde²⁾ wants to do. The throne in the cave of Zeus is mentioned by Porphyrius³⁾: Pythagoras saw the throne annually spread there, and made the well-known epitaph for Zeus. The situation yields: a *throne* spread *annually* in the cave of the *childgod*, where at the same time his *tomb* is situated. The draping of the throne only is not immediately paralleled at Amyklai, where, however, the rite of the annually woven chiton can be compared⁴⁾. The yearly dressing as a mark of honour here logically does not apply to the throne but to the pillar-shaped image into which the god descends, which now has become his *ἕδος*.

Not only on Crete but also in Asia Minor the throne is associated with the divine child. Coins from the imperial age furnish visible evidence: the child, which formerly was mistaken for Zeus, but since Imhoof-Blumer⁵⁾ was recognized to represent Dionysos, sits on a throne (with its arms stretched forward) and is surrounded by dancing Kouretes-Korybantes⁶⁾. Sometimes the seat is no more than a boulder⁷⁾, once it is draped⁸⁾, once the *cista* with the snake

1) Cf. Dio Chrysost. 12, p. 338 R (203 M). K. Latte *De salt.* p. 95. Schwenn *R.E.* XI, 1443. Klauser *o.c.* p. 45 sq.

2) *Psyche*⁷⁻⁸ I, p. 130 note.

3) *Vita Pyth.* 17.

4) There are numerous parallels for the presenting of a robe to gods and the dressing of cult-statues. Cf. Frazer ad Paus. vol. II, p. 574 sq. The custom is very old and notably affects archaic statues. Cf. p. 17 *supra*. Reichel *Götterculte* p. 20 assumes that it belongs to aniconic worship (his argument being masculine and far from expert: the *peplos* of the Panathenaea, on which 100 girls worked, would be too large for a cult-statue). Frazer *G.B.* V³, p. 18: at Jerusalem women weave garments for the sacred poles which stood beside the altar, 2 Kings 23, 7.

5) *Griech. Münzen* p. 120 sqq.

6) Overbeck *Kunstmythologie, Zeus Münztafel* V, 6—8. Cook *Zeus* I, fig. 125—128. Coins of Magnesia on the Maeander, Seleucia in Cilicia, Maeonia. Imhoof-Blumer *Pl.* VIII, 29—34 gives also Dionysos seated on the *cista*.

7) Overbeck *Kunstmyth. Zeus Münztafel* V, 7.

8) Overbeck V, 6; Cook I, fig. 124.

appears under the throne¹). The representation of Dionysos with surrounding Korybantes is rather rare. What matters here is the fact that the divine child appears on a special seat. The gestures of its arms point to a triumphant epiphany²). Perhaps this way of staging things descends from the earliest period of the career of the divine child, in view of the thrones of Amyklai, Crete and Asia Minor. Of course we cannot exclude the possibility that the coins of Asia Minor reflect no relic, but a late combination sprung forth from syncretistic minds: Dionysos and the Korybantes are already somewhat surprised to meet, though genetically their conjunction is not strange. The Asiatic god could perhaps have borrowed the throne as well as the Korybantes from Zeus, namely the later Olympian ruler in whose biography the youth-episode of the Korybantes has been incorporated and who is classically enthroned in art and mythology³).

A single throne appears for instance on coins of Seleucia Pieria and Larissa in Syria, sometimes draped and carrying a thunderbolt⁴), apparently in relation to Zeus. The cointypes will be derived from

¹) Harrison *Themis* p. 241, fig. 61, Magnesia on the Maeander, age of Caracalla. Cook I, p. 153, fig. 128. Imhoof-Blumer Pl. VIII, 33 (nice specimen).

²) This is also clear on an ivory relief from Milan (*Arch. Zeit.* 1846, Pl. 38; Harrison *Themis* fig. 9, p. 60). Here a series of scenes from the life of the childgod is depicted in rather unsatisfactory style. After the birthscene with the mother and *υδῆραι* we see the dance of the Kouretes round the child, which has considerably grown up in the mean time and is seated on a cushioned throne, the back of which perhaps is meant to indicate the surroundings as a cave. Sometimes the scene has been referred to the *θηονομῶς*-initiation (Schwenn *R.E.* XI, 2 p. 1443), which is too one-sided, also in view of the other scenes. But the mystery-rite will surely be connected with the epiphany of the god on the throne and symbolize the rebirth of the *mystes*. Ritual *θηονομῶς* of a worshipper in the cave of Zeus Bronton: Cook *Zeus* II, 838 fig. 795; youthful lyre-player sitting on a throne cut out in the rock (votive relief to Iuppiter Sanctus Bronton), two women with offerings.

³) Possibly Orphic influences come into play here. The youthful Dionysos-Zagreus is placed upon his father's throne and holds the thunderbolt. References Lobeck *Aglaophamus* I, p. 552 sq and Cook *Zeus* I, p. 647.

But the Kouretes point unmistakably to a birth-scene. Dionysos and the Korybantes-Kouretes also appear on the first marble relief of the stage of Phaidros at Athens: Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos, Zeus seated on a rock, two Kouretes enclosing the scene (Cook *Zeus* I, pl. XL).

⁴) B. M. C. *Galatia* etc. p. 264, 269 sqq. Pl. XXXI, 8; XXXII, 6-8, 10.

reality, so that here too a *στορνύναι θρόνους* is practised in the cult. Miss Harrison's supposition¹⁾ that in the cave of Zeus also a thunderbolt tenanted the throne, lacks further support. It may be noticed, however, that the appearance of a fashioned thunderbolt on thrones elsewhere may have followed that of older, more fetish-like stones, *βαίτνλοι* and the like. The surroundings of Asia Minor with its good record in the sphere of the childgod make the supposition of ancient traditions concerning the use of thrones in the cult probable.

Nor will it be mere chance, when several of the few testimonies about the statueless throne-cult in Greece point to the East as their land of provenance. Lily Ross Taylor tried to prove a Greek rite like the *sellisternium* (*στορνύναι θρόνους*) as an interpretation for the peplos and the *διαροφόροι* of the Parthenon frieze, with very plausible arguments²⁾; the only objection to the supposition of this rite in classical Athens is the scanty number of parallels³⁾. It is possible, however, that the Greeks adopted it into their festivals, as a mark of honour in Theoxenia, just as in Homer human and divine guests are offered chairs with draperies⁴⁾. A vase from Kertsch representing Dionysos and Apollo at Delphi shows a woman spreading a seat for one of the two gods (Dionysos? who indeed has a draped throne of his own in Asia Minor and on the Parthenon frieze)⁵⁾. But the evidence for the mother-goddess is more complete: of her thrones are mentioned at Athens, Chios⁶⁾ and Akrokorinthos, while Suidas gives *Θρονισμοὶ μητροῦοι* as titles of writings of Orpheus and Pindar⁷⁾.

¹⁾ *Themis* p. 58 sq.

²⁾ L. Ross Taylor *A sellisternium on the Parthenon frieze? (Quantulacumque, Studies pres. to Kirsopp Lake, London 1937, p. 253—264); and AJA XL, 1936, p. 121.*

Cf. Furtwängler *Meisterwerke* p. 186 sqq.

³⁾ For the throne-cult among the Greeks (e.g. the throne with *insignia* erected for Alexander by Eumenes, perhaps not Greek either) H. Herter *Rhein. Mus.* 74, 1925, p. 164—173.

⁴⁾ L. Ross Taylor o.c. p. 258 sq, *Odyssey* I, 130—2; IV, 123 sq.

⁵⁾ Nilsson *GgR* pl. 38; Stephani *CR* 1861, pl. IV; Farnell *Cults* IV, pl. XVII; J. Harrison *Themis* fig. 137; L. Ross Taylor l.c. fig. 6.

⁶⁾ See p. 151, note 1 *supra*.

⁷⁾ s.v. Orpheus. Cf. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 116 and 368; O. Kern *Orphicorum fragmenta* (1922) p. 298 No. 12.

At Athens the Meter has Attis at her side. The *paredros* shares the honour of the preparation of a throne, and it is in our line to seek here connexions with the thrones of the child Dionysos in Asia Minor, the Zeus-throne on Crete and the Amyclaeon one. Though here alternatively permanent seats, and thrones which are set up and draped on the occasion of a year-festival (epiphany) are concerned, the basic idea of the imaginary descent of the divine power remains the same. It would have to be systematically examined whether this was a principle which contributed from old to the cult-forms of the mother-goddess and her vegetative partner. We may refer here for instance to the mentioning of thrones for Ningirsu and Bau in the religious chronicles of Gudea¹). Even the draping of a seat which is placed on a grave to receive the *simlah* (double?) of the dead god is described in the ritual of Lillu (one of Tammuz's aspects)²).

Perhaps in this respect again the Sumerians therefore yield the earliest cult-form that can be traced of the dying and reviving god. In these oriental regions the throne-cult makes a more imposing impression than in Hellas. There is an essential difference between the autonomous being enthroned of the Meter, the Cretan Zeus and the Amyclaeon god, and the setting up of thrones for gods, when they are of practical use to them to attend theatre performances or to receive sacrificial banquets, the immediate causes for the scanty Greek *sellisternia*³). This is a reservation to be made when representations like those of the Parthenon frieze would be brought into

¹) *The royal inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* ed. G. A. Barton p. 193 (Statue E, IV, 3 sqq) and p. 197 (F, III, 8) Gudea constructs a lofty throne for Bau and Gatumdug; p. 251 Cylinder B, XVI, 17 throne of Ningirsu. Cf. H. Danthine *Mélanges Dusseau* II, p. 863 sqq, and *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* s.v. *Datenlisten: passim* mentioning of thrones offered.

²) F. Thureau Dangin *Rev. Ass.* IX, 1922, p. 175—185. The god beseeches his sister, the goddess:

“Installe un siège, fais-asseoir le silah!

Place sur le siège une étoffe, couvres-en le simlah!”

(Age: dynasty of Isin).

Cf. Witzel *Tammuzliturgien* No. 36, p. 311 sqq.

Sellisternium in an apotropaic ritual Zimmermann *Ritualtafeln* (1901), No. 52, 7 sq. (p. 164 sqq).

³) The causes enumerated by L. Ross Taylor *l.c.*, also in her paper *Class. Phil.* 30, 1935, p. 122—30 about Roman *sellisternia*.

connexion with the conception of a "throne-cult"; the derivative is utilitarian and is justly compared with the Homeric reception-custom. On Greek soil the real throne-cult appears only for gods who may have borrowed it from an oriental past. Rites as the *θρόνωνσις* of the *κορυβατιῶνες* belong to the mysteries which have applied the idea of the dying and reviving deity to human fate ¹). The throne-epiphany of the god at his rebirth was imitated by the *μύσσις*.

To sum up, we may suppose that Bathykles did no more than continuing in monumental form an old cult-institution. The throne of Amyklai might have been the customary indication from old for the sanctuary of Hyakinthos, as a typical *point d'appui* for the dying and manifesting god ²). The connexion with a pole may be of the same age as the erection of a throne at Amyklai, in which case here the two seats of the divine power would have been combined from the origin of the *temenos* onwards, as it was the case with the parallels mentioned. But the fetishistic predecessor of the bronze colossus at Amyklai is still more hypothetical than the throne of the childgod, embellished by Bathykles.

It seems, however, that this much can be stated that throne as well as image may reach back to pre-Apolline times. As regards the throne this is guaranteed by its religious meaning (and the non-Apolline character of this piece of furniture), in the pillar we may see a sepulchral monument of the dying god. If the martial god armed with helmet, spear and bow has been the first thing of its kind at Amyklai, he cannot be dated back too far for technical reasons, so that the Achaeans erected him perhaps as a visible embodiment of their Amyklaios, interpreted already as Apollo. But the very abnormal proportions of the colossus suggest that it succeeded a column on the spot, the existent shaft being perhaps incorporated in it. In contrast with the throne the pillar gave a familiar point of contact to Apollo, as stones especially were easily annexed by him. In this connexion the occurrence of Apollo Agyieus at the graves

¹) A. D. Nock *JHS* 46, 1926, p. 47 sq thinks of a survival of the rite of the *thronosis* in the underground basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome.

²) The situation in the Amyclaeon domain may be compared with the round cult-tableau, excavated by Dikaios at Vounoi (Cyprian Bronze Age), on which an enthroned god seems to be the principal figure. *Syria* XIII, 1932, Pl. LXX sq, p. 345 sqq and 223 sqq.

of the vegetation-daemons Linos and Leimon-Skephros is remarkable and comparable¹).

With this the possibilities for the original appearance of the Amyklaion have been outlined. They give little rise to apodictic assertions. The monumental remnants of the earliest periods point out nothing as to the form of the centre of worship, so that we must be satisfied with the drawing of ever uncertain parallels. The final disposition, which defied ages, in no respect bears witness to a supremacy of Apollo over Hyakinthos. The idol is the armed god in full pontificals (spear and bow), his standing on the tomb of Hyakinthos does not stamp him as the conqueror of the deceased, but at best as the form of appearance of the deceased himself. Apollo does not even occur on the grave reliefs of the Hyakinthos-altar, so that the doubling and the opposition of the figures has not yet been expressed in the Amyclaeon configuration. The legend for the first time followed the new line of development, deviating from the religious connexion. Hence Pausanias mentions the legend loosely at the end of his description of the throne, and because of the lack of connexion with the cult-situation cannot but remark that matters are perhaps otherwise with Apollo and Hyakinthos than the average reader might imagine²). More need not be suspected behind the usual sceptesis³) of the periegete.

Now that the development of the cult in the Amyklaion has been dealt with, it remains to give an enumeration of the places which underwent an influence from here, perceptible in traces of the Hyakinthos-Apollo cult. When on Dorian soil the name of the month Hyakinthios is used, the assumption of a transmission by the Spartans is obvious. An earlier Achaean spreading need not be excluded, though it is unproved. One might even propose the other extreme, namely that the name of the month has been transmitted to colonized areas without the festival attached to it. But this can hardly be believed for ancient times, as the calendar had not yet been abstracted from religion to such an extent then. A transmission of the Hya-

¹) Paus. II, 19, 8 and VIII, 53, 1 sqq. Cf. Solders *ARW* 32, 1935, p. 147. Nilsson *GF* p. 166 sq. Farnell *Cults* IV, 130.

²) III, 19, 5.

³) He repeatedly gives voice to his disbelief as regards metamorphoses: II, 17, 4 (Zeus as a cuckoo); VII, 23, 2 (Selemnos-river); VIII, 3, 6 (Kallisto-bear); IX, 10, 1 (dragon's teeth of Kadmos).

kinthia by the Spartans after the Amyclaeon compromise may be supposed for the following places, where the month Hyakinthios has been adopted into the calendar:

1. *Byzantium*, according to the very probable correction by K. F. Hermann¹⁾ of Papias' gloss: *Iatheos Byzantinorum lingua iulius mensis*. The other Byzantine names too have been mutilated, the reconstruction of Hyakinthios is therefore fairly certain²⁾.

2. *Gytheion*, because of I.G. V, 1, 1209: [^εYaku]vθίου κ'.

3. *Kalymna*, repeated mentioning of the month Hyakinthios in a list of participants of the Apollo-cult³⁾.

4. *Kos*, mentioned three times, e.g. in a sacral inscription of the phyle Halasarna⁴⁾.

5. *Rhodos*: in several inscriptions⁵⁾ and numerous stamps of Rhodian amphoras⁶⁾. Here the month of Hyakinthios follows Agrianios, as in Sparta.

6. *Thera*. Known from two inscriptions, one of which describes an offering of grain brought on the fifth of Artemision and the fifth of Hyakinthios; the other one gives an equation Hyakinthios 25th = July 18th (149 A. D.)⁷⁾. *Crete* and *Knidos*, where other indications suggest an autochthonous tradition, have been mentioned above.

The narrative of the foundation of Tarentum leaves but little doubt as to the correctness of the classification of this town among the areas influenced by Amyklai. It is interesting to find back traces of the Hyakinthos-cult in the colony in Southern Italy. The tomb of "Apollo Hyakinthos"⁸⁾ is a proof of the identification of the two gods at the time of the transmission. The Amyclaeon god seems

¹⁾ *Philol.* II, p. 263 sqq.

²⁾ Cf. also J. F. Mountford *JHS* 1933, XLIII, p. 112 (*De mensium nominibus*).

³⁾ *SGDI* III, 3593, 44 and *passim*.

⁴⁾ *SGDI* III, 1, 3705, *Sylloge*³ 590 and 793.

⁵⁾ *SGDI* 3760, 3836, 3759, 4226. *I. G.* XII, 1, 892.

⁶⁾ *SGDI* 4245 *passim*; *I. G.* XIV, 2393 *passim*; *S. E. G.* II, 888. The Sicilian find-spots of these amphoras of course do not count for the spreading of the month.

⁷⁾ *I. G.* XII, 3, 325 and 436.

⁸⁾ Polybius VIII, 30, 28. Wuilleumier *Tarente* p. 243, 248. The same epithet of Apollo in Studemund *Anecdota varia graeca* p. 267 (Anonymus Laurentianus).

also to be alluded to in the representations of 6th century Tarentine coins, as the Duc de Luy nes discovered ¹⁾). These mostly show the same type on the obverse and the reverse, the latter incuse, and have a lighter weight than other Tarentine coins, from which it perhaps appears that they were struck for commerce with the Achaean towns of Magna Graecia ²⁾): one more indication of Achaean connexions of the effigy. Sometimes in a square on the reverse a flower like the hyacinth is depicted, on the oldest coins. On silver staters a naked kneeling figure appears, holding in his left hand a four stringed lyre, in his right a flower (hyacinth?) which he moves towards his face ³⁾). The Duc de Luy nes sees in the attitude of the figure a connexion with the dances of the young Spartans at the Hyakinthia. According to him the figure depicted would be Apollo, who by Pindar is also called the "dancer" ⁴⁾). Later on the coins in question have also been interpreted as representations of Hyakinthos himself. Hauser adduces the argument that Apollo as a lyre player is mostly depicted in action ⁵⁾). The solution lies midway. The youthful dancer must be taken as the type of those celebrating the Hyakinthia, who play the lyre, apparently handle the hyacinth, and perform dance figures. For in a standing attitude a similar boy appears in the Amyklaion, without the flower but wreathed: the bronze of the naked lyre-player. At the same time this type represents the god himself, *in casu* still more Hyakinthos than Apollo, to judge from the very youthful appearance. But the lyre here again facilitates the transition ⁶⁾). The smelling at the flower which the dancer of the coin does is a gesture reappearing in the East, for example on Cyprus in Adonis-connexions, and apparently

¹⁾ *Ann. d. Inst.* 1830, p. 337 sqq, Pl. M 1, 2.

²⁾ *Head Hist. Num.* p. 53 sq.

³⁾ *B. M. C. Italia* p. 165. A good enlargement in K. Lange *Götter Griechenlands, Meisterwerke antiker Münzkunst* (Berlin 1941) fig. 3. Wuilleumier *Tarente* p. 35 sq and 371 sq, Pl. 26, 2. M. P. Vlasto *Num. Chron.* 1907, Pl. X, 1, p. 277 sqq (nice specimen).

⁴⁾ *Frg.* 125 and 93 Bergk.

⁵⁾ *Philol.* 52, p. 209 sqq.

⁶⁾ Cf. also the scarab in Overbeck *Kunstmythologie, Apollon Gemmentafel* No. 9, exact repetition of the cointype, direct connexion (archaic from Tarentum). Furtwängler *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. VIII, 21 sqq, 35 and VI, 36. He calls these and similar representations Apollo, III, p. 96 sqq.

bearing a sacral character¹⁾, though it may quite as well have originated independently.

The dating of these coins in the sixth century furnishes a testimony of a relatively high age for the Hyakinthos-cult, which apparently in its original Amyclaeon form was transferred to Tarentum, where Hyakinthia may have been held from the foundation onwards. Seeking a connexion with another, better known coin-type of Tarentum: the dolphin rider, would take us too far afield. The boy on the dolphin is a manifestation of the divine child, just as Palaimon-Melikertes, but it cannot easily be proved that this epiphany from the sea was also applied to Hyakinthos. Yet a late version of the well-known wonder tale about the dolphin and its youthful rider²⁾ points in this direction. In Apion³⁾ the boy who is beloved by the dolphin and dies in his youth is called Hyakinthos. In spite of the untrustworthiness of the eye-witness accounts of this author⁴⁾ this indication of the name may yet reflect a late echo of once living traditions. Moreover the images of Amphitrite and Poseidon wrought in relief on the altar of Hyakinthos (Paus. III, 19, 4) suggest maritime connexions of the Amyclaeon god. For the present, however, the Tarentine rider had better keep his name of Phalanthos, the mythical leader of the Spartan colonists, who is worshipped at his tomb just like Palaimon-Melikertes⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 134 sqq. Jeremias *ATAO*⁴ p. 94 sq. H. Danthine *Palmier-dattier* p. 131 and 204, 4 (not necessarily Egyptian).

²⁾ Cf. E. Burr Stebbins *The dolphin in literature and art* p. 59 sqq.

³⁾ *FHG* III, p. 510 sq; Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* VI, 8.

⁴⁾ Cf. *R. E.* I, 2803 sqq; Von Christ-Schmidt II⁶, p. 437 sq.

⁵⁾ Strabo VI, 282. For the coins see A. J. Evans "*Horsemen*" of Tarentum (*Num. Chron.* 3rd series IX, 1889, p. 1—228). The eponymous Taras was later on identified with the dolphin-rider and adopts all kinds of attributes and aspects of the childgod, as Tennes from Palaimon on Tenedos. Cf. Ehrenberg *R. E.* XIX, 1624.

A connexion with the Hyakinthia might be considered for Tarentine coins which show on the obverse a throne with a cushion, and a six-stringed lyre as reverse type: Head *Hist. Num.* p. 68; Imhoof-Blumer *Monnaies grecques* p. 1 sq. No. 3—4, Pl. A, 1.

V. THE SAGA OF HYAKINTHOS

To the average Greek Hyakinthos, a manifestation of the once widely venerated god of vegetation, continued his existence in the saga as a beautiful youth, beloved by Apollo and suddenly cut off in the prime of life by a sad fate. The gist of his youth- and birth-episode has been forgotten: nymphs nor wild animals bestow their cares upon him as a foundling. He has become a Laconian prince, incorporated in a local genealogy and provided with a saga from Amyclaeon materials, in which well-known motives were joined to a lasting whole, for some fame has always been left to Hyakinthos. His tragic death snatches him away at an early age: one episode from his divine career remains to him in his mythical life.

No great sagacity is required to explain how motives grouped themselves into the saga of Hyakinthos. For the date too a *terminus post quem* may be found, be it a rather high one. Apollo's penetration into the Amyklaion, which in the course of time led to a dominant position of the god who was introduced by the Greek interpretation above the Minoan god, first gave rise to a bringing out of the two figures in mythical relief. If we suppose that the earliest attempts at seeing the Amyclaeon god as Apollo were made about 1100/1000 B.C., the saga may have developed some centuries afterwards, presumably not before the eighth century (At Tarentum Apollo and Hyakinthos have not yet been discriminated).

In the mean time the kernel of Hyakinthos' career has always been remembered: his sudden death, warranted by the tomb in the Amyklaion. The dead god faced the Greeks with a difficulty, which they could solve here with heroization, at the same time stamping Apollo as the real god, who had arranged the cult in honour of his young favourite. The relation of lover-beloved is no unusual figure between new and ousted gods, Apollo's relations to Daphne and Kyparissos may be compared with the case in question. The cruel death of the beautiful youth could not quite so easily be accounted for with the current patterns, but the mythological parallels speak a clear language.

To begin with the drama of the abruptly dying vegetation-god does not only find its expression in the myth of Hyakinthos, but

also in many kindred sagas, as those of the western Asiatic ramifications Adonis and Attis. The gist of the saga is always identical and hints at the nature-phenomenon of the decay of vegetation; while there is a great variety of solutions which occur in the anthropomorphizing fiction for the way in which the god or youth meets his fate. It depends upon the form of the possible cult and upon local circumstances, which symbolic image is chosen to describe the death. In the oldest Greek version of the myth of Adonis not even a definite reason of his dying is given ¹). The wild boar, which is mostly held responsible for his death, also figures in analogous sagas about Attis ²). Then the god of vegetation in the form of a youthful hunter falls a victim to his prey, a consequence of the expansion of his sphere of influence to the fauna (wild animals and flocks). In Herodotus ³) the theme appears in an old variation, confirming two things: the character of a hunter of the youthful dying god; and the relatively chance formation of the death legend. The Lydian prince Atys (Attis secularized in much the same way as Hyakinthos in his saga) is accidentally killed when boar-hunting by the spear of the guest-friend Adrastus. The throwing of the spear, which is akin to the disc-blow striking Hyakinthos, takes the place of the boar as the immediate cause of death, but the hunting episode has been maintained as a significant entourage. How familiar and serviceable "killed in hunting" was as a motive in the sagas, appears from its frequent application. The Caledonian boar kills Hyleus and Ankaios, while in the heat of the fight Peleus by accident transfixes Eurytion with his spear ⁴). Hyes-Hyas, who was held to be a variant of Dionysos, likewise falls a victim to a boar (or a lion) ⁵). Perhaps in the episode of Atys Adrastus is no more than a personification of the death-god; then in this respect the Lydian saga is more abstract than the Amyclaeon one, which, in order to get a well

¹) Baudissin *Adonis* p. 152 sqq.

²) Baudissin *loc.*; Hepding *Attis* p. 100 sqq.

³) I, 34 sq.

⁴) Apollod. I, VIII, 2. The boar-hunt was already a popular sport in the Mycenaean age, cf. e.g. gems as Furtwängler *Antike Gemmen* pl. II, 11 (Vaphio) and 12 (Peloponnese).

⁵) Hyginus *fab.* 248 and 192. Cf. p. 67, note 9 *supra*. There even exists a late analogous version about the Cretan Zeus, cited by Cook *Zeus* I, p. 157, 3: "Zeus a prince, ripped up by a wild boar."

fitting texture, had an involuntary murderer of Hyakinthos at hand in the person of Apollo.

The parallel with the legends of Asia Minor is instructive too as regards interpretation. The boar which slays the Oriental gods was, probably in early times already, given an astral explanation as a symbol of the sun's heat¹⁾, though this must not at all be seen as the clue of the mystery. The same thing happened to the quoit which killed Hyakinthos: it was understood as the disc of the sun, Apollo's instrument, which ruthlessly scorches the splendour of the young flowers²⁾. Though for the origin of the various gods in botanical sphere evidence could repeatedly be drawn from plant- and tree-cult, allusions to the sun as an adversary were almost wanting, so that the allegory which is obvious to modern conception has not been the starting-point of the remarkable legends. Both disc and boar are to be explained separately in the connexion of which they form part.

In addition to the deities of Asia Minor which have been dealt with above because of their prominence and which still clearly show the traces of their religious origin, a series of more modest figures can be given which yet bear the same basic features, though it is often only due to their characteristic mythology that they are distinguishable as modifications of the same type of vegetation-god. This is not the place for a circumstantial comparison of the myths in question, which mostly have been worked up individually, and are locally connected with other sagas. *Linos* is an instance of this category. His being a foundling and his early death make him approach the well-known type, on the other hand he is so closely associated with music, that Nilsson³⁾ will not see more than a personification of the song in him. His funeral cult⁴⁾ and the mourning for his death rather plead for a reverse development, in which from a "young daimon of verdure or vegetation" he has risen to the "highest power of music" (Farnell⁵⁾). A blending with Phoe-

1) *Al Minoische Boomcultus* p. 58; Baudissin p. 152 sqq.

2) Schoemann *Griech. Altertümer* II, p. 404. Greve *Roscher's M. L.* I, 2, 2763 sqq.

3) *GF* 166, 3 and 435.

4) Paus. II, 19, 8; IX, 29, 6; I, 43, 7.

5) *Hero Cults* p. 23 sqq.

nician elements may have occurred on his way ¹). More complicated is the myth of *Skephros* and *Leimon*, who show traces of Cretan connexions and both are slain in their youth. Of the two *Skephros* is bemoaned, while *Leimon* bears a clear name. There may be question of ousting the older *Skephros* by the more perspicuous *Leimon*, with adaptation of the vegetative ritual to two persons ²). Death strikes *Linos*, *Leimon* and *Skephros* in various ways: tearing up by dogs, a shot of *Artemis*, murder by a fraternal hand. Nor is a uniform cause of death intimated by the saga of *Narkissos*, which has at least been influenced by the other mythical youth-figures. His languishing goes on gradually, perhaps under the influence of catoptromancy ³). In *Bithynia*, *Mysia* and *Phrygia* many similar figures were periodically bewailed ⁴). *Bormos*, a beautiful youth, has disappeared when he was fetching water, or perished when hunting ⁵). During harvest-time the *Mariandynian* reapers lament him to the accompaniment of the flute. *Priolas*, his double, is said to have been killed in battle ⁶). The *Phrygian Lityerses* is a champion-reaper who meets his victor and is annually commemorated ⁷). *Hylas* disappears in a stream, *Kyzikos* again falls a victim to force of arms ⁸). All this warrants the inference that the sudden and tragic death time and again forms the kernel of the saga and seems to be an obstinate disease among beautiful youths in *Asia Minor*. The development of the intrigue differs from one case to another, though models and imitations can be distinguished. A more important distinction will have to be made between harvest-rites which may be explained with the aid of simple *N. European* parallels, and customs which have been influenced by *Anatolia*. The *Phrygian-Bithynian*

¹) Cf. O. Eissfeldt *Linos und Alijan (Mélanges Dussaud I, p. 161—170)*: a compromise between the Greek and Phoenician derivations. Accepted by E. Diehl *Rhein. Mus.* 89, 1940, p. 106 sqq.

²) Cf. Nilsson *GF 166 sq*; Paus. VIII, 53, 1 sqq.

³) Eitrem *R. E.* s. v. *Narkissos*; Frazer ad Paus. V, p. 159.

⁴) Farnell *Hero Cults* p. 23; Hepding *Attis* p. 219.

⁵) Athen. XIV, 619 f sq.

Schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 941. Cf. *FHG* IV, p. 353 sq.

⁶) Apollon. Rhod. II, 780 sq.

⁷) Cf. Frazer *G. B.* VII ³, p. 214 sqq.

Crusius in *Roscher's M. L.* II, 2065—2072.

⁸) *Hylas*: Apollod. I, IX, 19; *Kyzikos* Apollod. I, IX, 18 and Apollon. Rhod. I, 1057—77.

figures give us the impression of a blending of the two spheres. But a comparison on the base of religion is left out here because data are wanting. The affinities of the sagas were of course realized from old and led to interplay and levelling, in which figures from all directions, as Linos, Maneros, Bormos were mutually compared.

The myth of Hyakinthos was unvoluntarily modelled upon similar examples, and the typical youth-episode disappeared from his religious career. What was left was one among many tragical narratives in which a young boy met with a cruel fate. At Amyklai the special way of working it out lies in the quoit-motive. The solar interpretation has been rejected above. The other extremity sees in the disc a chance instrument of mythology: "*Die mitunter auf den Palästren vorkommenden Totschläge spielen auch in der Mythologie eine Rolle*"¹⁾. Indeed other mythological figures too become the victim of an unfortunate turn of the disc, as Akrisios (by Perseus, without obliging us to see in this a "genuine solar myth"²⁾), Thermios by Oxylos³⁾, Phokos (purposely) by Peleus⁴⁾, Kanobos by Menelaos⁵⁾ and Krokos by Hermes⁶⁾. The saga of Krokos, which is mentioned only late, may be influenced by Hyakinthos', though an older development need not be excluded.

So the disc-motive in itself is no abstruse allusion to cosmological backgrounds. At Amyklai there existed all the more reason for this

¹⁾ Nilsson *GF* 133.

²⁾ Cook *Zens* II, p. 1155 sq. Paus. II, 16, 2; Apollod. II, 4, 4. Cf. on the saga L. Bieler *Wiener Studien* XLIX, 1931, p. 120.

³⁾ Paus. V, 3, 7.

⁴⁾ Paus. II, 29, 9 sq. Cf. Frazer ad Apollod. III, XII, 6 (vol. II, p. 57 sqq).

⁵⁾ This is a late version of Kanobos' death, preserved to us by the younger Herakleides Pontikos. To a certain extent Kanobos has been assimilated to Hyakinthos, probably because he was also said to originate from Amyklai. Thus he is called young and beautiful (Conon ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 132 a, 22 sqq) and killed by the blow of the quoit (of Menelaos, Her. Pont. in *Etym. Gud.* s.v. *Κάνωβος*). He was buried in the homonymous Egyptian place, an additional reason why the death of the Amyclaeen steersman could be modelled upon Hyakinthos'. The commoner version tells that Kanobos died from a snake-bite, like Archemoros and Hyas. Cf. his domain mentioned by Dionys. Perieg. 13. Meineke *Analecta Alex.* p. 377 sqq.

⁶⁾ Galenus gives the version with the quoit (*De compos. medicament.* IX, 4, Kühn XIII, p. 269), which according to Ehwald is of Lydian origin (Scherling *R.E.* XI, 1972 sq). Lydia as an area of such plant-mythology would open perspectives for the age of the quoit-saga, which, however, remain vague.

development of the myth, because throwing the disc was practised there of old, as appears from archaeological finds. Hyakinthos himself was, if not a god throwing the disc¹⁾, at least a hunting god who used stone weapons, the predecessors of the athletes-diskoi, like the Cretan Apollo at Eleutherna²⁾. The stone-throwing passed on to the Amyclaeon Apollo and under the influence of the forming of *agones* at Amyklai it was interpreted in an athletic instead of therapeutic way. So Apollo and Hyakinthos could go and enjoy a game of disc-throwing, and the stage for the tragic *peripeteia* was ready.

It is not necessary to interpret the death by the blow of the quoit as an aition for a ritual killing of the vegetation-daeimon by the throwing of stones³⁾. No trace of such an active intervention of the worshippers can be found in the tradition about the Minoan vegetation-cult. Throwing stones (*Lithobolia*) does occur in vegetative ritual, though no satisfactory interpretation has been given yet. Welcker already raised the question when discussing the myth of Hyakinthos, by comparing the ritual in use for Amaia and Auxesia at Troizen⁴⁾. In Sparta by the way these goddesses seem to be entrusted with the Cretan (?) Zeus Taletitas, which via Talos would once more furnish a connexion with a stone-throwing god⁵⁾. The festival *Ballētrús* at Eleusis and the *βολαὶ λίθων* at the Nonae

¹⁾ Cf. Eitrem *R. E.* IX, 13.

²⁾ Cf. p. 143 *supra* and A. H. Krappe *Folklore* 34, 1923, p. 212 sq (whose conclusions go too far).

³⁾ As Solders *ARW* 32, 1935, p. 151, 3 suggests.

⁴⁾ *Kleine Schriften* I, 24 sqq.

⁵⁾ *I. G. V*, 1, 363. *Wilde LK* p. 219. *Prot. Fasti Sacri* 14. The inscription apparently contains prescriptions for a ritual which behoves a Cretan relative of Hyakinthos (*ἄριστος, κόλλυβα, τυρός, τρώγανα, ἄλφιτα, ἐκνεϊτας* (sc. ἄριστος) and *χοίρια*, as in the *kopides* of the Tithenidia, cf. p. 54 *supra*) in the month of *Φλοιάσιος* when *τοὺς τῆς γῆς καρποὺς ἀμαρτύνειν συμβέβηκεν* Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φλωῖος*). Zeus is called *Talaiós* on Crete (Hesychius), where *Tallaia* ὄρη are situated North of the Ida. Cf. Bölte *R.E.* IV A 2067 sq. For Talos as a stone-thrower see p. 143 note 5 *supra*). His tomb Paus. I, 21, 4. Moreover there exists a late tale, making Talos-Perdix a *Venator matris deum amore correptus* (Mythograph. Vat. I, 232; II, 130; III, 7, 3). As he tired of the chase, because of the sad fate of Aktaion, Adonis and Hippolytos, he devoted himself to agriculture, but did not fare better. All this suggests affinities between Talos and the Adonis-Cretan Zeus type. Cf. Cook *Zeus* I, p. 728.

Ziehen *R.E.* III A 1474 sq and Nilsson *GF* 414, 5 doubt of the interpretation *Δαμοία* = *Δαμία* and the supplying of *Ἀβξήλοια* in the Spartan inscription concerned.

Caprotinae¹⁾ are similar sham fights, which certainly intend to promote the fertility of men, animals, or crops²⁾. But a grouping into two parties and a fighting against one another with stone- or disc-throwing cannot be reconstructed for Amyklai either. Throwing the disc is found back here only as part of the agonistic contest, in which connexion it may indeed be associated with fertility-magic.

Figures which on account of their myth might be compared with the quoit-god are mostly actively practising the throwing. Only a figure like Antheus falls a victim to it³⁾. He bears a name which also occurs as a Dionysiac appellative⁴⁾, and refuses the advances of Kleoboia, who in revenge kills him with a heavy stone when he climbs down into a well for her sake⁵⁾. The saga makes him come from Halicarnassus or Assesos, from Asia Minor-surroundings therefore. His namesake Antheus is loved by Deiphobos and Paris, and accidentally killed by the latter when playing⁶⁾, just as Krokos by his lover Hermes, Hyakinthos by Apollo.

Perseus, who accidentally kills Akrisios with his quoit, has a larnax-record⁷⁾. Hunters who are imagined as throwing stones are Orion and Aktaion. Orion, *γηγερός*, who hunted with Artemis on Crete and was buried there, challenged her once to a contest of disc-throwing⁸⁾. Aktaion, likewise in connexion and conflict with Artemis, haunts Orchomenos as a stone-throwing spectre⁹⁾. His

¹⁾ Plutarch *Rom.* 29, 9. Weinstock *R.E.* XVII, 856. Wissowa *R.u.K.* 184.

²⁾ Cf. Nilsson *GF.* p. 413 sqq.

³⁾ Eitrem *R.E.* IX, 3 quotes the saga.

⁴⁾ At Patrai Paus. VII, 21, 6; Anthios at Phlya, Anthister on Thera Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 1414, 4. Or: companion of Dionysos from Lyktos on Crete Nonnus *Dionys.* 32, 187 and 35, 382 sq.

⁵⁾ Parthenius 14, with Alex. Aetol. (who says that Antheus is loved by Hermes, as Krokos). Cf. S. M. Pitcher *AJPb* LX, 1939, p. 147 sqq. The murder in the well is a folk-tale motive, which also occurs as a variant in the saga of Palamedes (Dictys Cret. II, 15, cf. E. Wüst *R.E.* XVII, 1930), humorous K 345,2 (Thief sent into well by trickster) *Motif-index* Stith Thompson.

⁶⁾ Schol. Lykophr. 132.

⁷⁾ Apollod. II, IV, 1 sqq.

⁸⁾ Apollod. I, IV, 5. He is married to *Side*. The Koronides, who sacrificed themselves of their own free will on behalf of Thebes (on account of an oracle of the Gortynian Apollo) pass for his daughters (Ant. Lib. 25). Cf. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 945 sqq and Wehrli *R.E.* XVIII, 1065 sqq. He is also said to have been loved by Artemis, and unwittingly killed by her, to her great mourning: Hygin. *Astronom.* XII, 34.

⁹⁾ Paus. IX, 38, 5. His image on the rocks seems to have been that of a stone-throwing hunter.

untimely death, also at Corinth¹), is dramatized along Dionysiac lines.

Such stone- or quoit-throwers suggest that the disc as a part of the Hyakinthos-saga reaches back to the hunting-weapon of the original god. An abstruser interpretation is superfluous in this connexion. It has been stated above, that the myth about the relation Apollo-Hyakinthos might have developed about the eighth century. Possibly the disc-motive has been absorbed into it at the same time, though a later evolution of the whole is well conceivable. At the time when Bathykles adorned the altar-tomb with the reliefs ignoring Apollo, the myth will none the less have flourished among laymen: in the sanctuary itself religious traditions persisted which were more and more lost in the outer world. Euripides, the oldest literary source for the saga, still speaks of a *βοῦθῦντος ἡμέρα* in connexion with Hyakinthos, killed by Apollo's quoit. In spite of the non-religious saga he knew of the cult, in the fifth century. But it is curious that sources which partly precede Euripides: vase paintings, give an image of the young Hyakinthos which is far more remote from religion, and differs from the standard version preserved to us in literary sources, which for instance may be found in Ovid. This difference illustrates the fragmentary character of tradition which has come down to us, though it may be supplied by means of comparison.

One of the earliest representations of Hyakinthos which are known is found on an Attic black-figured lekythos of about 500 B.C. ²), so perhaps from the same period in which Bathykles chiselled Hyakinthos and Polyboia on the altar-tomb. But the difference makes us conscious of the gap between religious and purely mythological tradition. On the lekythos Hyakinthos appears as a tender boy, who rides on a swan over the waves, his long locks being garlanded. Dolphins jump all around, while on either side trees indicate the coast. An archaic scarab ³) represents him in a similar situation

¹) Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 136. Wentzel *R.E.* I, 1209 sq.

²) K. A. Neugebauer *Führer durch das Antiquarium* II, Pl. 38, p. 51. *Stephanos Th. Wiegand zum 60. Geburtstag* (1924) pl. IV, text p. 9 sq. *Invent. Antiquar.* No. 30852.

C. H. E. Haspels *Attic black-figured lekythoi* (1936) p. 150, 153 (Appendix XV, No. 17).

³) Furtwängler *Die antiken Gemmen* III, p. 96, fig. 66. Cf. *ibid.* p. 443: a Peloponnesian gem which perhaps has the same meaning, though uncertain because of the inscription *EΡΟΣ*.

as a swan-rider on the waves, his hair flowing behind him, a branch in his left hand, while a dolphin jumps away. The wreathing and the branch bear out the identification of the swan-riding boy as Hyakinthos. The literary source which makes this identification possible is the younger Philostratus, who sees the relation Apollo-Hyakinthos entirely from the later profane point of view. So according to him Apollo bestowed on Hyakinthos all favours and gifts, part of which properly belonged of old to the inventory of the Amyclaeon god: ἐρῶν ὁ τῆς Ἀητοῦς τοῦ μειρακίου πάντα δώσειν αὐτῷ φησιν, ὅσα ἔχει, τὸ ξυνεῖναι οἱ προσεμένω, τοξείαν τε γὰρ καὶ μουσικὴν διδάξειν καὶ μαντικῆς ἐπαίειν καὶ λύρας μὴ ἀπωδὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ παλαιάστραν ἐπιστήσιν, δώσειν δὲ ὑπὲρ κύκνων αὐτὸν ὀχούμενον περιπολεῖν χωρία, ὅσα Ἄπολλωνος φίλα. The fulfilment of the last promise is depicted in the representations mentioned. The ride over the waves may vaguely allude to an epiphany from the sea, though it is no sufficient evidence in itself. Swan-riding may be a feature derived from the beliefs of northern peoples¹⁾, which then indeed could have been bestowed upon Hyakinthos by Apollo and would be connected with the lyre-playing of the god²⁾. Several terracottas representing a long-haired swan-rider will probably have to be entitled Hyakinthos instead of Apollo³⁾, for instance at Taranto, which fits in with the cult there⁴⁾. In this respect too Hyakinthos approaches the sphere of Eros and Aphrodite, who also appear riding swans or driving a team of swans⁵⁾. Erotes are depicted with swans

¹⁾ Cf. K. Meuli *Hermes* 70, 1935, p. 160 sqq and Doebritz *R. E.* IX, 275.

²⁾ K. Meuli *loc. cit.* p. 151 sq: the harp as a "swan" among the Ostyaks, the riding-animal of the singer.

³⁾ Overbeck *Kunstmythologie* III, *Apollon* p. 350, No. 8 and other ones, some of them uncertain. Uncertain too is an Apulian amphora in Naples, on which among other things a white swan occurs which carries a garland with his feet and is ridden by a boy with a cup and bough (Heydemann No. 3282, cf. Hauser *Philol.* 52, 1893, p. 209 sqq). Vase fragments from Falerii, adduced by Hauser, will indeed indicate Hyakinthos with the swan-rider holding the lyre and plectrum.

⁴⁾ F. Dümmler *Ann. d. Inst.* 1883, p. 202, *Monum. ined.* XI, pl. LVI, 10.

⁵⁾ Cf. Stephani *CR* 1863, p. 74 sqq and 1864, p. 203.

O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* II (1913) p. 213 sqq. *R. E.* II A 787 sqq. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* (1889) Pl. XXII, 21 and 29; VI, 11.

in all kinds of situations¹⁾, in some cases one may doubt whether the youthful rider is to be called Eros or Hyakinthos.

The probability of the occasional identification of the swan-rider as Hyakinthos is confirmed by a scene on a redfigured skyphos in Vienna, on which Hyakinthos, riding a swan, mocks at Zephyros²⁾. The vase dates back from the beginning of the fifth century and introduces a series of representations of Zephyros and Hyakinthos³⁾, which, it is true, can be found back in literary tradition, though there they remain rather in the background, compared with the relation to Apollo. A *kylix* of Douris⁴⁾ depicts the winged Zephyros, who lifts Hyakinthos and seems to lay him down on a flowery meadow, on which a red flower has been painted separately, perhaps as an allusion to the hyacinth. In another realistic scene the two come floating through the air, Hyakinthos with long locks, a lyre in his hand⁵⁾. The vase paintings will have contributed their part to the development of the myth. They bring Hyakinthos into the sphere of paederasty and *Liebesverfolgungen*, where Erotes, swans and Zephyros move gracefully. It may be considered whether it was in these erotic regions that Hyakinthos met with the swan as his riding-animal.

The relation to Apollo is only indirectly alluded to. The marble groups alleged to represent Apollo together with Hyakinthos are all doubtful, and will probably consist of late, arbitrarily joined, copies⁶⁾.

While the mythological connexion with Apollo has been woven around the Amyclaeon situation, such a starting-point, inviting aetiology, was wanting for the relations to Zephyros. So it is not

¹⁾ Philostr. *Mai. Imag.* I, 9; here too Zephyros appears.

²⁾ Illustrated Hauser *Philol. Lc.*, cf. Eitrem *R.E.* IX, 12, who thinks it to be a travesty of the common saga. H. W. R. Smith *Der Lewismaler* (1939) p. 17, note 26 and Pl. 27 a and b. J. D. Beazly *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfig. Stils* (1925) p. 150, No. 11; cf. No. 10 and 17.

³⁾ Cf. especially the investigations of Hauser *l.c.*

⁴⁾ P. Hartwig *Die griech. Meisterschalen* (1893) Pl. 22, 1; p. 210 sq. Beazly *Attische Vasenmaler* p. 202, 31. Hoppin *Handbook of Attic redfig. vases* (1919) I, 224 sq.

⁵⁾ Hartwig *l.c.* Pl. 72, 1; p. 659 sq (*Meister mit der Ranke-Douris*), Berlin Inv. Antiquar. 2305. Beazly *Att. Vasenm.* p. 208, 120.

⁶⁾ Cf. e.g. that from the Hope-collection in Overbeck *Atlas zur Kunstmythologie* XXVI, No. 18.

surprising that the interpretation of Zephyros' jealousy, the god who rivals Apollo in the saga to obtain the favour of Hyakinthos, again took the direction of the nature-allegory. As a factor influencing the growth of the flowers, the spring-wind may be contrasted with the sun. Thus Svoronos for instance came to an explanation of his own for the disc as a symbol "*des gewaltigen starkstürmenden Windes, der oft mit Hageldisken, in Frühlingszeit, viele Blumen, viele Hyazinthen tötet, die wenig vorher' unter der Sonnenwärme, unter der Apollo-Liebe blühten*"¹⁾. The quoit as an instrument of Zephyros is not a happier explanation than that of the sun's disc, though the connexion of Zephyros with the flowerworld is indeed to be considered for his intrusion into the saga of Hyakinthos. As Zephyros has nothing to do with the original cult, an external conjunction may have been made in later times. Most likely seems Greve's supposition, that the explanation of the unexpected change in the direction of the quoit gave rise to his appearance²⁾. The unlucky way of throwing the disc does not behove a god like Apollo, but can be excused by the counteraction of another divine will, namely that of Zephyros, whose motive then could have been wounded pride and jealousy. Via this consideration the wind-god could be introduced into the saga. Since he and Boreas are always inclined to abductions, a similar attempt on Hyakinthos lay in the line of his conduct. The flower-nature of the boy-favourite makes him a suitable object to Zephyros. *Ζεφύρου πλείοντος ἔβρονη* the flowers come up in spring³⁾, Zephyros chooses the flower-goddess Chloris-Flora as a bride⁴⁾. Kyparissos too is sometimes said to have been loved by Zephyros⁵⁾. So Zephyros setting his affections on Hyakinthos, and being compelled by jealousy to his act of despair, was a fiction of the myth which suited the intrigue well and did not require a brilliant originality.

Meanwhile it appeared that literary sources (of a younger date) had yet to be resorted to in order to recognize the allusions which

1) *Zeitschr. für Numismatik* XVI, 1889, Heft 3/4, p. 14.

2) *Roschers M. L.* I, 2, 2760.

3) Kallimach. *Hymn. in Apoll.* 82.

4) Ovid *Fasti* V, 195 sqq. *Eitrem R.E.* IX, 10.

5) Serv. *Aen.* III, 680. When Boreas is called the lover of Hyakinthos by Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl.* III, 63, the author is on the wrong track. Pan and Boreas are rivals for the favour of Pitys, cf. *Roschers M. L.* s. v. Pitys.

plastic art makes to Hyakinthos' saga. Euripides is the only contemporary source. The Alexandrians devoted ample treatment to the saga, which at the same time will have stressed the schematic element in some of the motives. Euphorion ¹⁾ and Nicander ²⁾ wrote special poems on Hyakinthos; his fate inspired epigrams which often described the tragedy gracefully in short terms ³⁾. When Ovid took up Hyakinthos too in his *Metamorphoses*, he could even make a selection from rather extensive material, the essentials of which will presumably have been known as early as the fifth century. The version of Euripides is rarely found in its simple form ⁴⁾, mostly Zephyros is involved in the action, when he causes the fatal direction of the quoit, not being able to carry his point with Hyakinthos ⁵⁾. In revenge Apollo shoots his arrows at Zephyros ⁶⁾. Once the part of Zephyros is even performed by Boreas ⁷⁾. From the blood of Hyakinthos the hyacinth springs up ⁸⁾, or from his ashes ⁹⁾, the earth as an act of pity generates the flower ¹⁰⁾, or Hyakinthos himself is transformed into the flower ¹¹⁾. The lamentation for Hyakinthos is inscribed on it, AI AI ¹²⁾, or the beginning of his name IA ¹³⁾. Sometimes Apollo buries him with his own hands ¹⁴⁾. Isidorus puts all sagas aside and asserts that the hyacinth has been named

¹⁾ Meineke *Anal. Alex.* p. 69.

²⁾ Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 585.

³⁾ e.g. Bion, *Bucol. Graeci* ed. Wilamowitz XIV.

⁴⁾ Nic. *Ther.* 902.

Apollod. I, 3, 3 combined with another version.

Apollod. III, 10, 3.

Commodianus *Instruct.* I, 11.

⁵⁾ e.g. Palaiphatos 46; Westermann *App. Narr.* 78; Libanius *Narr.* p. 855; Philostr. *Im.* 24; Philostr. *Iun. Im.* 14; Nonnus *Dionys.* XIX, 95 sqq and XXIX, 98 sqq; Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Theb.* IV, 223.

⁶⁾ Lucianus *Deor. Dial.* 14.

⁷⁾ Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* III, 63, *Mythogr. Vat.* I, 177; II, 181.

⁸⁾ Philostr. *l.c.*; Lact. Plac. *l.c.*; Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 902; Luc. *De Salt.* 45.

⁹⁾ Philarg. ad Verg. *Ecl.* III, 63.

¹⁰⁾ Westermann *App. Narr.* 78; Libanius *Narr.* p. 855.

¹¹⁾ Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* III, 63.

¹²⁾ Philostr. *l.c.*; Theocr. X, 28 sq; Moschos *Epitaph. Bion.* 6 sq; Luc. *Deor. Dial.* 14; *id. De salt.* 45; Nonnos *Dion.* XI, 259 sqq; Nicander frg. 74 Schneider 31 sqq.

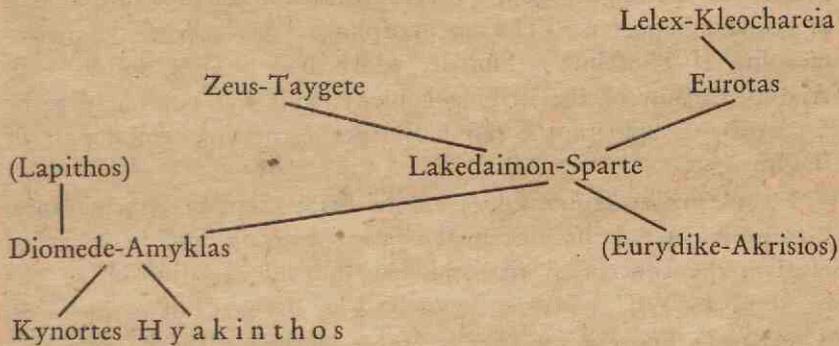
¹³⁾ Philarg. ad Verg. *Ecl.* III, 63; Palaiph. 46. Cf. Eitrem *l.c.*, Verg. *Ecl.* III, 106.

¹⁴⁾ Luc. *Deorum Dial.* 14.

after a boy who was found lying dead among the purple flowers¹).

Hyakinthos is held to be the prototype of the beautiful youth²), who sometimes is also loved by Thamyris, the first paederast according to Apollodorus³). Hyakinthos may owe this to his lyre-playing, like his childless marriage to Erato, mentioned by a scholiast⁴).

One of the genealogies which are given of him agrees with this: he there passes for the son of Kleio and Pieros⁵). A wider distribution has been acquired only by the Amyclaeen descent, according to which he is the son of Amyklas or Oibalos⁶), and is taken up in a Laconian pedigree. Apollodorus for instance gives the following scheme⁷):



One point from this Greek fabric of myths has still a claim upon our interest, namely the transition of Hyakinthos into a flower.

¹) *Etymologiae* XVII, 9, 15.

²) Libanius *Narr.* p. 855; *id. Epist.* 1522 Wolff (1493 Foerster), *Luc. Epist. Sat.* I; Paus. III, 19, 4; Philostr. *Imag.* 24; Oppianus *Kyneg.* I, 362.

In Anaxilas (Kock *F. C. A.* II, 272) Hyakinthos has had to lend his name to a *πορνόβοσκος*. Cf. Alciphron *Epist.* 48, where a hetaera is called Hyakinthis.

³) Apollod. I, 3, 3. Cf. Arnob. *adv. nationes* IV, 26. This version originates from Orphic syncretism and enjoyed special attention of the patriarchs. *Greve Roschers M. L.* I, 2760.

⁴) Schol. Euripid. *Rhesus* 347, cf. *Eitrem R.E.* IX, 10.

⁵) Apollod. I, 3, 3.

⁶) Son of Amyklas Apollod. III, 10, 3; Paus. III, 1, 3; Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 902.

Son of Oibalos Ovid *Met.* X, 196, *id. Ibis* 588; Philostr. *Iun. Im.* 14; Hygin. *Fab.* 271; *Luc. Deorum Dial.* 14; Auson p. 110, 10 and 162, 69 (ed. Peiper); *Stat. Silv.* V, 3, 53; *Serv. Verg. Aen.* XI, 68.

⁷) III, 10, 3.

This is narrated only in literary tradition in all sorts of modifications. The kylix of Douris mentioned above with Zephyros and Hyakinthos may already allude to the metamorphosis with the indication of the loose red flower, so that in the fifth century this motive would already have intruded into the saga. On a later scarab Hyakinthos is stooping, his head drips with blood and a round object (disc?) lies at his feet¹). This might be an attempt at illustrating the origin of the flower²). It is noteworthy that the connexion of Hyakinthos with the homonymous flower is treated more as an appendix than as the gist of the myth, even by Ovid, whose object is the metamorphosis. This is due to the imperious position of Apollo, who outside the Hyakinthia and the Amyklaion was considered the mighty god, whose adventure with Hyakinthos was of primary importance. The metamorphosis was a relic of the proper meaning of Hyakinthos himself, which had nothing to do with Apollo. Because of the striking homonymy it was not likely to be forgotten, though for the rest it did not form an essential part of the intrigue.

Yet the metamorphosis was all the better kept in remembrance, because it entered the saga in the form of an old and wide-spread motive: the conception that the human soul can live on in the plant-world³). This idea is found back in the sagas of many races. The Greeks knew it too, not so much in their official mythology as in popular belief, and numerous instances are found in plant-mythology. The human soul passes into a tree or plant by a direct metamorphosis, as in the case of Narkissos, Daphne, sometimes of Hyakinthos⁴); the tree or plant arises from the blood of the dying

¹) *Brit. Mus. Cat. No. 498*; Furtwängler III, Pl. XX, 31 (with an Etruscan inscription Luce).

²) *Eitrem R.E. IX, 12.*

³) R. Köhler *Kleine Schriften* (1900) III, p. 274, quoting A. Koberstein *Das Fortleben menschlicher Seelen in der Pflanzenwelt, Weimarer Jahrb. I, 1854, 73 sqq.*

C. Boetticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (1856) p. 245 sqq and 272 sqq.

For references see further Roschers *M. L. s. v. Phyllis* and L. Malten *Hermes* 74, 1939, p. 193, note 1.

⁴) Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl. III, 63* (*mutatus in florem nominis sui*). Stith Thompson *Motif-Index* D 210, 212, 215, A 2610.

person¹⁾: the anemone springs from the blood of Adonis, *σέλινον* from the blood of the Kabeiroi, this version prevails with Hyakinthos²⁾; less often from the ashes of the deceased, as Philargyrius asserts for Hyakinthos³⁾; finally hanging also makes the soul migrate into the tree concerned⁴⁾, a variant which in the saga of Hyakinthos is of course excluded by the intrigue. Here the motive is still embellished by the accidental circumstance, that afterwards the lament AI or (in mirror writing) the beginning of his name IA can be read on the flower⁵⁾. It is not to be wondered at that later on Aias was also associated with the hyacinth in a new saga: his name could more easily be read from the petals. Pausanias⁶⁾ makes a difference between the flowers which sprang from the blood of Aias and Hyakinthos, but to Ovid and Euphorion they are one and the same⁷⁾.

This idea of the transmigration of the human soul into plants and trees is supposed by Malten⁸⁾ to have come to the Greeks from the pre-Hellenic stratum. Popular belief may have thus been influenced, but in view of the wide prevalence of these motives no strong dependence need be assumed. The fact that most of the legends in question concern the adventures of figures with pre-Greek names, does not imply at all that this mythology was adopted together with the names. Hyakinthos is a proof to the contrary. Nor are we allowed to neglect the essential difference between the two strata of conceptions which may be distinguished in his case. It is to be assumed that the indefatigable vital force of nature has always and everywhere gripped man and filled him with admiration. Among the Minoan Cretans this religious emotion crystallized in a very definite and typical manner into the belief of an annually reborn and dying childgod. If we compare this worship of the gradually anthropomorphized *numen* of vegetation with the sagas

1) Cf. G. Bubbe *De metamorphosis Graecorum capita selecta* (Diss. Halle 1913) p. 75 sqq. Preller-Robert p. 646. *Motif-index* E 631, o, 3.

2) Ovid *Met.* X, 210 sqq; Philostr. *Imag.* 24 etc.

3) ad Verg. *Ecl.* III, 63. Cf. Persius *Sat.* I, 38: from the ashes of the poet violets arise.

4) Cf. Erigone, Phyllis, Melus. More frequent among other peoples.

5) *Motif-index* E 631, o, 2.

6) I, 35, 4. Cf. the vase Stephani CR 1861, p. 139.

7) *Metam.* XIII, 394 sqq. Euphorion frg. XXXVI ed. Meineke.

8) Malten *Hermes* 74, 1939, p. 193.

which make the soul of a dying person pass into a flower, springing from his blood, then a distinct contrast forces itself upon our minds between religion on one side and an anthropocentric world of fairy-tales on the other. The latter fascinates by an irresistible charm, *in casu* by the fairy-like metamorphosis of blood into a blossom, but it lies on quite another level of the human mind. Though the belief in such transformations appeals to a feeling of kinship between human and vegetable life, which is tinged with religion (reappearing both in the humanizing of vulnerable trees or those vitally interwoven with the fate of a mortal, and, in a literary and profound way, in the leaves-simile of Homer), the origins of the two lie apart. In the myth too Hyakinthos has been degraded: he has irretrievably lost his divine power, to figure among the Greeks in a far less elevated, if well-known, saga.

LIST OF THE CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
Ann. d. Inst.	<i>Annali dell' Istituto</i>
Arch. Anz.	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
Arch. f. Or.	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Arch. Jb.	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
Arch. Zeit.	<i>Archäologische Zeitung</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
Berl. Phil. Woch.	<i>Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift</i>
B.M.C.	<i>British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins.</i> London 1873—1927.
BSA	<i>Annual of the British school at Athens</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock
C. I. A.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i>
C. I. G.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Boeckh)
C. I. L.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
C. I. S.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
Class. Journ.	<i>Classical Journal</i>
Class. Phil.	<i>Classical Philology</i>
Class. Quart.	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
Class. Rev.	<i>Classical Review</i>
C. V. A.	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
Eph. arch.	<i>Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική.</i>
E. R. E.	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> edited by J. Hastings
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> ed. C. Müller I—V, Paris 1841—70
GF	M. P. Nilsson <i>Griechische Feste</i> (1906)
GgR	M. P. Nilsson <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> (1941)
I. G.	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
MMR	M. P. Nilsson <i>The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its survival in Greek Religion</i> (1927)
Mon. Ant.	<i>Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Milano</i>
Neue Jahrb. Wiss.	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Bildung</i>
Num. Chron.	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society</i>

<i>Österr. Jahresh.</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>Philol.</i>	<i>Philologus</i>
<i>R. E.</i>	<i>Pauly's Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von G. Wissowa</i>
<i>Rev. Arch.</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>Rev. Assy.</i>	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>Rev. ét. anc.</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Anciennes</i>
<i>Rev. ét. gr.</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
<i>RGVV</i>	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i>
<i>Rhein. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Römische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>Roschers M. L.</i>	<i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher. Leipzig 1884—1937.</i>
<i>R. V.</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte, herausgegeben von M. Ebert. Berlin 1924—32</i>
<i>SGDI</i>	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, ed. Collitz-Bechtel. Göttingen 1883—1915.</i>

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STELLINGEN

I.

Voor een verklaring van de ritën der Hyakinthia moet de peripetie in de feeststemming tot uitgangspunt genomen worden.

II.

De gestalte van Apollo Amyklaïos is ontstaan door wederzijdsche assimilatie van den voor-Griekschen Hyakinthos en den door de Achaeërs geïntroduceerden Apollo.

III.

De zgn. trooncultus is niet autochtoon in Griekenland, maar geïmporteerd met den dienst van vooraziatische goden.

IV.

Hyes-Hyas is een verschijningsvorm van den kleinaziatischen Dionysos, waarvan o.a. sporen zijn overgebleven in epitheta van Zeus, Semele, Sabazios en de formule $\upsilon\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta\varsigma, \acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta\varsigma \upsilon\eta\varsigma$.

V.

Ten onrechte leidt C. Picard (*Dionysos Psilax in Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre*, 1935, p. 317—337) af uit de passage bij Pausanias III, 19, 6 dat er een beeld van den gevleugelden Dionysos te Amyklai heeft bestaan.

VI.

De verklaring, die Van der Leeuw (*Mededeel. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Afd. Lett. Nieuwe Reeks* 2, 12, p. 12 sq) geeft voor de gewoonte, dat een Messeensche priester(es), die een kind verliest, het priesterschap moet overdragen (Paus. IV, 12, 6), is onjuist.

VII.

De zegelcylinder Louvre T 100 (*Encycl. phot. de l'art fasc.* 13, fig. 42, p. 73) illustreert o.a. de geboorte (epiphanie) van „Tammuz” uit een boom.

VIII.

Op het cultustableau van Vounoi (*Syria* XIII, 1932, pl. LXX sq) moet men onderscheid maken tusschen naar de realiteit afgebeelde figuren (de drie idolen met slangen tegen de muur) en artistiek zichtbaar gemaakte epiphanie (de figuur op de troon).

IX.

Aeschylus *Prom. Vincit.* 17 is de lezing der Mss $\epsilon\tilde{\xi}\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ te handhaven (cf. *S. E. G.* VII, 1934, *Syria* 195).

X.

Het is onjuist de papyrus Didotiana (Nauck² p. 666) te beschouwen als een fragment van Menanders *Epitrepontes*.

XI.

K. Barwick's verklaring van de uitdrukking *magna ex parte* in Caesar *De bello civ.* 2, 31, 8 en 3, 57, 3: „aus einem gewichtigen Grunde” is onaanvaardbaar (*Rhein. Mus.* 91, 1942, p. 34 sqq). Evenmin beteekent de uitdrukking *multiis partibus* bij Caesar: „in vele opzichten” (contra *Meusel Lexicon Caesarianum* II, 1004 en zijn commentaar ad *Bell. Gall.* V, 15, 1).

XII.

Het is wenschelijk de uitspraak van het oud-Grieksch te richten naar de geschreven accenten.

XIII.

Het is aanbevelenswaardig dat studenten zich tijdens hun academische opleiding niet tot één Universiteit beperken. Bij de geringe Nederlandsche beweeglijkheid zou een periodiek optreden van gast-hoogleraren een analoog resultaat kunnen bewerkstelligen.

XIV.

In een wetenschap als de klassieke philologie dienen de beoefenaars hun specialisme te compenseeren door een wijsgeerige verantwoording van den zin van hun vak.

