

**DAVID REID WEST**

**SOME CULTS OF GREEK GODDESSES AND FEMALE DAEMONS  
OF ORIENTAL ORIGIN**

**especially in relation to the mythology of goddesses**

**and daemons in the Semitic world.**

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## **Declaration**

**This dissertation was prepared in the University of Glasgow from 1986 to 1990: all work presented here is my own, except where previous work is acknowledged.**

## **SUMMARY.**

In Chapter One we discuss the evidence for Mycenaean trade and colonisation in the Orient, and for oriental trade and colonisation in the Aegean and Greece. We begin with such subjects as archaeological artefacts, artistic motifs and styles of architecture, then consider the linguistic evidence, such as toponyms, personal names and the LA tablets. The evidence for contact is overwhelming. Finally, we attempt to show (Section C) that there is not a serious problem concerning the transference of Mycenaean religion across the 'Dark Age' into the classical world. This discussion is intended to explain the presence of 2nd Millennium oriental themes in 1st Millennium Greek mythology.

In Chapter Two we consider the evidence for Semitic motifs in the iconography, mythology and names of Greek goddesses primarily connected with nature. Thus Semitic influence is clear in the case of Artemis and Rhea as lion-goddesses, Britomartis as a 'Mistress of the Beasts', Leto as a goddess of the sacred palm, and Demeter as a mare-goddess. Rhea seems to be partly Anatolian. We also suggest the Semitic origin of some of the names of these goddesses. Britomartis, Aphaia and Leto are especially convincing examples. An interesting mosaic of oriental connections arises from this discussion.

Chapter Three is concerned with the goddess Athena and other avian daemons. We begin (Section A) by discussing the oriental origins of Athena's owl, snake, aegis and Gorgon, relying mainly upon the evidence of iconography. Then (Section B) we consider three epithets of Athena which seem very Semitic. Finally (Section C) we discuss the Sirens, which are avian demonesses somewhat reminiscent of Athena's chthonian character. It is concluded that some Mesopotamian demonology is connected with Athena. The demonesses Kililu and Lamashtu are especially relevant. This material prepares the way for the themes of Chapter Four.

In Chapter Four we first analyse (Section A) as much of the character of the goddess Hekate as possible, in both iconography and literature. It is clear that Hekate is a very demonic goddess. Then (Section B) we discuss various theories concerning the origin of Hekate. The Anatolian theories in particular are unconvincing. The Semitic origin of Hekate is tested (Section C) with reference to the character and motifs of both E-S and W-S demons and demonesses. It is concluded that Hekate is an evolute of Lamashtu. Finally (Section D) other Greek chthonian daemons (e.g. Mormo, Empousa, Gello) are compared with both Hekate and Lamashtu. Some (e.g. Mormo, Empousa) are Greek daemons with Semitic motifs in their characters. We conclude that Lamia is another evolute of Lamashtu, and that Gello is derived from the Mesopotamian Gallu demon.

It is clear that several Greek chthonian daemons are derived from those of Mesopotamian demonology.

In the conclusion, we summarise the types of mythological themes that were borrowed into Greece from the Orient.

**ABBREVIATIONS.****(i) Books and series (for details see bibliography).**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Title</b>
<u>AAAO</u>	Frankfort	<u>The art and architecture of the ancient orient.</u>
<u>AHw</u>	Soden, von	<u>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.</u>
<u>ANET</u>	Pritchard	<u>Ancient near eastern texts relating to the Old Testament.</u>
<u>AOAT</u>	_____	<u>Alter Orient und Altes Testament.</u>
<u>AOS</u>	_____	<u>American Oriental Series.</u>
<u>CAD</u>	Oppenheim et al.	<u>Chicago Assyrian dictionary.</u>
<u>CCCA</u>	Vermaseren	<u>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque.</u>
<u>CGS</u>	Farnell	<u>The cults of the Greek states.</u>
<u>CIG</u>	Boeckh and Franz	<u>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum.</u>
<u>EM</u>	Gaisford	<u>Etymologicon magnum seu verius lexicon.</u>
<u>GDG</u>	Séchan and Lévêque	<u>Les grandes divinités de la Grèce.</u>
<u>HS</u>	Astour	<u>Hellenosemitica.</u>
<u>IC</u>	Guarducci	<u>Inscriptiones Creticae.</u>
<u>IG</u>	Fraenkel et al.	<u>Inscriptiones Graecae.</u>
<u>KTU</u>	Loretz et al.	<u>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.</u>
<u>LS</u>	Liddell and Scott	<u>A Greek-English lexicon.</u>
<u>OTS</u>	_____	<u>Old Testament Studies.</u>
<u>PM</u>	Evans	<u>The palace of Minos at Knossos.</u>
<u>UT</u>	Gordon	<u>Ugaritic Textbook.</u>

**(ii) Journals.**

<u>ABSA</u>	Annual Bulletin of the School at Athens.
<u>AD</u>	Archaiologikon Deltion.
<u>AfO</u>	Archiv für Orientforschung.
<u>AJA</u>	American Journal of Archaeology.
<u>AJP</u>	American Journal of Philology.
<u>AnOr</u>	Analecta Orientalia.
<u>ArOr</u>	Archiv Orientální.
<u>BASOR</u>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
<u>BSL</u>	Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris.
<u>CR</u>	Classical Review.
<u>CSCA</u>	California Studies in Classical Antiquity.
<u>GRBS</u>	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.
<u>JAOS</u>	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<u>JBL</u>	Journal of Biblical Literature.
<u>JEA</u>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
<u>JHS</u>	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<u>JNES</u>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
<u>JRAS</u>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<u>JSS</u>	Journal of Semitic Studies.
<u>PEF</u>	Palestine Exploration Fund.
<u>PEQ</u>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
<u>RA</u>	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
<u>RAr</u>	Revue d'archéologie.
<u>SEL</u>	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul vicino Oriente antico.
<u>TAPA</u>	Transactions of the American Philological Association.
<u>UF</u>	Ugarit-Forschungen.
<u>ZA</u>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.
<u>ZAG</u>	Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte.

**(iii) Greek Abbreviations.**

<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Agamemnon.</u>
<u>Alex.</u>	<u>Alexandra.</u>
<u>Anth.Pal.</u>	<u>Anthologia Palatina.</u>
<u>Apollod.Bibl.</u>	<u>Apollodorus.Bibliothēke (The Library).</u>
<u>Apollon.Rhod.Arg.</u>	<u>Apollonius Rhodius.Argonautica.</u>
<u>Aristoph.</u>	<u>Aristophanes.</u>
<u>Di.</u>	<u>Dionysus.</u>
<u>Diod.Sic.</u>	<u>Diodorus Siculus.</u>
<u>Dor.</u>	<u>Doric.</u>
<u>Eccl.</u>	<u>Ecclesiastes.</u>
<u>EH</u>	<u>Early Helladic.</u>
<u>EM</u>	<u>Early Minoan.</u>
<u>Emp.</u>	<u>Empedocles.</u>
<u>Gk.</u>	<u>Greek.</u>
<u>HA</u>	<u>Historia animalium.</u>
<u>Hdt.</u>	<u>Herodotus.</u>
<u>Hes.</u>	<u>Hesiod.</u>
<u>HT</u>	<u>Hagia Triada.</u>
<u>Il.</u>	<u>Iliad.</u>
<u>Ion.</u>	<u>Ionic.</u>
<u>KN</u>	<u>Knossos.</u>
<u>LA</u>	<u>Linear A.</u>
<u>Lam.</u>	<u>Lamachus.</u>
<u>LB</u>	<u>Linear B.</u>
<u>LH</u>	<u>Late Helladic.</u>
<u>LM</u>	<u>Late Minoan.</u>
<u>MM</u>	<u>Middle Minoan.</u>



MY	Mycenae.
non-Gk.	non-Greek.
<u>Od.</u>	<u>Odyssey.</u>
<u>Paroem.</u>	(Zenobius) <u>Paroemiographus.</u>
Paus.	Pausanias.
Per.	Pericles.
<u>PGM</u>	<u>Papyri Graecae Magicae.</u>
<u>Phoin.</u>	<u>Phoinissae.</u>
Pl. <u>Rep.</u>	Plato. <u>Republic.</u>
pre-Gk.	pre-Greek.
PY	Pylos.
<u>Pyth.</u>	<u>Pythian.</u>
Schol.	Scholia.
Str.	Strabo.
<u>Supp.</u>	<u>Supplices.</u>
Them.	Themistocles.
<u>Theog.</u>	<u>Theogony.</u>
<u>Thesm.</u>	<u>Thesmophoriazusae.</u>
Thuc.	Thucydides.
<u>Tr.</u>	<u>Trachiniae.</u>

**(vi) Semitic Abbreviations.**

<u>a.</u>	<u>anpatu, assaku.</u>
Akk.	Akkadian.
Alal.	Alalakh.
Arab.	Arabic.
A.V.	Authorized Version.



Bab.pers.n.	Babylonian personal name.
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum. (see CAD list).
CBS	Tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (see CAD list).
<u>Ch.</u>	<u>Chronicles.</u>
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets. (see CAD list).
d.	determinative (prefix).
<u>Deut.</u>	<u>Deuteronomy.</u>
e.	<sup>vv</sup> <u>essebu.</u>
<u>Ex.</u>	<u>Exodus.</u>
<u>Ez.</u>	<u>Ezekiel.</u>
E-S	East Semitic.
g.	<u>gallu.</u>
<u>Gen.</u>	<u>Genesis.</u>
Heb.	Hebrew.
<u>Is.</u>	<u>Isaiah.</u>
<u>Je.</u>	<u>Jeremiah.</u>
<u>Jos.</u>	<u>Joshua.</u>
<u>Ju.</u>	<u>Judges.</u>
K.	<u>Kings.</u>
l.	<u>lamashtu</u> , <u>lamassu</u> , <u>lamassatu</u> , <u>lilu</u> , <u>lilitu</u> .
<u>Lev.</u>	<u>Leviticus.</u>
LXX	Septuagint.
n.	<u>namtaru.</u>
Nu.	Numbers.
OB	Old Babylonian.
OT	Old Testament.
pre-Sem.	pre-Semitic.

Phoen.	Phoenician.
R.	<u>Ruth.</u>
V	
RS	<u>Ras Shamra.</u>
S.	<u>Samuel.</u>
Sem.	Semitic.
Sem.-speaking	Semitic-speaking.
Sept.	Septuagint.
Sum.	Sumer, Sumerian.
Ug.	Ugaritic.
W-S	West Semitic.

**(v) General Abbreviations (other).**

acc.	accusative.
AD	<u>Anno Domini.</u>
aor.	aorist.
AP	Associated Press.
artif.	artificial.
BC	before Christ.
BM	British Museum.
Cat.	Catalogue.
c.	<u>circa.</u>
Chap.	Chapter.
col., cols.	column, columns.
descr.	description.
>	develops into (sign for etymologies).
div.n.	divine name.
Ed.	Edition.
e.g.	<u>exempli gratia</u> (for example).

esp.	especially.
et al.	<u>et alia</u> (and the others).
etc.	<u>et cetera</u> (and the rest).
ET	English translation.
f., ff.	following (page), following (pages).
Fasc.	Fascicle.
fem.	feminine.
fem.n.	feminine name.
Fig., Figs.	Figure, Figures.
Fr.	Fragment.
Fr.	French.
gen.	genitive.
Germ.	Germanic.
Goth.	Gothic.
i.e.	<u>id est</u> . (that is).
IE	Indo-European.
Ill., Ills.	Illustration, Illustrations.
incl.	including/inclusive.
Li.	Lithuanian.
lit.	literally.
masc.	masculine.
Mass.	Massachusetts.
MHG	Middle High German.
NE	North East.
no., nos.	number, numbers.
nom.	nominative.
nom.sing.	nominative singular.
NW	North West.
Obv.	Obverse.

OE	Old English.
OFris.	Old Frisian.
OHG	Old High German.
<u>op.cit.</u>	<u>opere citato</u> (in the work quoted).
<u>ops.cits.</u>	in the works quoted.
opp.	opposite.
OS	Old Saxon.
p., pp.	page, pages.
Par.	Paragraph.
pass.part.	passive participle.
perh.	perhaps.
pers.n.	personal name.
pers.ns.	personal names.
PIE	Proto-Indo-European.
Pl. (PL.)	Plate.
Pls. (PLS.)	Plates.
pl.	plural.
poss.	possibly.
pre-IE	pre-Indo-European.
quot., quotes.	quotation, quotations.
R.	Register, Row.
ref., refs.	reference, references.
Rev.	Reverse.
S.	Series.
sec., secs.	section, sections.
sing.fem.perf.	singular feminine perfect.
transl.	translation.
Vol., Vols.	Volume, Volumes.

### **Note on spelling and other conventions.**

#### **(i) Spelling of Greek proper and personal names.**

The practice of Latinising Greek names causes considerable confusion and inconsistency. However, it is necessary, since many names conventionally require English c instead of Greek k, English e instead of Greek i, or Latin -us instead of Greek -os. Thus conventional spellings are given in the thesis where appropriate, for instance; Aeschylus, Arcadia, Boeotia and Euboea. More unusual toponyms (Alpheios, Prokonessos, etc.) are better spelled in direct transliteration, as are toponyms of direct relevance to our etymological discussion (Kithairon, Kos, Kythera, etc.). It would be misleading to spell such toponyms with c. We have also used exact transliteration for mythological names (Kirke, Kadmos, Nessos, etc.).

Other examples (Acarmania, Locris, Phocis, etc.) are borderline cases - either spelling (c or k) would be equally acceptable. Perfect consistency is not possible in this area. For a more exact system of transliteration, see Fontenrose, Python, viii.

#### **(ii) Spelling of Semitic and other names.**

As far as is possible, exact transliterations are given, as in Ugaritic or Sanskrit (phlt, Saranyu, etc.). However, it is permissible to include conventional spellings for better known names (<sup>c</sup>Astart, Horon, Keret, Ta-urt, etc.). Such spellings indicate a useful theoretical pronunciation.

#### **(iii) Insertion of reference nos. in the text.**

Throughout the thesis, various types of reference no. are inserted in the text, for the purpose of clarity. These are:

- (a) Classical text nos. (eg., Paus.1.2.2), and oriental text nos.

- (b) Page nos. from books and articles, especially after direct quotations in the thesis.
- (c) Page nos. that refer back to previous pages in the thesis.

Such references are absolutely essential only in the notes to each chapter. They are not inserted everywhere in the thesis, only where there is the possibility of confusion between different references. Thus Chapter Four has a huge number of different classical and oriental text reference nos. The multiple references in the notes to Chapter Four makes such insertions in the chapter vital for clarity. However, Chapter Two has a much simpler structure, and the notes alone suffice for classical references.

These insertions in the text should be understood purely as a guide to the reader, not as an essential part of the work.

**(iv) Inclusion of Loeb page no. references with their classical text nos.**

Nearly all of the classical texts used in the thesis, except for some obscure ones, have been published in the Loeb Classical Library. References are given to the pages of the Loeb editions only if the text is of sufficient length and interest, or if the translation is useful to the reader. Otherwise reference is made only to the classical text itself. However, reference to all the appropriate Loeb editions may be found in the Bibliography.

**(v) Vocabulary references.**

Care has been taken to include exact references to all useful items of vocabulary, in the lexicons (Gk., Heb., Akk., etc.).

**(vi) Abbreviations.**

Such words as Greek (Gk.), Ugaritic (Ug.) and Akkadian (Akk.) are abbreviated in the text only where they refer to specific linguistic discussion, where the inclusion of the entire word would be tedious.

Other words, such as description (descr.), quotation (quot.), reference (ref.) and translation (transl.) are abbreviated only within brackets. Elsewhere the entire word is used for clarity.

**(vii) The meanings of three special terms.**

The term 'daemon' is used generally to refer to any supernatural mythological being, who is not a god or a goddess. Such a being may be benevolent or malevolent. The terms 'demon' and 'demoness' refer specifically to malevolent supernatural beings in mythology.



## INTRODUCTION.

The subject of Hellenosemitic relations, in the archaeological and mythological fields, is both vast and varied. Probably the most comprehensive work dealing with the oriental origins of Greek mythological themes is M.C.Astour's Hellenosemitica. In his analysis of the interaction of Greek and Semitic peoples during the 2nd Millennium B.C., Astour includes many impressive mythological similarities, supported by considerable archaeological evidence for contact between the Near East and Greece.

Our work on this subject follows a similar structure to that of Hellenosemitica, but the field of discussion is somewhat narrower. Astour discusses many varied aspects of Greek mythology, including both gods and goddesses. We are primarily concerned with the evolution of Greek goddess mythology from the goddesses of the Near East. We are indebted to Astour for several Semitic themes in this field, such as the origins of Britomartis and the owl of Athena, but we have developed the discussion further. Other topics, such as the Akkadian origin of the goddess Leto and the Semitic connections of Rhea, are entirely original.

However, other scholars long before Astour suggested the Semitic origin of some themes in Greek goddess mythology. Thus L.R.Farnell derived Astrateia, an epithet of Artemis, from the W-S goddess <sup>v</sup>c<sup>v</sup>Astart. M.Kraus derived the goddess Aphaia, an epithet of Britomartis, from the W-S root for 'beautiful'. Most significantly, D.W.Myhrman noted the mythological similarities of the netherworld goddess Hekate with the Mesopotamian demoness Lamashtu. We have developed these themes extensively. In particular, our discussion of Greek witchcraft and Semitic demonology (Chapter Four) includes themes not discussed previously.

Our introductory archaeological discussion (Chapter One) is necessarily less original. For instance, C.Virolleaud provides many examples of Mycenaean artefacts in the Near East. We have used some of Astour's Semitic toponyms located on the mainland of Greece (especially those of Boeotia), while adding some new examples of our own. We are indebted to C.H.Gordon for his analysis of the LA script, which was probably used for a Semitic language.



The pattern that emerges from our discussion in Chapters Two, Three and Four is that of numerous and unconnected elements of Greek goddess mythology derived from the Near East. It is clear that some Greek goddesses (Artemis, Athena, Demeter, etc.) are not oriental in themselves, but include iconographic and mythological elements of Semitic origin in their cults.

Other goddesses (Britomartis, Leto, Hekate, etc.) are very clearly of Semitic origin. For such goddesses, the Semitic evidence is very strong and other explanations are not convincing. Thus the case for Semitic origins applies to a few specific goddesses, and must not be pushed too far. A mixture of pre-Hellenic, Hellenic and oriental traditions in classical mythology is exactly what we would expect. In addition to goddesses, certain lesser daemons, mainly female (such as the Sirens, Lamia and Empousa), also show considerable Semitic influence.

Thus the evidence of our discussion is cumulative in form. This is advantageous, for if one theme is not entirely convincing, this in no way affects the arguments concerning other unrelated themes. Fortunately, the evidence for Hellenosemitic relations is based upon many different mythological themes, which provide considerable evidence for our case.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR CONTACT BETWEEN THE GREEK AND SEMITIC WORLDS DURING THE MYCENAEAN AGE.

#### SECTION A—MYCENAEAN TRADE AND COLONISATION IN THE EAST.

##### (i) The evidence of trade; pottery and other artefacts in Palestine, Egypt and Cyprus.

It is clear that without at least minimal contact between the Mycenaeans and the Semites there could have been no transference of mythology. It is the purpose of this discussion to give a general picture of this contact and the extent of its impact in the two geographical areas. We will begin with the earliest evidence for Minoan contact with each of the three above geographical areas.

##### (1) Palestine.

C.F.-A. Schaeffer states that at the start of the 2nd Millennium B.C., at the end of the MM period, the Aegean world began its expansion towards the Orient (p.53). Cretan vases of the MM II period were discovered in several tombs at Ras Shamra (p.54). These include fragments of Kamarès ware vases, an entire cup painted with spirals and floral motifs, and a jug of black clay (Fig.41). There is also a long jar without a handle (Fig.42). This pottery may be dated from the 19th-18th centuries B.C. Schaeffer also illustrates (Fig.43) a fragment of a Cretan cup from tomb XXXVI at Ras Shamra, which was reused from the 15th-14th centuries (p.54). This tomb contained many Mycenaean, Cypriot and Syrian vases among the funerary furniture (Fig.46). A rhyton painted with an octopus, from the LM IIIa period, was discovered at Minet-el-Beida.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence of Mycenaean vases is also important. Schaeffer illustrates (Pl.III.2) a fragment painted with two women and a horse, whose tail and back legs survive. Tomb V of Minet-el-Beida provided considerable Mycenaean pottery, including skyphos vases, vases with stirrup-handles and also painted bowls (Pl.X). The striking similarity of this pottery to that of Cyprus and the Ialysos cemetery of Rhodes suggests a common origin from the same workshop. According to Schaeffer, tomb V may be dated from the 14th-13th centuries B.C.<sup>2</sup>

E.Vermeule and V.Karageorghis illustrate five examples of Mycenaean pottery from the Levant. A jar from Megiddo (XIII.26) is painted with birds in branches and with spirals. A fragmentary krater from Ugarit (XIII.27) shows lions hunting stags. Ugarit also provided two other kraters and a closed vessel with a quadruple spiral (XIII.28-30).

H.J.Kantor illustrates a LH I sherd with a spiral (Pl.VIII, H) and a LH II goblet (Pl.VIII, G), both from Tell-el-Duweir. Several LH II sherds were found at Byblos (Pl.VIII, J, K).<sup>3</sup>

Some examples of pottery from Ugarit imitate Cretan ware, a fact which is evidence for the influence of Minoan ceramic styles. Schaeffer gives several examples of these; an Egyptian goblet of greenish stone (Pl.XIV) which is an imitation of Cretan bridge-spout vessels of the MM period, a jug of reddish clay (Fig.51) and cylindrical vessels called pyxides. According to Schaeffer, the type of flask whose paunch forms a circular tube is of Mediterranean origin. These pyxides are from tomb LVII (Fig.54).<sup>4</sup>

Schaeffer also notes the similarity of a horned sword (Fig.63, U) to those of Mycenae. Another artefact of interest, a votive silver bowl with a LB inscription, was found near the library wall of Ugarit.<sup>5</sup>

After the first appearance of Minoan and Mycenaean objects at Ras Shamra-Ugarit during the 17th-16th centuries B.C., there is a period during which there seems to have been no trade with the Aegean, attributed by Schaeffer to social and political instability. Hurrian or Mitannian elements seem to have seized power at

Ugarit, and there was also the disturbance caused by the Hyksos. Concerning this period, Kantor states:

'Although Cretan communications with the Levant were not completely broken off during the period when the Hyksos may have exercised a brief hegemony over much of the ancient world, such a drastic political change may well have interfered severely with Cretan commerce.'<sup>6</sup>

Following this period, Aegean and Aegeo-Mycenaean products did not take long to reappear. By the 14th century B.C., artefacts of purely Mycenaean style appear at Ugarit, after those of the last 'palace style', such as a big jar of Aegean type painted with white spirals (Fig.68). Late Mycenaean pottery from Ugarit (13th century B.C.) includes several fragments painted with horses or birds (Fig.96) and a Mycenaean krater with a geometric design (Fig.97). Schaeffer illustrates all of these.<sup>7</sup>

## (2) Egypt.

There was also Minoan and Mycenaean influence upon Egypt. Kantor lists many examples of pottery, including a three-handled jar of mainland type (Pl.VIII, D), a tea-cup and saucer (Pl.VII, B) and three one-handled jugs (Pl.VIII, B). Kantor observes that only two or three of the Aegean pots from Egypt are Cretan, for most are of mainland type.

A.Evans notes the close similarity between the MM II pottery from Kahun in Egypt and that of Cretan sites, both showing the distinctive 'pointed petal' design.<sup>8</sup>

## (3) Cyprus.

Cyprus provides a connecting link between Greece and the Palestinian coast. Several examples of Minoan ware were discovered. Curium yielded the earliest of these, a sherd of Kamarès ware dating from the MM II period, illustrated by E.J.Forsdyke (Fig.1.1). Examples of LM I ware are from Larnaka (Figs.1.2 & 1.3) and a grave at Maroni, which provided a complete vase (Fig.2.1) similar to a cup from Knossos (Fig.2.2). Both are of yellow clay. Forsdyke also mentions sherds from Enkomi (Fig.3) and a fine octopus vase from Curium (Fig.4), a type that we have already seen at Minet-el-Beida (p.1). The Maroni tomb also provided three vases of Mycenaean



type.<sup>9</sup>

According to J.Karageorghis, the Mycenaeans first arrived at Cyprus c.1450 B.C. They first came as traders and then as colonists, making their presence felt in the island during the 14th and first half of the 13th centuries. Some interesting Mycenaean female figurines of the 'bird-headed' type were found here. There are twelve in all, the most ancient dating to a little before 1300 B.C. However, the evidence of Minoan pottery makes earlier contact with Crete probable, as we have seen.<sup>10</sup>

The Cypriot evidence is important because, as we have seen, the Mycenaeans began trading with Ugarit during the 17th-16th centuries B.C. Thus it is probable that Cyprus was a midway point on their journey.

### **Conclusion.**

We conclude that the evidence for Mycenaean trade with the Orient is overwhelming. E.Yamauchi notes the overall chronological distribution. Early Mycenaean pottery of the period 1500-1425 B.C. is rare but sherds were found at Alalakh, Ugarit, Byblos, Gezer and Lachish. After this the finds are more and more numerous. Mycenaean pottery of the period 1425-1300 B.C. is scattered over most of northern Syria and southern Palestine, including such sites as Alalakh, Hama, Ugarit, Tell Abu-Hawam, Jericho, Gath and Gaza. Yamauchi's map (Fig.14) shows the distribution of Mycenaean pottery before 1200 B.C. Palestine, Egypt and Cyprus are crammed with pots.<sup>11</sup>

### **(ii) Two specific artistic motifs.**

We are concerned here with two more fragments of evidence for trade and colonisation. These are the ivory pyxis lid from tomb III at Minet-el-Beida, and the use of spiral designs, both in Cretan frescoes and in the palace of Mari.

#### **(1) The pyxis lid.**

Schaeffer illustrates the pyxis lid (Frontispiece), which is of special interest to us in the context of goddess mythology. A goddess is depicted with her arms raised in a v-shape, holding plants at which goats are about to feed. H.Frankfort states concerning the borrowed motifs:

'Her bare torso, flounced skirt, coiffure and cap, tally with the Aegean prototypes,...'<sup>12</sup>

This is correct. We may compare the female figure on the right in the Isopata gold signet ring from Crete, illustrated by H.E.L. Mellersh (Pl.14). She too is naked above the waist and wears a flounced dress.

Kantor discusses the Minet-el-Beida relief at length. It is clear that the posture is very similar to that of female figures depicted upon Minoan seals from Hagia Triada (Pl.XXII, A, H) and Knossos (Pl.XXII, I), illustrated by Kantor. However, Kantor observes significant differences between the pyxis lid (Pl.XXII, J) and Minoan art. Thus the posture of the goddess is clumsy compared with that of the Minoan seals. She is in a sitting position, but seems to stand. Her breasts are 'pendulous', while those of other examples (Pl.XXII, F & G) are firm and pointed forward. Kantor also notes that the dress seems to be modelled on the surface only, without the depth of the Aegean examples. This is correct, for her dress does not hang around her legs. In conclusion, Kantor suggests that an Asiatic or a Mycenaean may have carved the pyxis lid:

'However, it would be rash to claim that this potnia theron must have been carved by an Asiatic following Western prototypes; the possibility that a Mycenaean migrated to the East, possibly as a young apprentice, and there produced a hybrid carving, cannot be disregarded.'<sup>13</sup>

Both possibilities are equally valid. As we will see (pp.7-11), small numbers of Mycenaeans living in the Orient cannot be excluded as a reasonable idea.

## **(2) The spiral designs.**

A.Parrot suggests that the use of spiral designs in the palace of Mari displays such a degree of Aegean influence that the artists of the country of Hana were in communication with Cretan painters (pp.353-354). The close connection with Minoan art is most convincing. Parrot illustrates the spirals around the 'podium', or platform (Pl.XXXVII, 1). Kantor notes the 'running spiral scrolls' bordering the false marbling (imitation of marble) upon the throne platform, and states that an Aegean

origin of these is most probable. One silver bowl of Abishemu may also be ultimately Aegean.<sup>14</sup>

An almost identical spiral design, except for the fact that the spirals are not joined, occurs upon a large globular flask of the LM II palace style. This is illustrated by Evans (Fig.959). On this flask the ends of the three spirals are in the same position at alternate sides. Evans also notes that at Knossos a marbled fresco is decorated with the 'naturalistic imitation of marble panels' in painted stucco (Fig.874). As we noted above, the throne platform at Mari also has false marbling.<sup>15</sup>

Thus it is possible that the origin of the near eastern spiral decoration lies in the Aegean. We have already noted the Aegean jar with white spirals from Ugarit (p.3). However, it is also possible that the spirals may be of oriental origin. Thus V.Popovitch observes the similarity between round pyxides and cylindrical vases in steatite, from the end of the Sumerian period. Popovitch gives an example of a pyxis from Melos (Fig.1), which has quadruple spirals. This pyxis is reminiscent of the fragment from Ugarit with a quadruple spiral (p.2).

Also, M.C.Astour thinks that the frescoes of Knossos may have been influenced by those of Mari, since the latter seem to be a century or more older. This opinion is shared by W.Culican, who thinks that the palace of Mari 'probably formed the pattern for the Minoan palaces'. In addition to this, Culican notes that the Minoans were attracted to north Syria by the silver ores of the Taurus mountains. An Egyptian hoard of silver cups from the temple at Tod may be evidence for the presence of Minoan silversmiths in a north Syrian coastal city.<sup>16</sup>

In conclusion, we may state that the motif of the pyxis lid from Minet-el-Beida is certainly of Aegean inspiration. The spirals may be either originally Aegean or oriental in origin.



**(iii) Evidence of Mycenaean colonisation in the Orient - architecture, tombs and skulls.**

It has now been clearly shown that the Mycenaeans traded extensively with the Orient. We must now consider the question concerning permanent settlement.

There are four geographical localities that may be considered; Tell Abu-Hawam, Ugarit, Tell Atchana, and Sarepta. Let us look at each of these in turn:

**(1) Tell Abu-Hawām.**

A. Harif compares the plan of a building excavated at Tell Abu-Hawām in the plain of Acre in Palestine with that of three Mycenaean palaces: Gournia in Crete, the palace of Phylakopi in Melos, and the women's quarters in the palace of Tiryns. Harif then adds two more examples: the 'House of the Oil Merchant' and the 'House of the Sphinxes', both at Mycenae.<sup>17</sup>

Harif gives the plan of the building at Tell Abu-Hawām. Although the western half is badly preserved and its walls largely missing, Harif's reconstruction is very reasonable due to the fact that the NE and NW corners are preserved (Fig.2). The building definitely contained an eastern half with three small rooms separated by a corridor from a western half, whose interior plan is uncertain, but may have consisted of a hall.<sup>18</sup>

The building of the LM III period at Gournia (Fig.3a) has a very similar plan to the above, with three small rooms on one side that may have been used for storage, separated by a corridor from the hall and entrance-room. The other two examples at Phylakopi (Fig.3b) and Tiryns (Fig.3c) show the same plan, but with more rooms comprising a more complex structure. The two buildings at Mycenae (Fig.4) are less certainly of the same plan. Only the basement remains of the eastern part of the 'House of the Oil Merchant' (Fig.4a), although the ground floor probably had the same plan, and the western part was not well preserved. Harif states that the 'House of the Sphinxes' (Fig.4b) probably had a very similar plan. However, the small rooms on the western side make it appear somewhat different, and the megaron is



much more enclosed. Harif concludes:

'It seems that we have a very basic plan, typically Mycenaean, in which three elements are apparent: the first is the megaron (or any other main room), the second the corridor, and the third the main storage rooms separated from the main room by the corridor.'

Thus the house at Tell Abu-Hawām seems to be of this type. Harif notes further that during the 13th century B.C. this building may have been used by Mycenaean traders.<sup>19</sup>

## **(2) Ugarit.**

Schaeffer discusses the question of Mycenaean colonisation at Ugarit, noting that the tombs in which Cretan and Aegeo-Mycenaean objects were discovered seem to have been influenced by Aegean funerary architecture. Schaeffer states that the type of funerary vault having a rectangular chamber and flat flagstones is widely spread, and that Mediterranean civilisation invented the dromos (entrance passageway) with staircase. Thus the 'corbelled' construction of vaults with false doors is common to Crete and Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Vaults LVI and LVII at Ugarit are furnished with dromoi, while vault LVI is corbelled (Figs.65 & 66). Therefore Schaeffer concludes that this similarity to Aegean funerary architecture at Ugarit can only be explained by the presence of Aegeans in the population of Ugarit from the MM period on, attached to their own funerary customs. This idea has some support from the find of Mycenaean idols at Ras Shamra (Fig.94). As Schaeffer states, these attest the introduction of Mycenaean cult.<sup>20</sup>

Evans also observes the similarity between Aegean and Ugaritic funerary architecture. Thus there are three points of comparison between the Minoan tomb at Isopata and those of Ras Shamra:

- (1) The vaults are of similar size; that of Isopata is 7.85 by 6.05 metres, and the largest at Ras Shamra is 6.50 by 3.50 metres.
- (2) Blind openings resembling square windows occur in the tomb walls, both at Isopata and at Ras Shamra. Evans illustrates an example of a sepulchral

chamber at Minet-el-Beida (Fig.755) that has an aperture like that of tomb I at Isopata. Both Evans and Schaeffer agree that these openings permitted libations to be thrown inside for the dead. Schaeffer also illustrates a plan of the Isopata tomb, showing such an opening (Fig.83).<sup>21</sup>

- (3) There is also the corbelled construction with dromos and staircase, common both to Isopata and Ras Shamra. Indeed, Schaeffer states that the Isopata tomb offers the best parallel, but that there is no direct Mycenaean influence in the architecture (Figs.88 & 89). Thus there are clear connections with Crete.<sup>22</sup>

### (3) Tell Atchana.

Tell Atchana is our next site. C.L.Woolley notes that an easy route for Greek penetration into the Levant would be the Orontes valley, where Tell Atchana lies, only 500 metres from the river, and this turned out to be the most promising site. At the NW trench were found 'one or two' Mycenaean fragments of pottery, as well as a basalt block resembling the orthostats of Hittite buildings and the 'gypsum facing slabs' of Minoan palaces. Sherds of the MM III period were discovered, both in the trench and the excavated chamber (Fig.1).<sup>23</sup>

However, the most spectacular find was the pottery of Cretan type, but of local fabrication. Evans discusses and illustrates the pottery (Fig.1, Pl.VI & Pl.VII). This includes a restored goblet resembling MM IIa 'egg-shell cups' and fragments of a vessel depicting the 'double-axe plant'. On the Minoan vase of Pachyammos, which Evans illustrates in PM I (Fig.448), there appears the same type of plant.<sup>24</sup>

The Tell Atchana pottery is of interest especially because some scholars have doubted the possibility of Mycenaean immigration into the Levant. Thus P.J.Riis doubts that Mycenaean Greeks settled on the coast of the eastern Mediterranean for three reasons: there is no proof that Mycenaean wares were made on location, the pottery in local tombs does not prove that the owner was a Greek, and there are not any certain Greek names in the Ras Shamra texts. Thus Riis concludes that there was a local settlement of 'half-Mycenaeanized Cypriots', but not one of true Greeks.<sup>25</sup>

The first objection, concerning local manufacture of Mycenaean pottery, is not

convincing. As we have seen, such pottery was produced at Tell Atchana.

#### **(4) Sarepta.**

In this context, the pottery of the Sarepta cave is also relevant. In this cave, which functioned as a tomb, were recovered sixty-seven vessels, of which thirty-four were imported from Greece or Cyprus, two more were Cypriot bowls, and thirty-one were of local Phoenician clay, including some imitations of Mycenaean types. A Mycenaean terracotta fertility goddess figurine was also recovered, and an 18th Dynasty Egyptian scarab.<sup>26</sup>

One stirrup vase (Fig.15) is a local imitation of Mycenaean types, as are several lentoid flasks (Figs.28-34 & 36-37). There are two Cypro-Mycenaean bowls (Figs.42 & 43), as well as one complete Cypriot bowl (Fig.44) and one fragmentary example (Fig.45). The scarab (Fig.65) is carved with an anthropomorphic figure resembling the god Bes, with a hippopotamus on each side, possibly the god Ta-urt. As we will see, Ta-urt also appeared in Minoan Crete (p.18).<sup>27</sup>

Thus the evidence of this Lebanese site is of great significance. The presence of such a high proportion of Mycenaean types of pottery suggests that some persons buried here may have been Greeks. However, we cannot prove this, since all the bones had been removed before the archaeologists arrived.<sup>28</sup>

#### **(5) Skulls.**

It is worth mentioning the racial types of the skulls found at Ras Shamra-Ugarit and Minet-el-Beida. The single skull from Ras Shamra of the 16th-15th centuries B.C. that was discovered (R 6) is probably of the Alpine race. Of the skulls from the 15th-13th centuries, one from the Mycenaean ossuary (R 20) is also of the Alpine race, while another (R 00) is probably a cross between an Alpine and a Mediterranean, the predominant race.<sup>29</sup> Some individuals of the Alpine race may have been present in Palestine since Mesolithic times, but it is also possible that this race entered the region with the Mycenaeans.<sup>30</sup>

Two Alpine skulls were also found at Minet-el-Beida. One cannot prove that there was a Mycenaean settlement at Ugarit, but there are strong indications that this

was so.<sup>31</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

As for the lack of Greek names in the Ras Shamra texts, Schaeffer notes that this criticism is made less difficult, both by the religious nature of the texts, which have mostly divine names, and by the probability that they antecede strong Mycenaean immigration. However, Astour considers it proved that no Mycenaean settlement existed at Ugarit in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. We must not make too much of this. The total number of names on the tablets is undoubtedly small in comparison with the population of Ugarit, whatever that was.<sup>32</sup>

The evidence for strong Mycenaean connections with the Levant is overwhelming.



## **SECTION B**

### **ORIENTAL TRADE AND COLONISATION IN THE WEST.**

#### **(i) Early Egyptian influence upon Crete.**

There is considerable evidence of very ancient Egyptian connections with Crete, dating back at least as far as the Late Pre-Dynastic Period. Since our discussion of Egyptian artefacts is intended only to supplement the general picture of westward oriental expansion, we will briefly list some examples. According to Evans, the following are some of the most striking examples:

- (1) A syenite bowl of the Pre-Dynastic Egyptian style was discovered at Knossos (Figs.28 & 31). A porphyry vase from Egypt (Fig.29) is almost identical in shape and size to it. Evans also compares (Fig.32) a hornblende and porphyry bowl from Knossos which resembles the 2nd Dynasty Egyptian types.<sup>33</sup>
- (2) Evans observes that the 'pedestalled pans' with a 'flat table' on top display a curious resemblance to Early Dynastic Egyptian offering tables. Thus Evans illustrates a 'table and pan' from Mochlos (Fig.43a), another from Sphungaras (Fig.43b) and an Egyptian offering table of alabaster of the 4th Dynasty (Fig.45).<sup>34</sup>
- (3) There is also the remarkable comparison between two double-spouted Egyptian vessels of the Pre-Dynastic and 4th Dynasty periods (Fig.49a+b), and a double-spouted steatite Cretan jug from Gournia (Fig.50). The latter may belong to the start of the MM period.<sup>35</sup>
- (4) The fragments of two bowls from Knossos have an angular or 'carinated' contour (Fig.55b+c). It is therefore possible that they have the same shape as a 4th Dynasty bowl from the tomb of King Sneferu (Figs.54 & 55a). The style of this tradition may have been continued by a porphyry bowl from the royal tomb



of Isopata, dating from the MM III period (Fig.56).<sup>36</sup>

- (5) A very literal imitation of 6th Dynasty Egyptian stone vases may be seen in a 'marbled' vessel from Mochlos (Fig.60). Evans compares three 6th Dynasty Egyptian vases (Fig.61); the diorite one on the left, with patches, seems to have been imitated by the Mochlos vessel.<sup>37</sup>
- (6) Egyptian 'eared cups', with two projections turned inward on one side of the rim, closely resemble fragments from Knossos (Fig.27).<sup>38</sup>
- (7) According to J.D.S.Pendlebury, a late 18th Dynasty scarab was discovered in a tomb at Zapher Papoura. Evans notes that the Psychro cave yielded a 12th Dynasty amethyst scarab with a Minoan carving (Fig.147). Evans also compares 12th Dynasty Egyptian scarabs with EM seals generally (Fig.150).<sup>39</sup>
- (8) A 'candlestick' vessel of the MM III period from the Magazine of the Lily Vases (Fig.422) may be compared with an Egyptian 4th Dynasty example (Fig.423a). Evans also notes another example, of the EM II period, from Siva near Phaestos (Fig.423b). This suggests an early introduction of the type.<sup>40</sup>

The above examples clearly show Minoan trade links with Egypt. We must now ask if there were any Egyptians living in Crete itself during the Bronze Age. Several striking artefacts strongly support this claim. These are:

- (9) A shell inlay from Mesarà in Crete is carved with a clearly negroid face. Evans compares it with a 'Pre-Dynastic palette' of an African (see Fig.21). Perhaps the rarity of such an immigrant type in Crete made it interesting enough to depict. Evans also illustrates (Fig.231) the pendant of a necklace in the shape of a head with possibly negroid features.<sup>41</sup>
- (10) Two artefacts are of special significance. The first is an alabastron lid from Knossos, inscribed with an Egyptian cartouche giving the name and titles of the Hyksos king Khyan (Fig.304b). As Evans states, the presence of the lid in the palace of Knossos, among the royal treasures, may be 'a sign of official

intercourse' with Egypt. The second artefact is the lower half of a diorite Egyptian statue, inscribed with a hieroglyphic inscription containing the name User (Fig.220). This was discovered in the MM IIb stratum of the central court, Knossos. The style is of the 12th or 13th Dynasty.<sup>42</sup>

- (11) It is also significant that the sistrum was a musical instrument used in both Crete and Egypt. Evans illustrates the rhyton from Hagia Triada with the 'harvesters' dance' scene (Fig.22a & b). One of the figures is depicted holding a sistrum of primitive form with one bar, in contrast to the dynastic Egyptian examples with three or four, as Evans observes. We may also note a three-barred sistrum in the Egyptian book of the dead.

There is now conclusive proof that the sistrum was used in Minoan Crete, and not merely depicted. A sistrum has been unearthed in a burial chamber outside the village of Arkhanes, ten miles south of Knossos. It is made of unpainted clay, spanned with two parallel wooden slats, into which three clay discs were slotted. It is dated to c.1900 B.C., and is the first Minoan musical instrument ever found on Crete.<sup>43</sup>

We note that such an instrument suggests the presence of Egyptian colonists with their own music.

### **Conclusion.**

The above artefacts clearly indicate the close trade relations - as well as the possibility of immigration - existing between Egypt and Crete.

**(ii) The archaeological evidence for orientals in Amorgos, Crete and the Greek mainland.**

Here we will list various items of evidence from archaeology and art, beginning with the earliest:

- (1) A very early example is a green steatite cylinder of the Jemdet Nasr period (before 3000 B.C.) from the Aegean island of Amorgos. H.Frankfort illustrates some similar near eastern examples (Pl.I) and comments on the Amorgos seal:

'It represents an ordinary Syrian type (Pl.Id) and the design resembles that of a number of cylinders of the same shape in the Aleppo Museum. But the tangents of Pl.XLViv, which seem to be a diffident attempt to convert the concentric circles into a spiraliform design, can only be explained by the assumption that the seal was cut on the island where it was found, and where the earliest population contained elements derived from the European mainland as well as immigrants from Asia; the first used spiral designs to decorate their pottery, and the concentric circles with tangents are the normal disintegration product of the spiral. It is an important document, for the excavation of Tell Judeideh shows that this type of seal did not remain in use in Syria after the Jemdet Nasr period.'

The spirals and tangent lines are clear from Pl.XXXVIIIe.<sup>44</sup>

Thus there is an example of an Aegean artefact from the period of the 3rd Millennium B.C. or earlier, which copies an oriental design.

- (2) At least four cylinders of later date have also been found in Crete. The first of these is a haematite Babylonian cylinder depicting a god and a goddess, from an ossuary at Platanos near Gortyn. Evans suggests that the goddess is Ishtar, and that this cylinder (Fig.146) may date from c.2000 B.C. The second example, also illustrated by Evans (Figs.349 & 350), is a gold-mounted cylinder of lapis-lazuli from the palace of Knossos. This is engraved with various figures,



including a female who may be a goddess. It is worn, and may have reached Crete at a similar date to the above. A third example, described by Evans as of 'Cypro-Minoan' style, comes from Astrakous, east of Knossos. This one includes the depiction of a female figure who is holding two animals, one of them upside down (Fig.351). This motif is also found upon the Cypriot seals from Thebes (pp.82-83). The fourth example is a 1st Dynasty Babylonian cylinder, illustrated by Evans (Fig.158). Discovered near Candia, this one depicts a goddess together with a figure in the centre who may be Gilgamesh. It has an inscription, giving the name of the owner as 'Apillim, son of Marduk-mu-Salim, servant of Nabus'.<sup>45</sup>

It is the opinion of Evans that Levantine connections with Crete began at the end of the EM and the start of the MM periods.<sup>46</sup> However, we note that a few cylinder seals alone do not prove the existence of trade or colonisation. Thus J.D.Muhly states that oriental objects found in Greece, such as cylinder seals, are not trade goods at all, but merely 'bric-à-brac' brought back to Greece by Mycenaean traders in the Levant and 'cannot possibly' represent evidence for Phoenician traders in Greece.<sup>47</sup> Speaking about the Platanos seal, Muhly considers it most unlikely that such an artefact could be used to indicate the existence of an Assyrian trading settlement in Crete, for such a karūm would normally be accompanied by thousands of tablets. Muhly asks if one cylinder seal indicates the existence of a trading colony.<sup>48</sup> Of course, on its own it does not, and we will shortly deal with his objections in a Greek context (pp.20-26). Concerning the Cretan seals, it is of course possible that Minoan traders themselves brought them back from the east, as Kantor says.<sup>49</sup>

- (3) However, there is stronger evidence for Semitic trade with Crete. V.G.Childe notes that the site of Tepe Hissar (level III), on the slopes of the Elburz (Iran) 'yielded beak-spouted jugs...extraordinarily like those from Early Minoan Crete', and that the beaked jars from Hissar III were distributed through Armenia, Cappadocia and Crete. This at least shows an oriental art form with

widespread distribution. Evans shows the similarity of a Byblos oinochoe to Minoan ones, and compares a rhyton mouth-piece from Ashur with a Knossos limestone example. Evans also compares Minoan rhytons of bull-shape from Mochlos and Pseira with early Sumerian 'bull-rhytons'.<sup>50</sup>

- (4) Evidence for Semitic trade with Minoan Crete does not depend merely upon a few cylinder seals. There is also the artistic evidence of the Minoan griffin. In AAAO Frankfort illustrates oriental griffins. Fig.24C shows a winged, two-headed crested griffin with beaks and man-like legs, breathing fire. Frankfort states that the theme of the griffin first appears in the mural paintings of King Tukulti-Ninurta I (c.1250-1210 B.C.), as a standard motif of Assyrian art. Another variant of this theme is the cloaked 'griffin-demon', who appears on a carving from Nimrud (Pl.90).

Frankfort also devotes an article to the Cretan griffin, illustrating many other oriental examples. The most ancient one seems to be a 4th Millennium seal from Susa (Fig.1), depicting a beast with the body and mane of a lion. It has talons instead of forepaws, wings and a hooked beak. This is possibly a very early prototype of the griffin. Two winged 'griffin-demons' appear on a seal of the Assyrian King Assurubalit I (c.1405-1385 B.C.). These have wings upon their shoulders and hooked beaks (Fig.6). Two 'griffin-demons' appear on a seal of Mushesh-Enurta (Fig.8), and a leaping griffin on an Assyrian seal in the British Museum (Fig.10). The bird-headed griffin also appears in Egypt, as is clear from a pectoral of Sesostri III (Fig.11), and a painting in a tomb at Beni Hassan (Fig.13). There are also Syrian examples. An ivory from Tell Atchana (Fig.16) shows a griffin hunting. A flying griffin appears upon a Syrian seal of the First Group (Fig.18). Another seal in this group depicts a kneeling griffin-demon (Fig.19).<sup>51</sup>

Frankfort compares these Syrian examples with the Cretan seals from Zakro (Fig.17), which have 'unmistakable Syrian associations' (p.116). The Zakro seal on the left has two griffins back-to-back with crests, an example also



illustrated by Evans (Fig.536a). Frankfort's seal on the right depicts a standing bird-like figure similar to the griffin-demon. Evans also illustrates two more seals with griffins back-to-back; one from Zakro (Fig.536b) and another from Knossos (Fig.536c). Discussing these, Evans suggests a derivation from some form of crested eagle. However, the crests of the Cretan examples may well have originated in Semitic griffins, especially since the Egyptian griffins from Beni Hassan illustrated by Evans (Fig.533a-d) do not have crests, nor do those illustrated by Frankfort. Thus there is no need to doubt the Semitic origin of the Minoan griffin. The Mycenaean connections with Tell Atchana have already been demonstrated (p.9), and it is possible that this was one route of the motif to Crete.<sup>52</sup>

Culican and Kantor compare the griffin ivories from Megiddo with Mycenaean griffins. The Megiddo ivory of Culican's Fig.55 (13th-12th centuries B.C.) shows a seated leonine beast with outstretched wings, straight feather divisions and a thick curved beak. There are also spiral curls at the tops of the wings. This is very similar to the griffins of the ivory *pyxis* from Athens, illustrated by Kantor (Pl.XXIII, 2), which have almost identical wings. Kantor's remarks are most interesting. She states concerning the Mycenaean ivories:

'...we must assume that they were produced either by a Mycenaean resident in Asia or by a Canaanite who had absorbed the Mycenaean spirit to an almost unbelievable degree.'<sup>53</sup>

- (5) There is another good example of artistic transference. The Minoans adapted the Egyptian hippopotamus-goddess Ta-urt to their own iconography. Concerning this, Evans mentions previous ideas on the origin of the Minoan deity with a hippopotamus-like head. Thus there is a suggested connection with the horse-headed Demeter of Phigalia (pp.125-133). The different animal makes this theory improbable. Evans correctly makes the connection with Ta-urt. Two Minoan seals in particular resemble Ta-urt; the cornelian bead-seal

from Phaestos has the same pot-belly and leg posture (Fig.358a), while the chalcedony lentoid shows a figure with a hippopotamus head carrying a bull (Fig.358b). Frankfort also agrees with the Egyptian derivation of the Minoan figure, and reproduces a Cypriot seal with the same (Pl.XLVIs). E.A.W.Budge gives a clear illustration of Ta-urt.<sup>54</sup>

- (6) Now let us examine the archaeological evidence from the Greek mainland. The most startling find is the cache of oriental cylinder seals from Thebes. We will discuss the specific motifs of these later (pp.82-83), in the context of goddesses. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that E.Porada suggests an origin connected with the state of oriental trade. According to Porada's hypothesis, King Tukulti-Ninurta I may have sent the valuable lapis lazuli cylinders to establish trade with the Mycenaeans after the Hittites forbade trade with Assyria. This was because King Tukulti-Ninurta I had attacked the Hittites at Commagene. The palace at Thebes may well have desired to possess such a precious substance as lapis lazuli, and may have informed Semitic traders already operating in Greece.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from the Theban hoard, other finds in Greece are smaller and scattered. Concerning Mycenaean trade, Pendlebury notes that only a few Egyptian artefacts were found in strata of the periods LH I and LH II, at Mycenae, the Argive Heraeum, and Vaphio. There is a possible total of eleven, of which six may have been imported from Crete, and therefore may not be evidence of direct Mycenaean-Egyptian contact. Artefacts of interest from Mycenae include a fragment of an Old Kingdom stone bowl and an alabaster vase of the 18th Dynasty, that was possibly imported from Crete, since two vases of Minoan type were found nearby. One of these is of Egyptian alabaster and the other of the 'true palace style'. The Argive Heraeum also provided an 18th Dynasty scarab. An 18th Dynasty alabaster vase was found at Vaphio.<sup>56</sup>

However, in the LH III period the number of artefacts increased rapidly. Half of an Old Kingdom hornblende-porphry bowl was discovered at Asine,



an alabaster vase at Dendra and many artefacts at Mycenae, imported from Egypt. These include a scarab bearing the name of Queen Tiye and a blue faience vase inscribed with the name of King Amenophis III. An 18th Dynasty scarab was found at Calauria and three others in a tomb at Ialysos in Rhodes, while four pottery amphoras of the 18th Dynasty were found at Menidi. Other examples are listed by Pendlebury.<sup>57</sup>

The LH I and LH II artefacts may have been imported from Crete. However, Kantor thinks that there were direct connections between Egypt and the Greek mainland during this period. The very abundance of the LH III material makes direct trade certain. The presence of wine jars and vases suggests imports of wine and oil, not merely the odd 'bric-à-brac', as Muhly thinks. Vermeule states that there were jars of imported Levantine oil at Mycenae's 'House of the Oil Merchant', and Yamauchi illustrates a Canaanite jar from a Mycenaean tomb in the Athenian agora (Fig.17).<sup>58</sup>

In Muhly's opinion the only real evidence for Semitic merchants in the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age is that of the Canaanite jars, probably used to ship wine. However, due to their small number in Greece he thinks it more probable that they were brought back by Mycenaean merchants than by Semites. Of course, this is only one possibility. It is just as easy to view this evidence the other way; there may have been small numbers of Semitic traders, operating in Greece. The small number of jars does not contradict this possibility.<sup>59</sup>

Finally, let us note here the oriental bric-à-brac from a Mycenaean tomb at Perati in Attica, and that of the Vapheio tomb in Laconia. The artefacts found at Perati include a Syrian cylinder seal, an oriental knife and a cartouche of Ramesses II. According to Culican, 'the children of an Oriental merchant family' may have been buried in this cremation tomb. Muhly states that there is no evidence for the idea of an oriental burial, since the artefacts come from three separate tombs. One may note, however, that there is no evidence against

this idea; indeed, for foreigners to be buried with their possessions seems very reasonable. As for the Vapheio tomb, this contained, among other things, gold cups depicting bulls, probably made in Crete, two vases of Egyptian or Syrian alabaster and a Syrian axe. According to Vermeule, the man buried here may have been a Minoan, because of his delicate taste in jewellery. We will see from the linguistic evidence that some Minoans may have been Semites.<sup>60</sup>

- (7) We must now consider a different group of artefacts of near eastern origin. These are the metal figurines of 'male warriors in smiting pose', described in detail by O.Negbi. The type is widely distributed in both the Aegean and the Greek mainland. We have a trail of these statuettes, leading from the Orient through Cyprus and the Aegean.

Negbi describes the male warriors of this type (Type III). He states that a Cypriot figurine from Enkomi (no.1404) 'perfectly matches many Near Eastern specimens of the "Syro-Anatolian" Group'. Negbi notes that another Enkomi figurine (no.1405) seems to fuse features of both the Aegean and the Orient.<sup>61</sup> The Greek examples of these figurines are as follows; a Cretan one from Patso, one from Tiryns, another from Mycenae, a remarkable solid silver one from Nezero in Thessaly, one each from Delos and Attica, and two from the sanctuary of Phylakopi on the island of Melos.<sup>62</sup>

We may now note the similarities between these and near eastern metal gods. In his Catalogue, Negbi states that the Patso figurine, no.1406, is similar to no.1320, that of Tiryns, no.1407, to nos.1327-1328, that of Mycenae, no.1408, to nos.1325-1326, and the Attica figurine, no.1409, whose origin is unknown, to nos.1398-1399. The Cypriot and Greek examples all belong in the "Phoenician" group (Type IIIc) of 'male warriors in smiting pose'. All of the examples in this group have a close resemblance to near eastern figurines.<sup>63</sup>

Negbi illustrates an example from Megiddo (no.1360), which has a short belted kilt, conical headgear and foot-pegs. This closely resembles the Patso



figurine (Pl.28), which has the same type of clothing and one foot-peg remaining. Another from Ras Shamra (no.1326), although nude, is similar to the Greek examples.<sup>64</sup>

At the Mycenaean sanctuary of Phylakopi on Melos, two more bronze 'smiting gods' were found. Only nine previous examples were known from the Aegean. The first Melos example (Fig.2), has foot-pegs and a short conical hat - somewhat shorter than the headgear of Negbi's nos.1326 and 1360 - while in his raised right hand he brandishes a club. Concerning this, C.Renfrew states:

'This figure, the 'Smiting God', corresponds in form and attributes to the deity Reshef seen in the Near East at the same period.' (p.11)

The first phase of the Phylakopi sanctuary began with the construction of the West Shrine c.1360 B.C., and the final phase ended c.1090 B.C.<sup>65</sup>

As for the second bronze figurine (Fig.3), this has a very different style; it is a thinner sculpture 'with more flowing lines and with a much more finely modelled face'. In general form it more closely resembles the near eastern figurines.<sup>66</sup>

The presence of such artefacts alone suggests trade. However, there is the possibility that Semites may have settled in Melos during the Late Bronze Age. In front of the doorway to the West Shrine was found a rounded stone or baetyl. Renfrew states that a stone of this shape has no good parallels from Minoan and Mycenaean cult places. Now this is only a possibility of Semitic cult on Melos, but it is useful to note that both the omphalos at Delphi and Jacob's pillar at Bethel were anointed with oil.<sup>67</sup>

Finally, let us note that five male terracotta figures were discovered at the northwest altar of the West Shrine, making it very probable that 'a male deity was venerated in cult practice' (p.13). This may or may not be connected with the Resheph figurines.<sup>68</sup>

Elsewhere Negbi suggests that the Patso figurine and those at Phylakopi on Melos are evidence for the worship of a Canaanite deity on Crete and the



Cyclades. This is supported by the fact that in Cyprus 'Canaanite cult was closely associated with metalworkmanship'. Negbi also notes that 'smiting god' figurines were rarely produced in the Levant after 1200 B.C., so Early Iron Age figurines of this type may represent early Phoenician colonisation.<sup>69</sup>

**(iii) The evidence of Canaanite ships, and of two shipwrecks in the Mediterranean.**

Now that we have examined the evidence for near eastern penetration on the soil of Greece itself, there remains one more area of archaeology to discuss in this section. The question which we must ask concerns the ability of the Canaanites to build vessels capable of crossing the Mediterranean to Greece. Did they have ships large enough to carry the type of cargoes suggested above, or, if required, numbers of colonists? In order to answer this question, we will discuss three specific points; representations of Canaanite ships, one Akkadian text giving evidence for shipping, and the evidence of the shipwrecks of Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun.<sup>70</sup>

**(1) Artistic evidence.**

J.Sasson gives evidence for the seaworthiness of Canaanite ships. Sasson observes that of the two models of ships found at Byblos, one probably represented a boat 8-10 metres long and 4-6 metres wide, small but strong enough for a sea voyage, and the other represented a sailing ship with a large hull. Sasson is of the opinion that 'the same type of vessels were probably used to transport a good portion of a population from one continent to another'.<sup>71</sup>

According to Sasson, the fact that Syrian ships were depicted in Egypt is also suggestive of their seaworthiness. This seems very reasonable. These ships had, for instance, high stem and stern posts, thus preventing waves from spilling into the boat, and enormous sails.<sup>72</sup>

There is the painting of Syrian merchant ships from tomb 162 at Thebes. This is a fairly useful piece of evidence, but we must bear in mind that the drawing is a copy

of the original painting, now destroyed.<sup>73</sup> The seaworthiness of these vessels is clear from their size. In the vessel on the left of the painting several sailors are visible climbing the mast and rigging. The mast is depicted about four times the height of the man climbing it; its size may have been reduced due to the vertical space available on the panel. The drawing of the hulls is inaccurate, for only a small proportion is immersed, and they have probably been contracted horizontally and enlarged vertically - again this is the artist's problem of limited space.<sup>74</sup>

The merchandise being unloaded from the ships also indicates trade over a long distance. It includes both jars and two bulls.<sup>75</sup> Larger jars are also visible on the decks. We would expect wine and oil to be the main trade goods.

## **(2) The Akkadian tablet.**

Both Astour and Sasson mention the Akkadian tablet <sup>V</sup>RS 20:212, a letter from a Hittite king to an Ugaritic king, requesting a ship to supply the city of Ura in Cilicia with grain in order to avert famine. The estimated total cargo may have been as much as 450 metric tons.<sup>76</sup> This sort of calculated information must be accepted very cautiously, but it does give some idea of the capacity involved.

## **(3) The Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun shipwrecks.**

Now let us consider the two shipwrecks. The Cape Gelidonya wreck carried a varied cargo. According to G.F.Bass, a large part of it consisted of copper ingots, including forty of the so-called 'ox-hide' shape (Pl.87, Figs.17-19).<sup>77</sup> Some bore foundry marks,<sup>78</sup> and types IIa and IIb were similar to Cypriot ingots.<sup>79</sup> According to H.Frost, the 'ox-hide' ingots bore the Cypriot hallmark, and a 'bun-shaped' ingot may be paralleled by a mould for a similar one at Enkomi in Cyprus.<sup>80</sup> White tin oxide was also discovered, representing the earliest industrial tin known.<sup>81</sup> There were also varied artefacts of interest. Frost notes a handle of a stirrup jar with two incised crosses, that may be Cypro-Minoan characters,<sup>82</sup> and a small piece of Mycenaean painted ware.<sup>83</sup> Bass mentions a bronze double axe,<sup>84</sup> which could suggest Cretan connections. We note that it has almost exactly the same shape as a double axe from Nirou Khani near Knossos and another from the Psychro cave in Crete, both examples



illustrated by Evans (Figs.313 & 315).<sup>85</sup> Bass also notes that the smallest of the merchant's weights on the wreck is equivalent to that of an Egyptian qedet, or 9.3 grams. Bass also mentions three scarabs and a scarab-shaped plaque, depicting the god Re and dating from the 19th Dynasty. There is also a cylinder seal of probable north Syrian origin. All the above are illustrated (Pl.90, Figs.34-36).<sup>86</sup>

The conclusions are most interesting. Bass states that the ship may have been carrying copper from the mines in Cyprus c.1200 B.C., probably from east to west, and that the ship could be Syrian, Greek or Cypriot.<sup>87</sup> Some of the tools on the ship resemble those of the Acropolis hoard in Athens, suggesting imports to Greece by a similar ship.<sup>88</sup> As we have seen, the cargo is of various sources, and certainly reflects trade connections across the Mediterranean at this time.

The second wreck was located at Ulu Burun, not far west of Gelidonya off the southern Anatolian coast.<sup>89</sup> This wreck provided a wealth of Canaanite, Cypriot and Mycenaean artefacts. The Ulu Burun ship carried copper ingots, including the four-handled 'ox-hide' variety, which were most numerous (Pl.17, Fig.1).<sup>90</sup> Almost all of these are of Type 3, of the 14th-12th centuries B.C.<sup>91</sup> There are many examples of definitely Levantine artefacts. Fifty-two Syro-Palestinian amphoras were raised (Ill.7). A similar amphora was found in a tomb at Akko, but the examples from the tombs at Mycenae and Menidi in Greece are also similar.<sup>92</sup> These amphoras contained resin, whose chemical analysis is suggestive of frankincense and myrrh,<sup>93</sup> while others had traces of seeds - grape and olive pips - and one contained yellow arsenic.<sup>94</sup> Four Canaanite lamps were located inside a great jar, together with Cypriot wares,<sup>95</sup> and these lamps are of the Syro-Palestinian saucer-shaped type (Ill.14).<sup>96</sup> Bass does not consider it very likely that they are Cypriot, since the type is not common on Cyprus.<sup>97</sup> There was also a Canaanite bronze dagger (Ill.17), similar to those at Tell-el-Ajjul,<sup>98</sup> two Syrian pilgrim flasks (Ill.21),<sup>99</sup> and a lamp of probable Syrian origin (Ill.22).<sup>100</sup> A very interesting find was the ivory, both a length of elephant tusk and a hippopotamus tooth (Ills.18 & 19).<sup>101</sup> Bass notes that the elephant tusk is just

the right size for carving the Mycenaean ivory pyxis from Athens, depicting a griffin,<sup>102</sup> which we discussed above (p.18). This suggests the importation of oriental ivory. Vermeule notes that most ivory came to Greece from Syria.<sup>103</sup> Thus it may be no coincidence that the artists using ivory depict such an oriental motif as the griffin.

Cypriot wares on the Ulu Burun wreck include both bowls and jugs (Ills.9-13).<sup>104</sup> Artefacts with Greek connections include a Mycenaean ceramic vessel,<sup>105</sup> a lentoid seal closely resembling a Mycenaean example from near Krisa (Ill.20),<sup>106</sup> two glass ingots of the same chemical composition as Mycenaean glass amulets (Ills.15 & 16),<sup>107</sup> and also a double axe.<sup>108</sup>

Bass states that this wreck appears to be an indication of an east-to-west sea-route for the transport of copper, by way of the bay of Antalya.<sup>109</sup> A copper ingot was discovered further west than Cape Ulu Burun, in deep waters at Cape Krio.<sup>110</sup> Bass also states that the comparison of Ulu Burun artefacts with those from land sites makes it almost certain that this was an east-to-west route. Thus Bass thinks that the Canaanite amphoras may have been taken on board at a Levantine port, such as Ugarit, and the copper ingots at Cyprus,<sup>111</sup> before proceeding west along the Anatolian coast towards the Aegean. The destination could have been Rhodes, a Mycenaean town on the coast of Asia Minor, or Greece itself.<sup>112</sup> Finally, Bass notes that there may have been a Mycenaean on board the ship, since a seal of Mycenaean type (above) was discovered.<sup>113</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

All this clearly shows the importance of trade. However, it is worth noting Muhly's opinion that the copper ingots are not evidence for the presence of any particular group of people in the Aegean.<sup>114</sup> He seems to have Canaanites in mind. Clearly, this is not quite right. In our opinion, the traders of ingots could have been Greeks or Anatolians, in some cases, but they could just as easily have been Semites. The evidence of these ships suggests the latter.



(iv) Some linguistic evidence for Semites in the West - Linear B personal names.

Previously our discussion focused entirely upon the archaeological evidence. Now we will consider the linguistic evidence, starting with a review of the most convincing examples of Semitic Linear B (LB) names in Astour's list. Subsequently we will list some toponyms of Semitic origin from the Greek mainland and Crete, then discuss the evidence of the Linear A (LA) inscriptions.

Astour provides a list of comparisons between LB names from Knossos (KN), Pylos (PY) and Mycenae (MY), and those of near eastern origin. We will list the most convincing examples, omitting the others. For the first part of our list, opinions of classical authors are quoted from F.A.Jorro.<sup>115</sup>

- (1) a-di-ri-jo KN Here Jorro suggests  $\text{Ἀνδριος}$ , an ethnic form referring to an inhabitant of  $\text{Ἀνδρος}$ . There is also his possibility of a name derived from  $\text{*Ἀδρος}$ . This could be the patronymic  $\text{*Ἀδριος}$ . The Gk. is possible in accordance with the vague nature of Mycenaean syllabic spelling. As E. Vilborg observes, d may stand for nd, as in a-di-ri-ja-te for andriantei. However, both this and the above a-di-ri-jo require a complete syllabic reconstruction. For the latter, the W-S root addir, 'mighty, noble', is just as possible, as Astour observes. The Heb. form is  $\text{אֲדִיר}$ , 'majestic'.<sup>116</sup> We note that if a-di-ri-jo is W-S, the vowel of the di syllable is not redundant, as in the Gk. suggestions, and the -jo may represent the Gk. -ος termination thus;  $\text{*Ἀδριος}$ .
- (2) a-ka-to KN Jorro suggests Gk.  $\text{Ἀγαθος}$  or  $\text{Ἀγαθων}$ . Vilborg observes that in LB spelling t may stand for nth. Thus Astour also notes  $\text{Ἀκανθος}$ . However, in view of the probable mythological connections of the hero Aqht with Greek myths, discussed by Astour, it is tempting to see this as a W-S



- name. It would have the Gk. -ος termination on the Ug. name Aqh(a)t.<sup>117</sup>
- (3) a-ka-ta-jo KN, PY According to Astour, this may be a Gk. form of the above Aqhat; thus \*<sup>ʔ</sup>Ακταῖος. Jorro mentions both this and the related form <sup>ʔ</sup>Ακταίων. As Vilborg notes, LB j stands for Gk. ι, as in po-ti-ni-ja for πότινια.<sup>118</sup>
- (4) a-na-te-u PY Here Astour suggests a derivation from the div.n. <sup>ʕ</sup>Anat. The problem here is that we would expect \*a-na-tu, while -eu is the LB nom.sing. termination, as Vilborg notes. Thus Jorro has the hypothetical Gk. \*<sup>ʔ</sup>Αναστεύς. The W-S suggestion does seem more probable, since it is a real and not a reconstructed name. The Gk. termination may be a Hellenisation.<sup>119</sup>
- (5) a-pa-re-u KN Both Jorro and Astour agree that this is the Gk. <sup>ʔ</sup>Αφαρεύς, Astour deriving it from W-S <sup>ʕ</sup>aphar. This is virtually certain, since the p stands for φ, and the guttural <sup>ʕ</sup> is impossible in Gk.<sup>120</sup>
- (6) a-ra-da-jo KN Here Jorro's opinion is that the name may not be Gk. The suggested \*<sup>ʔ</sup>Αραδαῖος is likely to be correct, and may be related to the city of <sup>ʔ</sup>Αραδῆν in Crete (see p.43), which may itself be related to the Phoenician city of Arwad, or to Astour's other Semitic forms, including Akk. arad- and Alal. a-ra-ta and a-ra-ti.<sup>121</sup>
- (7) a-ra-na-ro KN Jorro states that this is probably not Gk. According to J.T.Hooker, a word-group very similar to this is found in LA; thus a-ra-na-re. Ultimate derivation from such names as Alal. al-li-ni-ri or Ug. alnṛ, noted by Astour, is possible. Thus r stands for l in LB, as Vilborg observes.<sup>122</sup>
- (8) a-ra-si-jo KN Jorro's Gk. suggestion is \*<sup>ʔ</sup>Αλάσσιος. We note that this may be a possible original form of <sup>ʔ</sup>Αλήσιος. According to Stephanus

- Byzantius, Ἀλήσιος was the founder of the city of Ἀλήσιον. Thus the Alal. pers.n. a-la-si-ia, given by Astour, is a reasonable origin for these names.<sup>123</sup>
- (9) a-ri-ke-u KN Jorro states that the proposed interpretations \* Ἀριχεύς and \* Ἀλικεύς are not satisfactory. Thus Astour's examples of Alal. a-ri-(ik)-ku and Ug. ṛk have greater probability, although we note the probably Hellenised termination.<sup>124</sup>
- (10) a-sa-ro KN Here Jorro suggests \* Ἀσσαρος, a reconstructed form. The name Ἀσάρακος (II.20.232), noted by Astour, may also be related. However, Ug. ṛsrn is just as likely. We also note the possibility of Ug. ṛsr, 'slave'.<sup>125</sup>
- (11) a-ta-no KN Jorro's suggestion of Ἀντάνωρ (II.3.148, etc.) is in accordance with the LB spelling rules, as outlined by Vilborg. Thus we have pa-te for πάντες or πατήρ. However, if we assume an exact spelling instead of a complete reconstruction, we have Ug. ṛatn, or the first part of Alal. a-ta-na-bi-ti. The word group a-ta-no is also in LA.<sup>126</sup>
- (12) da-na-jo KN Jorro suggests Δαναός here, while Astour notes the hypothetical \* Δαναιός, and the Heb. tribe of דָּנ. C.H.Gordon lists the Ug. pers.n. dnn. The W-S suggestions are very probable.<sup>127</sup>
- (13) du-ni-jo KN, PY Here Jorro's Gk. suggestion is \* Δύνιος, a dubious hypothetical form. Astour has the much more probable Alal. du-u-na and other Sem. suggestions.<sup>128</sup>
- (14) i-da-i-jo KN, PY Both Jorro and Astour observe that this cannot be from Mount Ida. We would expect Jorro's \* wi-da-i-jo. Thus Astour's Alal. pers.ns. i-da-at- and id-du-wa are better.<sup>129</sup>

- (15) i-mi-ri-jo KN Jorro's Gk. suggestion is \*<sup>2</sup>Ἰμριος, which is very dubious, so Astour's Sem. is better, especially Alal. pers.n. im-me-ri.<sup>130</sup>
- (16) ja-sa-no KN Jorro notes the Gk. possibility of \*<sup>2</sup>Ιασάνωρ, not mentioned by Astour. This would have the final ρ omitted (see Vilborg, p.38). However, Ug. y<sup>v</sup>sn and Alal. ia-s<sup>v</sup>u-na are equally good. Sem. s<sup>v</sup> becomes Gk. ς.<sup>131</sup>
- (17) ja-sa-ro KN Here Jorro has no Gk. suggestion, stating only that ja-sa-ro cannot be a double of a-sa-ro (above, no.10). The initial consonant j makes this doubtful. Thus Astour's Ug. y<sup>v</sup>sr or Alal. ia-s<sup>v</sup>e-ri-na are better.<sup>132</sup>
- (18) ka-da-no KN Here Jorro has the hypothetical \*Καδάνωρ. Since this is doubtful, Astour's Ug. kdn (+ Gk. masc. -ος) fits better.<sup>133</sup>
- (19) ka-ka-po PY Jorro has the hypothetical Gk. \*Κάκκαβος, from κακκάβη, 'three-legged pot/partridge'. This seems very odd as a pers.n. Thus Astour's Bab. pers.n. ka-ak-ka-ba-a is better.<sup>134</sup>
- (20) ka-mo KN Here Jorro suggests Κάμων. However, Ug. kmy or Alal. ka-a-mi are equally possible.<sup>135</sup>
- (21) ka-mo-ni-jo KN Jorro's Gk. \*Σκαμώνιος is entirely hypothetical. Thus Astour's Ug. kmn (+ Gk. masc. -ος) is much better.<sup>136</sup>
- (22) ka-ra-pi PY Here Jorro suggests κράμβος, 'dry', a rare word from Hesychius. We also suggest κραμβίς, 'cabbage-caterpillar', which has the same termination in ι as ka-ra-pi. Astour notes this word. These are not impossible etymologies, but seem like contrived attempts to preserve a Gk. meaning. Thus Ug. grp is better.<sup>137</sup>



- (23) ka-ra-su-no PY Jorro's Gk. \*Κράσυνος from κρατύνω is only reconstructed. Thus the W-S root garas<sup>V</sup>, 'to expel', is just as good, while garasunu<sup>V</sup> is excellent.<sup>138</sup>
- (24) ka-ta-no KN, PY Jorro suggests the Cretan toponym Κάντανος, but Astour's W-S root qatan, 'small', and the related Ug. pers.n. qtn fit better. Ug. gtn is also possible.<sup>139</sup>
- (25) ke-re-te-u PY Both Jorro and Astour agree that this is the name Κρητεύς, but the latter is almost certainly from Krt, the Ug. king.<sup>140</sup>
- (26) ke-ro-wo PY Gk. \*Κέροβος is reconstructed, so Ug. krw and krwn are better.<sup>141</sup>
- (27) ke-ti-ro KN, PY Here Jorro's Gk. idea of \*Κεπιλ(λ)ος, not noted by Astour, is a very dubious guess, so Ug. ktr is much better.<sup>142</sup>
- (28) ke-wo-no-jo PY Here there is no Gk. explanation, so Ug. kwn may well be the origin of this.<sup>143</sup>
- (29) ko-do-ro PY Both Jorro and Astour agree that this is Κόδρος. This name is probably derived from Alal. ku-du-ru or Ug. kdrn, with the meaning 'mighty, proud', cognate with Akk. kadru, 'proud'. This is a good name for a king.<sup>144</sup>
- (30) ko-ka-ro PY This is almost certainly the same as Κόκκαλος, king of Sicily. The Ug. kkln is very similar to the latter.<sup>145</sup> As we noted above (no 7), r may stand for l in LB.
- (31) ko-za-ro PY Jorro gives a hypothetical \*Κορζᾶ-λος, but states that this is not satisfactory as Gk. Thus the Nuzi pers.n. ku-uz-za-ri, suggested by Astour, is much better. The similar ku-za-ri-ia is also possible.<sup>146</sup>
- (32) ku-ne-u KN Jorro suggests \*Κυνεύς, but such Alal. pers.ns. as ku-ni-ia are just as possible.<sup>147</sup>

- (33) ku-ra-no KN If Gk., this is not likely to be Jorro's hypothetical \*Κυράνωρ. His form \*Κύλλανος, related to Mount Κυλλήνη, seems better. If we prefer Ug., Astour's kur-wa-na (krwn) is just as good.<sup>148</sup>
- (34) ma-ra-pi-jo KN Both Jorro and Astour suggest the Hellenised form Μαράφιος, from W-S marpe<sup>3</sup>, 'healing', or m<sup>e</sup>rappê, 'healer'.<sup>149</sup>
- (35) mi-ka-ri-jo PY Jorro's suggestion of Μικ(κ)άλιος is not Gk. However, Astour makes a connection with Heb. Mikâl. We note also that מִכַּל was the younger daughter of Saul.<sup>150</sup>
- (36) mi-sa-ra-jo KN Jorro gives the reconstructed LB form \*Μισράιος, noting its W-S origin, in agreement with Ug. msry, 'Egyptian', quoted by Astour.<sup>151</sup>
- (37) mo-da/mu-da KN For mo-da, Jorro suggests \*Μόνδων and \*Μύδων, while for mu-da he suggests \*Μύνδων. We note a possible, but unlikely connection with μύδος, 'damp'. Thus Akk. mudu, 'notable, known', quoted by Astour, is better.<sup>152</sup>
- (38) mu-ka-ra KN According to Stephanus Byzantius, Μυκάλη is a city of Caria. Jorro uses this explanation. However, the LB is also suggestive of the Akk.pers.n. mu-ka-la, given by Astour. Possibly the Carian toponym is also of Semitic origin?<sup>153</sup>
- (39) na-ru KN According to Stephanus Byzantius, Νηρίς is a city of Messenia. Jorro also uses this toponym to explain LB. However, we note that Νηρίς itself may be W-S (p.41). Astour has Ug. nrn/nryn, Alal. na-ra-hi and Nuzu na-ra-a-a/na-ri-i-a.<sup>154</sup>
- (40) na-ta-ra-ma MY Here Jorro has no Gk. explanation. Thus Alal. na-ta-ru-ma, given by Astour, is most convincing.<sup>155</sup>



- (41) pa-da-ro KN It is most reasonable to derive Gk. Πάνδαρος (II.2.827) from Ug. pndr, or from Alal. pa-an-tar-as-su-ra, listed by Astour. The identification of pa-da-ro with Πάνδαρος is very probable; we noted above (no.1) that LB d may stand for nd.<sup>156</sup>
- (42) pa-wi-no KN Ug. pwn seems closer than Gk. φαεννός.<sup>157</sup>
- (43) pe-ri-ta KN The derivation of this from Ug. birtn, 'Berytian', is most reasonable, since \*Περιτας is hypothetical.<sup>158</sup>
- (44) pu-ko-ro KN The Gk. \*Πυρκολος is nonsense, so Ug. pqr is better.<sup>159</sup>
- (45) pu-re-wa KN The final a could not become -ευς in \*Φύλευς, so Ug. plwn or Alal. pu-ra-wa-ma are better.<sup>160</sup>
- (46) sa-ke-re-u PY This may well be the prototype of Ζαγρεύς, from Ug. sgr, 'small', or such names as Ug. sgryn.<sup>161</sup>
- (47) si-da-jo KN Astour's Ug. sdv is more likely than his hypothetical \*Σιδαιός. We suggest a possible connection with Gk. σίδη, 'pomegranate', if the Gk. is correct.<sup>162</sup>
- (48) si-ra-no KN This example is interesting. Astour notes both Σιληνός, the Gk. god of wine, and Ug. words - sln, srn and šrn. Any of these Ug. words is a possible prototype. However, C.H.Gordon lists yn.srnm as a kind of wine at Ugarit. We suggest that this is the origin of the name Σιληνός.<sup>163</sup>
- (49) si-ri-jo PY This may indicate the Sem. origin of Gk. Σείριος, from Ug. srjn or Alal.(fem.) si-ri-ia.<sup>164</sup>
- (50) si-za KN We may suggest Gk. σίζω, 'hiss'. Astour's Ug. sz or szn are better.<sup>165</sup>

- (51) su-ke-re KN Astour states that this is Hurrian, so such names as Alal.  
<sup>√</sup>su-uk-ri may be its origin. It does not seem to be Gk.<sup>166</sup>

### Conclusion.

Thus we may conclude that these LB personal names are, despite some ambiguities, largely of W-S origin. This strongly suggests W-S settlement in Mycenaean Greece, an opinion which Astour also supports.<sup>167</sup>

### (v) Evidence for Semitic toponyms in the Greek mainland and the Aegean.

Further concrete evidence for W-S settlement may be seen in numerous toponyms of probable W-S origin. We will now list the most convincing examples. Some are discussed by Astour, but most are original. Most of the relevant information comes from Stephanus Byzantius.<sup>168</sup>

- (1) Ἀβαί, a city of Phocis named after the hero Ἀβας. This does not seem to have any Gk. etymology, and reminds us of the W-S noun for 'father', Ug. abu and Heb. אב. The Ug. b may have been a hard consonant. The eponymous hero's name suggests a W-S colony. Of course, we need not regard the hero himself as historical.<sup>169</sup>

- (2) Ἀζανία, a part of Arcadia named after the Arcadian Ἀζας. Here there are several possible Gk. etymologies, none very convincing:

- (a) It could be derived from Ζεύς, as in Doric Ζάν, with a privative (prothetic a).

- (b) The Gk. name may be related to the city of Ἀζανοί in Phrygia, but this has the variant reading Αἰζανοί.

- (c) Maybe the most convincing Gk. idea is a derivation from  $\text{ᾶζάνω}$ , 'dry, parch up'.

However, we note that Heb.  $\text{יָזַן}$  is an OT pers.n.  $\text{ᾶζανία}$  may be derived from it as follows:  $\text{יָזַן} > \text{ᾶζάνος} > \text{ᾶζανία}$ . Thus the toponym may be derived from the Heb. by means of an invented Gk. genitive.<sup>170</sup>

- (3)  $\text{ᾶΛόπη}$ , a city of Thessaly, named after a certain  $\text{ᾶΛόπη}$ . Stephanus lists six others, in Attica, Pontus, Euboea, near Delphi, near Locris, and one other between Mysia, Caria and Lydia. The name occurs in  $\text{Il.2.682}$ . One similar Gk. noun is the unlikely  $\text{ᾶλωπός}$ , 'fox'. We note that in the OT,  $\text{יְזַן}$  is a city in the territory of Benjamin, and the noun  $\text{יָזַן}$  means 'a tribal chief (of Edom)'. There is also the common Sem. noun  $\text{ᾶlpu}$ , 'ox'.<sup>171</sup>
- (4)  $\text{ᾶΛύζεια}$ , a city of Acarnania, named after a certain  $\text{ᾶΛύζος}$ . Since this toponym is very similar to  $\text{ᾶλύζεια}$ , see under the latter (no.31).
- (5)  $\text{ᾶμύκλαι}$ , the Laconian city sacred to Apollo, was named after W-S  $\text{mkl}$  with a privative (prothetic  $\text{a}$ ), according to Astour. Thus  $\text{mkl}$  is an epithet of Reseph.<sup>172</sup>
- (6)  $\text{ᾶμυρος}$ , a city in Thessaly named, according to Stephanus, after one of the Argonauts. However, a Gk. derivation from  $\text{ᾶμυρος}$ , 'watery', seems unlikely, and it is possible to see in this the name  $\text{amurru}$ , a Sem. kingdom.<sup>173</sup>
- (7)  $\text{ᾶντισσα}$ , a city of Lesbos and an island of the Cyclades, according to Stephanus. Since this is almost certainly related to the toponym  $\text{ᾶἶσσα}$ , see under the latter (no.22).
- (8)  $\text{ᾶσωπος}$ , the Boeotian river upon which the city of Tanagra (no.42) was situated, according to Strabo (8.6.24). Astour derives this from Sem.  $\text{ᾶsaph}$ ,



- Heb.  $\text{קָטַף}$ , 'gather, collect'. There is also the Heb. pers.n.  $\text{קָטֹף}$ , probably pronounced as  $\text{ʿasōph}$  in Phoen., as Astour notes. Since there seems to be no convincing Gk. etymology, the W-S is probably correct. Astour suggests that the river was named after a harvest-god.<sup>174</sup>
- (9)  $\text{ᾠΑτάβυρον}$ , a mountain of Rhodes, where we find the epithet  $\text{ᾠΑταβύριος}$  applied to Zeus. This looks very much as if it is named after Heb. Mount  $\text{הַר הַבֵּיט}$ , with prothetic  $\text{a}$ . The function of this  $\text{a}$  upon Gk. transcriptions of Sem. toponyms is not clear; it may have been for ease of pronunciation. There is also a possible connection with Heb.  $\text{טֶבֶט}$ , 'highest part, centre', hence 'navel', with reference to the earth.<sup>175</sup>
- (10)  $\text{ᾠΑχέρων}$ , not a real place, but the mythical river of the Netherworld. The Gk. derivation from  $\text{ᾠάχος}$ , 'pain', is not convincing, for there is no  $\text{r}$ . Much better are the Heb. words  $\text{אַחֵר}$ , 'after' (of time),  $\text{אַחֲרֵי}$ , 'latter, last' and  $\text{אַחֲרֵי־כֵן}$ , 'after-part, end'.  $\text{אַחֲרֵי}$  is closest to  $\text{ᾠΑχέρων}$ . Astour makes this connection. We also note the Ug. name  $\text{ʿuhry}$ , 'the other/next world'.<sup>176</sup>
- (11)  $\text{Βατή}$ , a deme of the  $\text{Αἰγυῖς}$  tribe in Attica. We suggest a derivation either from Gk.  $\text{βατεία}$ , 'bush, thicket', or from the Heb. fem.n.  $\text{בִּתְּה}$ , 'precipice, steep'. The Gk. toponym seems to have the  $\text{-η}$  fem. termination.<sup>177</sup>
- (12)  $\text{Γάζωρος}$ , a city of Macedonia, where Artemis  $\text{Γαζωρία}$  was worshipped. This may be an unknown prefix with Gk.  $\text{ᾠωρος}$ , 'mountain', but we are reminded of the Heb. city of  $\text{גִּזְרֵי}$ .<sup>178</sup>
- (13)  $\text{Γαθεαί}$ , a city of Arcadia. The name may be from Gk.  $\text{γαθέω}$ , 'rejoice', but Heb. fem.n.  $\text{נֶאֱ}$ , 'wine-press', is more convincing as a toponym, with Gk. fem.pl. in  $\text{-αι}$ . Gordon discusses the occurrence of Ug.  $\text{gt}$  in toponyms, as on the Amarna tablets. We also note the LB name ka-ta-no (no.24, p.31). This

may also be related; Astour notes that Ug. *gtn* comes from *gt*, 'wine-press'.<sup>179</sup>

- (14) Γέρην, a city or village of Lesbos, named after the son of Poseidon, of the same name. This may be from the Gk. γεραῖός, 'old', or γεραίρω, 'honour', but it is possible to see in it the OT  $\text{הַגֵּרָא}$ , a son of Benjamin. According to R.A.Brown, the -ην termination on Cretan toponyms is pre-Gk. Thus we note that Γέρην may have been named by Semites before the arrival of the Greeks, and the termination added by the aboriginal inhabitants of Lesbos.<sup>180</sup>
- (15) Ζαῖα, a most ancient city of Boeotia. This name suggests either Gk. ζεῖα, 'one-seeded wheat', or the OT  $\text{גַּדִּית}$ , a Gadite. The guttural  $\text{ג}$  is impossible in Gk. In the toponym the first α may have been inserted in pronunciation to correspond with the last.<sup>181</sup>
- (16) Ἠλις, a city of Arcadia and a region of Greece. It suggests the common W-S for 'god', Heb.  $\text{אֱלִי}$  or Ug. *il*.<sup>182</sup>
- (17) Θαλάμαι, a city of Messenia. This can scarcely be derived from θάλαμος, 'chamber', for this noun is accented upon the first syllable. A better meaning is given by Heb.  $\text{אֵלֶּמֶת}$ , 'furrow'. A meaning suggestive of ploughed land makes a good toponym.<sup>183</sup>
- (18) Θίσβη, a city of Boeotia listed by Stephanus, and mentioned in *Il*.2.502. As Astour says, this is to be derived from  $\text{אֵלִיָּהוּ}$ , the gentilic of Elijah (*1K*17.1).<sup>184</sup> As we noted above (p.30), Sem. *s* would become Gk. *ς*.
- (19) Ἰαπίς, a ravine of Attica leading to Megara (no.33). This toponym has no Gk. etymology, and may be from Heb.  $\text{יָפִי}$ , 'to be beautiful', with Gk. -ίς fem. termination.<sup>185</sup>
- (20) Ἰρά, a mountain of Messenia and a city of Lesbos. This is possibly from



Ion. ἱρός, 'holy', dialect form of ἱερός. However, we note that it resembles Heb. fem.n. יָרֵךְ, 'city', possibly with Gk. fem. α termination.<sup>186</sup>

- (21) Ἰομήνη, a heroine and a village of Boeotia. There is also the form Ἰομηνός, a river of Boeotia. Astour's derivation from the Phoen. god. Esmun is fine as far as the consonants are concerned. The vowel changes may be explained as a Hellenisation with ἰς, 'strength' and μῆν, 'moon', perhaps with reference to a local cult.<sup>187</sup>

- (22) Ἰσσα and Ἰσώριον, a city in Lesbos and a mountain in Laconia respectively. The latter is connected with Artemis Ἰσωρία. Astour has derived the name Ἰσσα from Sem. is, Heb. עֵשׂ, 'fire'. Astour also mentions the sacrifices of animals by fire on Mount Kithairon (Paus.9.3.2ff.). This gives us a possible explanation for the name of the Laconian mountain; a compound of Sem. is and Dor. ὠρος, 'mountain', thus 'fire-mountain'.

There is also the evidence of Strabo, who states:

'Antissa was formerly an island, as Myrsilus says; and since Lesbos was formerly called Issa, it came about that this island was called Antissa, but now Antissa is a city of Lesbos.' (1.3.19)

We have already noted Ἀντίσσα (no.7). It is clear that this is a Hellenised compound form; thus ἀντί + Ἰσσα, 'opposite Issa'.<sup>188</sup>

- (23) Κάβαι, a little city of Euboea; also a mountain, city and lake with the form Κάβη. This may be derived from Gk. κάββα, 'reed', or from the OT toponym קָבֵב .<sup>189</sup>

- (24) Κάρθαια, one of the four cities in the island of Keos, supposedly named after

a certain *Κάρθιος* who died there. This explains nothing, and is clearly an eponymous invention. The toponym is suggestive of Heb. *קָרְת*, 'town, city', as well as *קֶרְתָּה*, a city in Zebulun. We also have the Ug. form of the noun, *qrt*. The Gk. -αία termination is suggestive of the form *Ἀθηναῖος*, 'Athenian'.<sup>190</sup>

- (25) *Κάρνος*, an island of Acarnania, according to Stephanus. This is almost identical to the previous entry *Κάρνη*, a city of Phoenicia. According to Strabo (16.2.12), *Κάρνος* is a Phoenician toponym. These are almost certainly all derived from Sem. *qrn* (Akk. *qarnu*), 'horn'.<sup>191</sup>

- (26) *Καφηρεύς*, a harbour of Euboea, stated by Stephanus to have also been called *Καθηρεύς*, and thus derived from *καθαίρω*, 'purify', since the Euboeans purified (*καθήρουν*) those sailing there. The latter form and etymology look like inventions. We are reminded of Heb. *קָפָר*, 'village' (Akk. *kapru*), with Gk. -εὺς termination.<sup>192</sup>

- (27) *Κορόπη*, a city of Thessaly. This resembles Heb. *קְרוֹב*, 'near', with Phoen. pronunciation *qorôb*. Astour gives the same W-S etymology for the Gk. pers.n. *Κορώβιος*.<sup>193</sup>

- (28) *Κύθηρα*, the island where Aphrodite *Urania* was worshipped, and the inscription to Naram-Sin was found, may take its name from Ug. *ktr* or Syriac *kuthar*, an idea that gains credibility from Stephanus' statement that the island was named after *Κύθηρος* the Phoenician. This etymology is given by J.P.Brown, who noted that Ug. *t* becomes *s* ( *š* ) in Phoen., and that Gk. transcriptions use *θ*. Thus we have *θώρ* for Heb. *שׁוֹר* and Ug. *tr*. Brown

states:

'In itself, the existence of a suitable Semitic divine name as etymology of

"Phoenician" Κύθηρος would seem almost adequate proof that the etymology is correct.<sup>194</sup>

- (29) Κῶθων, an island not far from Kythera (no.28). This has no Gk. etymology, and is almost certainly from Heb. קֹוֹת, 'be small', with reference to the island.

The origin of the name is confirmed by the island of Κῶθων at Carthage, mentioned by Strabo (17.3.14).<sup>195</sup>

- (30) Κῶς, a city and island, according to Stephanus. We will discuss this in Chap. Three (p.158), in connection with bird-goddesses. Stephanus gives four forms of the name; Κῶως, Κόως, Κόος and finally Κῶς, which he suggests may be the original (πρωτότυπον). Since it is the simplest, this may well be so, and Astour's derivation from Heb. עוֹל, 'owl', may be correct.<sup>196</sup>

- (31) Λύζεια, a city of Acarnania. This is the same as the above Ἀλύζεια (no.4), except that the prothetic α is missing. We believe that these are almost certainly from Heb. לִזְעָה, former name of Bethel. The only similar Gk. word is λύζω, 'sob'.<sup>197</sup>

- (32) Λύλη, a city of Arcadia. This too has no Gk. etymology, and may be derived from Heb. לִלְיָה, 'shaft or enclosed space (poss.) in wall, with steps or ladder'.<sup>198</sup>

- (33) Μέγαρα, a city in the Isthmus, between Attica and the Peloponnese. We derive this toponym from Heb. חֲבֵצֶה, 'cave, cavern'. This etymology is supported by the identical Gk. noun μέγαρα, 'pits', a special term referring to the pits of Demeter and Kore, into which swine were cast at the festival of the Thesmophoria. J.E.Harrison accepts the etymology for this noun, also

noting the form μέγαρον given by Photius. This is closer to the Heb.

Harrison also derives Gk. μέγαρον, 'large room, hall', from μέγαρον. LS accept the Heb. etymology of the noun.<sup>199</sup>

- (34) Μεδεών and Μεδίων, the first toponym is a city in Boeotia, and another in Phocis; the second is a city near Aetolia. These names suggest to us either Gk. μεδέων, 'guardian', or possibly Heb. מֵדְיָהּ, a city of Judah.<sup>200</sup>
- (35) Νηρίς, a city of Messenia. This reminds us of Heb. נֶרֶץ, 'lamp', also an OT pers.n., the father of Abner. The -ις termination is Gk. (no.19).<sup>201</sup>
- (36) Ὀζόλαι; according to Stephanus, the name of a tribe of Locrians, whose country was called Ὀζολίς. The name is usually understood as a derivative of ὀζω, 'to smell', since Strabo (9.4.8) tells a myth concerning the tombs of Nessos and the other centaurs. The putrified bodies of the centaurs gave a bad odour into the stream. As LS say, sulphur springs may be the origin of the myth. The verb does not explain the name, for there is no λ. There is also the noun ὀζολίς, 'strong-smelling sea-polypus', but this may be a derivative of Ὀζόλαι, and therefore not relevant. We would derive the name of the tribe from Heb. שִׁשְׁיָהּ, the sixth son of Joktan. This tribe may have been a W-S colony.<sup>202</sup>
- (37) Ὀμόριον, a city of Thessaly, in which Zeus and Athena were worshipped. We suggest the Sem. root \*hamar, 'pour', Heb. הַמָּהַר, 'flood, place of flowing waters'.<sup>203</sup>
- (38) Ὀμόλη, a mountain of Thessaly. Stephanus also states that Zeus Ὀμολῶιος was worshipped in Boeotia. There is also the following entry Ὀμόλιον, a



city of Macedonia and Magnesia. Since Zeus is the sky-god, it is logical to suggest a derivation from the Sem. root *\*hamal*, Arab. 'rain steadily', Heb.

הָמָל , 'rain-storm', perhaps with assimilation to Gk. stems in *ομολ*.<sup>204</sup>

- (39) Πετρών, a city of Boeotia. This has no Gk. etymology, and is suggestive of Heb. נָחָשׁ , 'venomous serpent', perhaps named for a snake-god, like the Python at Delphi.<sup>205</sup>
- (40) Σαλαμίς, an island and city near Attica. This is probably from the Sem. root *slm*, 'peace, with a Gk. fem. -ίς termination. As we have seen, *s* becomes Gk. ς. The Ug. form is *slm*.<sup>206</sup>
- (41) Σάλμος, a city of Boeotia. The inhabitants were called Σαλμώνιοι. This may come from Heb. Mount נִמְלֵץ , or from נִמְלֵץ, the father of Boaz. Astour gives this etymology for Salmoneus.<sup>207</sup>
- (42) Τάναγρα, a city of Boeotia, formerly called Ποιμανδρία. Astour's W-S etymology from the Ug. root *\*nagar*, 'to guard', with nominal prefix t-, is reasonable. (There is also the Ug. noun *ngr*, 'guard'.) Thus Astour suggests the form *\*tanagra*, 'watch-tower, sentry-post'. S. Segert translates *n-g-r* as 'to preserve, protect', so the sense is clear. The only similar Gk. noun is given by Hesychius; τάναγρα, 'copper, cauldron'. This is unlikely as a toponym. Ποιμανδρία is an alternative Gk. name, meaning 'milk-pail'.<sup>208</sup>
- (43) Τήνος, an island, which Stephanus states was also called Ὀφιοῦσσα, 'snake-like', from the noun ὄφις, 'snake'. This looks like a corruption of Heb. נָחָשׁ , the sea-serpent, or the Ug. monster *tnn*. The Gk. name is a 'double' of the W-S, and helps to confirm the etymology.<sup>209</sup>
- (44) Χαλία, a city of Boeotia. This may be derived from χαλία, 'quiet', a word in

Hesychius meaning ἡσυχία. However, it may come from Heb. אֲשֶׁר , a city of Asher.<sup>210</sup>

- (45) χήν, a city of Laconia. This may be derived from Gk. χήν, 'goose', or from Heb. חֵן , 'favour, grace', perhaps with reference to a deity.<sup>211</sup>
- (46) χορσία, a city of Boeotia. This is not Gk., and is suggestive of Heb. חֲרִישׁ , 'wood, wooded height'.<sup>212</sup>

### Conclusion.

Despite some ambiguities, the accumulation of examples such as these is sufficient to indicate some W-S colonisation of Greece, during the Bronze Age.

### (vi) The evidence of Semitic toponyms in Crete.

We have already seen the considerable archaeological evidence for oriental connections with Crete. Here is a short list of toponyms to provide further evidence.

- (1) Ἀραδῆν, a Cretan city listed in Stephanus. The following entry is Ἀραδος, an island of Phoenicia, which is the Gk. version of OT אֲרָד (see p.28). R.A.Brown notes the similarity between Ἀραδῆν and Ἀραδος, but considers direct Sem. influence unlikely, for two reasons. First, the meaning of OT אֲרָד is uncertain and it may not be Sem., and secondly, the termination -ην is a common Cretan toponymic suffix occurring on various names, which suggests a 'Cretanization' of the word before the Greeks arrived.<sup>213</sup> Other examples with the -ην suffix are Σιπλῆν, Λεβῆν (no.10), Αἰσσην and Πιττην.<sup>214</sup> Thus Brown concludes:

Therefore, if Arvad Ἀραδοῦς is connected with the name Ἀραδῆν it is probable that we have independent borrowings from a pre-Indo-European and pre-Semitic form'.<sup>215</sup>

### Our argument.

Concerning Brown's first argument, it does not matter to us if the toponym Ἀραδῆν is not linguistically Sem. All that matters is that it is of near eastern origin. The point raised by the -ην termination is more important. We note that this termination may indicate Sem. names 'Cretanised' by the Minoans before the Greeks arrived, rather than some pre-IE and pre-Sem. language substratum. There may have been very ancient, direct Sem. influence upon Crete; we have seen the evidence of the Amorgos seal of the Jemdet Nasr period (p.15). Moreover, Brown does not give any evidence for this language substratum, with regard to Ἀραδῆν. One example where he does give such evidence, in a possible W-S context, is that of Ἰαρθαυός. In this case, Brown suggests a substratum of \*dan- / \*tan- river names, which may connect Gk. Ἰαρθαυός with Heb. יַרְדֵּן, indirectly.<sup>216</sup> However, if there is no evidence of such a substratum, in each example, we are probably justified in assuming direct Sem. influence. This is the case with Ἀραδῆν.

- (2) Ἀτρών, a locality mentioned in two treaties. Brown has no suggestion for the meaning of this, except to say that it is not Gk. However, we note that the -ων termination may be Cretan, since Brown cites other toponyms of this type; Λάμων, Τρίτων and Ἰστρων. Thus Astour's suggested etymology from Heb. חָצַר, 'surround' (with walls) is reasonable.<sup>217</sup>

- (3) Βήνη, a city listed by Stephanus. Brown mentions a possible connection with

- Βέννα in Thrace. We suggest a derivation from Heb.  $\text{בָּנָה}$ , 'build'.<sup>218</sup>
- (4) Δορθάνναι or Δορθόννα, a locality named in two treaties. This example puzzles Brown. He suggests that it is pre-Gk., since there is variation of the final part. Astour derives it from dur tanā, 'erected wall'. For the first part, we have Heb.  $\text{דֹּר}$ , 'dwelling place, habitation', and also  $\text{דָּר}$  or  $\text{דָּרָה}$ , a city in Manasseh. The second part may be Phoen.  $\text{טַנָּה}$ , 'set up, erect'.<sup>219</sup>
- (5) Ἐλλωτίς, according to Stephanus, the original name of the city of Gortyn, and (the goddess) Εὐρώπη among the Cretans. According to Hesychius, the Ἐλλωτία is a festival of Εὐρώπη, and Ἐλλωτίς is her woven crown.<sup>220</sup> Discussing the toponym, Brown suggests that it may go back to the Neolithic period. Discussing Hesychius, Brown considers it unlikely that the two entries are derived from W-S  $\text{elot}$ , 'goddess', since the Gk. has the rough breathing and double λ. We prefer Astour's etymology from the W-S root halal, 'shine'.<sup>221</sup>
- (6) Ἐλυρος, a city listed by Stephanus. Brown states only that the name is not Gk., and that the suffix -υρος is Anatolian. Thus Brown cites the toponym  $\text{Iduros}$ . This is a river and city of Pamphylia, listed by Stephanus. The first two letters Ελ - suggest to us the W-S for 'god', Ug.  $\text{il}$  or Heb.  $\text{אֵל}$ . Perhaps the toponym was 'Cretanised' by the Minoans.<sup>222</sup>
- (7) Ἰτανός, a city listed by Stephanus. Brown denies that there is a 'convincing Semitic etymology' for this, simply suggesting that it is pre-Gk. Thus Brown mentions Ἰώανα in Caria. Astour's  $\text{ἰν}$ , 'strong, firm', with reference to the river of the city, seems better than the Carian.<sup>223</sup>
- (8) Καρύμαι or Καρύμες, a locality of pre-Gk. origin, of which Brown states that



κάρυον, 'nut', is the stem. This is another example of the ancient substratum theory. While the noun κάρυον may be pre-Gk., as Brown says, this does not explain μ in the toponym. However, Astour's suggestion of Heb. פְּרָם , 'vineyard', explains all the consonants.<sup>224</sup>

- (9) Κύθηρα, an island of Crete, according to Hesychius. Brown suggests that this contains a 'formative suffix' -ηρο, of pre-Gk. origin. While this is possible, it does not explain the entire toponym. We prefer the W-S etymology (kt/kuthar), given above for the Laconian island of the same name.<sup>225</sup>

- (10) Λεβήν, a city on the south coast of Crete, which Brown thinks may be cognate with Λέβα in Thrace, and Λέβεδος and Λεβάδη in Lydia. According to Brown, both Crete and these other regions may have borrowed the common near eastern noun for 'lion', which appears in Ug. as lbu and in Heb. as לָבִי .

With regard to Λεβήν, this is almost certainly correct, since the nearby headland is shaped like a sitting lion, and was later called Λέων. However, Brown does not admit that orientals may have named this place, for this is another example of the 'substratum' theory. We note that the connection with Thracian and Lydian names is dubious, for they are so distant. Brown has not excluded the possibility of direct W-S borrowing.<sup>226</sup>

- (11) Μόλλος, a non-Gk. locality. Brown mentions Lycian names starting with the same Μολ - syllable, such as the toponym Μολύνδεια. While this connection is possible, Μόλλος may be derived from Heb. מִלְחָה , 'earth-rampart', as Astour observes.<sup>227</sup>

- (12) Σαλμώνη and Σαλμώνιον, a headland in NE Crete, which Brown derives

from the pre-Gk. root \*σαλ(α)μ -, as in the toponyms Σαλαμίς (p.42) and Σάλμος (p.42). We suggest the same Heb. etymologies as for Σάλμος, the city of Boeotia.<sup>228</sup>

- (13) Σέδαμνος, the name of a river, which Brown says has a formative pre-Gk. suffix -μν -, but he cannot explain it further. Astour gives two possible etymologies here. Thus the toponym may be from Heb.  $\text{הַשָּׂדֶה}$  , 'field', but this does not explain the Gk. ν. More probably, it may be from  $\text{sad}^{\text{a}}\text{amna}$ , 'field of the pillar'. Thus we have Heb.  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  , 'field, land', and the root  $\text{קִנָּה}$  , 'confirm, support', hence  $\text{קִנָּהּ}$  , 'pillars'.<sup>229</sup>

- (14) Τάνος, a city of Crete, mentioned by Stephanus. Brown states that it is not Gk. We suggest that Τάνος may be related to Τήνος (p.42), and the possible W-S etymology of that island may apply here also.<sup>230</sup>

### Conclusion.

These examples suggest a certain degree of W-S penetration into Crete. It is interesting that the examples for which Brown has no explanation (e.g. no.13) are most clearly W-S.

### (vii) The evidence of the Linear A tablets.



















The purpose of this discussion is to provide evidence that at least some of the Minoans may have spoken a Sem. language. There are two basic theories concerning the language of the LA inscriptions; either they are in Hittite, or they are in W-S. Scholars such as C.H.Gordon, J.G.P.Best and M.C.Astour have favoured W-S, while S.Davis has translated the inscriptions as Hittite.<sup>231</sup>


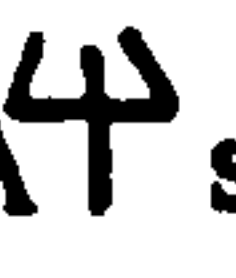
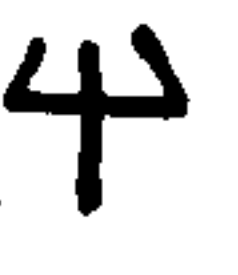
This subject is very complex, therefore it is not intended to give here an

exhaustive description of LA. We will discuss merely eight words that favour a Sem. interpretation. With some of these, Hittite alternatives will be mentioned. First of all, however, it is necessary to explain the method concerning the transliteration of the LA syllabic signs, that is, their probable sound value.

### **Basic principles of LA.**

J.T.Hooker discusses these principles. In his First Grid (Fig.1), many signs that are nearly the same shape in both LA and LB are depicted. We cannot assume that all of these necessarily have the same sound value in LA as in LB, for the signs may have had a different value in Minoan, possibly being adapted later to Mycenaean Gk. In the Second Grid (Fig.2), Hooker lists eighteen of these signs that are found in word-groups (sign-groups) common both to LA and LB. Since the sound value of these in LB is known, and they are in common word-groups, their value in LA is established beyond reasonable doubt. Here is our list:

 a,  da,  ja,  ma,  na,  pa,  qa,  ra,  
 ra<sub>2</sub>,  sa,  ta,  de,  di,  ki,  no,  ro,  
 ku,  ru.<sup>232</sup>

We also note that the LB  ne sign and the similar LA  sign should be in Hooker's Grid 1 as a common sign, but not in Grid 2. This is because LA  is not in a word-group shared with LB.<sup>232</sup> Hooker omits this one from Grid 1. Concerning decipherment, Hooker states:

'Upon the basis of this second Grid any scientific decipherment of the Linear A script must rest: no further assumptions whatever, so far as they concern the phonetic values, are justified.'<sup>234</sup>

Due to this caution, Hooker refrains from attempting any nearly definite decipherment, unlike the authors mentioned above. In any case, such a decipherment would only be based upon these eighteen signs. Hooker concludes that one or two suffixes may belong to an Anatolian or Sem. language.<sup>235</sup>

### Our argument.

It is not necessary to be as cautious as this. Hooker omits to mention that, of these eighteen signs, one represents a, and another ten represent a consonant + a. Only the  $\oplus$  ka sign is missing from Grid 2, for it does not occur in a word-group common to both LA and LB. The fact that eleven signs include the same vowel is a lucky coincidence, for it increases the probability that the other signs in Grid 1 have the same sound value in LA as in LB, although it does not make it certain. Thus it is unlikely that the e, i, o and u signs not among the eighteen (i.e. with tentative values) have totally different values from their counterparts in Grid 2.<sup>236</sup>

We also note that there is little difference in transliteration between authors using either a Hittite or a Sem. translation. It is therefore necessary to work upon the assumption that the LA system is basically the same as LB.




Now let us examine the words:

- (1) The first inscription is KN Z4, upon a pithos fragment from Knossos. It states as follows:  $\ominus$  ya\* -  $\uparrow$  ne. (We place an asterisk to indicate the signs of Hooker's Grid 2.) The writing of ja is conventional for ya. Gordon states that this is Ug. yn, 'wine', all the more likely since the word appears upon a pithos. The value of the first sign has been identified, and that of the second is likely.<sup>237</sup> We also note that Gk.  $\omega\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 'wine', is almost certainly borrowed from W-S as follows:

yn > \* $\uparrow$   $\omega\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  >  $\omega\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . When the Greeks arrived in Crete, they may have



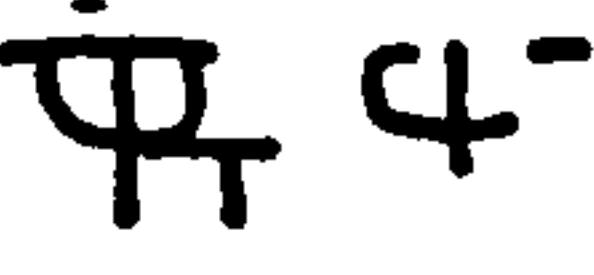








The Sem. translation of this is well known. Since the LB GRANUM ideogram is , and the above  LA sign is similar, it is reasonable to propose that HT 86a and HT 95 contain lists of cereal products with total quantities. Gordon notes that the word  ku\* - ni - su 'occurs four times in the Hagia Triada tablets, twice followed by the WHEAT determinative'. Gordon therefore derives this word from Akk. ku-ni-su, 'emmer wheat'. Best notes that the usual Akk. spelling is kunāsu, but kunisu is attested at Nuzi and Bogazkoy.<sup>244</sup>

As for the other two words, Best suggests that a\* - ka-ru comes from Akk. aklu/akalu, 'bread', and that sa\* - ru\* may be from Ug. šr/šrm, Heb. שֶׂרֶשֶׁר, 'barley'. We note that š would become s in LA, and that l is not distinguished from r. Davis considers both sa\* - ru and ku\* - ni-su to be personal names, but does not attempt to translate them. Therefore the Sem. translation seems best.<sup>245</sup>

### Hooker's objections and our reply.

Hooker raises three objections to the Sem. translation of ku\* - ni-su. First, he considers it most doubtful if we can be sure of the phonetic values of ni and su, for they are not in Grid 2. We have already discussed the distribution of the identified signs, mostly in the a group. Thus there is no reason to be so cautious. Moreover, if we assume a Sem. origin for sa\* - ru\*, whose signs are both in Grid 2, then the idea that ku\* - ni-su comes from Akk. kunisu gains credibility in the context. Second, Hooker objects that the sequence syllabic sign + ideogram + numeral is apparently unknown in LA. This is difficult to comment on either positively or negatively.<sup>246</sup> However, Hooker has just noted that HT86a and the LB Mycenae inscriptions seem to have 'a parallel structure' of this very sequence; thus ku\* - ni-su + ideogram + numeral (no.4). HT86a seems to be the exception to the rule, which Hooker does not accept, with regard to the Sem. translation.<sup>247</sup> Third, Hooker thinks that on HT95 ku\* - ni-su cannot be a word for a commodity such as 'wheat', because it is followed by di\* - de\* - ru\*, which he identifies as a proper name cognate with a probable proper name di-de-ro in

LB. Thus, according to Hooker the correct interpretation is of place-names and personal names, not of commodities. Consignments of grain, indicated by the  GRANUM ideogram, seem to be connected with these names. However, we note that sa\* -ru\* also appears on HT95a, and we have already identified this with Sem. 'barley'. Hooker gives no explanation for this word; he is objecting from ku\* -ni-su alone.<sup>248</sup>

- (5) Let us now consider two words on HT31. These spell  su\* -  pu and  pa\* -  ta\* -  qe. The words occur above vessel-shaped signs. They are discussed by Hooker, together with the other three words on the tablet, but the uncertain 'gate'-sign makes their interpretation hazardous.<sup>249</sup> Hooker then denies that pa\* -ta\* -qe is cognate with Akk. pataqu. It is not clear why.<sup>250</sup> Gordon makes the identification of su\* -pu with Heb. , 'basin', and Akk. pataqu, 'to drink'. We note that the presence of vessel ideograms upon HT31 suggests that the words are the names of the vessels.<sup>251</sup>

Davis suggests that su\* -pu is a loan from a language other than Hittite, and that pa\* -ta\* -qe is an unidentified Hittite word. He does not explain these words further.<sup>252</sup>

- (6) Finally, let us note that the Sem. origin of the LA script is suggested by the 'trident' sign upon a jug from Hazor (Best's Pl.6), identical to the sign upon a bronze ingot of the MM period from Hagia Triada.<sup>253</sup>

### Conclusion.

What does all this signify? It has been suggested that the vessel names of HT31 are merely borrowed vocabulary.<sup>254</sup> However, it seems unlikely to us that such everyday words as ya\* -ne (wine) or a\* -ka-ru\* (bread) were borrowed from Sem. into the Minoan language. The presence of such words strongly suggests a Sem.-speaking element in the Minoan population.



## SECTION C

### THE TRANSFERENCE OF MYTHOLOGY ACROSS THE GREEK DARK AGE, AND THE HISTORICAL GAP BETWEEN THE MYCENAEAN WORLD AND CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY.

#### (i) The evidence of archaeology.

Here we are concerned with the gap between the Late Bronze Age and the classical world. This is relevant to our discussion, for the following reason. We will suggest in subsequent chapters that Bronze Age oriental mythology lies behind much classical goddess mythology. The problem of the Greek Dark Age also concerns the student of Greek mythology. Thus the origin of this mythology must be sought in the earliest period of Greek civilisation, the Mycenaean Age. Such motifs originating then should somehow have been transferred across the little-known 'Dark Age' into the classical world, together with any oriental mythological themes. This is the chronological gap between the end of the Mycenaean Age and classical Greece; a period of about four hundred and fifty years between c.1100 and c.650 B.C., the start of the Archaic Age.<sup>255</sup>

We will now discuss the archaeological evidence for continuity of settlement, and in some cases cult, during the invasions of this time. B.C.Dietrich states:

'The massive evidence from the major Mycenaean sites..., shows quite plainly that the mainland was not subject to one unique invasion at the end of the Bronze Age, but that several stages of attack, from within or without, and destruction were involved covering a considerable period of time over more than a century.'<sup>256</sup>

Dietrich lists some sites that show persistence of settlement during this period. At Athens there are indications of a Mycenaean settlement on the Acropolis.<sup>257</sup> On Eleusis settlement was continuous from EH right through into classical times, while



Marathon and Aegina probably had continuous occupation.<sup>258</sup> Of course, we cannot regard archaeological evidence as completely certain. For instance, V.R.Desborough believes that at Eleusis there was a break in occupation after LH IIIC.<sup>259</sup> Desborough observes that two sites on Aegina yielded Mycenaean material, and that both later had classical temples. In the precinct of the Aphaia temple, Mycenaean sherds and terracotta 'goddess' figurines were found, so it is possible that this was a sacred Mycenaean site. Three tombs were also excavated at Kolonna (on Aegina), where there was a later temple of Aphrodite.<sup>260</sup>

We note that Mycenaean connections with later cultic sites are important, for they suggest continuity of religious thought. Continuity of settlement alone does not necessarily suggest this.

Some other sites indicate probable continuity of cult. It is 'reasonably certain' that Amyklai (see p.35), where the temple of Apollo was later built, was a cultic centre in Mycenaean times. Seventy-five terracotta 'goddess' figurines were found, together with bulls or horses of clay. As Desborough observes, there is a slight break between Mycenaean and Protogeometric pottery, but at least the memory of the sacred site survived.<sup>261</sup> This is also most probably true of a site near Epidauros, where a temple to Apollo was also built, and human and animal Mycenaean figurines were found. There is also some evidence for a Mycenaean sanctuary at Delphi, for not less than one hundred and seventy five 'goddess' figurines were found underneath the archaic temple of Athena Pronaia. As Desborough notes, the great number of figurines suggests some cult at Delphi during the period LH III.<sup>262</sup>

The two strongest cases for continuity of cult are sites on the islands of Kea and Delos. The Mycenaean building at Ayia Irini on Kea was almost certainly a temple, for it contained fragments of large terracotta statues, and votive offerings. After the building collapsed, a smaller shrine was built in the ruins. This suggests continuity of cult. On Delos, there may have been three Mycenaean sanctuaries. The pre-Artemision A building was larger than the ordinary houses and contained ivory and gold objects. The archaic Artemision E was built on top of it. The other two

buildings, G and H, may have been sanctuaries, but the evidence is meagre. However, we must be cautious, concerning these sites. As Desborough suggests, building Ac may merely have been a rich man's house.<sup>263</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

We may now examine the overall archaeological picture between LH IIIA and the sub-Mycenaean period. E.Vermeule assigns definite or near-definite continuous occupation at many sites, including Argos, Nauplion, Asine and Dendra in the Argolid, Amyklai, and Ithaka, the latter between LH IIIB and sub-Mycenaean.<sup>264</sup> There was also continuity at Athens and Eleusis.<sup>265</sup> Melos had continuous occupation from LH IIIA to LH IIIC, although it may have been abandoned for a time during sub-Mycenaean.<sup>266</sup>

Vermeule lists other sites that were abandoned or burned during LH IIIB-C. Thus Pylos was burned during this period, but there is continuity of burials. Nichoria and Malthi are two other Messenian sites. Nichoria was destroyed and Malthi was abandoned. Other sites were abandoned slightly later during LH IIIC, which suggests several stages of attack. Thus in Attica Perati, Thorokos and Brauron were also abandoned.<sup>267</sup> Therefore, the overall picture is not of total destruction everywhere at the end of the Bronze Age, but rather of sporadic destruction, somewhat more favourable to the survival of cult.

### **(ii) Some mythological evidence for the Mycenaean religion.**

Here we will deal briefly with two related subjects; the presence of Greek goddess names in the LB tablets, and the possibility that Greek mythological scenes may have been represented in Mycenaean art.

The LB tablets give clear evidence for the worship of prototypes of Greek goddesses. J.C.van Leuven discusses various Mycenaean goddesses, whose names include the term po-ti-ni-ja, equivalent to Πότινια, 'Mistress/Lady'. Leuven notes that

po-ti-ni-ja 'is a generic term', probably applied to several figures.<sup>268</sup> Examples relating to later goddesses, listed by Leuven, include the following:

- (1) a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja Leuven states that this 'is generally agreed to involve the later name and frequent epithet of Athena'. Vilborg transliterates the Mycenaean as Athanaí potniai.<sup>269</sup>
- (2) si-to-po-ti-ni-ja This is clearly the 'corn-mistress' (σῑτορς). Leuven suggests that she may be a prototype of Demeter or Leto, since these goddesses are connected with vegetation.<sup>270</sup>
- (3) po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja According to Leuven, this may be a title of Demeter, who is a horse-goddess in the classical era, or it may refer to Athena. Leuven also suggests 'a precursor of Leto and Demeter'.<sup>271</sup>
- (4) e-re-wi-jo-po-ti-ni-ja Leuven suggests that this 'is probably a title of Hera..'.<sup>272</sup>

The presence of such names in LB does not necessarily indicate that details of cult were exactly the same as in classical religion, but they do provide evidence for the earliest stage of evolution of the Greek goddesses.

### **Mycenaean art.**

It is also possible that some classical mythological scenes may have been represented in Mycenaean art. Here we must be very cautious. Three examples are worth noting:

- (1) Some glass plaques from Dendra-Midea, made from one mould, depict a woman riding a galloping, horned bull. According to A.W.Persson (Fig.24), the tomb dates from c.1350 B.C. We agree with Persson that this closely resembles the myth of Europe and the bull.<sup>273</sup>
- (2) M.P.Nilsson depicts a Cypriot amphora (Fig.1). This shows two figures riding in a chariot, while another stands in front of them, holding a pair of scales. Nilsson suggests that these may represent the 'scales of Destiny', described in the Iliad (8.69).<sup>274</sup>

- (3) There is a steatite gem from a late Mycenaean tomb of the Argive Heraeum depicting two centaurs, each with a dagger.<sup>275</sup>

**Conclusion.**

The transmission of Bronze Age oriental themes into classical Greek mythology is no more difficult than the transmission of Mycenaean Greek themes, given that the oriental themes were already borrowed by the Mycenaeans. The possibility of this historical transference is what our discussion has sought to establish. The clear evidence of both archaeology and toponyms proves extensive cultural contact.



### NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.

- (1) Schaeffer C.F.-A., 'Ras Shamra-Ugarit et le monde Égéen', Ugaritica 1 (1939), Chap.2, 53-54 (comment), 53 (Fig.41), 54 (Fig.42 & date), 55 (Fig.43), 54 (comment) and 58 (Fig.46). See Schaeffer C.F.-A., 'Aperçu de l'histoire d'Ugarit', Ugaritica 1 (1939), Chap.I, Pl.VII (opp.28).
- (2) Schaeffer C.F.-A., 'Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra, Deuxième Campagne (Printemps 1930)', Syria 12 (1931), Pl.III.2 (opp.4). See also Schaeffer C.F.-A., 'Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra, Quatrième Campagne (Printemps 1932)', Syria 14 (1933), Pl.X opp.102 (comment).
- (3) Vermeule E. and Karageorghis V., Mycenaean pictorial vase painting, 229 (Catalogue) and Pls. at the back (XIII.26-30), and Kantor H.J., 'The Aegean and the Orient in the second millennium B.C.', AJA 51 (1947), 36 (Pls. at the back).
- (4) Schaeffer, op.cit. (as note 1), Pl.XIV opp.58, 63 (Fig.51) and 65 (comment & Fig.54).
- (5) Op.cit. (as note 1), 74 (Fig.63, U) and 67 (comment); Evans A., PM IV.II, 783 (Fig.762), and 782-783 (comment).
- (6) Op.cit. (as note 1), 70, and Kantor, op.cit. (as note 3), 79, note 2.
- (7) Op.cit. (as note 1), 72 (comment), 77 (Fig.68), 103 (Fig.96) and 105 (comment & Fig.97).
- (8) Kantor, op.cit. (as note 3), 33 (VIII, D), 35 (VII, B & VIII, B), 36 (comment) and Pls. at the back; Evans A., PM I, 267 (Fig.198).
- (9) Forsdyke E.J., 'Minoan pottery from Cyprus, and the origin of the Mycenaean style', JHS 31 (1911); for Curium, see 111 (Fig.1.1 & comment), for Larnaka, 111 (Figs.1.2 & 1.3)-112, for Maroni and Knossos, 112 (comment)-113 (Figs.2.1 & 2.2), for Enkomi, 112 (comment)-113 (Fig.3), for the Curium 'octopus vase', 113 (comment) and 115 (Fig.4), and for Mycenaean vases, see 112.

- (10) Karageorghis J., La grande déesse de Chypre et son culte, 72 (date) and 85-86.
- (11) Yamauchi E.M., Greece and Babylon. Early contacts between the Aegean and the Near East, 40 and 35 (Fig.14).
- (12) Schaeffer, op.cit. (as note 1), Frontispiece; Frankfort H., AAAO, 155 and Pl.150 (back).
- (13) Mellersh H.E.L., Minoan Crete, Pl.14 opp.121; Kantor, op.cit. (as note 3), 87-88 (descr.) and 89 (quot.). See also Pl.XXII at back.
- (14) Parrot A., 'Les peintures du palais de Mari', Syria 18 (1937), 353-354, and Pl.XXXVII, 1, opp.328; Kantor, op.cit., 31.
- (15) Evans, op.cit. (as note 5), 1008 (Fig.959) and 896 (Fig.874).
- (16) Popovitch V., 'Observations sur l'origine de la spirale en Égée', RAr. 1 (1958), 132-133 (Fig.1); Astour M.C., HS, 328; and Culican W., The first merchant venturers. The ancient Levant in history and commerce, 30.
- (17) Harif A., 'A Mycenaean building at Tell Abu-Hawam in Palestine', PEQ 106 (1974), 83 (Fig.1), 84-89 (comparisons), Fig.3a-c on 85, and Figs.4a-b on 86.
- (18) Op.cit. (as note 17), 84 (Fig.2 & comment).
- (19) Op.cit., 87 and Figs.3a-c (as note 17), 87-89 (quot. on 89), and 90.
- (20) Schaeffer, op.cit. (as note 1), 67-68 (comment), 75 (Fig.65), 76 (Fig.66), 68 (conclusion) and 99 (Fig.94).
- (21) Evans, op.cit. (as note 15), 772 (Fig.751 & size), 773-775 (descr.) and 776 (Fig.755); Schaeffer, op.cit. (as note 1), 89 (comment & Fig.83).
- (22) Schaeffer, op.cit., 92 (comment), 94 (Fig.88) and 95 (Fig.89); Evans, op.cit., 771ff.
- (23) Woolley C.L., 'Tal Atchana', JHS 56 (1936), 127-128 (quots. on 128) and 129 (Fig.1 & comment).
- (24) Op.cit. (as note 23), 132, and Evans A., 'Some notes on the Tal Atchana pottery', JHS 56 (1936), 133 (Fig.1)-134, and Pls. See also Evans A., PM I, 610 (Fig.448).

- (25) Riis P.J., 'The first Greeks in Phoenicia, and their settlement at Sukas', Ugaritica 6 (1969), Chap.10, 435.
- (26) Baramki D.C., 'A late Bronze Age tomb at Sarafend, ancient Sarepta', Berytus 12, 2 (1958), 130.
- (27) Op.cit. (as note 26), 132, 136-140 and 142, for description, with illustrations on 135, 137, 139 and 141.
- (28) Op.cit. (as note 26), 130.
- (29) Charles R.-P., 'Contribution a l'étude anthropologique du site de Ras Shamra', Ugaritica 4 (1962), 574 and 577 (R 6), 577 and 596 (R 20), 587 and 601 (R 00).
- (30) Op.cit. (as note 29), 613 and 584 (Mycenaeans).
- (31) Op.cit., 608 and 620 (Alpines).
- (32) Schaeffer, op.cit. (as note 1), 103; Astour, op.cit. (as note 16), 354.
- (33) Evans, op.cit. (as note 8), 65 (Fig.28) and 67 (Figs.29-35).
- (34) Op.cit., 75 and 76 (Figs.43a-45).
- (35) Op.cit., 81 (Figs.49-50) and 82 (comment).
- (36) Op.cit., 86 (Figs.54-55), 85-87 (comment), 87 (Fig.56) and 88 (comment).
- (37) Op.cit., 92 (Figs.60-61) and 93 (comment).
- (38) Evans A., PM II.I, 57 (comment) and 58 (Fig.27).
- (39) Pendlebury J.D.S., 'Egypt and the Aegean in the late Bronze Age', IEA 16 (1930), 85; Evans, op.cit. (as note 8), 199 (Fig.147 & comment), and 201 (Fig.150).
- (40) Op.cit., 578 (Figs.422-423b) and 579 (comment).
- (41) Evans, op.cit. (as note 38), 45-46 (Fig.21), op.cit. (as note 8), 312 (Fig.231).
- (42) Evans, op.cit. (as note 8), 419 (Fig.304b) and 420 (comment), 288 (Fig.220), 286-287 (comment) and 289 (style).
- (43) Evans, op.cit. (as note 38), 47 (Fig.22a, b)- 48 (comment); Faulkner R.O., The ancient Egyptian book of the dead, 13 and 82; The Manchester Guardian, June 7 (1988), 7 (Find is music to archaeologists' ears, AP in Athens).



- (44) Frankfort H., Cylinder Seals. A documentary essay on the art and religion of the ancient Near East, Chronological Index at back (Jemdet Nasr period), and 301 (quot.). See also Pls. at back.
- (45) Evans, op.cit. (as note 8), 197-198 (Fig.146); Evans, op.cit. (as note 5), 423 (Fig.349), 424 (Fig.350) and 425-426 (Fig.351); Porada E., 'The Cypriot seals found at Thebes in Boeotia', AfO 28 (1981), 9 (no.1), 13 (no.2), etc; Evans, op.cit. (as note 38), 265 (Fig.158) and 266 (comment).
- (46) Evans, op.cit. (as note 38), 266.
- (47) Muhly J.D., 'Homer and the Phoenicians', Berytus 19 (1970), 36-37.
- (48) Muhly, op.cit., 60.
- (49) Kantor, op.cit. (as note 3), 19, note 22.
- (50) Childe V.G., New light on the most ancient East (1934 Ed.), 268-269 (quot.) and 282; Evans A., PM II.II, 655 (comment) and 656 (Fig.421); Evans, op.cit. (as note 15), 779-780 (Fig.760); and Evans, op.cit. (as note 38), 259 (Fig.154), 261 (Fig.156) and 263 (Fig.157), 259-263 incl.
- (51) Frankfort H., AAAO, 68 (Fig.24C), 67 (comment), 66 (date) and Pl.90. See also Frankfort H., 'Notes on the Cretan griffin', ABSA 37 (1936-1937), 106 (Fig.1 & comment), 108 (Fig.6 & comment), 109 (Figs.8 & 10), 110 (Fig.11), 111 (Fig.13), 115 (Fig.16 & comment), 117 (Figs.18 & 19), and 117-119 (comment).
- (52) Frankfort, op.cit. (as note 51), 117 (Fig.17), and 116 (quot.); Evans, op.cit. (as note 8), 712 (Fig.536 & comment), and 710 (Fig.533a-d).
- (53) Culican, op.cit. (as note 16), 57 (Ill.55); Kantor, op.cit. (as note 3), 91-92, with quotation on 92.
- (54) Evans, op.cit. (as note 5), 431 (Fig.354 & comment), 435 (Fig.358a-b); Frankfort, op.cit. (as note 44), 303 (& Pl.XLVIs); and also Budge E.A.W., The gods of the Egyptians 2, Pl. opp.30.
- (55) Porada, op.cit. (as note 45), 69-70.
- (56) Pendlebury, op.cit. (as note 39), 86. See also Pl.XXI opp.83.
- (57) Op.cit., 88-89.



- (58) Kantor, op.cit. (as note 3), 37-38; Vermeule E., Greece in the Bronze Age, 180; Yamauchi, op.cit. (as note 11), 36 (Fig.17).
- (59) Muhly, op.cit. (as note 47), 43.
- (60) Culican, op.cit. (as note 16), 54 (Ill.51); Muhly, op.cit. (as note 47), 36, note 130; and Vermeule, op.cit. (as note 58), 127-128.
- (61) .Negbi O., Canaanite gods in metal, 29ff. (Type III), 38 (no.1404) and 38-39 (no.1405). For 'fusing' of features, see 39.
- (62) Evans A., PM III, 477 (Fig.331a-d); Negbi, op.cit. (as note 61), 37 and 168-169 (Catalogue); Renfrew C., 'The Mycenaean sanctuary at Phylakopi', Antiquity 52 (1978), 11-12.
- (63) Negbi, op.cit. (as note 61), 168 (nos.1406-1408) and 169 (no.1409); see also Pl.28 (no.1406). See 37-40 (Type IIIc).
- (64) Negbi, op.cit., 33 (Fig.47) and 165, for no.1360; 31 (Fig.45) and 163, for no.1326; and 30, for description of the 'Syro-Palestinian' Group. See also Pl.28.
- (65) Renfrew, op.cit. (as note 62), 11 (Fig.2, comment & quot.); and 9 (Table 1), for date of the shrine.
- (66) Renfrew, op.cit., 11 (quot.), and 12 (Fig.3). See also Pl.IVa-b (between 44 & 45).
- (67) Renfrew, op.cit., 10; Jones W.H.S., Pausanias IV (Loeb), 510-511 (Paus.10.24.5); and Gen.28.18-29; see also Lee S., Biblia sacra polyglotta, I (Textus Hebraicus).
- (68) Renfrew, op.cit., 13. See Pls.V and VIb (between 44 & 45).
- (69) Negbi O., 'Evidence for early Phoenician communities on the eastern Mediterranean islands', Levant 14 (1982), 180-181, 182 and 181 (date).
- (70) For these wrecks, see Bass G.F., 'The Cape Gelidonya wreck: preliminary report', AJA 65 (1961), and Bass G.F., 'A Bronze Age shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kas): 1984 campaign', AJA 90 (1986).
- (71) Sasson J., 'Canaanite maritime involvement in the second millennium', JAOS 86 (1966), 127.

- (72) Sasson, op.cit., 128-129.
- (73) Davies N. and Faulkner R.O., 'A Syrian trading venture to Egypt', JEA 33 (1947), 40; see also Pl.VII (between 40 & 41).
- (74) Davies and Faulkner, op.cit., 41-42.
- (75) Op.cit., 45.
- (76) Astour, op.cit. (as note 16), 348; Sasson, op.cit. (as note 71), 132.
- (77) Bass, op.cit. (as note 70, 1st ref.), 271; see also Pl.87.
- (78) Bass, op.cit., 272.
- (79) Bass, op.cit., 272, note 20.
- (80) Frost H., 'Two Carian wrecks', Antiquity 34 (1960), 216. For the Enkomi mould, see Bass, op.cit., 273.
- (81) Bass, op.cit., 273.
- (82) Frost, op.cit. (as note 80), 216.
- (83) Op.cit., 217-218.
- (84) Bass, op.cit., 273.
- (85) Evans, op.cit. (as note 8), 436 (Fig.313) and 438 (Fig.315).
- (86) Bass, op.cit., 274, and Pl.90.
- (87) Bass, op.cit., 275.
- (88) Op.cit., 275-276.
- (89) Bass, op.cit. (as note 70, 2nd ref.), 270 (Ill.1); see also 269.
- (90) Op.cit., 275 and Pl.17.
- (91) Op.cit., 276.
- (92) Op.cit., 277 (Ill.7 & comment).
- (93) Op.cit., 277.
- (94) Op.cit., 278.
- (95) Op.cit., 279; for Cypriot 'milk-bowls', see 279 (Ills.9 & 10).
- (96) Op.cit., 281 and 282 (Ill.14).
- (97) Op.cit., 281.
- (98) Op.cit., 282 and 283 (Ill.17).
- (99) Op.cit., 284-285 and 286 (Ill.21).

- (100) Op.cit., 285 and 287 (Ill.22).
- (101) Op.cit., 282-283, 284 (Ill.18) and 285 (Ill.19).
- (102) Op.cit., 283.
- (103) Vermeule, op.cit. (as note 58), 218.
- (104) Bass, op.cit. (as note 70, 2nd ref.), 279 (Ills.9 & 10), 280 (Ill.11) and 281 (Ills.12 & 13).
- (105) Op.cit., 289.
- (106) Op.cit., 283-284 and 285 (Ill.20).
- (107) Op.cit., 281-282 (Ills.15 & 16).
- (108) Op.cit., 292. Note the bronze double-axe on the Cape Gelidonya wreck; see above, p.24.
- (109) Op.cit., 270.
- (110) Op.cit., 272; see also 270 (Ill.1).
- (111) Op.cit., 294.
- (112) Op.cit., 295.
- (113) Op.cit., 296.
- (114) Muhly, op.cit. (as note 47), 43.
- (115) Astour, op.cit. (as note 16), 340-344 incl.; Jorro F.A. and Adrados F.R., Diccionario Micenico I.
- (116) Astour, op.cit., 340; Jorro, op.cit. (as note 115), 27, col.1; Vilborg E., A tentative grammar of Mycenaean Greek, 37; and Brown F., A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament, 12, col.1. We refer to Brown's lexicon for important Heb. words. For Gk. words, see Liddell H.G. and Scott R., Greek-English lexicon (New Ed.), I-II. Only references to proper names, or words of special interest are given. For addir, see Astour, op.cit., 340.
- (117) Jorro, op.cit. (as note 115), 34, col.2; Vilborg, op.cit. (as note 116), 37; Astour, op.cit., 340; Liddel and Scott (LS), op.cit. (as note 116), I, 47, col.1, for <sup>3/</sup>ἄκανθος, 'bearsfoot'; Astour, op.cit. 164-168 (Aqht & Aktaion).
- (118) Astour, op.cit., 340; Jorro, op.cit., 34, col.1; Vilborg, op.cit., 35.

- (119) Astour, op.cit., 340; Vilborg, op.cit., 93 (Sec.39); Jorro, op.cit., 64, col.1.
- (120) Jorro, op.cit., 74, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 340; Brown F., op.cit., 779, col.2 (  $\text{𐤀 𐤍 𐤍}$  ); Vilborg, op.cit., 36.
- (121) Jorro, op.cit., 93, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 340.
- (122) Jorro, op.cit., 94, col.1; Hooker J.T., 'Problems and methods in the decipherment of Linear A', JRAS (1975), 165; Astour, op.cit., 340; Wiseman D.J., The Alalakh tablets, 127, col.1 (al-li-ni-ri); Gordon C.H., 'Ugaritic Textbook (UT)', AnOr 38 (1965), 359, col.2 (no.197), for Ug.<sup>2</sup>alnr; Vilborg, op.cit., 35.
- (123) Jorro, op.cit., 96, col.1; Meineke A., Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt, 72-73; Wiseman, op.cit. (as note 122), 127, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 340.
- (124) Jorro, op.cit., 103, col.2; Wiseman, op.cit., 129, col.1; Gordon, op.cit. (as note 122), 366, col.1 (no.354); Astour, op.cit., 340.
- (125) Jorro, op.cit., 108, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 341; Gordon, op.cit., 363, col.2 (no.284), for <sup>2</sup>asr and <sup>2</sup>asrn.
- (126) Jorro, op.cit., 112, col.2; Vilborg, op.cit. (as note 116); Astour, op.cit., 341; Gordon, op.cit., 368, col.2 (no.412); Wiseman, op.cit., 130, col.1; Hooker, op.cit. (as note 122), 165.
- (127) Jorro, op.cit., 155, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 341; Brown F., op.cit. (as note 116), 192, col.2; Gordon, op.cit., 386, col.1 (no.683).
- (128) Jorro, op.cit., 196, cols.1-2; Astour, op.cit., 341; Wiseman, op.cit., 132, col.2.
- (129) Jorro, op.cit., 271, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 341; Wiseman, op.cit., 137, col.1.
- (130) Jorro, op.cit., 280, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 341; Wiseman, op.cit., 138, col.1.
- (131) Jorro, op.cit., 297, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 341; Vilborg, op.cit., 38; Gordon, op.cit., 415, col.2 (no.1162), for <sup>v</sup>ysn, 'to sleep'; Brown F., op.cit., 445, col.2, for Heb. meanings (  $\text{𐤍 𐤍}$  ); Wiseman, op.cit., 137, col.1.
- (132) Jorro, op.cit., 297, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 341; Gordon, op.cit. 415, col.2 (no.1163); Wiseman, op.cit., 136, col.2.



- (133) Jorro, op.cit., 304, cols.1-2; Astour, op.cit., 341; Gordon, op.cit., 418, col.1 (no.1200).
- (134) Jorro, op.cit., 306, col.2; LS I, op.cit., 861, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 341.
- (135) Jorro, op.cit., 311, col.2-312, col.1; Gordon, op.cit., 420, col.2 (no.1257); Wiseman, op.cit., 139, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 341.
- (136) Jorro, op.cit., 312, col.1; Gordon, op.cit., 420, col.2 (no.1257); Astour, op.cit., 341.
- (137) Jorro, op.cit., 321, cols.1-2; Albert A. and Schmidt M., Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, 2, 529.41; LS I, op.cit., 989, col.2; Gordon, op.cit., 381, col.2 (no.623); note also grbn, 381, col.1 (no.614); Astour, op.cit., 341.
- (138) Jorro, op.cit., 322, col.1; for שָׁגַב, 'drive out', see Brown F., op.cit., 176, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 341.
- (139) Jorro, op.cit., 329, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 382; col.2 (no.628).
- (140) Jorro, op.cit., 348, col.2-349, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 423, col.2 (no.1314); for Κρήθευς, see Murray A.T., Homer The Odyssey I (Loeb), 402-403 (Od.11.237).
- (141) Jorro, op.cit., 352, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 422-423, cols.1-2 (no.1297).
- (142) Jorro, op.cit., 355, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 424, col.2 (no.1326).
- (143) Jorro, op.cit., 357, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 418, cols.1-2 (no.1213).
- (144) Jorro, op.cit., 371, col.2-372, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 418, col.1 (no.1203); Wiseman, op.cit., 140, col.1; for kadru, 'impetuous, proud', see CAD 8, 32, col.1. For Κόδρος, see Jones, op.cit. (as note 67), I, 94-95 (Paus.1.19.5).
- (145) Jorro, op.cit., 372, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 419, col.1

- (no.1226). For Κόκκαλος, see Oldfather C.H., Diodorus of Sicily III (Loeb), 68-69 (4.79.5).
- (146) Jorro, op.cit., 397, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 342; Gelb I.J., Purves P.M. and MacRae A.A., Nuzi personal names, 93, col.2.
- (147) Jorro, op.cit., 402, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 342; Wiseman, op.cit., 140, col.1.
- (148) Jorro, op.cit., 406, col.1; Meineke, op.cit. (as note 123), 392 (Κυλλήνη); Astour, op.cit., 342; Gordon, op.cit., 422-423, cols.1-2 (no.1297).
- (149) Jorro, op.cit., 423, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 342. For m<sup>e</sup>rappê, 'healer', see also Astour, op.cit., 247.
- (150) Jorro, op.cit., 452, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 342; for Saul's daughter מַגִּי, see Brown F., op.cit., 568, col.1, and 1S14.49. This may be a different W-S word.
- (151) Jorro, op.cit., 454, col.2; Gordon, op.cit., 436, col.2 (no.1531); Astour, op.cit., 342; for Heb. מִצְרַיִם, 'Egyptian', see Brown F., op.cit., 596, col.1.
- (152) Jorro, op.cit., 456, col.2 (mo-da), and 459, col.2 (mu-da); LS II, op.cit., 1150, col.1 (μύδος); CAD 10, Part 2, 163, col.2 (mudu); Astour, op.cit., 342.
- (153) Meineke, op.cit., 459-460; Jorro, op.cit., 460, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 342.
- (154) Meineke, op.cit., 474; Jorro, op.cit., 464, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 447, col.2 (nos.1706 & 1704); Wiseman, op.cit., 143, col.1; Gelb, op.cit. (as note 146), 104, col.1.
- (155) Jorro, op.cit., 465, col.1; Wiseman, op.cit., 143, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 343.
- (156) For (bn) pndr and Gk. Πίνδαρος (Pindar), see Gordon, op.cit., 469, col.1 (no.2061). See Wiseman, op.cit., 144, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 343.
- (157) See Meriggi P., Glossario Miceneo (Minoico B), 57, col.1 (pa-wi-no); Gordon, op.cit., 467, col.1 (no.2028); Astour, op.cit., 343.
- (158) Meriggi, op.cit., 58, col.2; Gordon, op.cit., 370, col.2 (no.437); Astour, op.cit., 343.

- (159) Meriggi, op.cit., 63, cols.1-2; Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 470, col.1 (no.2091).
- (160) Meriggi, op.cit., 63, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 468, col.1 (no.2046); Wiseman, op.cit., 144, col.2.
- (161) Meriggi, op.cit., 70, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 449, col.1 (no.1738), for sgr and sgryn (sgr is not there). For Ζαγρεύς, see LS I, op.cit. (as note 116), 752, col.2.
- (162) Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 449, col.1 (no.1741); LS II, op.cit., 1597, col.1.
- (163) Meriggi, op.cit., 71, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 450, col.1 (no.1764), for sln; 452, col.1 (no.1797), for srn, srn and yn.srnm. For Silenos, see Miller F.J., Ovid Metamorphoses II (Loeb), 126-127 (11.90ff.); see also Frazer J.G., Apollodorus The Library I (Loeb), 190-191 (2.5.4).
- (164) Meriggi, op.cit., 71, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 343; srn is not in Gordon, op.cit., nor si-ri-ia in Wiseman, op.cit. For Σείριος, see LS II, op.cit., 1588, col.2.
- (165) Meriggi, op.cit., 71, col.1; LS II, op.cit., 1598, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 343; Gordon, op.cit., 449, col.2 (no.1747).
- (166) Meriggi, op.cit., 71, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 343; Wiseman, op.cit., 147, col.2.  
Note also the following entry, Su-uk<sup>∨</sup>-ru-ma-a-li.
- (167) Astour, op.cit., 344.
- (168) See Meineke, op.cit. (as note 123).
- (169) Meineke, op.cit., 1; Segert S., A basic grammar of the Ugaritic language, 178, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 3, col.1.
- (170) Meineke, op.cit., 30-31; LS I, op.cit., 754, col.2; I, 29, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 740, col.1, and Nu.34.26.
- (171) Meineke, op.cit., 77; LS I, op.cit., 75, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 49, col.1, Jos.18.28 and Ex.15.15; Segert, op.cit. (as note 169), 179, col.2.
- (172) Meineke, op.cit., 87-88; Astour, op.cit., 311; Fulco W.J., The Canaanite god

Resep, 52-54 (mkl).

- (173) Meineke, op.cit., 88; LS I, op.cit., 88, col.1; CAD 1, Part 2, 93, col.2ff.
- (174) Astour, op.cit., 214; Murray A.T., Homer The Iliad I (Loeb), 180-181 (II.4.383); Jones H.L., The geography of Strabo IV (Loeb), 204-205 (Str.8.6.24); Brown F., op.cit., 62, col.1-63, col.1 (2K.18.18 & 37). See O'Leary de Lacy, Comparative grammar of the Semitic languages, 99 (c), for Q.
- (175) Meineke, op.cit., 141; Brown F., op.cit., 1061, col.2 (Je.46.18), and 371, col.2 (Ex.38.12).
- (176) Meineke, op.cit., 152; Brown F., op.cit., 30, col.2-31, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 314; Segert, op.cit., 178, col.2-179, col.1. Note also Gordon, op.cit. (as note 122), 355, col.2 (no.138), for ʔuhryt, 'latter end, destiny, lot'.
- (177) Meineke, op.cit., 160-161; LS I, op.cit., 311, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 144, col.2.
- (178) Meineke, op.cit., 195; LS II, op.cit., 1255, col.2; Brown F., op.cit., 160, col.2 (Jos.10.33).
- (179) Meineke, op.cit., 195; Brown F., op.cit., 178, col.2; Gordon, op.cit., 382, cols.1-2 (no.627); Astour, op.cit., 342.
- (180) Meineke, op.cit., 205; Brown F., op.cit., 173, col.1 (Gen.46.21); Brown R.A., Evidence for pre-Greek speech on Crete from Greek alphabetic sources, 159.
- (181) Meineke, op.cit., 293; LS I, op.cit., 753, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 266, col.1 (1Ch.5.13).
- (182) Meineke, op.cit., 301; Brown F., op.cit., 42, cols.1-2; Segert, op.cit., 179, col.1.
- (183) Meineke, op.cit., 306; LS I, op.cit., 781, col.2; Brown F., op.cit., 1068, col.2.
- (184) Meineke, op.cit., 314-315; Astour, op.cit., 215; Lee S., op.cit. (as note 67), I, 247.
- (185) Meineke, op.cit., 322; Brown F., op.cit., 421, cols.1-2. For Gk. fem. -is,






see Chap. Two, p.105 (Britomartis).

- (186) Meineke, op.cit., 337; LS I, op.cit., 822, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 746, col.1.
- (187) Meineke, op.cit., 338-339; Astour, op.cit., 213; LS I, op.cit., 836, col.1. For <sup>v</sup>Esmun, see Buisson R.Mesnil du, Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan, 164 (Fig.78a).
- (188) Meineke, op.cit., 339-340; Astour, op.cit., 212 and 214; LS II, op.cit., 1255, col.2. For the quotation, see Jones, op.cit. (as note 174), I, 222-223 (Str.1.3.19).
- (189) Meineke, op.cit., 352-353; LS I, op.cit., 874, col.2; Brown F., op.cit., 487, col.2 (Ez.27.23).
- (190) Meineke, op.cit., 358; Brown F., op.cit., 900, col.2 (Jos.21.34); Segert, op.cit., 200, col.2; LS I, op.cit., 32, col.1.
- (191) Meineke, op.cit., 360; Brown F., op.cit., 901, col.2; CAD 13, 134, col.1.  
See also Jones, op.cit. (as note 174), VII, 254-255 (Str.16.2.12).
- (192) Meineke, op.cit., 370; LS I, op.cit., 849, cols.1-2; Brown F., op.cit., 499, col.1; CAD 8, 189, cols.1-2.
- (193) Meineke, op.cit., 375-376; Astour, op.cit., 141. For Κορώβιος, see Godley A.D., Herodotus II (Loeb), 352-355 (Hdt.4.151-153).
- (194) Meineke, op.cit., 391; Godley, op.cit. (as note 193), I, 136-137 (Hdt.1.105); Weidner E.F., 'The inscription from Cythera', JHS 59 (1939), 137 (Fig.7 & ET)-138; Brown J.F., 'Kothar, Kinyras and Kythereia', JSS 10 (1965), 209.
- (195) Meineke, op.cit., 400; Brown F., op.cit., 881, col.2; Jones, op.cit. (as note 174), VIII, 184-185 (Str.17.3.14).
- (196) Meineke, op.cit., 402-403; Astour, op.cit., 246; Brown F., op.cit., 468, col.1. For identification of the bird כּוֹס, see Driver G.R., 'Birds in the Old Testament I. Birds in law', PEQ 88 (1955), 14.
- (197) Meineke, op.cit., 79 and 420; Brown F., op.cit., 531, col.2 (Gen.28.19); LS II, op.cit., 1064, col.1.

- (198) Meineke, op.cit., 422; Brown F., op.cit., 533, col.1 (1K6.8).
- (199) Meineke, op.cit., 438-439; Mitchell E.C., Student's Hebrew lexicon. A compendious and complete Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon (2nd Ed.), 370, col.2 (cave, cavern); LS II, op.cit., 1088, col.1; Harrison J.E., Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion, 121-122, and 126, note 1 (etymology); Naber S.A., Photii patriarchae lexicon, Vol.1, 400; see also Porson R., Photiou tou patriarchou lexeōn synagōgē, Vol.1, 239. See also Astour M.C., 'La triade de déesses de fertilité à Ugarit et en Grèce', Ugaritica 6 (1969), 9-23, esp.21 (Baal's boars).
- (200) Meineke, op.cit., 439 and 440; Brown F., op.cit., 551., col.2 (Jos.15.61); LS II, op.cit., 1089, col.2.
- (201) Meineke, op.cit., 474; Brown F., op.cit., 633, col.1 (1S14.50).
- (202) Meineke, op.cit., 484; LS II, op.cit., 1200, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 23, col.2 (Gen.10.27); Jones, op.cit. (as note 174), IV, 384-385 (Str.9.4.8).
- (203) Meineke, op.cit., 491-492; Brown F., op.cit., 243, col.1.
- (204) Meineke, op.cit., 493; Brown F., op.cit., 242, col.2. For Zeus the sky-god, see Cook A.B., Zeus. A study in ancient religion, Vol.III, Part I, 30ff. (Zeus and the clouds, rain, etc.).
- (205) Meineke, op.cit., 519; Brown F., op.cit., 837, col.1 (Deut.32.33). For the Python, see Fontenrose J., Python. A study of delphic myth and its origins, esp.13ff.
- (206) Meineke, op.cit., 551; Segert, op.cit. (as note 169), 202, col.1.
- (207) Meineke, op.cit., 551; Brown F., op.cit., 854, col.1 (Ju.9.48), and 969, col.2 (R.4.21); Astour, op.cit., 208, note 1. For R.4.21, see also Lee, op.cit. (as note 67).
- (208) Meineke, op.cit., 600-601; Astour, op.cit., 216; Gordon, op.cit. (as note 122), 445, col.2 (no.1670); Segert, op.cit., 194, col.1; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 137), 4, 128.16. For ποιμανδρία, 'milk-pail', see LS II, op.cit., 1430, col.2.

- (209) Meineke, op.cit., 621-622; LS II, op.cit., 1278, col.2; Brown F., op.cit., 1072, col.2 (Gen.1.21); Gordon, op.cit., 498, col.2 (no.2575).
- (210) Meineke, op.cit., 681; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit., 4, 269.51; Brown F., op.cit., 318, col.2 (Jos.19.25).
- (211) Meineke, op.cit., 692; LS II, op.cit., 1990, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 336, col.2.
- (212) Meineke, op.cit., 695-696; Brown F., op.cit., 361, col.2.
- (213) Meineke, op.cit., 108; Brown F., op.cit., 71, col.2; Brown R.A., op.cit. (as note 180), 103.
- (214) Brown R.A., op.cit., 121, 159-160, 160-161, and 167.
- (215) Brown R.A., op.cit., 103.
- (216) Brown R.A., op.cit., 131-132 (river names); Brown F., op.cit., 434, col.2.
- (217) Brown R.A., op.cit., 177, 134-135, 170-171 and 185; Brown F., op.cit., 742, col.2.
- (218) Meineke, op.cit., 167; Brown R.A., op.cit., 147; Brown F., op.cit., 124, col.1.
- (219) Brown R.A., op.cit., 180; Astour, op.cit., 140, note 2. For Akk. duru, 'city wall', see CAD 3, 192, col.1. See Brown F., op.cit., 190, col.1 (4.dwellings-place & Jos.17.11) and 380, col.2 ( דור ).
- (220) Meineke, op.cit., 212; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit., 2, 69.88-89.
- (221) Brown R.A., op.cit., 149 and 52; Astour, op.cit., 139.
- (222) Meineke, op.cit., 270; Brown R.A., op.cit., 105; Meineke, op.cit., 327; Segert, op.cit., 179, col.1; Brown F., op.cit., 41, col.2.
- (223) Meineke, op.cit., 341; Brown R.A., op.cit., 185-186 (quot.); Astour, op.cit., 140, note 2; Brown F., op.cit., 450, col.2.
- (224) Brown R.A., op.cit., 188; LS I, op.cit., 881, col.1; Astour, op.cit., 140, note 2; Brown F., op.cit., 501, col.2.
- (225) Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 208), 2, 548.41; Brown R.A., op.cit., 114; Brown J.F., op.cit. (as note 194).
- (226) Brown R.A., op.cit., 159-160; Gordon, op.cit. (as note 122), 426, col.2



- (no.1347); Brown F., op.cit., 522, col.2.
- (227) Brown R.A., op.cit., 194; Brown F., op.cit., 571, col.2; Astour, op.cit., 140, note 2.
- (228) Brown R.A., op.cit., 197-198 (comment). See our note 207.
- (229) Brown R.A., op.cit., 198-199; Astour, op.cit., 140, note 2; Brown F., op.cit., 995, col.1, 961, col.1, and 52, col.2.
- (230) Meineke, op.cit., 602; Brown R.A., op.cit., 204; see our note 209.
- (231) See Gordon C.H., 'The decipherment of Minoan and Eteocretan', JRAS (1975), 148-158; Best J.G.P, Some preliminary remarks on the decipherment of Linear A; Astour, op.cit., 344-346; Davis S., The decipherment of the Minoan Linear A and pictographic scripts.
- (232) Hooker, op.cit. (as note 122), 166 (Fig.1) and 167 (Fig.2). See also 165 (list).
- (233) For the LB  ne sign, see Davis, op.cit. (as note 231), 5 (Fig.4), and for LA signs, 4 (Fig.3); see Hooker, op.cit. (as note 232).
- (234) Hooker, op.cit., 166.
- (235) Hooker, op.cit., 172.
- (236) Hooker, op.cit. (as note 232).
- (237) For KN Z4, see Raison H. and Pope M., Index du Lineaire A, 72 (Fig.59) and 73, etc.; for ja, see Davis, op.cit., 4 (Fig.3), and Vilborg, op.cit. (as note 116), for LB po-ti-ni-ja. See Hooker, op.cit. (as note 232) and Gordon, op.cit. (as note 231), 157.
- (238) For the W-S origin of Gk.  οἶνος, see Mitchell, op.cit. (as note 199), 262, col.1. For  οἶνος, 'wine', see LS II, op.cit., 1207, col.2.
- (239) For KN Z7, see Raison and Pope, op.cit. (as note 237), 18 (Fig.19)-19; Davis, op.cit., 51 (+Fig.18); Gordon, op.cit., 155. See also Brown F., op.cit., 8, col.2, for the Heb.
- (240) For photographs of HT 85a and HT 88, see Davis, op.cit., 79 (Fig.45), and for transliteration, 81; see also Best, op.cit. (as note 231), 23 (example of



nos.).

- (241) Hooker, op.cit., 167.
- (242) Davis, op.cit., 65; Gordon, op.cit., 153.
- (243) For photographs and transliteration of HT 86a and HT 95a, see Davis, op.cit., 61 (Figs.27 & 28), and for the above + HT 95b, see 79 (Fig.45) and 81 (transliteration). See also Best, op.cit., Pl.1 (HT 86), Pl.2 (HT 95), and 22-23.
- (244) Gordon, op.cit., 155; Best, op.cit., 22, note 50. See also CAD 8, 536, col.1.
- (245) Best, op.cit., 22 and 23, incl. note 52; Davis, op.cit., 61-62; for vocabulary, see CAD 1, Part 1, 238ff.; Gordon, op.cit. (as note 122), 493, col.1 (no.2459); Brown F., op.cit., 972, col.2.
- (246) Hooker, op.cit., 170 (objections); for Fig.2, see note 232.
- (247) Hooker, op.cit., 169.
- (248) Hooker, op.cit., 170.
- (249) Hooker, op.cit., 171; for HT 31, see also Davis, op.cit., 66 (Fig.32).
- (250) Hooker, op.cit., 172.
- (251) Gordon, op.cit., 154; for Heb. and Akk. vocabulary, see Brown F., op.cit., 706, col.1; Meissner B. and Soden W.von, AHw. 2, 847, col.2.
- (252) Davis, op.cit., 67.
- (253) Best, op.cit., 39 and Pl.6.
- (254) Greenfield J.C., JBL (1967), 242 (Review of Gordon C.H., Evidence for the Minoan language).
- (255) Dietrich B.C., The origins of Greek religion, 191.
- (256) Dietrich, op.cit., 194.
- (257) Op.cit., 212.
- (258) Op.cit., 213.
- (259) Desborough V.R., The last Mycenaeans and their successors, 115.
- (260) Desborough, op.cit., 119-120.
- (261) Op.cit., 42.
- (262) Op.cit., 43.

- (263) Op.cit., 44-45.
- (264) Vermeule E., Greece in the Bronze Age, 323 (Appendix III).
- (265) Vermeule, op.cit., 324.
- (266) Op.cit., 325.
- (267) Op.cit., 324.
- (268) Leuven J.C.van, 'Mycenaean goddesses called Potnia', Kadmos 18 (1979), 112; for πότνια, 'mistress', see also LS II, op.cit., 1455, col.2.
- (269) Leuven, op.cit., 114; Vilborg, op.cit. (as note 116), 39.
- (270) Leuven, op.cit., 116. See also our discussion of Leto in Chap. Two, pp.115-116.
- (271) Leuven, op.cit., 118. See also our discussion of Demeter Melaina (the mare goddess), Chap.Two, pp.125-133.
- (272) Leuven, op.cit., 120.
- (273) Persson A.W., The religion of Greece in prehistoric times, 133 (Fig.24 & comment). See also Nilsson M.P., The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion, 36 (Fig.2).
- (274) Nilsson, op.cit., (as note 273), 35 (Fig.1) and 36 (comment). For a larger illustration, see Evans, op.cit. (as note 5), 659 (Fig.646). For the 'golden scales' (χρύσεια τάλαντα), see Murray, op.cit. (as note 174), I, 342-343 (II.8.69), and II, 470-471 (II.22.209).
- (275) Nilsson M.P., The Mycenaean origin of Greek mythology, 34. See also Nilsson, op.cit. (as note 273), 37 (Fig.4).

## CHAPTER TWO

### SEMITIC INFLUENCES UPON THE FORMATION OF VARIOUS GREEK NATURE GODDESSES IN ICONOGRAPHY AND CULT.

#### SECTION A—THE GODDESS ARTEMIS.

(i) Introduction - The general background of the goddess Artemis and her primitive cultic roots.

There seems no doubt that the cults of this goddess reflect the most ancient and primitive strata of Greek religion. For this reason alone, she cannot be regarded as a goddess of predominantly Semitic origin, unlike some others which we will analyse later.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to state this at the beginning, so that we may understand any Semitic motifs to be a minor part of her worship as a whole. Therefore, a brief discussion of her general background is useful.

Different classical authors are of the opinion that Artemis has the most ancient origin. Thus L.R.Farnell states that she is probably

'...an independent divinity connected with the waters and with wild vegetation and beasts; reflecting in her character the life of her worshippers who were still in the savage state, supporting themselves by hunting and fishing rather than by agriculture...'<sup>2</sup>

L.Séchan and P.Lévêque think that the Greek goddess Artemis was assimilated to a primitive Aegean and Anatolian goddess, that she was grafted onto a prehellenic 'Lady of the Beasts'.<sup>3</sup> M.S.Thompson notes that she has the most primitive features of the Hellenic deities, including minor cults with the character of a primitive nature goddess.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence for this view is both varied and widespread. It includes both epithets and cultic practices. Here are some of them:

**(1) Epithets denoting a goddess of vegetation.**

Her cults contain traces of dendrolatry. She was named *Καρυάτις*, 'of the nut-tree', *Κεδρεάτις*, 'of the cedar', *Δαφναία*, 'of the sweet bay', and *Λυγοδέσμα*, 'bound with willow twigs'. Concerning the goddess of the cedar, Pausanias states (8.13.2) that the image of Artemis at Orchomenos was situated inside the tree. The story that the image at Sparta was called 'bound with willow twigs', because it was discovered in a thicket of willows, is almost certainly an aetiological explanation for a primitive cult of tree-worship.<sup>5</sup>

**(2) Epithets denoting a goddess of beasts.**

Other epithets connected Artemis with wild animals. She was known as *Ἀγροτέρα*, 'huntress', *Ἐλαφηβόλος*, 'deer-shooter', *Λυκεία*, 'wolfish', and *Ὀρτυγία*, 'quail-goddess'.<sup>6</sup> Pausanias tells (7.26.3) an aetiological myth concerning the founding of the sanctuary of Artemis *Ἀγροτέρα* at Aegira, stating that the city was named after goats (*αἰγῶν*), and that the temple was built where a goat knelt down. Such epithets suggest a very great antiquity, possibly dating as far back as the Neolithic period, long before the arrival of the Greeks.<sup>7</sup>

**(3) Epithets denoting a goddess of water.**

Such epithets suggest an intimate connection with the land itself, and also the function of the nourishment of vegetation. These include *Λιμναία*, 'of the lake', *Ἐλεία*, 'of the marsh', and *Ἀλφειαία*, 'of the (river) Alpheios'.<sup>8</sup>

**(4) Cultic rituals.**

Some cultic rituals also suggest great antiquity. We will note just three of these; clay-daubing, whipping and human sacrifice. Pausanias tells the story of how Artemis daubed clay upon her face and the faces of her nymphs in order to prevent Alpheios (who had fallen in love with her) from recognising them. Farnell may well be correct in understanding this as an aetiological explanation of some primitive ritual performed



by her worshippers, reminding us of the 'body-painting' of primitive tribes.<sup>9</sup>

The whipping of Spartan youths at the altar of Artemis Ὀρθία was explained by Pausanias (3.16.10) as a substitute for human sacrifice, but in this case it is more probably designed to seal the bond between the initiated youth and the goddess with his own blood. If this were originally a human sacrifice, only that of one person would be required, yet the youths endured the whipping together. As Farnell states:

'If it had been merely a fiction put in place of the primitive fact of a human sacrifice, it is not likely that the logic of the ceremony would have demanded the fictitious immolation of all the ephebi en masse.'<sup>10</sup>

Finally, there is evidence that human sacrifices were offered to Artemis. Pausanias gives two striking instances of this. In Achaëa once every year a youth and a maiden were sacrificed to her, in order to prevent drought. Pausanias states (7.19.6) that these sacrifices came to an end. The suspicion that these were a type of ancient agricultural ritual is strengthened by the fact that, even in later times, children continued to go down to the river Milichos, their heads wreathed with ears of corn, as they used to do when they were sacrificed. There is another possible example. In Tegea the priestess of Artemis used to pursue a man in order to kill him, pretending that she was Artemis and he Leimon, who was shot by Artemis.<sup>11</sup>

## (ii) The Mistress of the Beasts.

We have just noted the close association of Artemis with various animals. The iconography of the goddess during the classical era gives further evidence for these connections of the goddess with the wild creatures; moreover, some of this iconography shows very close Semitic influence. We are especially concerned with the iconography at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.<sup>12</sup> It is useful to list the comparable motifs:

### (1) Wings.

M.S.Thompson illustrates various plaques and figurines. These show various types

of wings depicted upon the goddess. On Figs.1 and 2, dating from the 8th century B.C., there are curved wings, pointed at the tips, sprouting from her shoulders. These have parallel, upward-pointing striations. The inward curve of the wings has a slight 'c' shape. In each figure, the wings reach up to the crown upon the head. These are ivory plaques.<sup>13</sup>

The lead votive figurines of Fig.9 include three of the 'winged goddess type', each with a slightly different style of wing. The figurine on the left has wings that sprout from her shoulders, as in Figs.1 and 2, but they are much shorter and more curved inward. The one in the centre and that on the right have short, rounded wings, sprouting from the shoulders. The central figure is headless. Thompson states that the 'winged goddess type' is first found c.700 B.C. and is prominent until the later part of the 6th century B.C.<sup>14</sup>

Thompson's Figs.1 and 2 are also illustrated by R.M.Dawkins (PL.XCI, 1, 1a & PL.XCII, 2). These are of the 'first style'. Dawkins interprets these ivory plaques as the winged Artemis Orthia (see p.78). Other examples include one with taller wings (PL.XCIII, 1) and another with tall, pointed wings (PL.XCVIII, 3), both of the 'second style'.<sup>15</sup>

There are numerous lead goddess figurines from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, in addition to the three examples given by Thompson (Fig.9). Many examples illustrated by A.J.B.Wace clearly show both rounded and pointed wings, sprouting from the shoulders. Thus there are sixteen 'winged goddesses' (PL.CLXXXII, 1-16). Wace states that this was 'a cheap and popular type'.<sup>16</sup> Those of PL.CLXXXVIII and PL.CLXXXIX (nos.1-5) also show many variations in the types of wings; thin, fat, pointed and rounded. More examples are found on PL.CXCIV (nos.1-12), PL.CXCVIII (nos.23-29) and PL.CC (nos.1 & 2). Clearly this type of figurine was mass-produced.<sup>17</sup>

Both types noted above, pointed and rounded wings, have a curious resemblance to near eastern cylinder seals with depictions of winged goddesses. Inward curving wings sprouting from the shoulders, as high as, or higher than the

head of the goddess, occur upon various examples. M.-T.Barrelet illustrates many examples. Pl.XXI, 1, a cylinder of the Louvre, shows a female figure with high, pointed wings ascending a mountain.<sup>18</sup> There are four spectacular examples of the clothed, winged goddess (Fig.10a-d), including three with rounded wings and one (Fig.10b) with 'scimitar' wings. There is also the nude, winged goddess type (Fig.11a-d), including three with tall wings and one (Fig.11b) with short spear-like ones.<sup>19</sup> Other examples with tall wings include Fig.16a-d and Fig.17. One slight difference between oriental and Greek examples is the more elaborate feather pattern, but apart from this there is a close resemblance to the plaques of Sparta.<sup>20</sup>

Shorter, more rounded wings are also found, as upon the bas-relief of a nude goddess from Carchemish (Fig.22). A Hittite bas-relief from Malatya (Fig.21) shows a goddess with very similar wings. Finally, there is a fragment of a plaque from Nimrud (Fig.25), with one feathered wing remaining. Short, rounded wings may also be compared with those from Sparta, especially upon Wace's PL.CLXXXII (nos.1 & 2).<sup>21</sup>

It is also worth noting that goddesses with tall, feathered wings sprouting from their shoulders are found upon several of the Theban cylinder seals dating from the Mycenaean era (p.19). There are extra details added by the Cypriot engraver to the originally oriental seals. No.3 includes 'a winged female figure holding up a goat and coursing dog by their hindlegs', and no.4 includes a winged female figure holding up 'two horned animals by their hindlegs'. These seals may represent the transmission of the 'winged goddess' motif to Greece.<sup>22</sup>

## **(2) Animals and birds - The 'grasping' motif.**

Representations of the Spartan Artemis show her grasping various birds or animals. Thus on Thompson's Fig.1 she is depicted grasping two birds by the neck, and on Fig.2 she holds a bird in one hand and a small feline, perhaps a lion, in the other. Fig.4 shows her holding two birds, with two others above her shoulders. Fig.3 is unique, for the goddess holds a bird in her right hand, and a snake hangs from the wrist. Thompson states that no other example with a snake is known from Sparta.



Two lead figurines, Figs.10 and 11, show her with lions. On Fig.10 she grasps their front paws, and on Fig.11 she may grasp their tails, where the arms are broken.<sup>23</sup>

Thompson's Figs.3 and 4 are also illustrated by Dawkins (PL.XCIII, 2 & PL.XCVIII, 1). Dawkins gives a much clearer illustration of Thompson's Fig.3; the snake is clearly visible hanging from the wrist of the goddess. Another example shows her grasping a bird (PL.XCVIII, 3). Wace illustrates Thompson's Figs.10 and 11 (= Figs.119-120), as well as a winged goddess with a leaping lion on her left, the other lion missing (Fig.121e), and a goddess grasping a lion (Fig.122f).<sup>24</sup>

The grasping motif is not confined to Sparta. Thompson has a list of many other winged goddesses with animals, from around the Mediterranean, including Italy, Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. Thus an antefix from Capua depicts a winged goddess holding two lions (no.1), an alabastron from Nola depicts a winged goddess holding two swans (no.2), a bronze bowl from Switzerland depicts a winged goddess, lions, a hare, a snake and a bird (no.18), an ivory plaque from Ephesus shows a goddess holding two lions (no.19), and an amphora from Thera shows a goddess holding a lion (no.24). Since the listed examples are from many different localities, we cannot be sure that they represent the same goddess, although it is clear that they do for the most part show the same basic artistic motifs.<sup>25</sup>

Thompson then discusses the origin of the motifs. He notes that the earliest examples of the type come from Sparta, Rhodes, Ephesus and Nimrud. This latter one is no.43, a wingless goddess holding lions. Since some of the Spartan examples date from c.800 B.C., and the Ephesus examples are slightly prior to 700 B.C. at the earliest, Ephesus (and hence Asia Minor) seem to be excluded as the origin of the Spartan type. The other examples from Asia Minor listed by Thompson are all later than the earliest Spartan ones.<sup>26</sup>

Concerning the connection with Nimrud, Thompson states:

The Nimroud ivory on the other hand indicates a connection between the first Hellenic examples and the winged deities of the East. But this connection, even if the Nimroud example is really earlier than the first of



the Spartan series, at most can be only due to a strong wave of oriental influence: it cannot possibly account for the origin of the type, which, considering the absence of definite unmixed oriental motifs at Sparta, must be sought for either on the mainland of Greece or on some adjacent island.'<sup>27</sup>

Since the Nimrud ivory dates only from the 9th or 8th centuries B.C., Thompson rightly looks to the Minoan-Mycenaean age for the origin of the type.<sup>28</sup>

This idea is quite correct, for goddesses with lions are frequently depicted upon seals of that period. Thus there are two seals from Knossos, depicting a goddess raising her arms in a 'v' shape towards the jaws of two lions on either side of her. This is the same posture as upon the Minet-el-Beida pyxis lid (p.4). The lions are facing away from her with their heads turned back towards her, a specific motif also appearing upon a vase from Khafaje, illustrated by Barrelet (Fig.19a). This shows the goddess between lions in the same position, grasping a snake in each hand.<sup>29</sup> This also resembles Thompson's Fig.11 from Sparta, with the lions back-to-back on either side of her, except that in that example their heads are not turned round.

A similar Mycenaean example is the goddess with her arms raised in a 'v' shape between a lion and a lioness (with teats), upon a gem from Mycenae. These examples alone are sufficient to demonstrate the artistic connection between Minoan, Mycenaean, Spartan and near eastern examples.<sup>30</sup>

However, not one of the Minoan or Mycenaean examples depicts a winged goddess. Thus Thompson theorises that wings may have been added later, as a development inspired by near eastern winged deities, such as the examples we noted above.<sup>31</sup>

It is not necessary to agree with Thompson here. The Cypriot cylinder seals from Thebes, of near eastern origin, clearly show winged goddesses grasping animals. Thus upon seal no.3 a Cypriot engraver added a winged female figure holding up a goat and dog by their hindlegs. Seal no.4, also a Cypriot seal, has the secondary motif of a winged figure holding up two horned animals by the hindlegs.

Since the Theban seals date from the Mycenaean age, these motifs may have entered Greece very early, and thus be the origin of the classical iconography at Sparta. As for near eastern examples, we note that Barrelet's Fig.16a-c depicts winged goddesses holding animals upside-down.<sup>32</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

All this is sufficient to show that the depiction of the winged goddess grasping animals is of oriental origin.

### **(iii) The fish-goddess of Phigalia and Semitic Fish-Goddesses.**

As the 'Mistress of the Beasts' generally, it is natural that Artemis was connected with fish. Among the examples of animal iconography from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, we also find fish. Thompson illustrates a lead votive figurine of a fish (Fig.9), and mentions a Boeotian amphora with a fish depicted upon the robe of the goddess (no.42). This dates from the 7th century B.C.<sup>33</sup> Wace illustrates another lead fish (PL.CLXXXIX, 22), and Dawkins illustrates an ivory intaglio depicting a fish (PL.CLV, 5).<sup>34</sup>

For evidence of this connection with Artemis, we do not depend upon iconography alone. Pausanias describes the image at Phigalia in Arcadia, noting the opinion of the Phigalians that Eurynome is an epithet of Artemis:

'...I did not see the image of Eurynome; but the Phigalians told me that golden chains bind the wooden image, which represents a woman as far as the buttocks, but below this a fish. If she is a daughter of Ocean, and lives with Thetis in the depth of the sea, the fish may be regarded as a kind of emblem of her. But there could be no probable connection between such a shape and Artemis.'<sup>35</sup>

Thus Pausanias doubts the fish connection of Artemis, which we have just noted in iconography. The image at Phigalia probably represented a cult of Artemis.

We have an exact parallel from the Near East. In the Syrian goddess, Lucian

states:

'I saw a likeness of Derketo in Phoenicia, a strange sight! It is a woman for half its length, but from the thighs to the tips of the feet a fish's tail stretches out.'<sup>36</sup>

We are not concerned here with the exact identity of this fish-goddess. It is sufficient to note that the description matches that of the image at Phigalia. There are several more examples of evidence for Semitic fish-goddesses:

- (1) The Carthaginian goddess Tanit had a fish as her emblem. Y.Yadin illustrates a Punic votive stele from Hazor, depicting the goddess Tanit as a woman with raised hands, and a fish below her.<sup>37</sup>
- (2) Barrelet illustrates a vase from Larsa, showing a winged goddess associated with fish and birds (Fig.19b).<sup>38</sup>
- (3) E.D.van Buren notes that a fish was often placed close to the warlike Ishtar, holding her tripartite sceptre. In one scene the goddess is not depicted, but is symbolised by her sceptre and fish.<sup>39</sup>
- (4) A.Green illustrates two possible examples of a 'Fish-woman' from Assyrian and Babylonian glyptic art. An Assyrian cylinder seal shows a bearded man with a fish-tail together with a fish-cloaked human flanking a sacred tree; behind these is a beardless figure with a fish-tail, that is probably a 'Fish-woman' (Pl.Xa). A Late Babylonian stamp seal also has the bearded 'Fish-man' and beardless 'Fish-woman' (Pl.Xb).<sup>40</sup>
- (5) There is also an E.-S. fish-goddess called Nina. A poem concerning her states:

#### Face.

1.Joyous acclamation!

2.Ô Nin mah! Ô Nina,

5.In full fertility,

6.Ô Nin mah! Ô Nina,

9.As the Fish-Ox

Joyous acclamation!

in the tumultuous Ocean....

in full fertility!

in full fertility....

she bellows,



- |                     |                                 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 10.Fish-Kid         | she sings in a tremulous voice, |
| 11.the Fish-Cloak   | she wears as clothing,          |
| 12.the Fish-Sceptre | she holds in her hand,          |
| 13.the Fish-Belt    | she wears on her foot,...       |

### Reverse.

- 1.(empty)
- 2.Joyous acclamation!  $\hat{O}$  Nin ennu,                      O Queen of Fishers!...
- 25.You are the Queen, in the tumultuous Ocean, the...<sup>41</sup>

### Conclusion.

It is interesting to speculate as to whether the cult of the fish-goddess Artemis at Phigalia may have had a similar fertility function. In any case, both this poem and the previous examples give clear evidence for Semitic fish-goddesses. It is especially interesting that some of these have fish-tails (e.g. no.4), like the image of Phigalia.

#### (iv) Artemis Astrateia and the W-S $\overset{v}{A}$ startu.

Pausanias states that at Pyrrhichos in Laconia there was a sanctuary of Artemis  $\overset{v}{A}$ στρατεία, because at this place the Amazons ceased from their forward march (στρατεία). The wooden images were said to have been set up by the women from the river Thermodon. It is clear that Pausanias means the Amazons, for elsewhere he mentions Antiope the Amazon, who lived at Themiscyra on the Thermodon. Thus the belief seems to have been that the images were dedicated by the Amazons when they ceased fighting, and that the goddess received the epithet  $\overset{v}{A}$ στρατεία from the grateful inhabitants.<sup>42</sup>

Pausanias seems to have used a popular aetiological myth in order to explain this epithet of Artemis. The given explanation is not convincing, for the following two



reasons:

- (1) Pausanias gives a unique meaning to Ἀστρατεία, and we may divide the word as follows: α privative + στρατεία. This is not in accordance with the normal meaning 'exemption from service' or 'avoidance of service', a late term of Attic Gk. occurring in Aristophanes. Farnell is quite correct to say that the word is meaningless when applied to the goddess Artemis.<sup>43</sup>
- (2) We may also object, on mythological grounds, that Pausanias gives no explanation as to why the Amazons should have ceased fighting at this obscure Laconian town, for he states elsewhere that they penetrated as far as Attica.<sup>44</sup>

Although there may originally have been some tradition connecting Pyrrhichos with the Amazons, this in no way explains the epithet. It seems very much as if the meaning was originally quite different, was misunderstood as the Gk. Ἀστρατεία, and the myth was developed as a popular way of explaining the epithet.

#### A W-S etymology of Astrateia.

Farnell suggests that Ἀστρατεία is a corruption of Ἀστάρτη, the Hellenised form of ḲAstart, and that the cult came from Asia Minor. He gives no evidence for this origin. However, we note that Ἀστάρτη appears in Lucian as a goddess worshipped by the Sidonians. It is clear, therefore, that in the late classical period the Greeks were aware of Astarte as a W-S goddess.<sup>45</sup>

We note that a straight derivation of Ἀστρατεία from W-S ḲAstart seems easier than a hypothetical derivation from the Gk. noun στρατεία. The etymology gives no great difficulty. We propose the following evolution: ḲAstart > Αστρατ- > Ἀστρατεία. The consonants Ḳ and ṣ are unpronounceable in Gk., so the former disappears and the latter becomes ς. Assimilation to Gk. α+ στρατεία would follow, an attempt to Hellenise the W-S name. This would also help the metathesis of Gk.

letters, as in the above evolution. A Gk.fem. adjectival termination in -εῖα would follow.<sup>46</sup>

One question remains. What mythological similarities do the goddesses Artemis and <sup>V</sup>C<sup>V</sup>Astart have in common, that would enable the W-S name to become an epithet of the Greek goddess? There are two possibilities:

**(1) Hunting goddesses.**

Artemis, as 'Mistress of the Beasts', is herself a huntress, as we have seen from some of her epithets (p.77). The fragmentary Ugaritic tablet KTU 1.92 (Obverse) seems to describe the goddess <sup>V</sup>C<sup>V</sup>Astart (or <sup>V</sup>C<sup>V</sup>Athtartu) as a huntress:

<u>Text</u>	<u>ET</u>
<u>Obverse</u>	<u>Obverse</u>
(2c) <u>ttrt swd* [t tsdn bsdm]</u>	(2c) Athtartu the Huntress scoured the fields],
(3) <u>tlk bmdbr*</u>	(3) she went into the desert...
<u>thmd* [msd l] (7) mrhh</u>	She desired [spoils for] (7) her spear,
<u>l'adrt l* [qh.lbh]</u>	[her heart] longed for a mantle.
(8) <u>ttb Ctrt bgl</u>	(8c) Athtartu sat down in the swamp.
<u>[lymmh] (9) qrz tst.</u>	[To her right] (9) she placed the Gnawer
<u>lsm'al* [.tst] (10) 'arbh.</u>	(?),
<u>Cnh ts'u w tphn</u>	to her left [she placed] (10) the Barker
(11) <u>'ylt tgy</u>	(?),
<u>tr.Cn* [zby] (12) bq*r.</u>	She lifted up her eyes and [saw],
<u>mrhh.t i [hd byd]</u>	(11) she espied a doe,
	the gaze of (her) eye [a gazelle] (12) in
	the pond.
	She to[ok] her spear [in her hand],

(13) sb<sup>v</sup>\*rh bm ymn.

(13) her club in her right one.

tr<sup>\*</sup> [mrhh]

She threw [her spear],

(14) t<sup>\*</sup>s<sup>v</sup>\* pl b<sup>q</sup>l. ʕbb. [bsbr]

(14) she felled the drinking beast [with her club]....

It is clear that much of J.C.de Moor's translation is guesswork, but a hunting scene involving ʕAstart<sup>v</sup> is probable.<sup>47</sup>

We may suggest one possible alternative translation. In line 7, ʔadrt may mean 'for glory', since Heb. תְּהִלָּה means both 'glory' and 'cloak'. The 'glory' would be that of the hunt.<sup>48</sup>

Another fragment of evidence for the understanding of KTU 1.92 (Obverse) as a hunting scene is given by text KTU 1.114; line 23:

ʕnt w ʕtrt. tsdn.

ʕAnat and ʕAstart<sup>v</sup> went hunting...<sup>49</sup>

## (2) Violent goddesses, in literature and iconography.

A second mythological similarity between the two goddesses, that may help the transmission of the epithet ὀστροπαρεία, is their violent nature. In the Ugaritic literature, one violent scene is the curse of King Keret upon his son Yašib, at the end of the Keret poem:

yṭbr ḥrn.ybn.

May Horon break, o my son,

yṭbr.ḥrn risk<sup>v</sup>.

may Horon break your head,

ʕtrt.sm.b<sup>q</sup>l qdqdr.

ʕAstart<sup>v</sup>-name-of-Baal your crown.<sup>50</sup>

(KTU 1.16 VI, 54-57)

J.C.L.Gibson and G.R.Driver observe that this title describes ʕAstart<sup>v</sup> as a manifestation of the god Baal, as his consort. The text indicates her violent nature.

Moreover, the goddess  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Anat}$ , with whom she is closely connected (above hunting quot.), is very violent, especially in her gruesome 'battle scene' in the Baal poem.<sup>51</sup>

However, it is when we turn to the iconographic evidence of  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$  from Egypt that we discover the most interesting parallel with Artemis.  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$  was assimilated into the Egyptian pantheon. For instance, the Winchester Relief depicting a goddess standing upon the back of a lion has the inscription Qadeset- $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$ - $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Anat}$ , a triune goddess.<sup>52</sup> Various Egyptian representations show a goddess with weapons, definitely to be identified with  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$  where there is an inscription to prove it. J. Leclant illustrates these. Fig. 1 shows a goddess holding a staff in her left hand that Leclant thinks is probably a lance, and a long shield in her right. Her name is given as ' $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$ , Mistress of the Sky, Regent of all the Gods'.<sup>53</sup> Plate IIIa shows a nude goddess on horseback brandishing what may be a bow and arrow, or possibly a whip; Fig. 10 shows more clearly the goddess with a lance.

Other examples depict more interesting weaponry. Thus Plate Ia, of the 18th Dynasty, depicts a goddess on horseback with a taut bow, the arrow aimed at a Nubian fleeing on foot. The inscription may give her name as  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$ . Fig. 27 and Plate IIIB show three depictions of the goddess with arrows and her name, in the middle register. On the left we see her on foot with a bow drawn and arrows; in the middle, on horseback with a short javelin in her right hand, and a bow and arrows in her left; and on the right she holds a bow and arrows. Leclant compares these Egyptian depictions of  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$  with the archer Amazons.<sup>54</sup> These examples with bow and arrow give a close parallel with Artemis, who shot not only animals but also people with her bow, and was associated with the Amazons.<sup>55</sup>

### Conclusion.

For these two mythological reasons, the derivation of the epithet Ἀστρατεία from the goddess  $\text{C}^{\vee}\text{Astart}$  is very convincing.



## SECTION B.

### RHEA, THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.

(i) Introduction - The background to the worship of Rhea and related cults in Greece.

Among the many diverse cults of goddess worship in Greece, there is a rather nebulous area concerned with the mother goddess or goddesses. It is not our purpose here to analyse such cults exhaustively. Only elements of possible Semitic origin are of importance. As we will see, the lion-goddess motif and the etymology of the name Rhea are evidence for a Semitic connection.

It is clear that several closely related strands of mother goddess worship can be distinguished. The name Rhea (ῥέα) is of ancient origin appearing in the *Iliad*, Hesiod's *Theogony* and the *Homeric Hymns To Demeter* and *To Apollo*. Both the epic form ῥέα and the form ῥέα are found.<sup>56</sup> In the *Theogony* (477ff.), Rhea gives birth to Zeus upon the island of Crete, and this connection of the goddess with the island may date back to Minoan times, as Farnell thinks. However, as a goddess in the Greek pantheon Rhea has become important as the mother of the Olympians.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the name Rhea, there is evidence of other cults, involving a mother goddess or goddesses. The author of the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* states that the 'mother of all gods and of all men'

'...is delighted with the sound of rattles and drums, with the voice of flutes and the outcry of wolves and bright-eyed lions, with echoing hills and wooded valleys.'<sup>58</sup>

Thus the mother goddess appears in this poem as a 'Mistress of the Beasts' similar to Artemis.

Pausanias gives more evidence, mentioning a roofless temple of the Mother of

the Gods at the source of the river Alpheios near Asea in Arcadia, where there were two stone lions. According to Hesychius, the river Alpheios was called Λεόντ(ε)ιος πόρος, 'lion ford', because images of lions were set up there.<sup>59</sup> Pausanias also mentions the cult title Ἡ μεγάλη μήτηρ, 'The Great Mother', referring to a temple at Sparta, where she was greatly venerated. It is not clear whether this means Rhea or some other goddess. Moreover, Pausanias also mentions Mother Δινδυμήνη. There was a temple dedicated to her at Dyme in Achaea, and a golden image at Prokonnesos. There was also a cave called Steunos by the river Penkalas in Phocis. The Phrygians living there considered the cave sacred to Ἡ μήτηρ, 'The Mother', of whom there was an image.<sup>60</sup>

It is clear that Δινδυμήνη was an imported Phrygian goddess. The geographer Strabo states that the Phrygians worshipped Rhea, calling her Φρυγίαν θεὸν Μεγάλην, 'Great Phrygian Goddess'. Significantly, they also gave her the titles Ἰδαία, Δινδυμήνη, Σιπυλήνη, Πεσσινουντίς and Κυβέλη after the places where she was worshipped. Among these is Mount Ida. Thus it is possible that we have here a cult of a goddess worshipped on mountain tops.<sup>61</sup> Pausanias mentions that there was a cave sacred to Rhea on top of Mount Thaumasion in Arcadia, which no human being was permitted to enter, except women sacred to the goddess. The Arcadians believed that in this cave the deceit was practised upon Kronos, concerning the birth of Zeus - thus the stone was substituted for the child. However, the Arcadians believed that the actual birth of Zeus took place on Mount Lykaion.

This myth seems like an Arcadian version of the birth of the Cretan Zeus. According to Antoninus Liberalis, the Cretan cave where Rhea gave birth to the god was forbidden both to men and gods. This is similar to the taboo of Mount Thaumasion. Thus it is possible that the Arcadian cult and myth may be of Cretan

origin.<sup>62</sup>

This idea is strengthened somewhat by the depiction of a goddess upon a Minoan seal, standing on top of a mountain, with a lion climbing each side of the slope.<sup>63</sup>

It is clear that considerable syncretism is involved in these cults, including some Anatolian influence. In order to examine any Semitic influence upon Rhea, it is necessary to discuss the lion goddess theme, in an Anatolian context.

## (ii) Rhea and Cybele (Kubaba) - The Anatolian connection.

M.J.Vermaseren notes that the name of the Anatolian lion goddess was rendered in different ways, including Κυβέλη and Κυβήβη. One example of this is given in Fig.12, the inscription on a sherd found at Locri Epizefiri in Italy, dating from the 6th century B.C. This states  $\chi\upsilon\beta\alpha\beta\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda$ , 'belonging to Kybele', with the ancient Gk. koppa (  $\rho$  ). A stele from Ordek-Burnu (Sardis) dating from the 9th or 10th centuries B.C. has the form Kubaba in the Aramaic alphabet (Fig.11). We note that the form Κυβέλη appears quite early in Greece, in the Birds of Aristophanes.<sup>64</sup>

There are also many artistic representations of Cybele from different parts of Greece and the Greek islands, illustrated by Vermaseren. Here is a list of interesting examples featuring the goddess with lions:

- (1) Athens (no.359, PL.CV); a terracotta figurine, depicting Cybele with a lion on her lap, dating from the 6th century B.C. Farnell notes that this is the earliest Attic example.<sup>65</sup>
- (2) Athens (no.324, PL.LXXXVI); a white marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne with a lion crouched on her lap, probably dating from the 4th century B.C.
- (3) Athens (no.329, PL.LXXXVII); a white marble relief, depicting Cybele seated



on a throne, with a crouching lion in a frontal attitude under her right hand. The date is not given.

- (4) Athens (no.330, PL.LXXXVII); a marble statue, depicting Cybele enthroned with a lion lying to the left on her lap.
- (5) Athens (no.332, PL.LXXXVIII); a marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion seated to the front at her right side.
- (6) Athens (no.333, PL.LXXXIX); a marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion on her lap lying towards the left.
- (7) Athens (no.334, PL.XC); a marble relief, depicting Cybele standing, a lion sitting below her right hand, turned towards her.
- (8) Athens (no.337, PL.XCII); a marble relief, depicting Cybele seated with a lion under her right hand.
- (9) Athens (no.341, PL.XCIII); a marble relief, with a seated goddess in two niches. In the left niche there is a sitting lion at Cybele's right side; in the right niche, the goddess on her own.
- (10) Anthedon, Boeotia (no.407); a terracotta figurine, depicting Cybele riding on a lion towards the left. There is no illustration.
- (11) Karditsa, Boeotia (no.425, PL.CXXV); a marble relief, depicting Cybele seated on a low throne, with a lion on her lap crouching towards the left.
- (12) Lebadea, Boeotia (no.432, PL.CXXVII); a limestone relief, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion sitting at the right in a frontal attitude.
- (13) Delphi (no.441, PL.CXXXII); the north frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, in Phocis. Fragment B shows Cybele standing in a biga (chariot), which is drawn by two lions. The date is c.530-525 B.C.<sup>66</sup>
- (14) Megara (no.452, PL.CXXXIII); a marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion lying on her lap.
- (15) Sparta, Laconia (no.495, PL.CXLVI); a bluish marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a lion to the right, her right hand on the lion's body, and her feet on a footstool, dating from the 1st century B.C. at the earliest.



- (16) Sparta, Laconia (no.496, PL.CXLVI); a white marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion on each side of it, seated in frontal attitude, dating from the Imperial period.
- (17) Sparta, Laconia (no.497, PL.CXLVII); a marble statue, depicting Cybele with a lion on her lap lying to the left.
- (18) Aegina (no.527 & Fig.18); a terracotta figurine that may have been found in Aegina, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion on her lap lying to the right.
- (19) Samos (no.567, PL.CLXX); a white marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne, with a lion on her lap lying towards the left, dating perhaps from the 4th century B.C.
- (20) Samos (no.568, Fig.21 & PL.CLXXI); a fragment of a grey marble relief. Parts of the lap and the thighs of the seated Cybele remain. On her lap a lion crouches towards the left, held by her left hand. The date is the end of the 6th or the start of the 5th century B.C.
- (21) Crete (no.664, PL.CXCV); a brown terracotta figurine, said to come from Crete, depicting a seated Cybele with a lion on her lap, turned towards the right. She holds the lion with both hands. The date is the 6th century B.C.<sup>67</sup>
- (22) Crete, Rhyzonia/Prinias (near Gortyn). This example is illustrated by Vermaseren (Fig.26 & PL.2). The top of the entrance to the temple at Rhyzonia is flanked by two seated goddesses, one at each side. Under the throne of the goddess at the right is a frieze of three panthers. The date is c.625-600 B.C.<sup>68</sup>
- (23) Kos (no.699, PL.CXCVIII); a marble statue, depicting Cybele seated on a throne with a lion at her right hand side, dating from after 200 B.C.
- (24) Kos (no.670, PL.CXCVIII); a white marble relief, depicting Cybele seated on a throne with a lion lying on her lap towards the left. Farnell lists this example.<sup>69</sup>

These examples clearly show the wide distribution of Cybele's lion iconography in

Greece. There are many instances of her with the lion in her lap, a motif that may be described as 'petting' (e.g. no.21). The goddess also sits on a lion (no.15), rides a lion (no.10) and has a chariot drawn by two lions (no.13).

It is also clear that the lion-goddess Cybele was assimilated to Rhea in Greece. We have already noted the connection of the 'Mother of the Gods' with lions, in the Homeric Hymn dedicated to her. In the Anthologia Palatina Rhea (Ῥέη) has a 'lion-chariot' (λεοντόδιφρε). In the Philoctetes of Sophocles, the mother of Zeus is Earth (Γῆ); she is said to be 'seated upon bull-slaying lions' (ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἐφέδρε).

Thus there is literary evidence for the lion-goddess motif, in connection with Rhea and Cybele.<sup>70</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Greeks borrowed the iconography of Cybele from Anatolia, for examples of Anatolian art show essentially the same motifs. Here is a short list from Vermaseren:

- (1) Catal Huyuk (near Konia in Phrygia) has provided the earliest known terracotta figurine of an Anatolian goddess, dating from c.6000 B.C. (Fig.4, Fig.5 & PL.5). She is seated between two felines, described by Vermaseren as 'leopards'. Despite the extreme antiquity of the figurine, the position of the felines on each side of the throne curiously resembles the statue from Sparta, with a lion on each side of Cybele's throne (above, no.16).
- (2) Yazilikaya (near Bogazkoy), where there is a relief carved in rock of sixty-three Hittite deities, including the goddess Hepatu, who stands on the back of a panther. (PL.6).
- (3) Bolu (Bithynia); a limestone relief depicting an enthroned goddess between two felines (PL.14).
- (4) Kula (Lydia); a white marble relief, probably from this town, depicting three

goddesses named in the inscription as Demeter, Artemis and Nike (PL.16). The central goddess is named as Artemis, but she is depicted as Cybele, as Vermaseren notes. This is because she is seated on a throne, with a lion on each side, a hand resting on each head. This is a good example of the 'petting' motif. Moreover, the lions stand with their forelegs on the heads of bulls, a motif that is somewhat reminiscent of the above Philoctetes text.

- (5) Smyrna (?); a beautiful relief depicts an enthroned Cybele, with a lion leaping up to have his mane stroked (PL.17).<sup>71</sup>

The motif of the goddess between the lions (no.4) is of special interest. As we have seen, such a depiction occurs upon a Minoan seal (p.82). It is possible that both Anatolian and Semitic influences were transmitted through Crete. Thus we have noted some Cretan toponyms of Semitic origin. However, many Cretan toponyms of pre-Gk. origin seem to be Anatolian, as R.A.Brown observes.<sup>72</sup> The question which we must now ask is this; does the Anatolian goddess connection exclude Semitic influence upon Rhea-Cybele?

### **Conclusion - Direct Semitic influence.**

This is most unlikely, for the Anatolian goddesses are not isolated from the Semitic ones, but closely connected with them. Lions are connected with bulls in both Sophocles' Philoctetes, and on the Kula relief. Barrelet illustrates an Ugaritic cylinder, depicting a winged goddess sitting upon a horned bull, and holding a lion by a leash (Fig.17). According to Barrelet, she is <sup>c</sup>Anat. The lion on the leash also suggests the 'petting' motif.<sup>73</sup> Therefore this motif may have reached Greece from Anatolia, but also possibly from the Near East.

Even more significant is the fact that both Anatolian and Semitic goddesses are depicted standing upon lions. Thus Vermaseren mentions a goddess from Isinda in Pisidia, who stands upon a lying lion. We have already noted the Hittite goddess Hepatu, on the back of a panther (above, no.2). Barrelet illustrates Semitic examples. A gold pendant from Minet-el-Beida depicts a nude, wingless goddess with a lion



passing to the left under her feet (Fig.18). An Assyrian cylinder depicts a clothed goddess with bow and arrows standing on the back of a lion (Fig.23). As Barrelet notes, she is the Assyrian Ishtar. The bow of this goddess reminds us of the Egyptian iconography of <sup>V</sup>𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎺, mentioned above (p.89).<sup>74</sup>

Finally, there is a stone carving from the temple of Edfu in Egypt, illustrated by Leclant (PL.IV.A). This shows the goddess <sup>V</sup>𐎠𐎲𐎠𐎺, her name inscribed, riding in a chariot drawn by horses. In warlike fashion she tramples upon a fallen enemy with the horses. She is lion-headed, a motif possibly derived from lion-headed Egyptian goddesses.<sup>75</sup> This goddess may offer a possible origin of Rhea's lion-chariot in Greece. Perhaps the lions were substituted for the horses.

All the above evidence clearly shows at least the possibility of direct Semitic influence upon the lion iconography of Rhea and Cybele, transmitted through Anatolia.

### (iii) Is Rhea a Semitic name?

The name Rhea is commonly found in two basic forms; the epic form <sup>ε</sup>Ρεία /η and the form <sup>ε</sup>Ρέα /η, with the alternative η/α fem. termination (see p.90, and our note 56). It is possible that these two forms reflect a confusion concerning the origin of the name. They are used completely at random.

When we search for a convincing etymology of a divine name, it is important to keep in mind not only the linguistic development, but also the appropriateness of the meaning for the character of the deity. There are several possible Gk. etymologies of Rhea:

- (1) A derivation from the adverb <sup>ε</sup>ρεια (epic form), or <sup>ε</sup>ρέα, 'easily, lightly'.

This occurs in the phrase 'the gods who live at ease/easily' (II.6.138).<sup>76</sup> There is no linguistic problem here. If correct, this may explain both forms of the name Rhea. However, the meaning is very nebulous and is not convincing in



the context; it connects with Rhea no more than with any other gods or goddesses.

- (2) The noun  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ , 'earth', is another possibility. Rhea can generally be considered an earth goddess, since she is associated with wild beasts and mountain tops (pp.90-91). This requires a metathesis of  $\epsilon$ ; thus  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha > \rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ , which makes the etymology more difficult than the above.<sup>77</sup>
- (3)  $(\rho\omicron)\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$ , 'mountain goddess, she of the mountain', is also possible, with the loss of the initial vowel.<sup>78</sup> Although the meaning fits Rhea well, there seems to be no obvious reason for the corruption. This would also not explain the form  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ .
- (4) A derivation from the verb  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$  (epic form), or  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , 'flow, run, stream'. This was the etymology favoured in classical times. It has the advantage (as no.1) of explaining both forms of the name Rhea.

In Plato's Cratylus, Socrates suggests that Kronos and Rhea were given the 'names of streams' ( $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu \rho\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ ), since in the philosophy of Heracleitus all things move, the universe is like the current ( $\rho\omicron\acute{\eta}$ ) of a river, and we cannot step twice into the same river. Explaining this text, the EM notes that this refers to the flowing of time which does not remain, then adds other possible meanings. Thus the rains of Rhea's child Zeus flow down ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\iota$ ). The EM also quotes Chrysippus as follows:

'the earth has been called Rhea, since from her the waters flow'.<sup>79</sup>

This seems like an example of false popular etymology, based upon the above verb  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . There are too many different possible meanings, based upon classical mythology or philosophy. The 'rains of Zeus' are not directly connected with Rhea, since there seems to be no evidence for her as a goddess of water. We may suggest a

different sense of 'flow'; the annual birth of the Cretan Zeus in the cave (p.91) caused Rhea's menstrual blood to boil forth ( $\rho$ εκζέη). This idea is certainly possible, but very general. Any goddess may give birth.<sup>80</sup>

If Rhea is not a Gk. name, it may be a Hellenisation of the original form, assimilating it to the verb  $\rho$ έω. Two Sem. suggestions are close enough in phonology to be possible:

- (1) A derivation of Ug.  $r^c$ , 'friend'. Heb. cognates include the verb  $רָעָה$ , 'be a special friend'; the masc. noun  $רֵעָה$ , 'friend', and the fem. noun  $רֵעָה$ , 'companion, attendant (of maidens)'. The suggested sense is that the goddess is the friend and protectress of the wild animals.<sup>81</sup>
- (2) The Akk. (E-S) verbal root  $re^2u(m)$ , 'graze', or the Heb. cognate  $רָעָה$ , 'pasture, tend, graze', are also possible. The suggested sense is that of the goddess feeding or tending her wild beasts, like the goddess of the *pyxis* lid from Minet-el-Beida (p.4). As we have already noted (p.90), the Greek mother goddess was also a 'Mistress of the Beasts'.<sup>82</sup>

There are only two slight phonological difficulties. The first is that we have ignored the Gk. *spiritus asper* or rough breathing in the Sem. etymologies. However, it should be noted that every Gk. word beginning with  $\rho$  takes either the rough ( $\rho$ ) or the smooth breathing ( $\rho$ ), as part of the spelling. Any initial Ug., Heb. or Akk.  $r$  would naturally require this classical Gk. spelling. Therefore the rough breathing does not have to be originally part of the name Rhea. The second difficulty is that for each of our etymologies we may require a W-S nominal or verbal -t suffix, to fit the context of the name of a goddess. In the first etymology, Ug. for 'female friend' should be  $r^ct$ . The fact that this fem. -t erodes to -ah in Heb. may help to solve the problem, if the noun was borrowed later into Gk.<sup>83</sup> In the second etymology, we require a fem. -t suffix for the verbal participle, in the sense 'she (who) pastures, tends, grazes'. This occurs in Ug.<sup>84</sup>

However, in each case the -t may have been lost by assimilation to Gk. words made into popular etymologies, as noted above.

**Conclusion.**

There are two possible evolutions:

$$(1) \quad \underline{r(^c t)/r^c h} + \text{Gk.fem. } \alpha > ^c \rho \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$$

$$(2) \quad \underline{re^2 u(m)} + (t) + \text{Gk.fem. } \alpha > ^c \rho \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$$

Both the evidence of Rhea as a lion goddess and the lack of any convincing Gk. etymology for the name indicate at least some Semitic influence.



## SECTION C.

### THE CRETAN MAIDEN BRITOMARTIS. WITH HER NAMES APHAIA AND DIKTYNNA.

#### (i) Britomartis - The origin of the name.

Britomartis was closely connected with the goddess Artemis. Pausanias states that she took delight in the chase and was very dear to Artemis, who made her a goddess. This suggests a syncretism of Artemis with an ancient goddess of Minoan Crete. Britomartis was especially connected with Crete; Diodorus Siculus states that she was born at Caeno in Crete. According to Antoninus Liberalis, she was content always to remain chaste, a trait characteristic of Artemis.<sup>85</sup>

M.P.Nilsson states:

'It is further to be noted that old Minoan goddesses have dwindled down into by-forms and epithets of Artemis. This is certain in the case of Britomartis,...The name is not Greek...'

Nilsson then states that it is Minoan, and quotes Hesychius and Solinus.<sup>86</sup> The first part of the name Britomartis is probably of Cretan Gk. dialect, for Hesychius states:

βριτύ · γλυκύ. Κρήτες.

Hesychius also identifies her with Artemis:

Βριτόμαρτις ὅτι ἐν Κρήτῃ ἡ Ἄρτεμις.

Solinus interprets the name as 'sweet virgin' (virginem dulcem). Finally, we note that

the EM gives the first element βριτό the sense of 'good':

Βρίτον. τουτέστιν ἁγαθόν.<sup>87</sup>

Thus it seems that βριτύ is a word in the Cretan dialect for 'sweet'. However, while



this etymology for the first part of the name is generally accepted, the second part has proved much more difficult to analyse. There are two reasons for this. The first is that -μαρτις does not correspond to any Gk. noun, as with the sense of 'virgin'. The second is that there are two different forms of the name; Βριτόμαρτις in the classical literature and Βριτόμαρπις in the Cretan inscriptions.<sup>88</sup> We also find the form Βριτάμαρτις at Delos, and Βρυτόμαρτις at Rhagkabe in Crete.<sup>89</sup> Thus there were also some variations in the vowels.

The two forms -μαρτις/μαρπις of the second part have caused the suggestion of numerous etymologies, discussed by S.N.Marinatos. These are:

- (1) The Cretan word μαρνά. According to Stephanus Byzantius, this is Cretan for 'maidens' (παρθένους). This is clearly a wrong etymology, since Britomartis has no ν.<sup>90</sup>
- (2) μνηστός, 'wooed and won, wedded', or supposedly related words in other languages, such as marzus, 'wife'. Marinatos mentions the latter, but it does not seem possible to trace it. The phonology of these two words is not acceptable for Britomartis. Also, they do not fit the sense, if she remained chaste (p.101).<sup>91</sup>
- (3) Βριζώ, a deity worshipped by Delian women, whose name seems to come from βρίζω, 'be sleepy'. Hesychius has the entry:  
 Βριζόμαντις • ἐνυπνιόμαντις  
 'Dream prophet' is unacceptable linguistically and in the context.<sup>92</sup>
- (4) Marinatos suggests a derivation from μάρπτω, 'seize'; thus Βριτό + μαρπις, 'Sweet Snatcher'. Then he suggests a derivation from the heroine

Μάρπησσα; 'Sweet Marpessa'.<sup>93</sup>

- (5) There is also an E-S etymology. M.C.Astour suggests Akk. martu, 'girl, daughter'; thus the suggestion of Solinus is possibly correct.<sup>94</sup>

The last two ideas (nos.4 & 5) are worthy of serious consideration. Let us first examine Marinatos' ideas. The suggestion 'Sweet Snatcher' is analogous to Artemis who slays 'with gentle darts' (ῥαγανόις βελέεσσιν). Then Marinatos dismisses the idea.<sup>95</sup> It is not difficult to see why. We have either Βριτόμαρτις or Βριτόμαρπις, but never the combined -μαρπις form. Moreover, nowhere does Britomartis slay any human being; in that respect she is unlike Artemis.

The choice between the etymologies of Marinatos and Astour is not easy. If the -μαρπις form is original, Marinatos may be correct; if -μαρτις, then Astour's E-S is reasonable.

Marinatos discusses the relevant inscriptions. As for the Chersonesos inscription, the shapes of the letters suggest a date not later than the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. For instance, the Π has the legs entirely equal. On this inscription there is the dative form -μαρπι. The Lato inscription (also Cretan) has the -μαρπις form.<sup>96</sup> However, the vital example for our argument is the ancient inscription from which the Dreros one was transcribed. This is dated at the latest to 220 B.C., at the earliest to the 4th century B.C. The form of the name on this is BPITOMAPIIN. The very long horizontal strokes of the Π make the reading uncertain, and it is read as -μαρ(τι)ν. There are two different opinions concerning this; either the stonecutter copied from the ancient text that was not carved clearly, and π is really τι, or he omitted the I, as Marinatos thinks. If this was so, it may have been for lack of space.



Marinatos states that he thinks the reading here should be -ΜΑΡΠΙΣ, because of 'the repeated confirmations of the form'.<sup>97</sup> Concerning this, we may comment as follows:

- (1) If the original has π, this would suggest that the -μαρπις form is the most ancient, and -μαρτις in the literature remains a puzzle. If the original has τ, then the -μαρπις form is a later variant, perhaps caused by confusion with Marpessa, rather than being derived from her. Thus the original form may be either Britomartis or Britomarpis.
- (2) All of these inscriptions are late classical, and therefore tell us nothing about the possible forms of the name in Mycenaean times.

Let us now examine the derivation from Marpessa (Μάρπησσα). Concerning this, Marinatos gives mythological evidence to connect this heroine with Britomartis. Thus, according to Pausanias Artemis Laphria was worshipped in Aetolia, before the people of Patrae in Achaea took the image. According to the Patreans, Laphria was named after a man of Phocis, Laphrios. Moreover, since Antoninus Liberalis states that Britomartis was named Laphria by the Cephallenians, Marinatos suggests that Artemis Laphria is one form of Britomartis. However, there is no further evidence for this Cephallenian identification of Britomartis with Laphria, and it may be nothing more than syncretism.<sup>98</sup> Also, Marinatos notes that Marpessa is an Aetolian heroine, abducted by the Cretan Idas. However, Marpessa was also believed to be Messenian.<sup>99</sup> These mythological similarities are very confused, and do not prove a connection between Artemis, Britomartis and Marpessa. In his concluding remarks, Marinatos states:

'In this manner from the relationship that arises between Marpessa-Artemis (and Britomartis) and of the rapprochement of Marpessa through Ida towards Crete, the essential homeland of Britomartis, perhaps we are able not unreasonably to conclude that the

-marpis upon the stones has a connection with the nymph Marpessa, either from the beginning being of the form Britomarpis, or later when confusion arose between the name of the proper deity and the nymph who followed her. Given that the βριτύς is a more dialectical form of ἑδυς, the name of the goddess therefore is one of the many Greek names having ἑδυς as first component.<sup>100</sup>

This theory is not convincing, for three reasons:

- (1) Marinatos notes that Marpessa is not Gk., but he cannot explain its meaning. Astour gives her a W-S etymology from marpe, 'healing'.<sup>101</sup> Thus even if Britomartis were derived from Marpessa, her name could still be Sem.
- (2) It is not possible to explain the differences between the terminations -ις and -ησσα. The first is a Gk. fem., while the second is pre-Gk., as Marinatos notes.<sup>102</sup>
- (3) If there was merely a confusion between Britomartis and Marpessa, as Marinatos hints (above), then Marpessa cannot be the origin of the Cretan goddess.

### Conclusion.

Therefore, Astour's etymology from Akk. martu, 'girl, daughter', is reasonable and fits the interpretation given by Solinus. In Akk., the noun martu often refers to goddesses. Thus there is the phrase Ishtar ma-rat Sin, 'Ishtar daughter of Sin'. There was a group of benign goddesses, 'the seven daughters of Anu or Ea'. Priestesses serving in temples were called mārat ili, 'daughter of the god'.<sup>103</sup> This suggests that the sense of Britomartis may be 'sweet daughter', in three parts; Cretan Gk. βριτύ-, Akk. mart-, and Gk. fem. termination -ις. There is one more possible fragment of evidence for the Sem. origin of the name Britomartis. Antoninus Liberalis states that she came from Phoenicia to Argos. This seems to preserve an original mythological



tradition. There is no difficulty with the E-S etymology, for the Akkadian language was widely used at Ugarit.<sup>104</sup>

(ii) The origin of the name Aphaia.

Pausanias mentions the temple of Aphaia (Ἀφαία) on the island of Aegina. He states that while fleeing from Minos, who was in love with her, Britomartis threw herself into nets (δίκτυα), which had been cast for a catch of fish. The Aeginetans were of the opinion that Britomartis 'appears' (φαίνεται) in their island. Thus she had the epithet Ἀφαία on Aegina, and Δίκτυνα, 'Goddess of Nets', on Crete. We will discuss Diktynna later (iii); here we are concerned only with Aphaia. Antoninus Liberalis tells the same myth as Pausanias (the nets), but adds that after she escaped from Minos, Britomartis arrived at the island of Aegina in a boat with Andromedes the fisherman, who attacked her in his passion. She escaped from him into a grove, where her temple was built, and disappeared. Since Britomartis became invisible (ἄφαντος), she received the name Ἀφαία. She received sacrifices like a goddess.<sup>105</sup>

These two accounts give classical etymologies of Aphaia. Pausanias hints (2.30.3) at an origin from the verb ἀφίημι, 'send forth, discharge', hence 'to cast'. Thus the pass.part. ἀφειμένα is used with reference to the nets.<sup>106</sup> Clearly this is not acceptable, for Aphaia has no μ or ν. The derivation from ἄφαντος is also unconvincing, due to the lack of ν. Besides, Pausanias contradicts Antoninus Liberalis when he says that Britomartis appears on the island of Aegina. If she appears, in what sense is she invisible? We clearly have popular etymologies of the name Aphaia, whose real meaning was not understood.

At least two ideas have been suggested in modern times. Hesychius lists a sort of plant:

ᾠάφος ἡ τραγάκανθα

Phonologically, this seems a little better than the classical ideas, but there is no evidence for Britomartis as a plant goddess. Alternatively, there is the derivation from ᾠάπτω, 'kindle, set on fire'. Herodotus refers to the lighting (ᾠάφας) of lamps. According to M.Papathomopoulos, the sense may be that of a goddess who appears in critical moments, but it is difficult to see any connection of Britomartis with light or fire.<sup>107</sup>

### Classical inscriptions.

The name Aphaia also occurs upon classical inscriptions from Aegina. No.1580 has the form ταφαῖαι, 'to Aphaia', with the final α combined with the iota subscript (ι) in the dative. No.1582 has the short form ταφαί, 'to Apha'.<sup>108</sup> Concerning this, Nilsson states:

The original name of the goddess is ᾠάφα according to the inscription, IG, IV, 1582... ᾠαφαία is an adjectival formation from ᾠάφα like ᾠαθηναία from ᾠαθήνη.<sup>109</sup>

This point is important for any reasonable etymology of Aphaia. Concerning Nilsson's note, we may make three observations:

- (1) All we know from these two Aegina inscriptions is that one of them has the short form Apha. Nilsson gives no evidence to suggest that this is the original form.
- (2) If Apha is a contracted form, this suggests that Aphaia is the original, from which Apha was contracted, the opposite of Nilsson's idea.<sup>110</sup>
- (3) The form Apha is apparently unique, and is not in the literature. It is wise not



to make too much of it. In any case, Nilsson does not use it for an etymology.

### A W-S etymology of Aphaia.

M. Kraus first makes the suggestion that Aphaia is derived from Heb. אָפָּה, 'be fair, beautiful', explaining the final α of Aphaia as 'the feminine termination'. This suggests a Dor., southern Gk. termination in α, instead of η. However, Kraus has some difficulty with the Heb. etymology, for 'the Gk. transliteration does not show the initial I sound of the supposed original'; that is, Heb. אָ . Kraus explains this in two ways; first, by the inaccurate transliteration of foreign proper names by Greek writers generally, and secondly, by the crasis of the 'original' first letter I, as follows:

ΤΑΙ ΙΑΦΑΙΑΙ > ΤΑΙΑΦΑΙΑΙ > ΤΑΦΑΙΑΙ

As Kraus observes, support for the Heb. meaning of Aphaia is given by the epithet Καλλίστη, 'most beautiful', which was applied to Artemis in Greece. This would be the Gk. translation of the Heb.<sup>111</sup> According to Pausanias, Artemis was known by this epithet at Athens and in Arcadia.<sup>112</sup> The application of Καλλίστη to Artemis, instead of to Britomartis, should not surprise us, for on Aegina the two goddesses were closely connected. Antoninus Liberalis states that when Britomartis disappeared a statue appeared in the temple of Artemis. However, there is no evidence that Artemis was worshipped in the Aphaia temple. As Papathomopoulos observes, the statue would have been in the temple of Artemis at the town of Aegina. Also, Antoninus Liberalis would have identified the grove into which Britomartis fled as the 'grove of Artemis'. The fact that he does not do so clearly shows that there were two sanctuaries on Aegina, one of Artemis and the other of Britomartis.<sup>113</sup> Artemis and Britomartis were also connected in Crete, as we have seen (p.101).

However, Kraus' Heb. etymology seems a little strained. It is now known from more ancient Sem. evidence that the original form of Heb. אָפָּה was \*wpy. This is the hypothetical Ug. form; the probable Akk. cognate is (w)apu(m), 'show, make

visible'.<sup>114</sup>

The Ug. noun tp, with the same root as the verb \*wpy, may occur in the text KTU 1.96, lines 1-2:

- |     |                                   |  |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| (1) | <u>ḥnt.hlkt.w<sup>v</sup>snwt</u> | ḥAnat goes and shines/considers beautiful/praises  |
| (2) | <u>tp.ahh.wn<sup>c</sup>m.ahh</u> | the beauty of her brother and the loveliness of her<br>brother/ <u>or</u> sees her brother and the loveliness of<br>her brother. |

Our ET is taken from S.Segert's possible meanings of the words in question. In line 2, tp may mean either 'beauty' or 'sees'.<sup>115</sup>

Astour translates KTU 1.96 somewhat differently, giving the sense of tp as 'timbrel'.

'Anath goes and admires (?)

her brother's timbrel and her brother's grace...'

'Timbrel' is dubious; Astour wants to connect this with the music of Bacchic festivals.<sup>116</sup> We also note that to translate tp as 'sees' would give line 2 a third verb, when two suffice for the sense. Thus 'beauty' seems to be the best ET. In line 1, 'shines' seems to make least sense.

Another Ug. text also uses the same verb \*wpy. This is KTU 1.3 II, 38-1.3 III, 1, repeated almost verbatim at KTU 1.3 IV, 42-45:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <u>thspn.mh.wtrhs</u>                            | She drew/sprinkled water and washed (herself),                                |
| <u>tl.<sup>v</sup>smm.<sup>v</sup>smn. ʔars.</u> | (with) dew of heaven (and) oil of earth,.....                                 |
| <u>tpp. ʔanhb[m.]</u>                            | She set off her <u>beauty</u> /anointed herself (with<br>essence of) murex... |



In this text the goddess <sup>c</sup>Anat washes off the blood of her battle with the warriors. It may be suggested that the washing is not only to rid herself of the blood, but also part of her beautification. According to L.G.del Olmo, tpp means 'anointed' rather than 'beautified'.<sup>117</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

With the evidence of these texts, we are able to suggest an easier W-S etymology of Aphaia than that of Kraus. Crasis of I is no longer necessary (p.108). The initial Ug. w of \*wpy becomes the Gk. digamma, Ϝ, omitted in the classical stage of the language. On the Ug. side, we may suggest a 3 sing. fem. perf. in -t; thus \*wpyt (\*waphayat), 'she is beautiful'. Alternatively, we may have a fem. active participle; thus \*waphay<sup>2</sup>it, 'she (who is) beautiful'.<sup>118</sup> The W-S fem. -t may well have been lost in Gk., which does not have terminations in -t, and the final W-S a (the reconstructed vocalisation) interpreted as Gk. α. Thus the evolution may be as follows:

\*wpyt > <sup>2</sup>αφαι+ α > <sup>2</sup>Αφαία

This etymology fits the myth of Britomartis as a beautiful maiden, pursued by the amorous Minos (p.106).

### **(iii) The origin of the name Diktynna.**

Both Pausanias and Antoninus Liberalis relate the classical etymology, that Britomartis was named Δίκτυννα because she was plunged into the nets (δίκτυα). This is very doubtful. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus does not believe the etymology. First of all noting that Britomartis is the daughter of Zeus, he states that a goddess would not have got herself into such a state of weakness as to be in need of mens' help, nor would Minos perform such an impious deed as ravish a maiden. Diodorus Siculus seems to be hinting here what we suspect - that the myth of the fishing nets was developed as a popular explanation of the name Diktynna.<sup>119</sup>

Modern scholars express a different opinion. Since the noun δίκτυον, 'net', does not explain the suffix -nna of the goddess' name, it must have a different origin.

The consensus is that Δίκτυννα is connected with Mount Δίκη, a possible connection suggested in ancient times by the poet Callimachus, who states concerning Britomartis:

'...she leapt into the sea from the top of a cliff and fell into the nets of fishermen, which saved her. Whence thereafter the Cydonians call the nymph Δίκτυννα and the hill whence the nymph leapt they call Δικταῖον, and (there) they set up altars, and do sacrifice.'<sup>120</sup>

Nilsson is tempted to accept the etymology from Mount Dikte, but notes the objection that the mountain is in eastern Crete far from the sea, while Diktynna is found in western Crete. L.R.Palmer is less cautious:

'It has long been suggested that the name of the Cretan goddess Δίκτυννα is a derivative from the mountain name Δίκη. Scholars who made this suggestion were implicitly stating that a suffix -unna had been used to make a derivative from a toponym. If we now ask where such an ethnic-forming suffix is known, the answer is Luwian...Common Anatolian possessed a suffix \*-uwan which was used to form ethnics...In Luwian the corresponding suffix is -wanni-, which was later contracted to -unni-...the goddess will have been so named by Luwian speakers.'<sup>121</sup>

Astour adds a W-S dimension to the question, suggesting that Mount Dikte was named from Ug. dqt (perhaps diqatu), 'a female head of small cattle for sacrifices'. Thus there is Heb. דִּקְתָּ , 'thin, fine, small'. According to Astour, dqt means a ewe or

she-goat, and it may have been translated in Gk. by the Cretan Mount Αἰγάιον, 'Goat Mountain', probably derived from the noun αἶξ, αἰγός, 'goat'. Thus there



may be 'a Greco-Semitic onomastic doublet'. One further fragment of evidence is the probable occurrence of di-ka-tu in LA.<sup>122</sup>

Concerning Astour's theory, we may state the following:

- (1) We cannot know if Mount Dikte and Mount Aigaion (Aegeum) were the same.
- (2) Astour's identification of the meaning of dqt as 'she-goat' fits the meaning of Mount Aigaion, but the Ug. noun may just as easily mean any type of cattle.
- (3) If we accept the W-S etymology of Mount Dikte, the loss of the a in di-qa-tu is unexplained, especially since qa may be the stressed syllable.
- (4) If the name Diktynna is derived from Mount Dikte, the -unna suffix would have been added to the W-S toponym by Luwian speakers. However, it is not clear why the goddess should have been named after this particular mountain. In deriving the name of the mountain from the nets (δίκτυα), Callimachus is expressing a popular etymology.
- (5) Since there was also a Δίκτη in Mysia, and a Δικτίς in Galatia, the name may be Anatolian.<sup>123</sup>

### Conclusion.

It seems that to connect Diktynna with Mount Dikte is as confusing as to connect her with 'fishing-net'. However, Astour's etymology may still be useful for the goddess Diktynna. Let us suggest that Diktynna is derived from Ug. dqt, as follows:

di-qa-tu (Ug.) + unna (Luwian) > di-qa-tu-nna > Δίκυvνα

The extra syllable (qa) may easily have been lost in contraction, and the Luwian termination may be a possessive suffix upon the noun. The suggested meaning of Diktynna is 'Goddess of Small Animals'. There is no need to specify what type of animals. She may be a 'Lady of the Beasts' generally.

This idea certainly fits the sense of Diktynna and Britomartis, with whom she



was identified. Iconographic evidence also supports our conclusion. A.Evans gives two illustrations. A LM cornelian intaglio depicts a Cretan goddess drawing a bow, while a gold bead-seal from Thisbe shows a similar huntress shooting a deer, with the arrow in its body (Figs.560 & 561). Clearly these are 'Ladies of the Beasts'.<sup>124</sup>

## **SECTION D.**

### **THE GREAT MOTHER GODDESS LETO.**

#### **(i) Introduction - Leto in Greek cult.**

Leto is an ancient goddess. She appears in the *Iliad* as a great mother goddess, whose two children Artemis and Apollo took revenge upon Niobe. Niobe compared herself to Leto, boasting that she had given birth to twelve children, while Leto had borne only two. Artemis slew Niobe's six daughters, and Apollo her six sons. This myth is interesting because a mortal is shown boasting that she has a greater maternal ability than a goddess. Leto's greatness as a mother is emphasised here, since her two children slew all of Niobe's twelve.<sup>125</sup>

In the *Theogony*, Hesiod makes a remarkable statement concerning Leto's character:

'...Leto, always mild, kind to men and to the deathless gods, mild from the beginning, gentlest in all Olympus.'<sup>126</sup>

It is not clear why Hesiod gives Leto such a character. It is possible that she is the gentlest goddess in Olympus because she may have been viewed as the protectress of motherhood more than any other goddess.

It is known that in Greek cult Leto is virtually always connected with her children, Apollo and Artemis, in a triad. Pausanias gives many examples of Leto's cult, including this triad. In Zoster-on-Sea in Attica, where Leto was believed to have loosed her girdle (ζωστήρ) in order to give birth, there was an altar of Athena, Apollo, Artemis and Leto. In Argos there was a statue of the virgin Chloris beside Leto in her temple. Chloris was said to be one of the children of Niobe, spared from death together with her brother Amyklas, because they had prayed to Leto. This differs from the Homeric version, in which all of Niobe's children were slain (above).

In Pausanias' version, we have a myth emphasising the mercy of Leto. On the road to Tegea, there was a temple of Artemis on top of Mount Lykone, with images of Apollo, Leto and Artemis; in the market-place at Sparta there were images of Pythaeon Apollo, Artemis and Leto; in Delion there were images of Artemis and Leto; and in Tanagra there was a temple of Apollo, Artemis and Leto.<sup>127</sup>

It is clear from the above that Leto is constantly associated with her children. This is true both in the Iliad and in later literature; there does not seem to be much evidence for the worship of Leto on her own (possibly the temple at Argos). Séchan and Lévêque are of the opinion that this triad is relatively late in origin.<sup>128</sup> This is probably true, for the triad can only date from a period when the Greek pantheon was already formed.

## (ii) Other attributes of Leto.

### (1) Animals.

In addition to her role as a mother goddess, Leto was also a 'Lady of the Beasts'. On the island of Delos she was associated with lions. Thus marble lions of the late 7th century B.C. bordered the avenue of the sacred lake leading to Leto's sanctuary, the Lētoon.<sup>129</sup> She was also connected with wolves. In History of animals, Aristotle says that it took twelve days to bring Leto from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos, during which time she had the appearance of a she-wolf because of her fear of Hera. We note that this metamorphosis may preserve the memory of a cult of a 'wolf goddess'. In the myth Cowherds, Antoninus Liberalis tells how Leto arrived in Lycia after she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis, then wolves led her to the river Xanthos. The wolves were her guides (p.120). In the same myth, Leto transformed the cowherds into frogs. Antoninus Liberalis also relates the myth of Typhon, in which Leto transformed herself into a fieldmouse.<sup>130</sup>

### (2) Vegetation.

Leto was probably also a goddess of vegetation. The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo states as follows:



'When Eileithyia (the goddess of) sore travail set foot on Delos, the pains of birth seized her (Leto), and she longed to bring forth; so she cast her arms around a palm tree; and kneeled upon the soft meadow, while the earth smiled beneath.' (115-118).

Thus Leto is probably a goddess of the earth associated with trees. According to the poet Callimachus, of the Hellenistic era, it was the olive that gave rest to Leto.<sup>131</sup>

One more fragment of evidence for Leto as a vegetation goddess is given by Antoninus Liberalis in the myth Leukippos. The girl Galateia wedded Lampros from Phaestos in Crete. Lampros wanted a male child and ordered his wife to get rid of (ἀφανίσαι) any female child, if she should give birth to one. As a result of this, Galateia brought up her daughter as a boy, with the name Leukippos. As Leukippos grew in beauty, there arose the danger that Lampros would no longer be deceived, so Galateia took refuge in the temple of Leto and asked the goddess to change the sex of her child. Leto did this, growing genitals upon the girl. The Phaestians remembered this and sacrificed to Leto Φυτίη, 'Generative'. Here the epithet is given the sense of human generation. However, the adjective φύτιος simply means 'generative', therefore it is possible that the epithet may also have referred to plant fertility.<sup>132</sup>

### (iii) Etymology - Is Leto a Greek name?

The name Λητώ resembles in form certain fem. Gk. personal names in Hesiod's Theogony. Like Λητώ, the names of several Nereids (daughters of Nereus) consist of two syllables with a stressed -ώ termination. These include Σπειώ, 'Of The Cave' (σπείος), Πρωτώ, 'The First' (πρώτος), and Κυμώ, 'Of The Wave' (κύμα). We suggest here that the name Leto has taken the same form as those of the above

Nereids, whatever its original meaning may have been.

In the Cratylus, Plato states that Leto may have been named for her gentleness (πρᾶότητος), because whatever is asked of her, she is willing (ᾖεθέλημονα). Then it is suggested that her name may be Ληθῶ, as she is called by many foreigners, because she is gentle (ᾖήμερόν) and mild (λεῖον). The first idea from ᾖεθέλημων is an unlikely metathesis. These popular etymologies reflect Leto's gentleness in Hesiod's Theogony, but are only guesses. The form Ληθῶ is also suggestive of the verb λήθω, 'escape notice' and the noun λήθη, 'forgetting, forgetfulness'. Any of these Gk. ideas is possible linguistically, but impossible to prove. We note that not one of them is convincing as an epithet describing Leto as a great mother and fertility goddess. There is a surfeit of possible but dubious etymologies.<sup>133</sup>

Finally, we note that the name Leto may occur in Cretan LB. There is the form ra-to, an unclassified name, and the probable ethnic form ra-ti-jo, 'man of ra-to'.

Thus we may have a reference in LB to the Cretan city of Lato (Λατώ). However, given the ambiguous nature of Mycenaean spelling, we cannot be sure about the value of the initial consonant (l/r) or the termination. Moreover, we are not suggesting here that Leto is originally a Cretan goddess. She is also connected with Delos, and her wanderings throughout the Aegean in the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo suggest a wide distribution of cult.<sup>134</sup>

**(iv) Is Leto a Proto-Indo-European (PIE) name? Is she a Lycian goddess with a Lycian name?**

Here we will examine these two possibilities. As for the first, it is possible that the name Leto is PIE. S.E.Mann records the PIE root lētos, is (let-), 'free, easy; ease', related to the Li. lētas, 'slow, easy-going, soft, quiet, meek'. This is an interesting possibility, for it fits well with Leto's gentle character in Hesiod.<sup>135</sup>



However, it is unlikely, for two reasons:

- (1) Leto does not have the PIE or Li. final s.
- (2) Lithuania is very far from Greece, and the PIE root is only a reconstruction.

As for the second possibility, the idea of a Lycian Leto is much more interesting. The Anatolian origin of the goddess is a favourite idea of classical scholars. Séchan and Lévêque consider Leto to be 'a Great Asiatic Mother', both because in the *Iliad* (20.40ff.) she fights on the side of the Trojans, and because her cult was not very widespread in Greece, but much more noticeable in Anatolia. Strabo mentions a sacred precinct or grove ( ῥάλλος ) of Leto at Physkos in Caria and the temple of Xanthos in Lycia. Thus there is some connection of Leto with Anatolia. However, the Trojan connection in the *Iliad* is too vague to be of much use, since Ares, Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite also sided with them.<sup>136</sup>

Séchan and Lévêque observe that the name Leto is similar to the Lycian noun lada, 'woman'. Thus Leto would mean 'Lady', in the sense of a great goddess. Then they suggest that the girl Leda (Λήδη) is a double of Leto.<sup>137</sup>

We are not concerned here with the possible connection of Leda with Lycian lada, or with Leto. All that matters is the Lycian etymology of Leto.

The Lycian language is most probably Anatolian in origin, descended from Luwian. It is known from about one hundred and fifty inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.<sup>138</sup> Examples of the use of the noun lada include:

TL 121 ...Er̃m̃menēni: se lada..., 'E. and his wife...'

TL 6, 2 hrppi lada epttehe se tideime.

This is translated by the Gk.



᾽ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ταῖς ἑαοτῶν      To their wives and grandchildren.

καὶ τοῖς ᾽εγγόνοις

TL 56      mene qasttu ḗni qlahi ebiyehi.      May the Mother of the qla of this place  
strike him!

This is translated by the Gk. in short form:

Ἡ Λητώ αὐτὸν ᾽επιτρίψει      Leto will destroy him.

Thus Leto was certainly known to the Lycians during the classical era, and she is here identified with an Anatolian mother goddess.<sup>139</sup> However, an etymological derivation from Lycian lada is improbable, for the following reasons:

- (1) Lycian is a late language; the inscriptions date from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. However, the name Leto dates back to Homer, and possibly as far back as LB (p.117).
- (2) Lycian lada seems to be an ordinary noun meaning 'woman, wife'. It is not apparently connected with goddesses, and is absent from TL 56, where we might expect it.
- (3) Leto always has l, while lada has d. It is possible that Leda could be derived from lada, but such a derivation of Leto is very dubious.

However, it is still possible that Leto could be derived from a Lycian mother goddess, despite the dubious etymology from lada. The myth of the Cowherds in Antoninus Liberalis seems to provide evidence for the Lycian connection. The important points are as follows:

- (1) After she gave birth to Apollo and Artemis in the island of Asteria, Leto came to Lycia with her children, leading them to the baths of the river Xanthos, but first they came to the spring of Melite.

- (2) Leto wanted to wash her children in the spring, but the cowherds drove her away, because they wanted their own cattle to drink. Wolves (λύκοι) led Leto and her children away to the river Xanthos.
- (3) After she drank the water and bathed her children, Leto consecrated the Xanthos to Apollo, and renamed the country of Τρεμιλίσ as Λυκία, after the wolves that showed her the way.
- (4) Leto transformed the cowherds into frogs as a punishment.<sup>140</sup>

T.R.Bryce discusses the historical context of this myth. Thus in the Roman imperial period the cult of Leto and her children was important here, centred upon the Lētōon (temple of Leto) to the west of the river Xanthos.<sup>141</sup> Bryce notes that the marshy area of the Lētōon is compatible with the geographical description in Ovid's Metamorphoses. This is correct; Ovid states that Leto came to a Lycian lake where peasants were gathering reeds, and they refused to allow her to quench her thirst, so she transformed them into frogs.<sup>142</sup>

Next Bryce notes that the name of the spring Melite may be related to Gk. μέλιτ-, 'honey', as well as to Anatolian vocabulary; Hittite milit-, Luwian mallit-, both meaning 'honey', and Luwian maliddu, 'sweet'. This may refer to a fresh water spring, rare in Anatolia. Moreover, Bryce observes that the toponym Tremilis (Τρεμιλίσ) has a genuine Lycian connection, for in inscriptions of the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. the Lycians called themselves Tmmili and their country Tmmisa. However, the name Lycia (Λυκία) is not of Gk. but of Luwian origin, being derived from the country Lukka.

Therefore, the statement in Antoninus Liberalis (Sec.3) that Leto named the country after the wolves is an etymological fiction. We have here a coincidental similarity of sound; λύκοι and Lukka. The 'wolfish' association may be derived from the name Lukka, but it is also possible to see in this a motif relating to Leto as a



'Lady of the Beasts' (p.115).

According to Bryce, the earliest extant reference to Leto in Lycia is the Greek inscription on face B of a statue base at the Lētoon. The statue was set up by Erbbina in honour of Leto. This dates the inscription to c.375 B.C., the end of Erbbina's career, or earlier. As Bryce also states, Greek deities were probably first adopted in Lycia towards the end of the 5th century B.C. Lycian deities would have merged with Greek ones as the Lycian language declined and was replaced with Greek. Thus during the 4th century the Lycian mother goddess 'was equated with and eventually absorbed or supplanted by the Greek goddess Leto'.<sup>143</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

Leto is neither derived from Lycian lada, nor is she a Lycian goddess. Inscription TL 56 is evidence of syncretism between Leto and the Lycian mother goddess. The Lycian connection is a product of late Hellenisation.

### **(v) The Semitic connections of Leto, and a suggested derivation of Leto from Ishtar.**

As we have already observed, neither the Gk. nor the Anatolian etymologies of Leto are satisfactory. However, a derivation from the E-S Ishtar is probable, for the following reasons:

- (1) Ishtar is a goddess concerned with human fertility, and this is probably also true of Leto (p.116). In the poem The descent of Ishtar to the Nether World, the consequence of her departure from the earth is the loss of both human and animal fertility:

'The bull springs not upon the cow, the ass impregnates not the jenny...

In the street the man impregnates not the maiden. The man lies down in his (own) chamber. The maiden lies down on her side.'<sup>144</sup>



It is also possible that Leto derives her gentle, 'maternal' character (p.114) from the fertility associations of Ishtar.

- (2) Leto is connected with lion iconography at Delos (p.115), and Ishtar is emphatically a lion goddess. In the Prayer of lamentation to Ishtar, she is described as:

'O shining one, lioness of the Igigi (great gods)...fierce lion.'

Moreover, Ishtar is depicted standing upon the back of a lion, as in the wall painting from the palace of Mari, The investiture of Zimri-Lim. In this example, Ishtar has one foot upon the back of a recumbent lion. We have already noted the goddess of the Winchester Relief (p.89).<sup>145</sup>

The goddess Rhea is connected with lions, and this iconography may have come through Anatolia (p.97). However, an Anatolian origin for Leto's lion motif is improbable, for she is clearly not an Anatolian (Lycian) goddess.

- (3) As we have noted, when giving birth to Apollo on Delos, Leto cast her arms around a palm tree. Discussing this motif, Séchan and Lévêque state that this was a 'sacred palm', in the context of a fertility cult. As we have seen (p.116), the Hellenistic poet Callimachus alters the tree to an olive, but the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo seems to be the earlier source.<sup>146</sup>

Since the palm tree is widespread as a sacred symbol in the Orient, the cultic significance of Leto's palm is a very reasonable idea.

H.Danthine illustrates many oriental examples. Some of these probably depict human worshippers in association with the sacred tree, while others undoubtedly depict goddesses. It is possible that the 'grasping motif' of both worshippers and goddesses together with the palm tree lies behind this motif of Leto. There are many examples of worshippers in this association. A lead amulet from Susa, dating

from the 2nd half of the 3rd Millennium B.C., depicts two kneeling figures touching the trunk, on each side with both hands (Fig.143); a cylinder dating from the 2nd half of the 2nd Millennium depicts two standing figures with hats, touching the palm (Fig.209); a terracotta from Ashnunak dating from the start of the 2nd Millennium depicts two male figures grasping the trunk (Fig.572); and a seal from Kerkuk dating from approximately the 14th century B.C. depicts a nude figure with a curl of hair, probably a female, who is touching the trunk (Fig.741). According to Danthine, Figs.143 and 209, and probably Fig.741, represent worshippers touching the trunk of the sacred tree.<sup>147</sup>

Some of these examples, because of their iconography, undoubtedly depict goddesses. Several of them clearly show Ishtar in association with the palm. A cylinder dating from the 2nd quarter of the 1st Millennium depicts an armed goddess with bow and arrows standing on the back of a lion, in front of a palm (Fig.15). Danthine recognises her as the warrior goddess Ishtar. She reminds us of the Assyrian seal depicting the warrior goddess Ishtar on the back of a lion (p.97). A cylinder dating from the 1st half of the 1st Millennium depicts the goddess standing to the left of the palm, holding a necklace of round 'pearls' in her hand (Fig.40). Danthine notes that this is a symbol of Ishtar, and that the same identification applies to the next two examples. Another cylinder dating from the 1st half of the 1st Millennium depicts a winged Ishtar to the right, holding her necklace of pearls over the palm (Fig.349); and a bas-relief from Nimrud dating from the epoch of Assurnasirpal (883-853 B.C.) depicts two winged Ishtars carrying the same type of necklace, surrounding the palm tree (Fig.365). A bas-relief from Susa, dating from the end of the 3rd Millennium, depicts the goddess Ishtar standing with one foot on the back of a lion (Fig.724); the same posture as in the Zimri-Lim painting. Ishtar holds a stalk with a bud on top between two falling leaves. This suggests to us a stylised palm. In the bottom register, two goats feed at the leaves of an identical stalk, which suggests that it is indeed a palm. On a seal dating from c.3000 B.C. are depicted two nude females with palm branches, on each side of a nude goddess seated upon a small quadruped,



probably a lion (Fig.869). Danthine suggests that the nude females may be priestesses.<sup>148</sup>

Danthine illustrates two more oriental examples of interest. A lead plaque from Palestine depicts a nude goddess holding a curved stalk in each hand (Fig.893), and a gold plaque from Ras Shamra depicts a nude goddess holding a flowering stalk in each hand (Fig.894). These date from the middle of the 2nd Millennium. Danthine notes that these examples show Egyptian influence in the head-dress.<sup>149</sup>

There is therefore considerable evidence to suggest a transmission of the palm tree iconography from Ishtar to Leto.

- (4) Finally, it is reasonable to suggest that the name Leto (Λητώ) is derived from an adjective used to describe the goddess Ishtar. This is Akk. lītu (lētu), 'victory, victorious might, power, rule'. Thus there is the phrase:

ina li-it <sup>v</sup>Istar

In the might of Ishtar<sup>150</sup>

The -u termination would be assimilated to Gk. fem. names in -ω, as noted above (p.116).

### **Conclusion.**

Therefore, we make the new suggestion that Leto is nothing less than an epithet referring originally to Ishtar. Leto may be translated 'The Mighty One', a fitting name for a great maternal fertility goddess.



## SECTION E.

### THE GREEK MARE GODDESS DEMETER AND THE UGARITIC MARE GODDESS PHLT.

#### (i) The Greek mare goddess in iconography and mythology.

Pausanias gives two fragments of evidence for Demeter as a mare goddess.

- (1) At Phigalia in Arcadia there was a cave sacred to Demeter, in which the Phigalians had set up a wooden image of the goddess. This image was very rich in iconography:

'It was seated on a rock, and was in the likeness of a woman, all except the head. She had the head and hair of a horse, and there grew upon her head images of serpents and of other beasts...a dolphin was on one of her hands, and the bird on the other a dove...And they say that they named her Black (Μέλαινα) because the goddess had black clothing. They do not remember either who made this wooden image nor the manner in which it caught fire.'<sup>151</sup>

Thus Demeter had the epithet Μέλαινα, 'Black'. Pausanias then states (8.42.5ff.) that the old image was destroyed, and that the Phigalians did not give the goddess a new one, neglecting most of her festivals and sacrifices. The result of this was barrenness of the land, so the Phigalians sought the advice of the Pythian priestess. The oracle informed them that the barrenness was caused by the goddess, because she was deprived of her honours. The answer was to refurnish the cave. Thus the Phigalians persuaded Onatas of Aegina to make for them a new image of bronze. When Pausanias came to Phigalia, this image no longer existed, for stones had fallen on it from the roof of the cave, crushing it. Pausanias saw a grove of oaks around the

cave and a spring of cold water, rising from the earth. The Phigalians still sacrificed there.<sup>152</sup>

Since the image was there to avert drought and famine, it may have symbolised the fertility of the earth. However, Pausanias gives no explanation for the meaning of the serpents and other creatures.

Farnell thinks that Pausanias' account is not trustworthy. Thus the Phigalians seem to have remembered in detail the appearance of the original image, which had long since disappeared, as had that of Onatas. There is no evidence of a copy of the image surviving in Pausanias' time (the 2nd century A.D.). Thus one may argue that the description is a fanciful invention. However, Farnell also observes that the cult of Demeter Μέλαινα is probably that of a netherworld goddess, whose image was situated in a cave.<sup>153</sup>

We need not be too sceptical of the description of the image, for it is clear that the cave was still sacred to Demeter when Pausanias visited it. Thus the appearance of the image may also have been remembered accurately.

- (2) Pausanias also tells the myth of Demeter Ἐρινύς, Demeter 'Fury'. At Thelpousa in Arcadia Demeter was wandering in search of her daughter, when she was followed by the amorous Poseidon, who desired to unite with her. In order to escape Poseidon Demeter transformed herself into a mare, but the god perceived this, turned himself into a horse and mated with her. Demeter had a daughter and a son by Poseidon; the name of the daughter was secret, and the son was the horse Areion. Elsewhere Pausanias states (8.42.1) that the Phigalians believe the account of the Thelpousans, concerning the mating of Poseidon and Demeter. Thus the iconographic tradition of Phigalia seems to be connected with the Thelpousa myth.<sup>154</sup>

(ii) The I-E origin of the horse god and the mare goddess.

Before we suggest a connection of this theme with Ugarit, it is necessary to point out an Indian resemblance. The Indian mythology concerning the horse god and the mare goddess is related in several texts.

(1) The Nirukta states as follows:

'Saranyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭr, bore a pair of twins to Vivasvat, the sun. Then she substituted for herself another, identical female, and she herself took the form of a mare and fled. Vivasvat, the sun, took the form of a horse in the same way and followed her. Thus the Ásvins were born, and Manu was born in the identical female.'

(2) According to the Bṛhaddevatā, after Saranyū became a mare and went away, Vivasvat became aware of her deception, transformed himself into a horse of the same qualities, went after and mounted her. The two Ásvins, the horse gods, were born from the mare Saranyū.

(3) The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa also states:

'Then he meditated and saw his wife in the form of a mare,...And the sun went to the northern Kurus and took the form of a horse and approached her. When she saw him approaching she feared it might be another male, and so she turned to face him, determined to protect her hind quarters. Their noses joined as they touched, and the seed of Vivasvat entered the nose of the mare. Two gods were born in that way, the Ásvins...'

These three texts clearly have mythological motifs in common with the Greek mare goddess.<sup>155</sup> There are at least three common motifs:



- (1) At Thelpousa, Poseidon was amorous towards Demeter and followed her (p.126), while Vivasvat followed Saranyū.
- (2) Demeter attempted to deceive Poseidon by turning herself into a mare, while Saranyū tried to deceive Vivasvat in the same way. In each case, the trick failed, and the god won the goddess by turning himself into a horse. In the Greek and Indian versions, the events occur in the same order.
- (3) Demeter gave birth to the horse Areion, while Saranyū gave birth to the Ásvins.

The close relationship between the Greek and Indian myths is clear. Possibly they are both derived from an original PIE version.<sup>156</sup> It is necessary to state this now, so that we may place any Ugaritic connection in its proper context.

(iii) Demeter Melaina and Ugaritic phlt.

Astour observes that there is an astonishing parallel between the epithets given to the Ugaritic mare goddess phlt and Pausanias' description of the image at Phigalia (p.125). Each goddess was connected with serpents and horses. Text KTU 1.100 (RS 24.244) gives the relevant epithets:<sup>157</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) <u>um.phl.phlt</u>                                       | (1) The mother of the colt, the mare,            |
| <u>bt. c<sub>n</sub>.bt. ʔabn.</u>                           | Daughter of the Spring, daughter of the Stone,   |
| <u>bt s<sup>v</sup>mm w thm</u>                              | Daughter of the Sky and the Deep/Ocean           |
| (2) <u>qr ʔit. l s<sup>v</sup>ps. ʔumh</u>                   | (2) Calls to Sapsu (Sun), her mother:            |
| <u>s<sup>v</sup>ps. ʔum.ql.bl.</u>                           | Sapsu, my mother, take my plaint                 |
| <u>c<sub>m</sub> (3) ʔil.mbk nhrm.</u>                       | To (3) Il at the source of the rivers,           |
| <u>b<sup>c</sup>dt.thmtm</u>                                 | To the confluence of the deeps,                  |
| (4) <u>mnt. nt<sub>k</sub>. nh<sub>s</sub>.</u>              | (4) 'My fate is the bite of a snake,             |
| <u>s<sup>v</sup>mrr. nh<sub>s</sub> (5) c<sup>v</sup>qsr</u> | The sting of the serpent (5) c <sup>v</sup> qsr, |
| <u>lnh. mlh<sub>s</sub> ʔabd.</u>                            | From him let the charmer/sorcerer exhaust,       |

lnh. ydy (6) hmt.

From him he should remove (6) the venom.'

hlm. yṭq. nḥṣ.

He does bind the snake/gives the snake to drink,

yṣlḥm. <nḥṣ>ᶜqsr

He feeds<the serpent>ᶜqsr,

(7) yᶜdb. kṣ'a. w yṭb

(7) He sets a chair and he sits.

Our ET is based upon three sources.<sup>158</sup> The controversial words are as follows:

- ql.bl. (2) Astour translates this as 'voice of destruction', thinking that this is the name of Ṣap̣su's son. D.W.Young has 'take my plaint', while C.H.Bowman and R.B.Coote have 'bear a message'.<sup>159</sup>
- mnt (4) C.Virolleaud translates this as 'incantation', thinking that the text may be an incantation to stop the serpent from biting. Bowman and Coote translate mnt as 'recitation (of an incantation)'. Young thinks that such an interpretation is misleading, and prefers 'fate'.<sup>160</sup>
- ᶜsmrr (4) Virolleaud translates this as 'make bitter'. Thus the serpent is to be filled with venom. Bowman and Coote translate ᶜsmrr as 'pain', while Young has 'sting'.<sup>161</sup>
- ᶜqsr (5) Virolleaud thinks that this is something with which the serpent is endowed. Bowman and Coote translate it as 'the slougher', the name of the serpent, while Young leaves it as an untranslated name. The latter seems safest.<sup>162</sup>
- lnh (5) Bowman and Coote translate this as 'for it'. This translation admits the snake-bite, but not necessarily the idea that phlt herself has been bitten. Young has 'from him' (the serpent).<sup>163</sup>
- mlhṣ (5) The sense is clear; Virolleaud has 'sorcerer', Bowman and Coote have 'charm', and Young has 'charmer'.<sup>164</sup>
- hmt (6) Virolleaud thinks that the sorcerer 'eliminates' (ydy) the venom (hmt); Bowman and Coote have the translation 'let it dispel the heat', while Young makes the same interpretation as Virolleaud (our ET).<sup>165</sup>



ytq (6) Virolleaud notes two possibilities; either this means 'bind', in which case the serpent is restrained, or ytq may be an error for ysq, 'he gives to drink'. Since the sorcerer may feed (yslhm) the serpent after this, the latter idea is reasonable. Bowman and Coote have 'bind', and Young states 'the serpent forages (?)', which is not explained.<sup>166</sup>

yslhm (6) Virolleaud and Young translate this as 'gives to eat/feeds', while Bowman and Coote have 'sends off'.<sup>167</sup>

Young's interpretation seems best. Thus phlt suffers from snake-bite and calls to her mother the sun-goddess Sapsu for help. A sorcerer or charmer is then to remove the venom. Bowman and Coote have a rather similar translation, but do not seem to note that phlt herself is bitten. Virolleaud's interpretation is puzzling. It seems illogical for the sorcerer to fill the serpent with venom, then to remove it. Moreover, if phlt is not bitten her role in the myth is unclear. This text is surely more than an incantation to prevent snake-bite.

The final lines of text KTU 1.100 concern the giving of snakes to phlt as a gift:

(73) tn. km<sup>2</sup>itnn.>nh<sup>v</sup>sm.

(73) 'Give as<a gift>snakes,

yhr. tn. km (74) mhry.

Give a snake as (74) my bridal price,

w bn. btn.<sup>2</sup>itnny

Yea, viper's brood as my payment.'

(75) ytt. nh<sup>v</sup>sm. mhrk.

(75) 'I'll give snakes as your bridal price,

bn btn (76)<sup>2</sup> itnk

Viper's brood (76) as your payment.'

According to Bowman, Coote and Young, phlt requests the snakes and Horon responds. Virolleaud thinks that the conversation is between phlt and her mother Sapsu. Virolleaud translates bn.btn more literally as 'son of a snake'.<sup>168</sup>

Thus the mare goddess phlt probably received the bridal gift of snakes. The Ugaritic myth has virtually nothing in common with the Greek myth of the mare



goddess, which is IE (ii). However, the epithets of phlt are closely connected with Demeter Μέλαινα:

- (1) The goddess phlt is closely connected with snakes, both in a struggle against their venom and as the recipient of a bridal gift. This may be the origin of the snakes of the Phigalia image. In each case there is the association of the mare goddess with snakes.
- (2) The Ugaritic goddess has the epithet 'daughter of the Sky and the Deep/Ocean'. As Astour observes, the iconography of the image at Phigalia includes a dolphin on one hand and a dove on the other, 'symbols of the sea and the sky'. Moreover, we note that the motif of a goddess with doves perched on her hands is of oriental origin. Thus a Syrian cylinder depicts a semi-nude goddess with a dove on one hand, wings outstretched, ready for flight. A plaque from Alalakh depicts a nude goddess with a dove perched on each hand.<sup>169</sup>
- (3) Astour also notes that the image of Phigalia was located by a spring of water (p.126). Phlt is 'the daughter of the Spring'. However, the epithet 'daughter of the Stone' is Astour's least convincing parallel with Demeter Μέλαινα, for any image may stand on a rock.<sup>170</sup>

Therefore it seems that the Greeks represented their own IE mare goddess as if she were the same as the Ugaritic goddess. This syncretism requires an explanation. There are perhaps three reasons for this 'false identification' of the two goddesses, whose motifs are so similar:

- (1) Both the IE and Semitic traditions are concerned with a mare goddess.
- (2) Demeter Μέλαινα was the mother of the horse Areion (p.128), while phlt was given the epithet 'mother of the colt'.
- (3) The image at Phigalia may have averted drought and famine, and protected the

fertility of the earth. Young states concerning phlt:

'The epithet um phl has not been easily understood. In terms of a theogony it may relate the goddess to a younger deity named phl, but it implies also that she was thought of as the numen in the birth of the species of fauna from which was derived her foal's name, and hence she was probably regarded as a power for fecundity and reproduction in wildlife in general.'<sup>171</sup>

Thus phlt may also be concerned with fertility. This motif may also have helped her identification with Demeter Μέλαινα. If 'mother of the colt' means a younger offspring god, the latter may have been identified with Areion.

We observe that the iconography of phlt can only have been transmitted to Arcadia during the Mycenaean Age, when the Ugaritic texts were composed.<sup>172</sup> We may say two things concerning the historical gap between the 2nd Millennium and the classical image of Phigalia:

- (1) The Mycenaeans are not very likely to have been in direct contact with India. However, we have already noted some exciting evidence for Mycenaean worship of a horse goddess. On Pylos tablet An 1281 there is the title po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja, possibly meaning 'Equine Mistress'. J.C.van Leuven thinks that this may be a title of Demeter (p.56). A horse figurine was found near tablet An 1281.<sup>173</sup> This may reflect the antiquity of the IE horse motif, which we noted above.
- (2) In Chapter One we examined some evidence for classical Greek themes in Mycenaean mythology (Sec.Cii). Therefore, the iconography of Demeter Μέλαινα at Phigalia may be derived from the Mycenaean era. Also, it is certain that the Mycenaeans were in contact with Ugarit (pp.1-4). It is much more probable that they would have identified their mare goddess

with that of Ugarit, than with a distant Indian goddess of whom they almost certainly knew nothing.

In this chapter the evidence for connections of Greek goddesses with oriental ones has greatly accumulated.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.

- (1) See our discussion of Britomartis and related goddesses, pp.101-113, and also of Leto, pp.114-124.
- (2) Farnell L.R., CGS II, 427.
- (3) Séchan L. and Lévêque P., GDG, 359; for Artemis generally, see 353-359.
- (4) Thompson M.S., 'The asiatic or winged Artemis', JHS 29 (1909), 307.
- (5) For Καρυάτις, see Paus.3.10.7 (Karyae); for Κεδρεάτις, see Paus.8.13.2 (Orchomenos); for Δαφναία, see Paus.3.24.8 (Hypsoi); and for Λυγοδέσμα, see Paus.3.16.10 (Sparta); see also Farnell, op.cit. (as note 2), 559-560 (nos.7-10). For Pausanias generally, see Jones W.H.S., Pausanias Description of Greece I-IV (Loeb). For the festival of Artemis Καρυάτις, see also Naber S.A., Photii patriarchae lexicon, Vol.I, 314; and Porson R., Photiou tou patriarchou lexeon synagoge, Vol.I, 133. According to Photius, Καρυάτεια is a 'festival of Artemis', and the Lacedaemonians cut off for themselves (ἀπετέμοντο) the nut-trees (καρύας) of the Arcadians. See also Farnell, op.cit., 559 (no.7). For καρύα, nut-bearing tree', see Liddell H.G. and Scott R., A Greek-English Lexicon (New Ed.), I, 880, col.2; for κέδρος, 'cedar-tree', see LS I, op.cit., 934, col.1; for δάφνη, 'sweet bay', see I, 371, col.1; and for λυγόδεσμος, 'bound with willow-twigs', see II, 1063, col.2. For the image of Λυγοδέσμα at Sparta, see Farnell, op.cit., 429.
- (6) For Ἀγροτέρα, see Paus.7.26.3 (Aegira) and Paus.1.41.3 (Megara); for this epithet, see also II.21.471. For Λυκεία, see Paus.2.31.4 (Troezen); for

- <sup>2</sup>Ορτυγία, see Storr F., *Sophocles II* (Loeb), 274-275 (Tr.213); see also *LS* II, *op.cit.*, 1257, col.1; for <sup>2</sup>Ελαφηβόλος, see Farnell, *op.cit.* (as note 2), 561 (no.24a), and for the other epithets, see 561-562 (nos.22, 25 & 26).
- (7) See Paus.7.26.3 (as note 6); for <sup>2</sup>αἶξ, 'goat', see *LS* I, *op.cit.*, 40, col.2. For the antiquity of Artemis in Greece, see Farnell, *op.cit.*, 425, where Farnell states:
- 'We can trace it back to a prehistoric period...'
- (8) For Λιμναία, see Paus.2.7.6 (Sikyon); for <sup>2</sup>Αλφειαία, see Paus.6.22.8 (Letrinoi); and for <sup>6</sup>Ελεία, see Jones H.L., *The geography of Strabo* IV (Loeb), 74-75 (Str.8.3.25); see also Farnell, *op.cit.*, 558-559 (nos.2, 4 & 5). For the river <sup>2</sup>Αλφειός, see Paus.8.44.3.
- (9) See Paus.6.22.5 and Farnell, *op.cit.*, 428.
- (10) See Paus.3.16.11 and Farnell, *op.cit.*, 439.
- (11) For human sacrifices, see Paus.7.19.1-8 (Patrae), Paus.7.20.1 (Milichos), and Paus.8.53.1-4 (Tegea).
- (12) For Artemis *Orthia*, see Paus.3.16.11 (as note 10); see also Thompson, *op.cit.* (as note 4), and Dawkins R.M., *The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (JHS Supplementary Volume 5).
- (13) Thompson, *op.cit.* (as note 4), 286 (Fig.1), 287 (Fig.2), and 287-288 (comment). See also Dawkins, *op.cit.* (as note 12), PL.XCI, 1 & 1A (= Fig.1) and PL.XCII, 2 (= Fig.2).
- (14) Thompson, *op.cit.* (as note 4), 293 (Fig.9), and 292-293 (comment).
- (15) Dawkins, *op.cit.* (as note 12); for comment on the 'first style', see 205-206, and for the 'second style', 206-207, with PL.XCIII, 1 and PL.XCVIII, 3.
- (16) Wace A.J.B., 'The lead figurines', Chap.IX, *The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (as note 12), PL.CLXXXII, 1-16, and 259 (comment).
- (17) Wace, *op.cit.* (as note 16), PL.CLXXXVIII (all), PL.CLXXXIX, 1-5, with



- comment on 268-269; PL.CXCV, 1-12, with comment on 271; PL.CXCVIII, 23-29, with comment on 277; and PL.CC, 1 and 2, with comment on 279. See also 272 (Fig.125) and 273 (Fig.126).
- (18) Barrelet M.-T., 'Les déesses armées et ailées', *Syria* 32 (1955), Pl.XXI opp.240, and 222-223 (comment on Pl.XXI, 1).
- (19) Barrelet, *op.cit.* (as note 18), 241 (Fig.10a-d), with comment on 241, and 242 (Fig.11a-d), with comment on 242-243.
- (20) *Op.cit.* (as note 18), 248 (Fig.16a-d), with comment on 247-250, and 250 (Fig.17), with comment on 250-251.
- (21) *Op.cit.*, 258 (Fig.22), 257 (Fig.21) and 259 (Fig.25), with comment on 257-259.
- (22) Porada E., 'The cylinder seals found at Thebes in Boeotia', *AfO* 28 (1981-1982); for Mycenaean dating, see 4, for no.3, see 14 (quot.) and 15 (Fig.a & comment on Cypriot engraver), and for no.4, see 16 (quot.) and 17 (III.).
- (23) Thompson, *op.cit.* (as note 13); see also 289 (Fig.4), 288 (Fig.3) and 288 (comment). Thompson thinks that the feline of Fig.2 is a lion, but it is best to be cautious. See also 294 (Figs.10 & 11), and 293-294 (comment).
- (24) Dawkins, *op.cit.* (as note 12) and Wace, *op.cit.* (as note 16), PL.XCIII, 2 (= Fig.3) and 207 (comment), PL.XCVIII, 1 (= Fig.4) and 208 (comment), PL.XCVIII, 3 and 208-209 (comment), 260 (Figs.119 & 120 = Figs.10 & 11) and 259 (comment), 261 (Fig.121e) and 268 (comment), 263 (Fig.122f) and 259 (comment).
- (25) Thompson, *op.cit.* (as note 4), 297 (nos.1 & 2), and 299 (nos.18, 19 & 24). For the bronze bowl from Graechwyl (Switzerland), see Vermaseren M.J., *Cybele and Attis The myth and the cult*, Pl.4 and 218 (= Thompson's no.18). Thompson also notes on 302 that the cult of Artemis *Orthia* 'was by no means confined to Sparta alone'. The wide distribution of the iconography suggests this.
- (26) Thompson, *op.cit.* (as note 4), 302, 301 (no.43) and 299 (nos.19-23 from



Asia Minor).

- (27) Op.cit., 303.
- (28) Op.cit., 302 (Nimrud) and 303 (Aegean art).
- (29) Evans A., PM IV.II, 607 (descr.) and 608 (Fig.579Aa & c). Fig.597c probably depicts lions. See also Barrelet, op.cit. (as note 18), 253 (Fig.19a) and 252-254 (comment). There are other examples of Minoan goddesses with lions. See Evans A., PM II.II, 831 (Fig.546). This is a signet seal depicting a goddess with a spear, with her hand on the lion's back.
- (30) Evans A., 'Mycenaean tree and pillar cult and its Mediterranean relations', JHS 21 (1901), 164 (Fig.44); see also Evans A., PM IV.II, 610 (Fig.598b), for another illustration. There are also lentoid bead seals from Mycenae, depicting a goddess between lions. See Evans A., PM IV.I, 170 (Fig.133b & c).
- (31) Thompson, op.cit. (as note 4), 303-304.
- (32) Porada, op.cit. (as note 22); see also Barrelet, op.cit. (as note 20), for Fig.16.
- (33) Thompson, op.cit. (as note 4), 293 (Fig.9) and 301 (no.42).
- (34) Wace, op.cit. (as note 16), PL.CLXXXIX, 22 and 269 (comment); Dawkins, op.cit. (as note 12), PL.CLV, 5 and 235 (comment).
- (35) Paus.8.41.4; for Gk. and ET, see Jones, op.cit. (as note 5), IV, 106-107. For Eurynome as a daughter of Okeanos and Tethys, see Theog.358-362, and for the sea-goddess Thetis, see Theog.244. For Gk. and ET of these two texts, see Evelyn-White H.G., Hesiod The Homeric Hymns and Homerica (Loeb), 104-105 and 96-97. Pausanias connects the image of Artemis with Thetis, because Thetis is an oceanic nymph.
- (36) Attridge H.W. and Oden R.A., The Syrian goddess (de dea Syria) attributed to Lucian, 21, Sec.14 (quot.).
- (37) Yadin Y., Hazor: The rediscovery of a great citadel of the Bible, 56 (top).
- (38) Barrelet, op.cit. (as note 18), 253 (Fig.19b) and 254 (comment).
- (39) Buren E.D.van, 'Fish-offerings in ancient Mesopotamia', Iraq 10 (1948), 101.
- (40) Green A., 'A note on the Assyrian "Goat-fish", "Fish-man" and "Fish-woman"', Iraq 48 (1986), 27, with Pl.Xa-b at the back.

- (41) Scheil V., 'La déesse Nina et ses poissons', RA 15 (1918), 128 (Face) and 130 (Reverse).
- (42) For Pyrrhichos, see Paus.3.25.2; for Antiope the Amazon, see Paus.1.2.1, and for the river Thermodon, which flows into the Pontus, see Jones, op.cit. (as note 8), III, 189-190 (Str.7.3.6).
- (43) For an example of α privative, see LS I, op.cit., 262, col.1, thus ᾠστομος, 'speechless', and for ᾠστρατεία, see LS I, op.cit., 262, col.2-263, col.1. See also Aristoph. Peace, 526, and Farnell, op.cit. (as note 2), 485. However, it is not necessary to agree with Farnell that the cult is from Asia Minor.
- (44) Paus.1.2.1 (as note 42).
- (45) Farnell, op.cit. (as note 2), 485-486; Attridge and Oden, op.cit. (as note 36), 13, sec.4. Lucian identifies Astarte with Selene.
- (46) We propose a fem. adjectival termination like that of ἡδεῖα; see LS I, op.cit., 765, col.2 (ἡδύς).
- (47) Moor J.C.de, 'Atthartu the huntress', UF 17 (1986), 225-226.
- (48) Brown F., A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament, 12, col.1.
- (49) Virolleaud C., 'Les nouveaux textes mythologiques et liturgiques de Ras Shamra', Ugaritica 5 (1968), 547, line 23, and 549 (transl.). For KTU 1.114, line 23, see Dietrich M., Loretz O. and Sanmartín J., Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, AOAT 24 (1976), 120.
- (50) For ET of this passage, see Gibson J.C.L., Canaanite myths and legends, 102. Compare Driver G.R., Canaanite myths and legends, 47. See also Lete G.del Olmo, Mitos y leyendas de Canaan, 322.
- (51) See Gibson, op.cit. (as note 50), 4, note 6; Driver, op.cit. (as note 50), 5, note 2. For ḲAnat's 'battle scene', see Gibson, op.cit. (as note 50), 47-48, Driver, op.cit. (as note 50), 85; Lete, op.cit. (as note 50), 180ff. (KTU 1.3II, 1ff.).
- (52) Edwards I.E.S., 'A relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester college



- collection', JNES 14 (1955), 50-51 (comment), and Pl.III opp. 50. For the form Qadesh, see Leclant J., 'Astarté a cheval d'après les représentations Égyptiennes', Syria 37 (1960), 3. The t seems to be a W-S termination.
- (53) Leclant, op.cit. (as note 52), 11 (Fig.1) and 12 (quot.). A stalk of vegetation seems less probable than a lance; see 12.
- (54) Leclant, op.cit. (as note 52), Pl.III A opp. 40 (comment), and 40, note 5 (whip); 31 (Fig.10), and 30 (comment); Pl.I A opp.16, 23 (date) and 25 (comment); 51 (Fig.27), 51-52 (comment), and Pl.III B opp.40. For Amazons, see 60.
- (55) See our discussion of Leimon, p.78.
- (56) See Il.14.203 (<sup>ε</sup>Ρεία), Il.15.187 (<sup>ε</sup>Ρέα), Theog.135 (<sup>ε</sup>Ρεία), Theog.467 (<sup>ε</sup>Ρέν), Theog.634 (<sup>ε</sup>Ρείη), Il. To Demeter, 442, and Il. To Delian Apollo, 93. See also Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 35), 320, for Il. To Demeter (there is also Homeric Hymn XIII.to Demeter). For To Delian Apollo, see 330.
- (57) Theog.477ff. See Farnell L.R., CGS III, 297, where the author states:  
 'The mother-goddess probably possessed many personal names among the Eteocretan population. We may suppose that Rhea was one of them, a name which has not been successfully traced to any Hellenic stem:'
- (58) Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 35), 439, 1-5 (XIV. To the Mother of the gods). We alter the ET where necessary.
- (59) Paus.8.44.3; Albert A. and Schmidt M., Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon, 3, 25.48.
- (60) Paus.3.12.9 (Sparta), 7.17.9 (Dyme), 8.46.4 (Prokonnesos) and 10.32.3 (Penkalas). There was also a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene at Patrae in Achaea (Paus.7.20.3). See also Farnell, op.cit. (as note 57), 381-393, for a list of Rhea cults.
- (61) Jones, op.cit. (as note 42), V, 98-99 (Str.10.3.12). See also Farnell, op.cit. (as note 57), 386 (no.43). For the toponyms, see Meineke A., Stephani



- Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt, 326 (Ἰδῆ), 231 (Δίνδυμα), 572 (Σίπυλος), 519 (Πεσσινόου) and 389 (Κύβελα).
- (62) Paus.8.36.3; for the stone, see also Theog.485ff. See Papathomopoulos M., Antoninus Liberalis Les metamorphoses, Myth XIX, 'Les Voleurs', 33.
- (63) For this seal, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 57), Pl.XXXIII opp. 296 (comment); Evans, op.cit. (as note 29), 608 (Fig.597e); Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 25), Fig.1 opp.13.
- (64) Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 25), 21 (forms of Cybele) and 23 (Figs.12, 11 & comment). See also Aristoph.Birds, 877.
- (65) Vermaseren M.J., CCCA II. Graecia atque insulae, 107, no.359 (Pl. at the back). See also Farnell, op.cit. (as note 57), 289-290. Farnell thinks that this example may have been imported into Attica.
- (66) Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 65), 98 (no.324), 99 (nos.329 & 330), 100 (nos.332, 333 & 334), 101 (no.337), 102 (no.341), 123-124 (no.407), 129-130 (no.425), 131-132 (no.432), and 136 (no.441), with Pl. nos. at the back (as in our text), and individual nos. as above. For no.441, see also Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 25), Pl. 25. Here Vermaseren gives the date as 550-525 B.C., not as 530-525 B.C. (CCCA). For Latin biga, 'a two-horsed car or chariot', see Lewis C.T. and Short C., A Latin dictionary (1966 Ed.), 237, col.2.
- (67) Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 65), 139 (no.452), 157 (nos.495, 496 & 497), 167-168 (no.527), with Fig.18 on 168, 182-183 (no.567), 183 (no.568 & Fig.21), and 213 (no.664), with Pls. at the back.
- (68) Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 25), Fig.26 opp.71 (comment), and Pl.2.
- (69) Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 65), 214 (no.669), and 214-215 (no.670), with Pl. at the back. For no.670, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 57), 385, no.37 (= AA 1891, 176 no.44).
- (70) For Anthologia Palatina, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 57), 380, no.10 (Anth.Pal.6.94), and Paton W.R., The Greek anthology I (Loeb), 348-349;

for the Philoctetes, see Storr, op.cit. (as note 6), 396-399 (391 & 400-401). See also Farnell, op.cit., 379, (no.5).

- (71) For these examples, see Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 25), 14 (Fig.4) and 15 (Fig.5 & comment); 18 (comment); for no.3 see PL.14 only; for no.4 see 30 (comment); and for no.5 see 31; see also Pl. nos. between 144 and 177, and Vermaseren's lists of Figs. and Pls., 217-218.

The 'petting motif' also occurs at Ugarit. There is an Akkadian tablet from Ras Shamra, depicting a goddess seated on a chair between two lions standing on their hind legs. The goddess holds the paw of the lion in front, while the other lion seems to lean on the back of her chair. It is possible that the 'petting motif' originated in the Near East and spread to Greece through Anatolia. See Dhorme E., 'Petite tablette Accadienne de Ras Shamra', Syria 16 (1935), 195 (Figs.1 & 2). Fig.1 shows the scene and Fig.2 the reconstruction, including the position of the rear lion.

- (72) Brown R.A., Evidence for pre-Greek speech on Crete from Greek alphabetic sources, 205-211 (complete list); see also Σιπιλήν, a Cretan toponym, and Σίπυλος, an Anatolian mountain, 121.
- (73) Barrelet, op.cit. (as note 18), 250 (Fig.17) and 250-251 (comment).
- (74) Vermaseren, op.cit. (as note 25), 31; Barrelet, op.cit., 251 (Fig.18 & comment), and 258 (Fig.23 & comment).
- (75) Leclant, op.cit. (as note 52), Pl.IV A (drawing) and Pl.IV B (carving) opp.41, and 55-57 (comment). There are also the lion-headed Egyptian goddesses Tefnut and Urt-Hekau. See Budge E.A.W., The gods of the Egyptians 2, Pls. opp.90 and 362, and 88 for comment on lion-goddesses generally.
- (76) For  $\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha/\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ , 'easily, lightly', see LS II, op.cit., 1567, col.1.
- (77) For  $\epsilon\rho\alpha$ , 'earth', see LS I, op.cit., 680, col.1.
- (78) Roscher W.H., Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie, IV, 93 (with other etymologies of Rhea).



- (79) LS II op.cit., 1568, col.1; see also Fowler H.N., Plato IV (Loeb), 68-69 and 66-67 (Cratylus 402 A-B); Gaisford T., Etymologicon magnum seu verius lexicon (EM), 701, 18ff. (PÉA); for Chrysippus, see Arnim H., Stoicorum veterum fragmenta I, 318, Fr.1085 (schol. Theog. Hes.135):
- 'Rhea is the pouring forth of the rains, and according to Chrysippus Rhea is the destructive earth...'
- (80) Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 62), Myth XIX, Sec.2; for  $\beta\epsilon\kappa\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , 'boil forth', see also LS I, op.cit., 506, col.1.
- (81) For Ug.  $\underline{r}^c$ , see Segert S., A basic grammar of the Ugaritic language, 201, col.1 (Glossary); for the Heb., see Brown F., op.cit. (as note 48), 946, col.1.
- (82) For the Akk., see Meissner B. and Soden W.von, AHW 2, 976, col.2. There is also the Akk. noun  $\bar{r}e^2u(m)$ , 'shepherd', 977, col.1. For the Heb., see Brown F., op.cit., 944, col.2.
- (83) For the nominal -t suffix, see Segert, op.cit. (as note 81), 49 (Sec.52.3). Nouns with fem. -t erosion include  $\underline{b}tlt$ , 'girl', and  $\underline{h}mt$ , 'venom'; see Segert, op.cit., 182, col.1, and 186, col.1 (Glossary). Heb. equivalents are  $\text{הַזִּיכָּר}$  'virgin', and  $\text{הַזִּמְהָר}$ , 'poison'; see Brown F., op.cit. (as note 48), 143, col.2, and 404, cols.1-2.
- (84) For Ug. participles, see Segert, op.cit., 65 (Sec.54.27).
- (85) Paus.2.30.3 and Diod.Sic.5.76.3. For the complete myth of Britomartis, see Oldfather C.H., Diodorus of Sicily III (Loeb), 304-307 (Diod.Sic.5.76.3-4). See also Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 62), Myth XL, 'Britomartis', Sec.1.
- (86) Nilsson M.P., The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion, 509-510 (quot.), and 510, note 92 (refs.).
- (87) See Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 59), 1, 400.85 and 400.84; Gaisford, op.cit. (as note 79), 214, 22ff.; Roscher, op.cit. (as note 78), 1.I, 821-822 (Britomartis), for Solinus 11.8.
- (88) For  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 'maiden, girl', see LS II op.cit., 1339, col.2. See Marinatos



- S.N., 'Epigraphē eis Britomarpin ek Chersonēsou', AD 9 (1924-1925), 79ff.  
 R.A.Brown is sceptical concerning the etymology of both parts of the name Britomartis. See Brown R.A., op.cit. (as note 72), 41.
- (89) Marinatos, op.cit. (as note 88), 80, and 80, notes 4 and 5.
- (90) Marinatos, op.cit., 81 and 82 (sceptical comment). See Meineke, op.cit. (as note 61), 194 (Γάζα).
- (91) Marinatos, op.cit., 81; LS II, op.cit., 1339, col.2.
- (92) Marinatos, op.cit., 82; see also Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 59), 1, 399.46 (βριζομάντις) and 399.47 (βρίζω). See also LS I, op.cit., 330, col.1 (βρίζω), and I, 579, col.1, for the noun ἐνυπνιόμαντις, 'one who divines by dreams'.
- (93) Marinatos, op.cit., 82 (etymologies), and 84 for 'Sweet Marpessa'.
- (94) Astour M.C., HS, 144; see also CAD 10, Part 1, 300, col.2.
- (95) For 'gentle darts', see Il.24.759 and Od.15.411 (Apollo's darts). In the Odyssey text, Artemis accompanies her brother. See Marinatos, op.cit., 82.
- (96) Marinatos, op.cit., 80. There are three important Cretan inscriptions with the name; see Guarducci M., LC I, 119, lines 75-76 (Βριτόμαρπιν), 84, 1, A29, col.2 (Βριτόμαρ(πιν)), and 188, 9,\* c7 (Βρ[ιτ]όμαρπιν), from Lato, Dreros and Lyttos respectively.
- (97) Marinatos, op.cit., 81 (incl. quot.).
- (98) See Marinatos, op.cit., 82-83, Paus.7.18.8, and Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 85), Myth XL, 66, Sec.2, and 162, note 9, where Papathomopoulos notes that there is no trace of the identification of Britomartis with Laphria.
- (99) Marinatos, op.cit., 83; for the Messenian Marpessa, see Paus.4.2.7.
- (100) Marinatos, op.cit., 84.
- (101) Marinatos, op.cit., 83; Astour, op.cit. (as note 94), 273.
- (102) For an example of the Gk. fem. -ις termination, see LS II, op.cit., 1293,

- col.2; παλλακίς, 'concubine'. There is also the related noun παλλακή, 'concubine', with the fem. -η termination; see LS II, op.cit. (as above). For comment on the pre-Gk. -ησσα termination, see Marinatos, op.cit., 83-84, and 83, note 3.
- (103) Astour, op.cit. (as note 94), 144; CAD 10, Part 1 (as note 94), 303, col.2 (Ishtar) and 304, col.2 (other goddesses).
- (104) Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 85), 66 (Myth XL, Sec.2). For the use of the Akkadian language at Ugarit, and the worship of E-S deities there, see Healey J.F., 'The Akkadian "pantheon" list from Ugarit', SEL 2 (1985), 115ff., and esp. 118ff. (list). For the worship of the E-S demoness Lamashtu at Ugarit, see Nougayrol J., 'La Lamastu à Ugarit', Ugaritica 6 (1969), 394ff.; see also Chap. Four, pp.353-355. Lamashtu appears in an Akkadian text from Ugarit.
- (105) See Jones, op.cit. (as note 35), I, 408-411 (Paus.2.30.3-4); Papathomopoulos, op.cit., 66-67 (Myth XL, Secs.3-4). For ἀφανής, 'unseen', see LS I, op.cit., 286, col.1.
- (106) Paus.2.30.3; for ἀφίημι, 'send forth, discharge', see LS I, op.cit., 289, col.2-290, col.1.
- (107) See Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 59), I, 338.33; for ἀπτω, 'kindle, set on fire', see LS I, op.cit., 231, col.2. See Hdt.7.215 (ἀφ᾽ αἵας); Papathomopoulos, op.cit., 164, note 21.
- (108) IG IV (Inscriptiones Argolidis), 371 (nos.1580-1582).
- (109) Nilsson, op.cit. (as note 86), 512, note 11. See also 512, note 10, for the quoted etymology 'the Shining one'; see also our note 107 (above).
- (110) See I.G. IV (as note 108), 371. The Latin note simply states that Apha is 'a shorter form of the divine name' (breviorem formam...).
- (111) Kraus M., 'Artemis Aphaia', CR 22 (1908), 17, cols.1-2. Kraus makes one



error (col.1) in stating that the epithet Aphaia was given to Artemis. 'Britomartis Aphaia' would be a better title for his article. For the Heb., see Brown F., op.cit. (as note 48), 421, cols.1-2. There is also the adjective הַנָּזָה 'fair, beautiful'.

(112) Paus.1.29.2 (Athens) and 8.35.8 (Arcadia).

(113) Papathomopoulos, op.cit., 66-67 (Sec.4) and 164, note 22, where Papathomopoulos states:

'There has never been a temple of Artemis on the site of the sanctuary of Aphaia.'

(114) For \*wpy, see Driver, op.cit. (as note 50), 166, col.2, yp/wpy, 'beautified oneself', and note 11; see also Lete, op.cit. (as note 50), 561. For Akk. (w)apu(m), see Meissner and Soden, op.cit. (as note 82), 3, 1459, col.1.

(115) For text KTU 1.96, see Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, op.cit. (as note 49), 105, lines 1-2; see also Segert, op.cit. (as note 81), 132-133 (Sec.82.6).

(116) Astour, op.cit. (as note 94), 180-181. For tp, 'tambourine', see Gibson, op.cit. (as note 50), 159, col.2. For the ET 'how fair', see Albright W.H., Yahweh and the gods of Canaan, 114.

(117) See Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, op.cit., 11 and 13; for ET, see Lete, op.cit., 112, Driver, op.cit., 8, and Gibson, op.cit., 48.

(118) For the digamma, 𐤀, see Palmer L.R., The Greek language, 85-87. For Ug. affixes of the perfect, see Segert, op.cit., 58 (table), and for the participle, see 65 (Sec.54.27), as fem. qrit, 'calling, (she who is) calling'.

(119) See Jones, op.cit. (as note 105); Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 105), Sec.3; Oldfather, op.cit. (as note 85), 304-305.

(120) For δίκτυον, 'net', see LS I, op.cit., 431, col.1. For ET, see Mair A.W., Callimachus and Lycophron (Loeb), 76-77 (Hymn 3.195-200). For Mount Δίκτη, see Meineke, op.cit. (as note 61), 231.

(121) Nilsson, op.cit. (as note 86), 511-512; Palmer, op.cit. (as note 118), 13.

(122) See Astour M.C., 'Some new divine names from Ugarit', JAOS 86 (1966),



283-284, with the quotation on 284; Gordon C.H., 'Ugaritic textbook', *AnOr* 38 (1965), 386, col.2 (no.695), for *dqt*, 'a fem. head of small cattle for sacrifice'; Brown F., *op.cit.* (as note 48), 201, col.1, for the Heb.; *LS I*, *op.cit.*, 40, col.2, for the Gk.; Evelyn-White, *op.cit.* (as note 35), 114-115 (*Theog.*484), for Mount Aigaion; and Meriggi P., *Primi elementi di Minoico A*, 26, col.1, for *dikat[u]?*... 52 a2.

- (123) Brown R.A., *op.cit.* (as note 72), 179.
- (124) Evans A., *PM IV.II*, 577 (Figs.560 & 561).
- (125) *II.24.603ff.*
- (126) Evelyn-White, *op.cit.*, 108-109 (*Theog.*406-408).
- (127) Paus.1.31.1 (Zoster-on-Sea), 2.24:6 (Argos), 2.24.5 (Lykone), 3.11.9 (Sparta), 9.20.1 (Delion) and 9.22.1 (Tanagra). For Leto cults, see also Séchan and Lévêque, *op.cit.* (as note 3), 194-195.
- (128) Séchan and Lévêque, *op.cit.*, 191.
- (129) Séchan and Lévêque, *op.cit.*, 192; for a photograph of the Delian marble lions, see Demargne P., *Aegean art: The origins of Greek art*, 368 (no.490 & date).
- (130) See Peck A.L., Aristotle. *Historia animalium II* (Loeb), 344-345 (*HA* 580a); Papathomopoulos, *op.cit.* (as note 85), Myth XXXV, 'Cowherds', 59, Secs.1-2, and Myth XXVIII, 'Typhon', 48, Sec.3.
- (131) Evelyn-White, *op.cit.* (as note 35), III. *To Delian Apollo*, 113-118, with Gk. and ET on 332-333; Mair A.W., *op.cit.* (as note 120), 102-103 (*Hymn* 4.209-210), for the palm; 104-105 (4.262) for 'natal shoot of olive-tree' (γενέθλιον ῥέρνος ῥελαίης), and 110-111 (4.322) for 'sacred trunk of the olive' (πρέμνον.. ῥαγνὸν ῥελαίης). Callimachus has combined two traditions, that of the palm and the olive. Callimachus was probably born c.310 B.C.; see 2 (Introduction).
- (132) Papathomopoulos, *op.cit.*, Myth XVII, 'Leukippos', 30-31; for φύτιος, 'generative', see *LS II*, *op.cit.*, 1966, col.1.

- (133) Evelyn-White, op.cit., 96-97 and 98-99 (Theog.245, 248 & 255); LS II, op.cit., 1626, col.2, for Epic σπείος, 'cave'; Fowler, op.cit. (as note 79), 80-81 (Cratylus 406B); LS II, op.cit., 1044, col.1, for λήθη, 'forgetting, forgetfulness', and Ληθώ; for λανθάνω, 'escape notice', see LS II, op.cit., 1028, col.2-1029, col.1.
- (134) Meriggi P., Glossario Miceneo (Minoico B), 66, col.2 (ra-ti-jo & ra-to); Brown R.A., op.cit. (as note 72), 192-193 (Lato); Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 131), 326-327 (To Delian Apollo 30-45), for the wanderings of Leto.
- (135) Mann S.E., An Indo-European comparative dictionary, 681.
- (136) Séchan and Lévêque, op.cit. (as note 3), 194; II.20.40ff.; Jones, op.cit. (as note 8), VI (Loeb), 266-267 for Physkos (Str.14.2.4) and VI, 316-317 (Str.14.3.6), for Xanthos.
- (137) Séchan and Lévêque, op.cit., 194; for Leda, see Od.11.298.
- (138) Lycian is descended from Luwian; see Bryce T.R., 'The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia', Historia: ZAG 32, No.1 (1983), 5; see also Laroche E., 'Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien', BSL 53 (1957-1958), 160.
- (139) Laroche E., 'Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien (Suite)', BSL 55 (1960), 182 (TL 121 & TL 6, 2), and 183-184 (TL 56); see also 159:

TL 32a Zzalahe lada      the spouse of Lada

See also 160 for lada, 'femme'; for comment on TL 56, see Bryce, op.cit. (as note 138), 10. For ὕεγγονος, 'grandson', see LS I, op.cit., 467, col.2.

- (140) Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 130), 59, Secs.1-4.
- (141) Bryce, op.cit. (as note 138), 1.
- (142) Bryce, op.cit., 3; see Miller F.J., Ovid III Metamorphoses I (Loeb), 310-314 (6.339-381).



- (143) Bryce, *op.cit.*, 3; for Gk. μέλιτ-, 'honey', see *LS II*, *op.cit.*, 1097, col.2; see Bryce, *op.cit.*, 5 (Tremilis & Lukka), 9 (Erbina), 9-10 (Hellenisation) and 10 (quot.). See also Papathomopoulos, *op.cit.* (as note 130), 59, Sec.3.
- (144) Pritchard J.B., *ANET*, 108, col.1. (line 5ff.).
- (145) Pritchard, *op.cit.*, 384, cols.1-2 (lines 31 & 51). For the Zimri-Lim painting, see Moortgat A., *The art of ancient Mesopotamia*, 70.
- (146) Séchan and Lévêque, *op.cit.* (as note 3), 194. For Callimachus' date, see our note 131; for the date of the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, see Evelyn-White, *op.cit.* (as note 35), xxxvi-xxxvii (8th century B.C.).
- (147) Danthine H., Le palmier-dattier et les arbres sacres dans l'iconographie de l'Asie occidentale ancienne, Fig.143 (Pl.25), listed on 232, col.1 (Index of Pls.), with comment on 64; Fig.209 (Pl.31) and 234, col.1 (Index); Fig.572 (Pl.85) and 244, col.1 (Index); Fig.741 (Pl.113) and 248, col.2 (Index). See also 99 (comment on Figs.143, 209 & 741).
- (148) Danthine, *op.cit.*, Fig.15 (Pl.4) and 228, col.2 (Index); Fig.40 (Pl.8) and 229, col.1 (Index); Fig.349 (Pl.51) and 238, col.1 (Index); Fig.365 (Pl.54) and 238, col.1 (Index); see 100 for comment on the above four Figs. See also Fig.724 (Pl.110), 248, col.1 (Index), and 64 for comment. Danthine doubts the connection between the stalk of Fig.724 and the 'stylised palm' of Fig.143 (our note 147 & p.123 in text). See also Fig.869 (Pl.136), 252, col.2 (Index), and 129 (comment).
- (149) Danthine, *op.cit.*, Fig.893 and Fig.894 (Pl.143), 253, col.1 and 130-131 (comment).
- (150) *CAD* 9, 221, col.1 (definition of lītu), and 222, col.2 (Ishtar). For ina, 'in', see *CAD* 7, 141, col.2.
- (151) Paus.8.42.4-5; for ET, see Jones, *op.cit.* (as note 5), IV, 111-113, and also Frazer J.G., Pausanias's description of Greece I (ET), 428-429. Our ET is based on both these versions.
- (152) For Μέλαινα, 'black' (fem.), see *LS II*, *op.cit.*, 1095, col.2 (μέλας). See



- Jones, *op.cit.*, 113-117 (Paus.8.42.5-8 & 11-13); Frazer, *op.cit.*, 429-430.
- (153) Farnell, *op.cit.* (as note 57), 51. For the date of Pausanias, see Frazer, *op.cit.*, xv-xvi (Introduction).
- (154) Paus.8.25.4-6 (Thelpousa); see Jones, *op.cit.* (as note 151), 23-25; Frazer, *op.cit.*, 404-405. For Phigalia, see Paus.8.42.1; Jones, *op.cit.*, 109-111; Frazer, *op.cit.*, 428.
- (155) O'Flaherty W.D., Hindu myths. A sourcebook translated from the Sanskrit, 60-61 (texts 1 & 2), and 69 (text 3).
- (156) Farnell is sceptical of an etymological connection between Demeter <sup>2</sup>Εὐρύς and Saranyū; see Farnell, *op.cit.* (as note 57), 52.
- (157) Astour, *op.cit.* (as note 122), 277-278; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, *op.cit.* (as note 49), 106-108 (KTU 1.100); Virolleaud, *op.cit.* (as note 49), 564ff. (RS 24.244), 'Sapas, la déesse du Soleil, et les serpents'.
- (158) Young D.W., 'The Ugaritic myth of the god Horan and the mare', UF 11 (1979), 843; Bowman C.H. and Coote R.B., 'A narrative incantation for snake bite', UF 12 (1980), 135-136; Virolleaud, *op.cit.* (as note 49), 564-566 (text), with comment and partial translation on 566 and 569.
- (159) Astour, *op.cit.* (as note 122), 277; Young, *op.cit.* (as note 158), 843; Bowman and Coote, *op.cit.* (as note 158), 136. Gordon thinks, as does Astour, that ql.bl is a son of Sapsu; see Gordon, *op.cit.* (as note 122), 478, col.1 (no.2228a). For Akk. balu, 'to exterminate', see CAD 2, 72, col.2 (bottom). Virolleaud leaves ql.bl untranslated as a pers.n; see also Virolleaud, *op.cit.*, 578 (RS 24.251), for comment on 21. This is text KTU 1.107; see Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, *op.cit.*, 114, line 21.
- (160) Virolleaud, *op.cit.*, 566 and 569; Bowman and Coote, *op.cit.*, 136; Young, *op.cit.*, 843.
- (161) Virolleaud, *op.cit.*, 569; Bowman and Coote, *op.cit.*, 136; Young, *op.cit.*, 843. Gordon translates <sup>√</sup>smrr as 'venomous', from the root mrr, 'to strengthen, bless, command'; see Gordon, *op.cit.*, 438, col.2-439, col.1

(no.1556), under mrr. For the word <sup>v</sup>smrr, which 'designates or describes a kind of snake', see Gordon, op.cit. (as note 122), 492, col.1 (no.2443a).

(162) Virolleaud, op.cit., 569; Bowman and Coote, op.cit., 136; Young, op.cit., 843. Gordon translates <sup>v</sup>cqsr as 'a kind of snake'; see Gordon, op.cit., 460, col.2 (no.1909a).

(163) Bowman and Coote, op.cit., 136; Young, op.cit., 843.

(164) Virolleaud, op.cit., 569; Bowman and Coote, op.cit., 136; Young, op.cit., 843.

(165) Virolleaud; Bowman and Coote; Young; ops.cits. (as note 164).

(166) Ops.cits. (as note 164).

(167) Virolleaud, op.cit., 569; Young, op.cit., 843; Bowman and Coote, op.cit., 136.

(168) Bowman and Coote, op.cit., 136-137 (lines 71-76); Young, op.cit., 844; Virolleaud, op.cit., 574, stating:

'C'est sans doute <sup>v</sup>Sps qui s'adresse a sa fille.'

The phrase bn.btn is translated as 'fils du couleuvre'. Our ET is based on Bowman, Coote and Young. We have translated yhr as 'snake'; see Segert, op.cit. (as note 81), 188, col.1.

(169) Astour, op.cit. (as note 122), 278. For the Syrian cylinder, see Barrelet, op.cit. (as note 18), 244 (Fig.13a), and 244-245 (comment); for the Alalakh plaque, see Barrelet M.-T., 'Deux déesses Syro-Phéniciennes sur un bronze du Louvre', Syria 35 (1958), 42 (Fig.9 & comment).

(170) Astour, op.cit., 278.

(171) Young, op.cit., 844.

(172) Astour states:

'We may safely ascribe the introduction of this iconographic entity into south-western Arcadia to the Mycenaean Age.'

See Astour, op.cit., 278.

(173) Leuven J.C.van, 'Mycenaean goddesses called Potnia', Kadmos 18 (1979), 118.



## CHAPTER THREE

### THE GODDESS ATHENA AND OTHER AVIAN DAEMONS, INCLUDING SEMITIC ANTECEDENTS OF GREEK BIRD, MONSTER AND SNAKE MOTIFS.

#### SECTION A—ATHENA AND HER ICONOGRAPHY.

##### (i) Introduction - The antiquity of Athena in Greece.

The Mycenaean antiquity of the goddess Athena is a vital prerequisite for the transmission of any Semitic themes to her during this period. It is virtually certain that Athena's origin dates back to the title a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja recorded at Knossos (p.56). There is also the title di-wi-ja at Pylos.<sup>1</sup> The classical Greek equivalents of the two titles appear together in the *Iliad* (6.305), where Athena is described as Πότνια, 'Mistress/Lady' and δῖα, 'divine, wondrous'. Here Athena also has the epithet Ἐρυσίπολις, 'Protecting the city'. According to J.C. van Leuven, di-wi-ja is 'virtually a mainland version' of a-ta-na, which seems to come from Crete. However, we note that the ultimate origin of the name Athena is unknown.<sup>2</sup>

In cult Athena is often connected with the citadel or Acropolis in various localities. Pausanias provides evidence for this. There was a temple of Athena on top of the Acropolis at Megara, and one each on those of Elis and Asopos. Athena was also called by the epithet Σώτριά, 'Saviour', as at Mount Boreion near Asea, and on inscriptions of Athens and Delos. She also has the epithet Ὑγία, 'Health' (pp.175-176). On the Acropolis at Athens there was a statue of Athena Ὑγία. There was also an altar dedicated to her under this epithet at Acharnae.<sup>3</sup>

Such epithets suggest that Athena may have been a protective Mycenaean palace



goddess, as M.P.Nilsson states, 'the house-goddess of the Mycenaean king'. One fragment of evidence for an original goddess of the palace may be Athena's close connection with crafts. Thus in the Theogony (573-575) she made silver clothing and an embroidered veil. At Thespieae in Boeotia she was known by the epithet Ἐργάνη, 'Worker'.<sup>4</sup>

However, as L.Séchan and P. Lévêque observe, it is not likely that Athena is entirely a Greek divinity introduced by the Achaean invaders, for she has many Aegean traits. These include such Minoan symbols as the bird and snake.<sup>5</sup> In order to understand Athena's character and origin, it is necessary for us to examine such motifs.

## (ii) Athena's owl in Greek iconography.

First let us examine the artistic evidence for Athena as a goddess connected with the owl. A.B.Cook suggests five distinct and successive stages in the evolution of Athena from a bird to a goddess. According to Cook, Athena was first understood as a bird, then as a bird with human arms, then as a bird with a human head. Then Athena became a goddess with the wings of a bird, and finally a goddess with a bird for her attribute.<sup>6</sup> Cook states:

'Goddess and bird, originally connected by a bond which amounted to identity, were never wholly separated.'<sup>7</sup>

We will now examine some artistic representations possibly relating to each of Cook's five stages, in order to test the accuracy of his theory.

### (1) The iconography of Athena as an owl.

Cook illustrates (Fig.581) a bronze inscribed plate, depicting an owl between two sprays of olive. The owl may represent the goddess Athena herself in the form of a bird. This plate dates from the 4th century B.C., and is an example of the town-arms of Athens. Cook thinks that an owl Athena may explain this symbolism. This is one possible explanation, which Cook also applies to coins (Figs.586-590). However, we

note that the owl on the coins may just as easily represent Athens itself.<sup>8</sup>

This interpretation is more difficult to maintain with regard to other examples. Thus Cook illustrates (Fig.583) a broken kylix predating 480 B.C., depicting an owl between two sprays of olive. On it there is an inscription reading:

'.....os dedicated (this) as his firstfruits.' (p.787)

This suggests that the potter may have intended the owl to represent the goddess. Next Cook mentions, but does not illustrate, a cylindrical red ware vessel with an owl accompanied by the inscription Ath[.....], which may spell Athena. An amphora from Caere (Pl.LIII) has a scene including a god seated on a throne, holding a sceptre to which a small owl is clinging. The back of the throne terminates in the long neck and head of a bird, probably a swan. Thus the god is probably Zeus, who transformed himself into a swan in the myth of Leda. The scene is probably a depiction of Zeus in labour, about to give birth to Athena. The owl may be the epiphany of the goddess.<sup>9</sup>

A black-figured amphora is illustrated both by Cook (Fig.578) and by E.M.Douglas (Fig.1). This depicts a male figure leading a ram towards an altar upon which a huge owl is perched. Cook admits that the presence of the owl indicates a sacrifice to Athena, but thinks that this is scarcely 'ornithomorphism', while Douglas thinks that the owl is Athena, for she states:

'...here - at least - Athena is represented by her owl.' (p.175)

This is probable, for there is no deity in the scene, other than the owl, to whom the sacrifice may be offered.

Douglas also describes a black-figured vase, which depicts Athena springing from the head of Zeus, her owl perched upon his wrist. According to Douglas, the Caere amphora (above, Pl.LIII) may be the prototype of this, since only the owl appears on it, and not the goddess. Thus Douglas suggests that the anthropomorphic image of Athena was added to the vase for greater clarity of representation.<sup>10</sup>

## **(2) Athena as a bird with human arms.**

For this second 'stage' in the evolution of Athena, Cook gives only one example, one of the terracotta pendants from near Tarentum in southern Italy. This depicts an owl



with human hands spinning wool (Figs.595-596). As Cook states, such pendants may represent Athena Ἐργάνη, 'Worker' (p.152).<sup>11</sup>

### (3) Athena as a bird with a human head.

Three of Cook's examples are worth noting. The first is an early Corinthian aryballos, which depicts Athena as a human goddess (Fig.597). She stands by the chariot of Herakles, who is fighting with the hydra. Perched on the reins is Athena's owl, while on the goad is a woman-headed bird, with the head-dress and facial profile almost identical to that of Athena. Behind her head is the word ὠΥΣ (wous). Cook accepts that this may be an onomatopoeic name for 'owl'.<sup>12</sup> Concerning this aryballos, Cook states that

'...the Corinthian potter has here synchronised...three distinct stages in the evolution of Athena - the ornithomorphic, the semi-ornithomorphic, and the anthropomorphic.'<sup>13</sup>

If this is so, it is necessary to ask when in history this development occurred. This is unknown; the presence of the owl, the human-headed bird and the goddess on the same vase suggests to us not a chronological evolution, but rather three different but contemporary epiphanies of Athena.

The second example is a red-figured kylix, which depicts Athena as a goddess, with an owl behind her and a human-headed bird in front (Fig.600). The human-headed bird somewhat resembles a Siren.

The third example is a Corinthian aryballos, which depicts a human-headed bird wearing a helmet (Fig.601). Cook states that this is

'...Athena herself, no longer a bird, not yet a goddess.' (p.801)

The identification of the figure with Athena is tentative at best. However, the same argument applies both to this and the previous two examples. Athena as a human-headed bird may be contemporary with Athena as an owl and a goddess.<sup>14</sup>

### (4) Athena as a goddess with the wings of a bird.

Four of Cook's examples are worth noting. An Etruscan bronze represents Athena in



human shape with wings, an owl upon her right hand (Fig.612). She is depicted with wings on an archaic Etruscan cornelian scarab. An Ionian onyx scarab dating from the 6th century B.C. depicts Athena with full breasts, helmet and spear, and two recurved wings sprouting behind her back (Fig.615). An Attic black-figured bowl dating from the 6th century B.C. depicts both a winged and a wingless Athena (Fig.617).<sup>15</sup>

The extremely early date of such examples renders Cook's 'evolutionary' theory doubtful. If the fourth stage was already developed by early classical times, when did the iconography of Athena as an owl begin?

**(5) Athena as a goddess with a bird for her attribute.**

Two of Cook's examples are worth noting. An Attic bronze statuette dating from the 5th century B.C. represents a wingless Athena releasing an owl from her right hand (Fig.639). Athena is depicted in a similar posture, releasing an owl from her right hand, on a relief of Pentelic marble, dating from c.465 B.C. (Fig.640).<sup>16</sup>

Thus we have Cook's latest 'evolutionary' stage at a very early period. Chronologically, the theory that Athena was originally an owl, then gradually evolved into a goddess, is not convincing.

**(iii) Athena's owl in Greek literature.**

The literature also gives support for the simultaneous expression of Athena's different epiphanies. In the Odyssey (22.239-240) Athena transforms herself into a different bird, in this case a swallow. J.R.Pollard states concerning Athena:

'There are clearly powerful arguments to support the view that Athena was once an owl-goddess, but it is curious that although she frequently assumes bird form in Homer and is described as "owl-faced" on no less than ninety-two occasions, she never takes the shape of an owl.'<sup>17</sup>

This fact may possibly be explained by the close association of Athena with her owl. Since she often has an owl (p.152ff.), in Homer she need never become one herself.

However, Pollard's translation of Athena's epithet γλαυκῶπις as 'owl-faced' is doubtful. M.C.Astour gives the same translation, adding the variants 'owl-eyed' and 'owl-shaped'. Astour thinks that Athena 'was originally imagined as an owl', an opinion which is also doubtful. It is more probable that γλαυκῶπις means 'gleaming-eyed', with reference to the bright yellow eyes of the 'Little Owl', *Athene noctua*, which most probably was Athena's bird. It is the only small, fat owl in Greece, closely resembling many artistic depictions of Athena's owl.<sup>18</sup>

The scholiast on the *Iliad* relates the noun γλαῦξ, 'owl', to the verbal participle γλαυκιδών, 'glaring fiercely', and to the verb γλαύσσω, 'shine, glitter'. According to the scholiast the owl is of fiery form (πυρῶδες) around the eyes, and so is able to see on moonless nights. This text offers some support to the translation 'gleaming-eyed'.<sup>19</sup>

There is more literary evidence for the owl epiphany of Athena, not as an original form of the goddess, but rather as her constant companion from the early classical era. There are five relevant texts:

- (1) In Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1086) there is the line:

'For before we fought an owl flew through the army.'

This refers to the battle of Salamis, whose triremes are mentioned (1093). The scholiast on *Wasps* (1086) states that the owl is Athena.

The owl is most probably the epiphany of the war-goddess Athena as the bringer of victory. At Athens Athena was known by the epithet Ἀρεία, 'Warlike', at Megara she was called Νίκη, 'Victory', and at Pergamon Νικηφόρος, 'Bringing victory'.<sup>20</sup>

- (2) In his *Life of Themistocles*, Plutarch mentions the same incident at Salamis. While Themistocles was speaking on the deck of his ship, an owl was seen to



fly through the ships from the right and alight on his mast-top. This encouraged those listening to Themistocles' speech to do battle.

- (3) Diodorus Siculus mentions that Agathocles, when his soldiers were frightened by great numbers of Carthaginian cavalry and infantry, let loose owls into his army. Agathocles had prepared this plan in advance, in order to relieve the faintheartedness of the soldiers. The owls flew through the phalanx, alighting on the shields and helmets. This gave the soldiers courage, each man thinking of the owls as a good omen because the bird is sacred to Athena.

In this instance the owls were the contrivance of Agathocles. An accidental appearance of an owl may well have been treated as the epiphany of Athena, as at the battle of Salamis (texts 1 & 2).

- (4) As Cook observes, the owl which portended victory to friends also portended defeat to enemies. Thus the owl may also be symbolic of death. In his work On the characteristics of animals, Aelian notes that if an owl accompanies and stays beside a man who has set out on business, this is not a good omen. Thus Pyrrhos of Epirus set out for Argos at night, travelling on horseback with his spear erect. An owl met him, perched upon his spear and would not depart. When he arrived at Argos, Pyrrhos met an inglorious death. In his Life of Pyrrhos, Plutarch records the manner in which this occurred. At Argos Pyrrhos plunged in among the enemy who were pursuing him. He was wounded by a spear which pierced his breastplate, and turned on his attacker. The man's mother, who was watching from a house-top, threw a tile at Pyrrhos which struck him on the head and killed him.<sup>21</sup>

- (5) Finally, let us note the myth of Meropis, told by Antoninus Liberalis (Myth XV). Eumelos the son of Merops had three arrogant children; Byssa, Meropis and Agron. They all inhabited the island of Kos, the 'Meropid' island, and since the earth provided abundant produce for them, she (Ge) was the only deity that they honoured. They never went to the festivals of the gods and insulted them all. Thus on one occasion they were invited to a festival of



Athena. The brother (Agron) declined the invitation, saying that he did not love a goddess with gleaming (γλαυκῆν) eyes, since the girls who had made the invitation had black eyes. Moreover, he absolutely hated Athena's bird the owl. Hermes, Athena and Artemis appeared in human disguise before the family, Athena and Artemis as girls, and Hermes in the garment of a shepherd. Hermes called Eumelos and Agron, inviting them to a banquet, where sacrifices would be offered to Hermes. Hermes attempted to persuade Eumelos and Agron to lead Byssa and Meropis to the grove of Artemis and Athena. As soon as she heard the name Athena, Meropis began to insult her, and the goddess transformed her into an owl. Byssa became the bird of the same name, the bird of Leukothea. Agron attempted to run, but Hermes transformed him into a plover (χαραδριός). Hermes made Eumelos a night-raven (νυκτικόραξ), a bird of evil omens.<sup>22</sup>

We have already noted that the toponym Kos is probably derived from Heb. **כֹּס** , which may be a type of owl (above, p.40). However, Heb. **כֹּס** is translated in the LXX as νυκτικόραξ, 'night-raven', the same bird into which Eumelos was transformed. The Heb. noun has been traditionally understood as the 'Little Owl', Athene noctua, while G.R.Driver suggests that it means the 'Tawny Owl', Strix aluco.<sup>23</sup>

Whatever the exact species meant, there can be little doubt that the island of Kos takes its name from this W-S noun. Kos was also known as Meropis (Μεροπίς). Astour suggests that this name is also W-S, to be derived from m<sup>e</sup>rappâ, 'healing' (fem.).<sup>24</sup>

The association of Athena in the myth of Meropis with the island of Kos gives further evidence for the owl epiphany of the goddess during the classical period. The above W-S etymologies suggest an oriental origin of Athena's owl motif.

**(iv) Minoan and Semitic origins of Athena as an owl goddess.**

It is necessary to consider the possibility that Athena's owl motif may be a purely Greek evolve, unconnected with oriental bird deities. One may argue that this epiphany is easily explained by the presence of owls dwelling upon the Acropolis rock at Athens. According to Cook, Athena was originally a 'pre-Greek mountain mother...whose life was manifested in the flora and fauna of the Akropolis-rock'.

Nilsson states:

'The bird which was always heard and found on the acropolis became quite naturally the bird of the goddess enthroned on the acropolis who according to the old belief appeared in the shape of a bird.'<sup>25</sup>

This point of view is unconvincing, for two reasons:

- (1) As Astour observes, and as the ornithologists confirm, owls prefer to inhabit ruins and desolate places. Astour, who supports the oriental origin of Athena's owl, notes that there would have been fewer owls on the Acropolis before it became a ruin. Thus a special connection of the owl with Athena is not likely to have developed in this way. According to S.Cramp, the habitat of the 'Little Owl', Athene noctua (above, p.156) includes ravines, gorges, cliffs, semi-deserts and marine islands. These include Rhodes and Crete. No doubt the island of Kos would also be suitable.<sup>26</sup>
- (2) A purely Greek evolution does not explain why the island of Kos has a W-S avian name. Any other oriental connections with the owl of Athena would also remain mysterious (p.160ff.).

**Minoan evidence.**

There is some evidence for a Minoan bird goddess, who is possibly ancestral to Athena. A.Evans illustrates a Minoan dove goddess (Fig.193a1 & a2) with two 'handmaidens' (Fig.193b & c) from the 'Shrine of the Double Axes' at Knossos. The



bird, probably a dove, is perched on the head of the goddess. There is also a gold female figure from Mycenae (Evan's Fig.169), who has a bird on top of her head, and one attached to each elbow. The figure is made of gold leaf. An almost identical figure, also from Mycenae, has one bird attached to her head. Nilsson illustrates these (Fig.154, A & B), stating that they represent a goddess. Owls were also known in Minoan art. Evans illustrates (Fig.410 & 410 bis) a vase and an ivory seal from Mesarà. The EM vase is carved with the face and wings of an owl, and the ivory seal is owl-shaped.<sup>27</sup>

The motif of the bird perched on the head of the goddess is of interest. Cook suggests that the motif of Athena's owl on top of her head may be descended from the Minoan dove goddess. Thus Cook illustrates a bronze statuette of the Roman period, depicting Athena with an owl on her helmet (Fig.635). In Birds, Aristophanes notes that the daughter of Zeus (Athena) placed an owl on her head. Thus this motif may be of Minoan origin, although there is no evidence for a Minoan owl goddess as such.<sup>28</sup>

### Oriental evidence.

Now let us consider the most important fragment of evidence for the oriental origin of Athena's owl. This is the Burney Relief, a very beautiful Mesopotamian terracotta, which depicts a nude female figure standing on the backs of two lions. Instead of human feet she has the talons of a bird, and two wings fall from her shoulders. Otherwise the figure is human, with the face and figure of a beautiful woman. The lions are joined back-to-back with their heads facing the front, and they are flanked by two owls.<sup>29</sup> There are three relevant questions concerning the Burney Relief, which we will now consider. They are:

- (1) Is the Burney Relief genuine?
- (2) Who is the female figure depicted?
- (3) If we assume that there is some connection of the Burney Relief with the owl of Athena, may we also compare the character of Athena with the motifs of this Mesopotamian daemon?



- (1) The Burney Relief is a remarkable work, so it is not surprising that its authenticity has been questioned. H. Frankfort considers in full the criticism of the style, and it is not necessary to repeat his remarks at length. However, we note that Frankfort gives two criteria for establishing the authenticity of the work, and these are convincing. The first criterion is the agreement of stylistic qualities with those of better authenticated works, and the second is the agreement of the iconography with ancient beliefs.<sup>30</sup> Thus Frankfort illustrates a bronze statuette of the Larsa period from Ur (Fig.5), which has exactly the same hair-style as the figure of the Burney Relief (Fig.1). A bronze figurine from Tell Asmar also has similar hair.<sup>31</sup> Frankfort notes that the closed mouths of the lions alone deviate from the normal Mesopotamian style, but may have been depicted in this way to avoid 'threatening' the worshipper, since the Burney Relief may well have been a cultic object of worship.<sup>32</sup>

E.D. van Buren illustrates a very similar relief (Fig.3). A plaque depicts a nude female in a virtually identical style to that of the Burney Relief. She has the same type of hair-style, arms raised in the same position, the same type of drooping wings, and the same back-to-back attitude of the beasts upon which she stands. However, these are not lions but ibexes, and their bodies do not overlap. Buren also compares other works of art with the Burney Relief. Thus there is a relief of the warrior goddess Ishtar standing on the backs of two lions (Fig.2). The lions are in the same position as those of the Burney Relief, except that they do not turn their heads to the front. There is also a broken relief from Babylon of the lower half of a female figure, in which the wings and lions are visible (Fig.4). Her feet are virtually erased, but seem to be 'too big and widespreading' for human feet. Thus they may be the talons of a bird, like those of the Burney Relief. This nude female stands on the backs of two lions whose bodies are turned in opposite directions, but whose heads are turned to the front. These examples are sufficient to show that the art of the Burney

Relief is not unique.<sup>33</sup>

Buren also illustrates a haematite figurine of an owl (Fig.6). This dates from the Sumerian era, and proves that owls were known in oriental, as in Minoan art (above, p.160).<sup>34</sup>

There is one further point of interest. Frankfort notes that the black paint on the manes of the lions on the Burney Relief is not likely to be of recent manufacture.<sup>35</sup>

The above evidence clearly establishes that the Burney Relief is genuine.

- (2) Since there is no inscription on the Burney Relief, we cannot be certain of the female figure's identity. At best, we may compare the iconography with known descriptions in Mesopotamian mythology. There are at least three interesting possibilities for her identity; she may be the goddess Ishtar, the demoness lilitu, or the demoness kilili (kililu).<sup>36</sup>

### Ishtar.

The main connection between the figure of the Burney Relief and the goddess Ishtar is that both stand on the backs of lions. We have already noted that this is a motif of Ishtar (pp.97 & 123). Buren thinks that Ishtar as a bird-goddess may also be evidence for an identification with that figure. She quotes a text from Ur:

'Queen (of heaven), who puts on the "Garment of heaven", who rises in the sky valiantly,

Over the sky she flies.' (Col.IV, 23-24)

As Buren notes, Ishtar has probably been transformed into a bird.<sup>37</sup>

These two motifs, the lions and the bird, do not seem very convincing reasons for identifying the figure of the Burney Relief with Ishtar. The lion motif may have been borrowed. Moreover, the evidence for Ishtar as a bird-goddess does not show any specific connection with the owl. This would surely be required in order to demonstrate the identification with Ishtar.



## Lilitu.

An identification with the demoness lilitu is somewhat more probable. Lilitu is a demoness of disease and death. Her male equivalent is the demon lilû. In the CAD, some texts referring to these two daemons are quoted:

'...sickness, death, l.-demon, female l.-demon...be it the l.-demon, or the female l.-demon, or the l.-girl.....the l.-demon and the female l.demon take refuge in the hidden corners...'

In omen texts we also have:

'...seizure by the l.-demon...the l.-demon will seize this man...l.-demon and headache will seize him...Istar will ... a l.-demon in the house of that man...'

In a ritual text we have:

'...in order that the l.-demon should not come near the baby...'<sup>38</sup>

A Sumerian fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic also mentions lilitu. In this text, the destruction of the demoness' tree-house by Gilgamesh is described:

'In the midst (of the tree) Lilitu had built her a house, the shrieking maid, the joyful, the bright Queen of heaven.'<sup>39</sup>

According to E.G.Kraeling, the Sumerian name lilitu suggests that the demoness was originally that of an evil wind. In Sumerian she also has the name KI-SIKIL-LÍL-LÁ, 'the beautiful maiden'. Kraeling gives three reasons for identifying the demoness of the Burney Relief with lilitu. First, the demoness has wings. This seems to suggest a 'demoness of the wind', such as lilitu. Second, the owls strongly suggest a nocturnal demoness. Lilitu may have been regarded as nocturnal, since the name resembles the Sem. for 'night'; Akk. lilatu and Heb. לִילַת. Third, the demoness of the Burney Relief is beautiful, and lilitu is 'the beautiful maiden'.

Frankfort agrees with Kraeling's interpretation, adding that the owls may be symbolic of lilitu. Thus in the Sumerian version of the Gilgamesh Epic,



lilitu built her nest in a tree, and the epithet 'shrieking maid' suggests the owl. Frankfort agrees that this cannot be proved.<sup>40</sup>

The final fragment of evidence is from the OT. In Isaiah (34.14) Heb. לִילִית is the W-S form of lilitu:

'Yeah, לִילִית shall settle there  
and find no resting place for herself.'

Following this (34.15) the owl ( כּוֹס ) is mentioned. It is interesting that Driver gives כּוֹס the translation 'female storm demon', rather than 'owl'.<sup>41</sup>

Thus there are strong arguments to support that identification of the demoness with lilitu. However, we note that the epithet 'shrieking maid' may be an epithet of any bird, not merely of the owl. In Isaiah, the association of לִילִית with כּוֹס is a possible clue to a connection of lilitu with the owl.

### Kilili (kulili, kililu, kulilu)

There is a specific Mesopotamian owl-demoness, with whom the demoness of the Burney Relief may be identified. Various texts are quoted in the CAD. The first meaning is 'owl', as an ominous bird:

'...if an owl [hoots?] in the dead of night in a man's yard either in a tree or in a ...'

Kilili also means a female demon, a demoness:

'...the k.-demon, the queen of the windows, k.- who leans into the windows...'

There is also a conjuration recited by the sick, probably in order to expel the demoness:

'...he (the sick person) recites three times the conjuration: "you, k.-demon, who leans into (the house) through the windows.'

Finally, it is stated in the CAD that the 'bird of kilili' is probably the owl. The Burney Relief is mentioned as evidence.<sup>42</sup>

Frankfort notes that the Mesopotamian dead wore feathers, and that the demoness of the Burney Relief represents 'an inhabitant of the Land of Death'.

The wings of the figure suggest this. This is clear from the poem The descent of Ishtar to the Nether World:

'(where) they are clothed like birds, with wings for garments.'<sup>43</sup>

Thus the chthonian nature of this demoness as an inhabitant of the Netherworld is not in doubt. It seems that kilili is the most probable identification.

- (3) The final question concerns a possible connection between the character of the demoness and the character of the goddess Athena. Cook suggests that the demoness of the Burney Relief is

'- the remote ancestress of Athena, half-bird half goddess, theà glaukôpis as Homer's forebears called her.'<sup>44</sup>

Cook then quotes a letter which he received from S. Smith, giving criticism of Cook's idea. Smith expresses the opinion that the demoness of the Burney Relief is a ravisher of men, and notes that this contrasts with the virgin character of Athena. Smith thinks that the demoness may be ardat-lili, 'the lilu-woman' (see p.342).<sup>45</sup> If this is so, she may well be a ravisher of men. In the CAD, several texts concerning 'the lilu-woman' are quoted:

'The man whom the l-woman has chosen, the man whom the l-woman has detained.

...l-woman who has no husband.

The l-woman blew in through the man's window.

The l-woman will choose him.'<sup>46</sup>

We have already noted the possible identification of the demoness with lilitu. This type of text suggests that the demoness has quite a different character from that of Athena. However, we must not make too much of this. The virginity of Athena is almost certainly a Greek mythological idea of the much later classical era.<sup>47</sup>

Smith's next point is more significant. If there is a connection between Athena and the demoness, it is necessary to demonstrate that Athena has a demonic character. Cook answers this criticism with the observation that



Athena is connected with the Gorgon, which was sometimes depicted as a ravenous bird of prey. Thus Cook illustrates a black-figured Etruscan hydria (Fig.649). This depicts a monster with a Gorgon's head, four wings and the talons of a bird. Its human arms clutch two naked youths. As we will see (pp.181-193), the Gorgon is clearly demonic.<sup>48</sup>

However, there is more conclusive evidence for the demonic aspect of Athena's character. According to the scholiast on Lycophron's Alexandra (1141), human sacrifices were offered to Athena at Troy. Due to the unlawful intercourse of Aias (Ajax) with Cassandra, the land of Locris was in the grip of pestilence and famine. The oracular response to the problem was that for one thousand years, two maidens were to be sent to Troy, chosen by lot. This would appease Athena. The Trojans used to meet them, then seize and kill them. Their bones were burned and the ashes thrown into the sea. Then the Locrians would send more girls. If any of the girls escaped, they went up secretly to the temple of Athena, where they became priestesses. They swept and sprinkled the temple. They only approached the goddess or left the temple by night (νύκτωρ). After one thousand years the sacrifices ceased.<sup>49</sup>

Thus we seem to have a tradition of great antiquity. The human sacrifices suggest that Athena is a goddess closely connected with death.

There is also artistic evidence for a chthonian Athena. Farnell illustrates a gemstone (Pl.XIII.b). This depicts Athena, helmeted and leaning on her spear, seated to the left of an altar flame. She is holding a disc-shaped object over the flame. Farnell thinks that she is pouring a libation, which is possible. To the right of the altar stands a three-headed dog, clearly Kerberos, and to his right a god who is pointing at the flame. He may be Hades (Ἅϊδης), the god of the Netherworld.<sup>50</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

There is no doubt that Athena is a chthonian goddess. The above evidence clearly



shows that Athena's owl motif is derived from the demonology of the Near East, especially in relation to the Burney Relief.

**(v) The snake of Athena - The evidence of Greek art and literature.**

Apart from the owl, Athena's usual symbol is her snake. The goddess and the snake occur together frequently in classical Greek art. We may note just five examples:

- (1) Cook illustrates a red-figured pyxis, that depicts Athena with a spear and a helmet, standing in a chariot drawn by two huge snakes (Fig.566).
- (2) Cook also illustrates a later Athenian aryballos (Fig.567). Here Athena stands wearing her crested helmet and leaning on her spear. A huge snake with a forked tongue rears in front of her. According to J.E.Harrison, this snake is 'the double of Athene'. The closeness of the snake to the goddess makes this idea quite possible.<sup>51</sup>
- (3) Farnell illustrates a black-figured hydria, that depicts Athena seated with a long spear leaning against her shoulder (Fig.XIVb). She is holding her crested helmet in her left hand. The forepart of a snake with short striations rears in front of her feet.
- (4) Farnell also illustrates a black-figured kylix, that depicts Athena standing behind an altar (Fig.XVb). She raises her shield and holds her spear as if about to throw it. Behind Athena is a huge, wriggling snake in mid-air. A bird is seated on the altar. As Nilsson notes, the bird is clearly not an owl. Nilsson also observes that the kylix is Boeotian, a fact which shows that Athena's snake is found not only at Athens.<sup>52</sup>
- (5) Farnell also illustrates a gem-stone, that depicts Athena wearing a helmet and stretching out her right arm, which has a small snake perched on it (Fig.XVIIIc). According to Farnell, she may be Athena <sup>6</sup>Υγίεια (see p.175).<sup>53</sup>

Literature provides more evidence for the connection of snakes with Athena. We may note four examples:

- (1) Writing about the evacuation of Athens before the battle of Salamis, Herodotus states that the Athenians believed in a great snake, which lived in their temple, to guard the Acropolis. As proof of its existence, the Athenians set out a honey-cake for a monthly offering. Previously the cake was always consumed. At this time of crisis it remained uneaten, which persuaded the Athenians to evacuate the city, for they thought that Athena had abandoned the Acropolis. Thus the great snake symbolised Athena. In his Life of Themistocles, Plutarch tells the same story, explaining it as a rumour circulated by Themistocles.<sup>54</sup>
- (2) Pausanias describes a statue of Athena at Athens. On the breast of the goddess the head of the Medusa was worked in ivory, while lying at her feet was a shield, with a serpent near her spear.
- (3) Pausanias mentions an image of Athena παρείας, on the road from Sparta to Arcadia. According to LS, the noun παρείας means 'reddish-brown snake'. Thus Athena also has a snake epithet.<sup>55</sup>
- (4) The Orphic Hymn to Athena provides more evidence for snake-worship. Athena is described as

'...she-dragon (δράκαινα) of many shapes' (αἰολόμορφε)

The adjective αἰόλος may also have the sense of 'quick-moving'. A dragon is a fire-breathing snake (p.280).<sup>56</sup>

It is possible to be sceptical concerning an oriental connection with Athena's snake. Perhaps it is of purely Greek origin? Cook notes that there would have been many snakes in the crevices of the Acropolis, and states:

'The fact is, snake-myths and snake-cults of every kind fairly cluster round the Akropolis-rock, almost all of them in close association with



Athena the rock-mother.'<sup>57</sup>

Cook thinks that Athena's snake may be descended from the Minoan snake goddess.<sup>58</sup>

We must now examine this theory.

**(vi) Minoan snake-goddesses.**

Since we do not possess any Minoan mythology, the iconographic evidence must be treated very cautiously. There are at least three female figurines which indicate that the Minoans worshipped a snake-goddess:

- (1) Evans illustrates a faience figurine from the temple repository at Knossos (Fig.139). She wears a long dress and has bare breasts. We are reminded of oriental nude goddesses (p.80). Three greenish snakes spotted with purple-brown are coiled around her. She holds the head of one snake in her right hand, its body following her arm to the left. The restored left arm held the tail. Two snakes form her 'girdle', and one travels up to her head. The restored head of the snake reaches the top of her tiara.
- (2) Evans also illustrates a smaller figurine, which was discovered with the above. She also has bare breasts. Her right arm holds out a small snake, with the tail upwards (Fig.362a, b). The headpiece is restored with a small lioness on top. Since this figurine is small, Evans suggests that she may be a priestess or votary of the snake-goddess (no.1). However, perhaps this example is also a goddess, since she holds a snake.
- (3) There is also a small limestone statuette of a snake goddess. Evans illustrates both the profile (Fig.149) and the front view (Fig.150). She has bare breasts and a long dress. The tail of the snake is wound around her head, while she grasps part of its body in her left hand and the neck in her right. A small section of the snake's body, looping in front of her dress, is restored. The most extraordinary feature of this statuette is the attitude of the goddess' face.



As Evans notes, she seems to be gazing at the snake, whose neck she holds in front of her. Thus Evans thinks that the snake has 'a certain personal relationship with its divine Mistress'.<sup>59</sup>

We note that an ancestral connection of this goddess with Athena is very probable.

Evans suggests that there may be a connection between the uraeus (serpent head-dress) of Egyptian goddesses, and the snake raising its head above the tiara of the first faience figurine (no.1). This is unfortunately not demonstrable, since the head of the snake is restored. However, it is worth noting that the Egyptian goddess Qadeset<sup>V</sup> is depicted holding snakes, on a relief illustrated by I.E.S. Edwards (Pl.III).<sup>60</sup>

Finally, let us note a Mycenaean example of snake iconography. L.B. Holland illustrates a gold pendant from Aegina (Fig.7). A male figure grasps a water-fowl in each hand, while from each side of his body emerge two curved objects with 'lance-like heads', on which the fowls are seated. Holland suggests that the curved objects may be either stems of water plants or snakes.<sup>61</sup>

### **(vii) The oriental evidence for snake-worship and snake-goddesses.**

So far, the evidence has consisted mainly of some possibilities. The oriental evidence is more conclusive. The first subject to consider is the similarity of Minoan 'snake tubes' to those from the Near East. Evans illustrates several Minoan examples:

- (1) There is a cylindrical vessel from Knossos, with an open top and bottom (Fig.111). The vessel has one cup projecting from each side, which seems to have been used for drink offerings.
- (2) Two perforated, spouted vessels have snakes moulded on them and climbing over the rims (Figs.119a & 119b).

- (3) There is also a vessel in the shape of a human figure, probably female, with snakes coiling around the neck (Fig.121). Such vessels with snakes moulded on them in the act of feeding support the theory that 'snake tubes' may have been used for feeding live household snakes, as Evans suggests.<sup>62</sup>
- (4) A remarkable late Mycenaean vase from Ialysos has two snakes drinking from the mouth, which is shaped like a cup (Fig.122).
- (5) Evans compares a 'snake tube' from Beth-Shan in Palestine (Fig.129) with the Minoan examples. The side opening and looped handle especially resemble Fig.111 and Fig.119a.<sup>63</sup>

H.E.L.Mellersh has the same opinion as Evans concerning the Minoan snake vessels, stating that the Minoans made clay tubes for their snakes to live in, and that the idea seems to have been inspired by snakes living in drainpipes. However, Mellersh thinks that the idea later spread to the Philistines.

Since there is evidence from Mesopotamia, we think that the tubes are more probably of near eastern origin. The Mesopotamians worshipped a snake-god called Ningizzida (see p.175). A dark-green steatite vase was discovered, dedicated to the god Ningizzida by Gudea of Lagash. On this are depicted two serpents twisting around a post, with entwined coils. Buren states concerning the serpents:

'Their heads touch the rim of the libation vase as if to suggest that with their forked tongues they sipped some of the liquid which escaped from the vase.' (p.79)

Frankfort illustrates Gudea's vase (Fig.1), noting that the entwined serpents represent the god.<sup>64</sup>

Buren also mentions a clay box discovered in the temple of Ningizzida at Girsu. On this are depicted four serpents drinking from a bowl. She thinks that this may have been to show that 'the drink-offering was accepted by the god'.<sup>65</sup>

The artistic depiction of snakes feeding is an interesting parallel between the Near East and the Aegean. Common cultic artefacts with iconographic similarities



provide further evidence for the oriental origin of Aegean snake worship.

The best evidence comes from Beth-Shan and other Palestinian sites. S.A.Cook states concerning Beth-Shan:

'Some very remarkable cult objects were found recalling those discovered by the Germans in the temple of Ishtar at Ashur. Some were rectangular shrines in two stages, surmounted by a round top bearing birds (doves and ducks). In one a nude female is shown, holding birds in both hands. Others have openings, in which sit birds, while serpents are coiled around the stand. The association of doves and serpents is especially noteworthy.' (p.30)

These artefacts are from the temple built by the Egyptians on the south side, which dates from the 19th Dynasty.<sup>66</sup>

A.Rowe lists more artefacts found at Beth-Shan, including some of Aegean origin. In the 'Southern Temple of Rameses II', the cultic objects include cylindrical flower stands adorned with figures of serpents and doves. Mediterranean pottery, including lentoid flasks, was unearthed in burials. Other foreign objects were unearthed in the Amenophis temple. There is a basalt model of a Minoan throne, bearing Egyptian emblems, and a limestone model of a Minoan table or altar. This temple also provided a stone monument depicting the goddess 'Ashtōreth of the Two Horns', and two stone columns with capitals in the form of palm tree tops. It is clear that Ashtoreth (ʿAṭtart) was worshipped at Beth-Shan, for the palm tree symbolism recalls her Mesopotamian equivalent Ishtar (pp.123-124).<sup>67</sup> We have already noted the existence of oriental dove goddesses (p.131).

S.A.Cook provides more evidence for snake-worship in Palestine. 'An undulating serpent' is depicted on a bowl from Beth-Shan. Also discovered there was a pottery model of a serpent with female breasts, with a cup below for collecting the milk. To us this strongly suggests a snake-goddess. Cook also mentions a fragmentary stele from Tell Beit Mirsim, depicting a serpent which is coiled around the legs of a walking figure. Cook suggests a possible connection of this stele with



Mesopotamian cults of 'serpent mother-goddesses'. If the figure is female, Cook's idea may well be correct. Beth Shemesh provided jugs with snake-ornamentation, and a figurine of a nude goddess, who has a snake falling over her shoulder with its head on her thigh. Finally, a pit at Gezer provided a small bronze serpent.<sup>68</sup> We note that the presence of a model snake in a pit suggests connections with the Netherworld, while the jugs with snake-ornamentation are reminiscent of the Minoan 'snake tubes' (p.170).

Two other Semitic artefacts are worthy of mention. Hazor provided a silver-plated bronze cult standard, bearing a relief of a snake-goddess. This dates from the 14th-13th centuries B.C., since both local and imported Mycenaean pottery was unearthed in this stratum (Stratum 1-b). The presence of Mycenaean pottery at this Palestinian site strongly suggests a transference of snake cults to the Greek world. An even more interesting artefact from Hazor is a 'southern temple cult object with birds and serpents'. This is shaped like a bell, with serpents crawling around it, and birds seated in holes, somewhat reminiscent of the snake artefacts at Beth-Shan. The above two artefacts are illustrated by M.Avi-Yonah.<sup>69</sup>

The temple of the goddess Hathor at Timna also provided two artefacts of interest. The first is a Midianite copper snake with a gilded head. B.Rothenberg states that this is the only votive object found inside the naos (inmost part) of the temple.<sup>70</sup> Thus the snake seems to have been dedicated to the goddess. Rothenberg states that this is a 'colubrid snake of the racer type', noting also that the head has two large eyes (Pl.XIX & Pl.XX).<sup>71</sup> Rothenberg also mentions the discovery of fragments of 'a primitive votive altar', which has a snake crawling along the rim.<sup>72</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

It is clear from the above discussion that oriental snake cults were both widespread and connected with goddesses. At least three factors enable us to bring them into a relationship with the snake of Athena:

- (1) Similar vessels depicting snakes 'feeding' occur both in the Aegean and the Near East.
- (2) Cult artefacts from Beth-Shan make it probable that snakes and birds were associated with the same goddess. She may have been <sup>v</sup>C<sup>v</sup>Astart (p.86). The temple cult object from Hazor bearing snakes and birds may possibly have been connected with a goddess. Athena is connected with both snakes and birds. The bird of Athena is usually the owl, but this is not always so (p.167).
- (3) As we have seen, Minoan artefacts were discovered at Beth-Shan (p.172), and Mycenaean vessels at Hazor (p.173). The existence of snake cults at both sites make very probable the transference of such cults to Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece.

**(viii) The symbolism of the snake as a healing deity, and mythological connections with the snake of Athena.**

Here we will analyse the common symbolism of oriental snakes and Athena as a snake-goddess. Thus Buren observes that the habits of the snake are the origin of its mythological symbolism. Since the snake sloughs its skin annually, it was believed to be able to renew its youth, and hence becomes connected with healing powers and immortality. Snakes glide out of holes and so may have been connected with the Netherworld. Then Buren states:

'In this way the serpent came to be regarded as a chthonic spirit, with wide powers of life and death, healing and destruction.'<sup>73</sup>

We must treat this type of 'natural symbolism' with caution. However, it is clear that in the oriental world snakes are connected with healing. This is especially true of the Mesopotamian snake-god Ningizzida. Ningizzida is frequently depicted on cylinder seals with snakes. Four examples illustrated by Buren are worth noting:

- (1) There is a marble cylinder seal dating from the Dynasty of Agade (Pl.IX, b).



Ningizzida is depicted standing on the back of a monster, which has a serpent's head and forked tongue. The god is bearded and two serpents rear their heads from each of his shoulders.

- (2) The bearded Ningizzida is also depicted on the seal of Gudea (Fig.1). The god leads Gudea by the wrist to pay homage to the seated Ea. Ningizzida has a spectacular horned serpent growing out of each shoulder. The mouth, nose and eye of each serpent is clearly visible, and they have striations on their bodies. These probably represent scales.
- (3) A white marble cylinder seal from Tello is engraved with a dedication to Ningizzida (Pl.X, a). The seated god has a serpent rising from each shoulder.
- (4) There is also a half of a cylinder seal from Kish (Pl.X, c). Ningizzida is seated on a stool, which is on the back of a lion-bird. A seal in Berlin preserves the complete scene. A great serpent with two heads winds from the top to the bottom of the field.<sup>74</sup>

Ningizzida was regarded as a god of healing, which is clear from a 'Titular Litany':

line 11. 'Lord, healer, Lord of the seizing hand,'

Concerning Ningizzida's serpent, Buren states:

'The crested and crowned serpent was Ningizzida's symbol from very ancient times, and later it was certainly indicative of his curative powers.'  
(p.69)

In one incantation text fever and 'every kind of bodily evil' are conjured, so that Ningizzida may exorcise them, in his capacity as a physician:

'By Ningizzida, guzalu of the wide Nether World, mayest be thou exorcized.' (p.69)

Ningizzida could also bring fever upon the land.<sup>75</sup> Thus the same god who heals sickness may also cause it.

### **Athena as a healing goddess.**

As we have already seen, the goddess Athena received the epithet  $\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , 'Health'



(p.151). There is an interesting anecdote in Plutarch's Life of Pericles. Plutarch states that Pericles set up a bronze statue of Athena Ὠγύγεια on the Acropolis near Athena's altar. This was in commemoration of the healing of a workman, who had fallen from a height and had been seriously injured. Athena herself appeared to Pericles in a dream and prescribed treatment, with which Pericles quickly healed the man. This clearly shows that Athena really was a goddess of healing.<sup>76</sup>

The snake itself was also a symbol of healing in Greece. Jewellery in the shape of snakes was given to children to wear. In the Ion (21-26) Euripides states that Zeus' daughter (Athena) set beside Erichthonios a pair of snakes to guard his life, and gave him to the Aglaurid maidens to keep safe. Thus the Erechtheids still reared their children 'amid snakes of beaten gold'. Later in the Ion there is the following:

Kreousa : Serpents, an ancient device, all-golden in the jaw - Athena's gift, who bids rear babes so - Imitations of Erichthonios' (snakes) of old.

Ion : What use, what purpose, has the golden jewel?

Kreousa : A necklace for the new-born babe to wear, my child.

(1427-1431)

A.B.Cook observes that this refers to prophylactic snakes that were hung around the necks of infants. In these two passages, Euripides gives the reason for the custom. In support of the literature, Cook illustrates several examples of jewellery in the shape of snakes. There are bracelets (Figs.555-557), ear-rings (Fig.558) and finger-rings (Figs.559-562). As Cook notes, these were probably for the same apotropaic purpose.<sup>77</sup>

One more item of iconography is of interest. H.B.Walters illustrates a small bronze of Athena, which may be from southern Italy (Pl.VII). The goddess gazes down at a snake coiled upon her breast, the tail hanging over her shoulder. The fingers of Athena's left hand are broken away. Walters thinks that they may have held a vessel containing food for the snake. Walters also thinks that this bronze may be an

example of Athena Ὑγίεια.<sup>78</sup> We are reminded of the Minoan limestone statuette of a snake-goddess. She is also intimately connected with her snake (p.170).

### **Conclusion.**

In both Greece and the Orient the snake was regarded as a healing, protective creature. The snake-god Ningizzida was a god of healing (p.175). Oriental goddesses were connected with snakes and birds (pp.172-173), and so was Athena. These factors lead us to believe that Athena's snake is of Semitic origin.

### **(ix) The aegis of Athena - The evidence for its oriental origin.**

First we will consider some evidence for the aegis (αἰγίς) of Athena in the Greek literature. Then we will discuss iconographic evidence for the oriental origin of the aegis, and compare the Greek iconography of the aegis with Semitic goddess iconography.

#### **(1) The aegis in Greek literature.**

In the *Iliad* (5.738-739) Athena's aegis is mentioned:

'And around her shoulders she threw the tasselled, terrible aegis...'

There are other references in the later literature. Herodotus thinks that the clothing and aegis of Athena's images were copied by the Greeks from Libyan women. This is because the Libyan women wore leather clothing with tassels made out of goat-skin, that was similar to Greek clothing. Herodotus notes that unlike on Athena's aegis, the tassels of Libyan clothing are not snakes but thongs. Herodotus thinks that the noun αἰγίς is derived from αἰγέων, 'goatskins'.

Two myths explain how Athena obtained her aegis. Thus Apollodorus states that Athena flayed the giant Pallas (Πάλλας) and used his skin to cover her body in battle. Prior to this, Apollodorus states that the giants had 'scales of snakes' (φολίδας δρακόντων) for feet. Diodorus Siculus tells a similar myth. There was a



terrifying monster called Aigis (Αἰγίς), which was born from the earth and breathed forth fire from its mouth. This monster burned up various countries, leaving a trail of devastation through Asia and Africa. Athena slew the monster, covered her breast with its hide and bore it about with her.<sup>79</sup>

## (2) Greek and Semitic iconography.

A.B.Cook illustrates five interesting examples of Athena's aegis. Two of these are scaly and two are feathered. The aegis of the Varvakeion statuette (Fig.650) and that of the Cassel statue (Fig.651) are scaly. The feathered examples are the aegis of the archaistic Athena of Herculaneum (Fig.652) and that of the Albani Athena (Fig.653). The latter two clearly show decoration resembling feather plumes. Finally, there is an Etruscan mirror in the style of the 4th century B.C. (Fig.654). Athena (Menrfa) is depicted on the left, with a spear in her left hand and a little snake on her left shoulder. On her breast is the Gorgoneion and hanging down at the front is the aegis, represented as a goat-skin with a head and hooves. Cook connects this iconography with the theory of Herodotus, concerning the origin of the aegis.<sup>80</sup>

Discussing the feathered and scaly examples of the aegis, Cook states:

'Now Athena's aigis, as represented by painters and sculptors, is a skin-cape either scaly...or feathered...My belief is that in both cases the humanised Athena is wearing the exuviae (i.e. cast skin) of the animal that once she was. As a Snake, she dons the scaly skin with its baleful head.

As an Owl, the feathered skin with its round glittering eyes.'<sup>81</sup>

Cook's theory of the origin of the aegis seems to be basically correct. However, it is not necessary to state that Athena was originally an owl (p.156). The goddess in human form may have possessed the aegis in the most ancient times, as a symbol of her animal epiphanies.

Cook also notes that the theory of Herodotus is not convincing. Thus if Athena's aegis were originally a goat-skin (αἰγίς), the scaly or feathered character of the garment remains unexplained. This can scarcely be mere decoration.<sup>82</sup> The theory



of Herodotus would necessitate an improbable derivation from the goat-skin, independently of the owl or snake.

However, we note that the idea of a Libyan origin of the aegis is itself interesting. Herodotus may be vaguely aware that the aegis is of foreign origin.

There is also evidence that Semitic goddesses wore a type of feathered cape or aegis. Barrelet illustrates several possible and probable examples. The first is a shell plaque discovered to the south of the temple of Ishtar at Mari (Fig.1). A seated woman is depicted facing towards the right. On her head she wears a type of hat with two horns in the shape of a crescent. Barrelet notes that this is comparable to divine head-dresses of the archaic era, and thus concludes that the woman of the Mari plaque is a goddess. In order to prove her point, Barrelet illustrates two reliefs from Nippur and Tello, which depict figures wearing horned head-dresses (Figs.2 & 3). Most significantly, the woman of the Mari plaque wears a type of cape hanging from her shoulders, which is divided into strips or tongues. The artist may have wished the cape to represent any material.<sup>83</sup>

The second example is a plaque from Nippur that dates from the start of the 2nd Millennium B.C. (Fig.4). A nude goddess is depicted standing to the right with her arms raised. Long vertical wings fall from her shoulders and almost reach her 'feet', which are the talons of a bird. We note that the wings are very roughly drawn and may represent a type of cape.

Barrelet's third example is a terracotta plaque from Kish (Fig.5). A nude goddess with her arms raised faces the front. Falling down her back is a garment made either of wings or cloth, as Barrelet notes. The garment is fringed at the bottom. This example dates from the 3rd Millennium B.C. In Barrelet's opinion the garment of this goddess may be ancestral to the wings of the Nippur plaque (Fig.4).<sup>84</sup>

An even more interesting example is a terracotta cast of a plaque from Ur (Fig.6). A nude goddess with hands raised stands on a block. She has a horned tiara and the talons of a bird of prey for feet. Her cape falls down her shoulders. The top half of the cape is of flat material and the bottom half of circular divisions in vertical

stripes. Barrelet notes that these evoke wings. In fact, these divisions are virtually identical to those of Athena's feathered type of aegis (p.178). We think that the goddess of the Ur plaque is almost certainly wearing a feathered cape, a sort of oriental aegis. Since the top half of the cape is flat, the artist may have intended to represent cloth or skin.

Next Barrelet illustrates a terracotta plaque from Nuzi (Fig.7). A nude goddess faces the front. The cape falling from her shoulders is serrated and marked with dots. Barrelet notes that this feature is suggestive of wings.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, Barrelet also illustrates the Burney Relief (Fig.9) and the Louvre Plaque of the 'ibex-goddess' (Fig.10), which we discussed above (p.161). Thus these goddesses have wings falling down their shoulders just like a garment. Barrelet concludes that the female figures of her illustrations represent Ishtar in the Netherworld, stripped of her earthly clothing and wearing a 'garment of wings', like those of the dead (above, p.165). Such an idea may first have been suggested by 'floating drapery', then real wings resembling a cape falling down the shoulders would appear in the iconography.<sup>86</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

The close similarity of Greek and Semitic iconography suggests that Athena's feathered aegis may be derived from the capes of oriental goddesses. There is no further evidence concerning Athena's scaly aegis. Thus the Semitic origin of the aegis is possible, but not proven.

### **(x) Athena and the Gorgon - The evidence for the Gorgon in Greek literature.**

The Gorgon (ἡ Γοργώ) is mentioned in both the Iliad and the Odyssey, which shows that it is an ancient motif in Greek mythology. The examples are as follows:



- (1) In the Iliad (5.738-742) the Gorgon appears in connection with Athena:  
 'And around her shoulders she threw the tasselled, terrible aegis,...and therein is the Gorgon head (Γοργεΐη κεφαλῇ) of the terrible monster, terrible and fearful, a wonder of Zeus of the aegis.'
- (2) Also in the Iliad (8.349) Hektor is described as 'having the eyes of a Gorgon' (Γοργοῦς ὄμματ' ἔχων) or 'of Ares ruin of man' (βροτολοιγοῦ Ἄρηος). It seems that this is a poetic way of emphasising Hektor's ferocity. The form Γοργοῦς is the gen. sing. of the noun Γοργώ.
- (3) Later in the Iliad (11.36-37) the shield of Agamemnon is described. Upon it was crowned 'the shaggy-eyed Gorgon' (Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις), which had a terrible stare (δεινὸν δερκομένην). 'Fear and Terror' (Δεῖμός τε Φόβος) were around it.
- (4) In the Odyssey (11.633) Odysseus says:  
 'And pallid fear seized me, lest revered Persephone send up to me from Hades the Gorgon head (Γοργεΐην κεφαλῇν) of the terrible monster.'

Thus it is clear that the Gorgon has a fearful connection with the Netherworld.<sup>87</sup>

- (5) The Gorgons are also mentioned in Hesiod's Theogony (274-275):  
 '...and the Gorgons who dwell beyond glorious Ocean in the frontier land towards Night...'
- (6) There is a remarkable text associating the Gorgons with serpents, in the Shield of Heracles (230-237), which is ascribed to Hesiod. The Gorgons rushed after Perseus, longing to seize him (230-231). Two serpents hung down upon their girdles with their heads curved forward. They were licking, whetting their teeth and glaring fiercely. Finally, the poet states:  
 'And upon the terrible heads of the Gorgons great Fear was shaking.'



(231-237)

- (7) In the *Ajax* (450), Sophocles gives Athena herself the epithet γοργώπις, 'Gorgon-faced/eyed'. This may be translated less literally as 'fierce-eyed' or 'grim-eyed'. Indeed, the name Γοργώ is derived from the Gk. adjective γοργός, meaning 'grim, fierce, terrible'.<sup>88</sup>

Concerning the Homeric passages (above, texts 1-4), C.Hopkins states:

'...it is the glance or look of the Gorgon which seems to be of special significance; and that no attention is paid to the body....Certainly here again we have only the head so often represented on shields of later warriors.'<sup>89</sup>

As we will see, this curious emphasis concerning the head of the Gorgon also occurs in art.

#### (xi) The history of the Gorgon in art.

It is possible that figures ancestral to the Gorgon head are depicted in Cretan art dating from the Minoan period. D.G.Hogarth illustrates seals from Zakro. One of these (Fig.20 = No.76) represents 'a grotesque human bust with demoniacal features'. The head has erect hair. Another example (Fig.22 = No.78) represents 'a monster with a human head'. The figure has erect hair, huge wings covering the body and the legs of a lion. A.B.Cook illustrates a black steatite signet seal, dating from the MM II period (Fig.659a). On this is depicted a round face 'with its emphasised eyes, gross ears and bristling hair' (Fig.659b). Cook thinks that this may be the most ancient example of a Gorgon's head. Cook also mentions a 'horned imp' on a signet seal from Mochlos, which is illustrated by Evans (Fig.526).<sup>90</sup>

Now let us consider the Gorgon in classical Greek art. Cook illustrates many examples of the Gorgon's head, and states that

'...the Gorgon's head, thanks to the humanising tendency of Greek art, had an evolution of its own from lower to higher forms.' (p.848).

Thus Cook divides the evolution of the Gorgon's head into three stages or types; the 'archaic type', the 'middle type' and the 'beautiful type'.<sup>91</sup> Some of Cook's most important examples are as follows:

- (1) The 'archaic type' is represented by a terracotta antefix from the Athenian Acropolis, that dates from the 6th century B.C. (Fig.662). The Gorgon has a very wide mouth with teeth, tusks and a protruding tongue. The eyes are staring, the forehead is wrinkled and the head covered in curls. There are also two snakes, one on each side of the chin.
- (2) The 'middle type' is represented by a terracotta antefix from Olympia, that dates from 450-400 B.C. (Fig.663). The wide mouth also has teeth and a protruding tongue, and the eyes are staring, but the features are smaller than in the Athenian antefix. As Cook observes, the traits are less horrific.
- (3) The first example of the 'beautiful type' is depicted on a red-figured hydria dating from c.475 B.C. (Fig.664). Perseus holds his sword in his left hand and the severed head of Medusa in his right. The objects that hang from her neck may be snakes.
- (4) The 'beautiful type' becomes more and more human in appearance. The Medusa Rondanini dates from Roman times, although it was copied from a Greek bronze of c.400 B.C. Medusa has snakes winding around her chin (Fig.665). Three other examples clearly illustrate this evolution. There is a Roman onyx cameo (Fig.666), a Hellenistic amethyst cameo (Fig.667) and a Graeco-Roman chalcedony (Fig.668).
- (5) A more horrific type of Gorgon, with a protruding tongue and flying hair, is depicted on a bronze Etruscan lebes-handle (Fig.671).
- (6) Cook also illustrates the evolution of the Gorgon on coins. There is the 'archaic type' (Figs.672-679), a transition to the 'middle type' (Figs.680-682), the



'middle type' itself (Figs.683-686) and finally the 'beautiful type' (Figs.687-690).<sup>92</sup>

The examples of the 'archaic type' clearly show artistic features modelled upon the ferocious descriptions of Homer and Hesiod. We seem to have here a genuine evolution of Greek art. This must be contrasted with the doubtful 'evolution' of Athena from an owl to a goddess (p.154).

The Gorgon art of Corinth provides further evidence for this viewpoint. H.Payne traces the evolution of Corinthian Gorgon types from the most ancient period, the Protocorinthian. Here are the most significant examples:

- (1) There are four Protocorinthian examples of gorgoneia (Gorgon-heads). A gorgoneion is painted on the back of a lion-protome (Fig.23A). The Macmillan aryballos (Fig.23B) and the Chigi oinochoe (Fig.23C) also have grinning gorgoneia. There is also the Gela aryballos, which Payne mentions but does not illustrate.
- (2) Payne illustrates two examples that are probably from the Transitional Period. A spectacular grinning gorgoneion, with tusks and snakes, is depicted on the Thermon metope (Fig.23D). There is also a clay plaque from Syracuse with a Gorgon in relief (Fig.23E).
- (3) Payne illustrates three examples from the Early Corinthian Period. Thus there are alabastra (Fig.24A-B) and an aryballos (Fig.24C). Fig.24A has a pointed beard and Fig.24B has spots around the eyes. We note that this may be a feline motif. Fig.24C is a winged, running Gorgon.<sup>93</sup>
- (4) Payne illustrates seven examples from the Middle Corinthian Period. There are cups (Fig.24A-B & Fig.45B-C) and kraters (Fig.25C-E). Fig.25E is a winged, running Gorgon. Payne observes that the gorgoneia of Fig.25A-D and Fig.45B-C, dating from the early 6th century B.C., 'are distinctly humanized'. They are clearly less ferocious than the more ancient examples, for their mouths



are smaller.<sup>94</sup>

- (5) A limestone Gorgon from Corfu (Fig.26) seems to belong to the Late Corinthian Period. Payne notes that the 'head and neck have now almost the normal human proportions to the body'. This contrasts with 'the enormous relative proportion of the head to the body' of the earliest running Gorgons (Fig.23E & Fig.24C). Thus the Corfu Gorgon is clearly a derivative type. This is also illustrated by Cook (Pl.LXIV centre).<sup>95</sup>
- (6) There are also examples from the Late Corinthian Period (Fig.27A-E). Payne notes that the running figures (Fig.27D-E) have normal human proportions 'with gorgoneia instead of ordinary heads'.<sup>96</sup>

Payne also observes that the gorgoneia 'may have been created on the basis of an Egyptian or Syrian form'.<sup>97</sup>

Once again we see the ancient, ferocious Gorgon giving way to a more humanised form. It is clear that the origin of the motif must be sought in its most ancient form.

## **(xii) The Semitic origin of the Gorgon - The African evidence and the Mesopotamian demon Humbaba.**

Here we will examine the connection of the Greek Gorgon with the Mesopotamian demon Humbaba. First of all, there are several references to Libyan Gorgons in Greek literature. This suggests that the Greeks may have been aware that the Gorgon has a foreign origin:

- (1) Herodotus (2.91) mentions that Perseus bore the head of the Gorgon from Libya.
- (2) According to Euripides in the Bacchae (990f.) the Gorgons are a 'race of Libyan women' (Λιβυσσᾶν γένος).

- (3) According to Pausanias (2.21.5) the Gorgon Medusa reigned over those living around Lake Tritonis in Libya. She went out hunting and led the Libyans into battle. Further on (2.21.6-7), Pausanias notes that the people around Lake Tritonis were sacred to the goddess Athena.<sup>98</sup>

Cook quotes this literary evidence and suggests that the Gorgon has an African origin:

'I am myself more impressed by the platyrrhine negroid aspect of early Gorgoneia, which prompts me to guess that their archetype came from north Africa. If so, Euripides was not far wrong when he spoke of "Libyan Gorgons".'<sup>99</sup>

This theory is certainly possible. Such artistic motifs as the curly hair, thick lips and wide nostrils of the archaic Gorgons may well have been influenced by negroid features. One example illustrated by Cook (Fig.662) especially supports this theory (see p.183). However, Cook's theory has no further evidence to support it. It remains only an observation that is based upon one possible artistic similarity.

### **Humbaba.**

It is only when we examine Mesopotamian demonology that more evidence starts to appear. The first possible connection is with the Mesopotamian demon Humbaba.

C.Hopkins observes that the myth of the demon Humbaba, slain by Gilgamesh and Enkidu, may be compared with the Gorgon, slain by Perseus:

'The wandering hero, performer of many great deeds, slays the demon power, and thereafter we see in art the representation of the head alone, the hideous mask of the monster. Certainly the parallel between this account and the story of Perseus' victory over the Gorgon could not be overlooked.'<sup>100</sup>

Whether or not this is the origin of the Greek myth, it is clear that certain artistic motifs suggest a connection between the Greek Gorgon and the demon Humbaba. These are



the appearance of the face, the posture of the body and the use of the *ῥάρη* or 'sickle' by the hero, as a weapon against the monster. Let us look at each of these in turn:

**(1) The line pattern on the face.**

Hopkins observes that the face of Humbaba was characteristically represented by a 'single raised line'. This line meanders around the face, giving it the appearance of sheep entrails. Hopkins illustrates such a face of Humbaba, which has a wide, grimacing mouth (Fig.1). This example is also illustrated by H.Frankfort (Pl.58A).<sup>101</sup> Hopkins also illustrates two other Babylonian demons, who may be Humbaba (Figs.2 & 3). Another possible example of Humbaba may be the face of the magic plaque, which is illustrated by F.Thureau-Dangin (AO.6778). This has a grimacing mouth with teeth, a broad nose and wide eyes. The resemblance to archaic Greek Gorgons is very striking (pp.183-184).<sup>102</sup>

There is also a possible connection with Spartan iconography. B.Goldman states:

'Humbaba-like terra-cotta masks from Sparta use the continuous line of wrinkles on cheeks, chin and forehead.'<sup>103</sup>

Several of these 'terracotta votive masks' are illustrated by R.M.Dawkins (PL.XLVII.1-3). According to Dawkins, the masks are probably female and may represent the faces of old women.<sup>104</sup> We note that the lines on the cheeks and foreheads of these masks are very reminiscent of Humbaba's face, that is illustrated by Hopkins (above, Fig.1). Therefore, the similarity may not be coincidental, although we do not know if the Spartan masks were intended to represent Gorgons.

**(2) The kneeling posture.**

Both Mesopotamian and Greek examples of demonic iconography show the monster about to be slain, in this posture. A demon is depicted on a Mesopotamian clay relief in the 'kneeling posture' (Fig.4). The demon is grasped by an opponent on the right. He is being attacked by one figure armed with a dagger, and another brandishing an axe. Hopkins thinks that this demon may be Pazuzu, rather than Humbaba. In any



case, Hopkins compares this demon with the monster depicted on a Cypriot cylinder seal (Fig.5). This creature has been forced to kneel on its right knee. Its opponent grasps the right arm, as on the Mesopotamian relief. Both figures also have the claws of a bird instead of feet. The Cypriot monster has a very broad face, not unlike the faces of archaic Gorgons.<sup>105</sup>

A giant depicted on an Assyrian cylinder seal has also been forced to his right knee, by two opponents (Fig.6). This giant is completely human. Hopkins notes that the artistic type is the same as that of the above examples, even if the figure is different. This is the 'kneeling posture' of the demon or enemy who is about to be slain. Hopkins then notes that the same motif occurs upon Greek depictions of the Gorgon. Thus Hopkins illustrates the Gorgon from Corfu (Fig.7), which we described above (p.185, no.5). A Gorgon from a metopē of Temple C at Selinus (Palermo) is also kneeling (Fig.8). Perseus grasps the Gorgon by the hair. Hopkins also illustrates the clay plaque with the kneeling Gorgon from Syracuse (Fig.9, E), which we also noted (p.184, no.2).<sup>106</sup>

The parallel between the Mesopotamian and Greek depictions is very convincing. In all the above examples, the demon or Gorgon kneels with 'legs in profile', but with the head and body facing the front.<sup>107</sup>

### (3) The sickle.

The third comparison is the use of the ἄρπη or 'sickle' by the hero. As Hopkins notes, the monster's opponent on the Cypriot cylinder seal 'is armed with the Assyrian-Cyprian sickle or harpe'. The sickle is clearer in Goldman's illustration.<sup>108</sup>

Hopkins observes that the harpe was used both by Perseus, and by heroes in the Orient. Thus Hopkins mentions a statue from the palace of Sargon, dating from the 8th century B.C. A hero is depicted holding a lion under one arm and a harpe in the other. It is significant that the weapon is used against an enemy. Thus Hopkins states:

The hero, therefore, of any Greek story influenced by Assyrian tradition might be expected to carry this weapon, especially if he were contending

with a monster.'<sup>109</sup>

We find this in Greek art, especially in representations depicting Herakles and Iolaos in a struggle with the Hydra. Thus on an early Corinthian aryballos Iolaos attacks with the harpe, and Herakles with the sword. This example dates from 610 B.C. W.G.Moon illustrates Iolaos carrying a huge harpe (Fig.3.9).<sup>110</sup>

Oriental examples of this weapon have also been discovered. Thus R.Dussaud illustrates a harpe from Byblos, dating from c.1800 B.C. (Fig.1a), a harpe from Phoenicia, dating from c.1400 B.C. (Fig.1c), one from Gezer, dating from the 14th century (Fig.1d) and another, the harpe of King Adad-Nirari I (Fig.1e). This dates from the end of the 14th century or the start of the 13th century.<sup>111</sup>

### Conclusion.

The three above comparisons make a good case for the derivation of the Gorgon from Mesopotamian demonology. However, the specific derivation from Humbaba is not entirely convincing. Although the facial features are similar, not all the characteristics of the Gorgon can be explained by Humbaba. Thus Hopkins notes that the portraits of Humbaba do not have the protruding tongue of the Gorgon, although they do have the Gorgon's grimacing mouth with two rows of teeth.<sup>112</sup> Hopkins also observes the greatest difference of all. Thus the Homeric Gorgon is female (ἡ Γοργώ), while Humbaba is male (pp.186-187). Hopkins suggests several possible explanations for this. The Greeks may have thought that Humbaba was female. The depiction of the head alone with 'the raised line of the omen masks' may have suggested a female head. Also, the Gk.fem. -α termination would suggest that Humbaba is a female demon. However, the beards of Greek Gorgons suggest a foreign male tradition (p.184, no.3).<sup>113</sup>

All this is reasonable, but scarcely proven. We also note that any feline motifs of Greek Gorgons are not explained by the iconography of Humbaba (p.184, no.3). There may be a better explanation for the motifs of the Greek Gorgon; her derivation



from the female demoness Lamashtu.

**(xiii) The Gorgon and the demoness Lamashtu.**

Goldman discusses the oriental origin of the Gorgon and illustrates relevant examples of art, from Luristan in Iran and Karkamis:

- (1) The most important example is a bronze plaque from Luristan (Pl.I, 1a-b). On this there is a nude female figure brandishing a snake in each raised arm. According to Goldman, 'female breasts are intended'. This is probably correct, for two 'dots' in the region of the chest may suggest a female figure. Goldman also states:

'The figure is that of a female nude in a running-kneeling pose who wears a heavy beard, has cat-like erect ears, and a crown or cap with another set of animal ears.'<sup>114</sup>

- (2) A Luristan disc has two bearded figures flanking the central boss in the shape of a 'frontally posed head' (Pl.II, 1). Each figure brandishes a snake and has two pairs of feline ears, one pair on the head and the other on the cap.
- (3) There is also a three-headed deity depicted on a Luristan bronze disc or 'votive pin' (Pl.II, 2). The deity has a beard, wide flaring nostrils and four pairs of ears. The pair of ears on each head is human, while that on the crown is feline. Goldman observes that the head-piece of the deity may represent a lion's head, for this would explain the ears. The deity grasps the paw of a roaring lion in each hand, which would also support the idea.
- (4) A bull-man is depicted on a relief from Karkamis (Pl.III, 1). This deity is horned and bearded with two large feline ears.<sup>115</sup>

It is probable that the above figures (nos.2-4) represent only an artistic similarity to the female nude brandishing snakes (no.1). Thus Goldman states:



'Despite its artistic similarity to these figures, the Geneva figure is so radically different - the running-kneeling pose, the cat-ears, the serpents - that it must be taken as a different personage than those mentioned above.'

(p.4)

We are especially concerned with the identity of this female figure. Goldman observes that the motif of a human figure in the 'running-kneeling pose', holding a serpent in each hand, is very ancient, dating from the end of the 4th Millennium B.C.<sup>116</sup> There are two possibilities for the identity of the Luristan female figure. She may represent a type of 'Great Mother goddess', or even the demoness Lamashtu.

#### (1) Great Mother goddesses.

Goldman observes that the beard may relate her to 'Great Mother' goddesses, as an androgynous characteristic. Thus the Carthaginian Didon-Astarte wears a beard, and there is a bearded 'Great Mother' depicted on an orthostat block from Tell Halaf. Goldman also notes that Ishtar is called both a god and a goddess, in the Prayer of lamentation to Ishtar:

'O exalted Irnini, fierce lion, let thy heart be at rest. O angry wild ox, let thy spirit be appeased...I - what have I done, O my god and my goddess? Like one who does not fear my god and my goddess I am treated.' (line 50ff.).

Concerning this animal imagery, J.B.Pritchard notes that Ishtar is designated as ferocious, male animals in her aspect as a fighting deity.<sup>117</sup>

Goldman notes that the bearded lion may be the origin of the goddess with a beard. The association of Ishtar with the lion may relate her to the Luristan female figure, who has feline ears. As Goldman notes, nudity is another common feature. Thus the beards of female Greek Gorgons are not a contradictory motif (p.184). Therefore Goldman may well be correct to connect the Luristan figure with 'Great Mother' goddesses.<sup>118</sup>

#### (2) Lamashtu.

The demoness Lamashtu<sup>119</sup> offers a stronger parallel with the Luristan female deity.

Goldman notes that Lamashtu is depicted in the 'running-kneeling pose' on amulets. Moreover, Lamashtu is lion-headed. Goldman illustrates a bronze Lamashtu plaque from Karkamiš (Pl.IV, 1). The lion-headed Lamashtu stands upon a horse, holding a serpent in each hand. Her teeth are bared in a snarl, and her feet are the talons of a bird of prey. There is also a stone Lamashtu plaque from Zencirli, with the demoness in a similar posture (Pl.IV, 2). Her head is probably leonine.<sup>120</sup>

Next Goldman discusses the relationship of Ishtar and Lamashtu, in connection with the Luristan female deity. Thus Lamashtu is called 'Controller of the slayers of the hand of Irnina', and Irnini is a name of Ishtar (above, p.191). It is possible that Ishtar may destroy life, as Lamashtu does. Ishtar and Lamashtu are both connected with the lion. Thus the goddess (or demoness) of the Luristan plaque may possibly be identified both with Ishtar and Lamashtu, without any contradiction.<sup>121</sup>

How does all this oriental iconography connect with the Greek Gorgon? The Gorgon is often depicted with leonine characteristics. Goldman illustrates several examples:

- (1) The first example is a Protocorinthian gorgoneion (Pl.VII, 5). This is also illustrated by Payne (Fig.23A & our p.184, no.1). Goldman notes that the 'horns' are really feline ears, and that the two curls on the top of the head are also feline, reminiscent of the 'lion-cap' worn by the three-headed Luristan deity (p.190, no.3).
- (2) An archaic Greek bronze depicts a Gorgon with very leonine features (Pl.VIII, 2). She has a protruding tongue, wrinkled snout, feline ears above her human ears, forepaws instead of hands and probably a leonine mane. She is in the 'running' posture, similar to the Gorgon of the Early Corinthian aryballos noted above, but in the opposite direction (p.184, no.3).
- (3) The Gorgon of a bronze relief from an Etruscan chariot holds a lion in each hand (Pl.IX, 2). Goldman suggests that the animal heads depicted on the lobes of her blouse may be related to the animals that cling to the breasts of Lamashtu.



On the bronze Lamashtu plaque from Karkamis (p.192), a dog and a pig hang from her breasts. The identity of the animal heads on the Etruscan relief is not clear.<sup>122</sup>

Goldman observes that the prototype of the Gorgon's protruding tongue is probably the protruding tongue of the Asiatic lion, and that the Gorgon's beard is derived from the lion's mane.<sup>123</sup>

We may add one more oriental motif in the iconography of the Greek Gorgon. We have already noted that Lamashtu has avian talons (p.192). A black-figured Etruscan hydria clearly depicts a Gorgon with wings and avian talons (p.166). The monster of the Cypriot cylinder seal also has avian talons (p.188).

However, Goldman observes that the serpentine hair of the Gorgon is not of oriental origin. According to Payne, the snakes are to be traced back to Corinth, appearing first on the Thermon metope (p.184, no.2).<sup>124</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

Goldman states concerning the Gorgon:

'She is not a more-or-less accurate copy of the Great Goddess or Lamashtu, but rather should be seen as formulated of the Asiatic Goddess-demon complex.'<sup>125</sup>

Thus there is a close connection between the Gorgon and Humbaba, but the Humbaba iconography cannot explain the leonine features of Greek Gorgons (p.192). The explanation for this motif is to be found in the iconography of Lamashtu and Ishtar. It is also worth noting that both the Gorgon and Lamashtu are fearful, demonic deities.

Finally, we think that the oriental prototype of the Greek Gorgon was most probably transmitted through Minoan Crete, where there are examples of 'demonic' figures with bristling hair. One example even has the legs of a lion (p.182). A gorgoneion from Sparta has erect hair. This is illustrated by Hopkins (Fig.11) and by W.H.Roscher.<sup>126</sup>



**(xiv) The origin of the Gorgon head and a possible reason for its connection with Athena.**

We have already observed that in the Homeric poems the head of the Gorgon is of much greater importance than the body. Thus the head would have been represented on the shields of warriors (p.182). The shield of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (11.36-37) is a literary example of this (p.181).

Goldman states concerning the head (or mask) of the Gorgon:

'If the detached head, or mask, is considered as carrying the amuletic potentialities of the Mother Goddess-Lamashtu figure, then it is not surprising to find it as a shield decoration. The shield is carried under the aegis of the Warrior-Goddess, destroyer and "shield" against physical danger.' (p.12)

Goldman also suggests that the use of the Gorgon in the form of a mask depicted upon a shield may be derived from the oriental 'lion and human mask shield devices'.<sup>127</sup>

In support of his theory, Goldman illustrates several examples of iconography:

- (1) A bronze Luristan disc has a lion-head mask for its centre boss (Pl.V, 2). This example has a 'pin-like shaft'. (p.11)
- (2) Another bronze Luristan disc has a human mask for its centre boss (Pl.V, 3). Goldman notes that such a disc as this is suggestive of a shield boss, since there is no shaft.
- (3) A Gorgon in the 'running-kneeling pose' is depicted on an Etruscan disc from Orvieto (Pl.VI, 1).
- (4) There is an Assyrian 'lion-head buckler' from Nimrud (Pl.VI, 2). The boss of the shield is a lion's head.
- (5) An Etruscan shield on a chariot front from Monteleone has a human (Gorgon) mask above and a lion mask below (Pl.VI, 3).

- (6) Goldman also illustrates a bronze head of the demon Pazuzu (Pl.VII, 3), suggesting that it may have had an 'amuletic role'. The mask would ward off any evil influence from the user. (p.14)
- (7) A Scythian wooden 'demon mask' may have had a similar apotropaic function (Pl.VII, 4).<sup>128</sup>

It is clear that the use of human and lion masks to protect the user in battle is widespread.

It is now easy to understand the specific connection of the Gorgon head or 'mask' with the goddess Athena. Athena is the Greek war-goddess (p.156). She has this 'mask' or gorgoneion depicted upon her aegis as an amuletic protection against enemies in battle. This would also explain the literary description of 'Fear and Terror' around Agamemnon's shield.

Of course, Athena is not the only Greek goddess with whom the Gorgon is associated. Goldman illustrates a 'Gorgon-Artemis' on a Rhodian plate (Pl.IX, 1). She grasps a bird in each hand, in the manner of Artemis as a 'Mistress of the Beasts' (p.77).<sup>129</sup> We note that this iconographic association of the Gorgon with Artemis may have arisen because the Gorgon is leonine (p.192), and Artemis herself is connected with the lion (p.81).

In this section we have conclusively demonstrated the oriental origin of much of Athena's iconography.

## SECTION B

### THREE SEMITIC EPITHETS OF ATHENA.

(i) The origin and meaning of the bird Anopaia (Ἀνόπαια).

In the Odyssey (1.319-320) there is the following pair of lines:

Ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

ὄρνις δ' ὥς Ἀνόπαια διέπτατο

We may translate this as

'Thus spoke gleaming-eyed Athena and departed, and as a bird Ἀνόπαια  
she flew away.'

This text refers to the disappearance of Athena from the house of Odysseus in the shape of a bird, after she had conversed with Telemachos (1.126ff.).<sup>130</sup>

The complete understanding of this text depends upon the translation of the word Ἀνόπαια. In the classical era many ingenious etymologies were suggested. Here are those listed by the scholiast on the Odyssey (1.320), with our comments on the possibilities:

- (1) First of all, Ἀνόπαια may be from ἄνω πέτεσθαι, 'fly up' (line 6). This is not convincing, for the phonemes of Ἀνόπαια are clearly different from those of the etymology. The central phoneme -ετ- of the verb πέτομαι, 'fly', must be omitted from Ἀνόπαια. Besides, it is clear from the verb διέπτατο, 3 sing. aor. 2 of διαπέτομαι, 'fly away, vanish', that Athena is imagined as a bird. It is probable that this is a popular etymology derived from the verb in the



text (1.320), and also from Athena's avian connection (pp.152-158).

- (2) The second etymology is ἀπο τοῦ ἄνω εἶναι τοὺς ὤπας, 'from to have the eyes up', using the noun ὤψ, 'eye, face, countenance' (6, 9, 10, 21 & 24-25). This is somewhat better than the first etymology, for the phonemes are closer to ἀνόπαια. Thus we may assume a contraction from ἄνω + ὤψ. However, the -αία termination remains unexplained, as does the disappearance of the acc. case in -ας. Moreover, this idea is also derived from Athena's avian connection, for the scholiast follows it with the phrase ταχέως ἐορμήσαι, with reference to a bird 'rushing speedily' (7-8).
- (3) The third etymology is contained in the last two words of the phrase ὥς ὅρνις ἐψηπέτης ἣ τὰ ἄνω παίουσα, 'as a high-soaring bird which is striking upwards', using the verb παίω, 'strike, smite' (10). This seems better than the last two etymologies. We may assume a contraction of ἄνω παί(ουσα) α into the word ἀνόπαια. However, this is most probably another very ingenious popular etymology. In the *Odyssey* (1.320) Athena does not 'strike upwards' at anything, for she merely flies away. The etymology does not fit the context.
- (4) ἀνόπαια may be instead of ἀοράτως, 'invisibly' (13) or ἀόρατος, 'invisible' (19), since Athena rushed speedily as a bird (19-20). LS suggest a contraction from ἀνά, 'up' and ὀπτομαι (root ὀπ) of ὁράω, 'see'. If this is correct, there may be a confusion of the preposition ἀνά with the α-privative prefix, which occurs in the adverb ἀοράτως.<sup>131</sup>

This is totally confusing and does not explain ὀνόπαια, which can scarcely be understood as a type of 'composite' adjective meaning 'invisible'.

- (5) Eustathius quotes Empedocles, who uses the phrase καρπαλίμως δ' ὀνόπαιον, supposedly with the meaning 'and swiftly upward' (Emp.28=51). Thus ὀνόπαιον seems to be a synonym for ὀνωφερής, 'up into the air'. This idea is also noted by LS. In the Loeb edition of the Odyssey, A.T.Murray states:

'ὀνόπαια is probably a neuter pl. with the force of an adverb, and means simply "upward".' (pp.26-27).

This is clearly a variation of the etymology suggested by Empedocles. It is not convincing, for ὀνόπαιον seems to be a different word from ὀνόπαια.

Perhaps ὀνόπαιον is related to ὀνόπιν, 'backwards'?<sup>132</sup>

- (6) The scholiast on the Odyssey makes a more interesting suggestion. This is ὀνὰ ὀπήν, 'up the hole in the roof, up the smoke-vent' (15-16). The scholiast states that ὀπήν is Phocian for καπνοδόχος (24). According to LS, καπνοδόχος means 'receiving smoke' and the noun καπνοδόκη means 'smoke-receiver, hole in the roof for the smoke to pass through'. (p.876, col.1)

According to this interpretation, Athena went up the chimney. This is a very interesting idea, for it is well known that swallows build their nests in the rafters of human dwellings. In On the characteristics of animals, Aelian states:

'A swallow is a sign that the best season of the year is at hand. And it is friendly to man and takes pleasure in sharing the same roof with this being.'<sup>133</sup>

Moreover, in the Odyssey (22.240) Athena metamorphosed herself into a swallow. She seated herself upon the beam of the hall (22.239), 'in the

likeness of a swallow' (χελιδόνι εἰκέλη).

However, the linguistic evidence for the etymology is not convincing.

We note that the acc. -v termination of  $\rho\alpha\nu\alpha\ \rho\omicron\pi\eta\nu$  is inconsistent with the form  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ . It is significant that J.M.Boraston accepts the etymology from  $\rho\alpha\nu\alpha\ \rho\omicron\pi\eta\nu$ , but changes the form to  $\rho\alpha\nu'\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ , the supposed original reading of  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ .<sup>134</sup>

- (7) Throughout the scholion (on 1.320) there occurs the suggestion that  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  is εἶδος  $\rho\acute{o}\rho\nu\iota\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , 'a type of bird' (6), or  $\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\ \rho\omicron\r\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon$ , 'the name of a bird', such as the  $\phi\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$  (8 & 20-21). According to the scholiast, the bird  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  may also be the  $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ , χελιδών (11) or  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , 'like the harpe' (18-19). LS give the possible meanings of these nouns. The  $\phi\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$  is 'a kind of vulture, perh. lammergeyer',  $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  may be 'a kind of eagle' (see  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ ), χελιδών is the 'swallow' and  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta$  is an 'unknown bird of prey, prob. shearwater'. Boraston identifies the  $\phi\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$  with the 'Bearded Vulture', Gypaetus barbatus, in mature plumage, and the  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta$  with the 'Red Kite', Milvus iclinus, and also with the 'Black Kite', Milvus migrans, respectively.<sup>135</sup>

Since the avian tradition is the most persistent, it is most likely to be correct. The noun  $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  may be related to  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ , but this scarcely helps us to understand the etymology of the latter. We suggest that  $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  may be a derivative form of  $\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ , with the addition of the prefix π-, perhaps in the sense of  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -, 'all'.<sup>136</sup> Thus  $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  may have been



understood either as 'eagle', or as 'all invisible' (see no.4). The meaning of  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  is still uncertain.

Thus there is a confused tradition that  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  is a type of bird, and the popular etymologies seem to be derived from this tradition. There are two connected Sem. etymologies which have been suggested:

- (1) Astour thinks that  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  is derived from the Heb. bird  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$ , and that this is a 'noteworthy' metamorphosis for the owl-goddess Athena. The meaning of  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$  is not certain. E.C.Mitchell observes that  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$  is 'the name of an unclean bird' (Lev.11.19 & Deut.14.18). Thus it was forbidden in the Hebrew dietary laws. Mitchell suggests that it is

'so-called from its hard breathing or hissing, when provoked, hence angry bird, according to the Sept. sandpiper ( $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\rho\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ ); others say the heron, others the parrot.' (p.51, col.2)

According to LS,  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\rho\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$  is the 'plover'. Discussing  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ , LS also mention the possibility of Heb.  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$ .<sup>137</sup>

Driver observes (note 106) that the LXX gives the Gk. translation  $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\rho\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ , and that  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$  is described as a black or white hawk (p.18). Driver suggests that  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$  is connected with the Heb. root

$\text{פִּזַּז}$ , 'nose', and that this may indicate a bird with a hooked beak, such as the cormorant. Thus the evidence of the LXX is not conclusive.

However, we note that  $\text{הַפִּזְזִי}$  may be derived from the verb

$\text{פִּזַּז}$ , 'breathe through the nose, be angry'. Thus Mitchell's suggestion of 'angry bird' may well be correct. Mitchell derives the noun

$\text{פִּזַּז}$ , 'nose, anger', from the verb  $\text{פִּזַּז}$ .<sup>138</sup>

Boraston objects to the Heb. etymology of  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ . Noting that  $\text{הַפֶּהֶן}$  may mean 'heron', Boraston states:

'But it is little in keeping with Homer and his methods to cause him to introduce a heron into the house of Ulysses, much less a Night-heron in the daytime.' (p.244)

Since the context of Od. 1.320 is similar to that of Od. 22.239-240 (where Athena becomes a swallow), Boraston thinks that the 'bird' ( $\acute{o}\rho\nu\iota\varsigma$ ) of Od. 1.320 must surely be a swallow (see p.198).<sup>139</sup>

We may reply that the general poetic context of the two texts does not exclude the Sem. etymology. The presence of a wild bird in the house of Odysseus may not be inappropriate, since Homer may not have understood the original meaning of  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ . Besides, we have no idea what type of bird the  $\text{הַפֶּהֶן}$  really was. Homer may have thought that  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  means 'swallow', and placed it in Od. 1.320, in the sense of bird swallow' ( $\acute{o}\rho\nu\iota\varsigma + \alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ ), in a similar context to Od. 22.240. However, Homer may only have known vaguely that  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$  is some sort of bird, and used it to refer to Athena.

- (2) The second possible etymology is from the Akk. bird anpatu, which is closer in phonemes to the Gk.  $\alpha\nu\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ . This is a possible E-S cognate of  $\text{הַפֶּהֶן}$ , although Driver doubts it. However, Astour supports the connection.<sup>140</sup>

In the CAD there is the quotation:

'if an g.-bird [enters a house]'

There is also a list of Akk. birds:

<sup>v</sup>es-se-bu, <sup>v</sup>ki-li-li, issūr kilili, issūr lemutti, an-pa-tum'<sup>141</sup>

Thus an-pa-tum occurs in a list of birds of evil omens. We have already noted the connection of kilili with the goddess Athena (pp.164-165). The <sup>v</sup>essebu was also an evil bird:

'the <sup>v</sup>essebu-bird, the bird of evil portent...if an e.-bird enters somebody's house, misfortune will follow him.'

The phrase issūr lemutti simply means 'bird of wickedness'.<sup>142</sup>

T.G.Pinches also quotes a list of Akk. birds, which include the following:

8....is-sur...

9....mina li-[mut-ti]

10....an-pa-tum

Pinches notes that the an-pa-tum was also a bird of evil omens, and states:

'Indicated by the same Sumerian name is the anpatum (1.10), which has been compared with the Hebrew הַנֶּפֶשׁ, rendered "heron" in the A.V. The Syriac, however, is explained as the Gallus agrestis, which is probably the true meaning. To all appearance it was a bird with a crest or "ensign" (Cuneiform) and its name begins with the d. prefix for "wood" on account of ensigns or standards being made of that material.'<sup>143</sup>

We may state the etymological evolution of an-pa-tu as follows:

an-pa-tu > \*<sup>2</sup>ανπ+αία > \*<sup>2</sup>ανπαία > <sup>2</sup>ανόπαία

The termination -αία may be explained as Gk. For instance, there is fem. <sup>6</sup>ωραία, 'timely', from <sup>6</sup>ώρα, 'season, time'. Thus the Akk. fem. -t termination of an-pa-tu may have been replaced in the Gk. form by the fem. -αία suffix. The insertion of the phoneme -o- may have been suggested by popular etymologies of <sup>2</sup>ανόπαία (e.g.,



p.198, no.6, where we have Gk.  $\text{ᾠπὴν}$ ).

If we prefer a W-S form, it is possible to suggest an original Ug. form  $\text{*anapātu}$ , possibly ancestral to classical Heb.  $\text{הַנְּפִיז}$ . Thus we may have:

$\text{*anapātu} > \text{*}^{\text{א}}\text{אנאπ} + \text{αια} > \text{*}^{\text{א}}\text{אנπαια} > \text{ᾠνόπαια}$ .<sup>144</sup>

It may be significant that Akk.  $\text{an-pa-tu}$  is a bird of evil omens, while Heb. is an unclean bird. Thus the two forms may be related.

There is more classical evidence for the Sem. etymology of  $\text{ᾠνόπαια}$ . Herodotus states (7.216) that both the mountain and the pass at Thermopylae were called by the name  $\text{ᾠνόπαια}$ . The toponym is identical to the name of the bird. LS also mention the pass. In the same text, Herodotus also mentions the river  $\text{ᾠσωπός}$ , where the path across the pass began. This is a W-S name in the same locality (p.35, no.8). A similar toponym to  $\text{ᾠνόπαια}$  occurs elsewhere. According to Thucydides, there is a river  $\text{ᾠναπος}$  in Acarnania (2.82) and also a river  $\text{ᾠναπος}$  in Sicily (6.66.3). The latter example is noted by Astour.<sup>145</sup>

We note that the name  $\text{ᾠναπος}$  resembles  $\text{ᾠνόπαια}$ , except with a masc. termination in -ος. It seems that these two toponyms may both be derived from the bird  $\text{an-pa-tu}$  (or Heb.  $\text{הַנְּפִיז}$ ). This idea gains credence from the W-S toponym  $\text{Κῶς}$ , which takes its name from another chthonian bird (pp.40 & 158).

Thus Od. 1.320 may be translated as follows:

'...and as an an-pa-tu-bird she flew away.'

(ii) The Semitic origin of Athena's epithet Pallas (Παλλάς).

First of all we will list several texts that give evidence for the epithet Παλλάς. Then we will discuss several possible etymologies of the epithet. Here are the significant texts:

- (1) In the Iliad Παλλάς is a constant epithet of Athena. Thus there is the acc. form Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην (1.200) and the nom. form Παλλάς Ἀθήνη (1.400).
- (2) The acc. form Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην also occurs at the start of the Homeric Hymn to Athena (no. XXVIII, 1). Zeus begat Athena from his head, with her golden weapons (4-6). Athena sprang (ῥώρουσεν) from his head, shaking (σείσασ') a sharp spear (8-9).
- (3) According to the mythographer Apollodorus (3.12.3), Pallas (Παλλάς) was a girl-friend of Athena:

The story told about the Palladion (Παλλάδιον) is as follows: They say that when Athena was born she was brought up by Triton, who had a daughter Pallas; and that both girls practised the arts of war, but that once they quarreled; and when Pallas was about to strike a blow, Zeus in fear interposed the aegis, and she (Pallas), being cautious, looked up, and so fell wounded by Athena. And being exceedingly grieved for her, Athena made a wooden image in her likeness, and placed the aegis, which she had feared, around the breast (of it), and set it up beside Zeus, and honoured it.' (p.41)<sup>146</sup>

The ancient authors were puzzled by the epithet Παλλάς, and suggested various

etymologies:

- (1) According to Plato's Cratylus (407A)

'...this name is derived from armed dances (᾽απὸ τῆς ᾽εν τοῖς ὅπλοις ᾽ορχήσεως), for lifting (μετεωρίζειν) oneself or anything else from the ground, or in the hands is called shaking and being shaken (πάλλειν τε καὶ πάλλεσθαι) or dancing and being danced (᾽ορχεῖν καὶ ᾽ορχεῖσθαι).'

- (2) Under the entry ΠΑΛΛΑΣ, the EM also connects the epithet with the verb πάλλειν. According to LS, πάλλειν means either 'poise, sway, brandish' or 'leap, bound, quiver, quake'. According to the EM, Athena received the epithet Παλλάς because she leapt up (᾽αναπεπάλθαι) from the head of Zeus. This is clearly a reference to the birth of Athena (p.204, no.2). As an alternative etymology, the EM states that Athena was always brandishing (πάλλειν) and shaking (κραδαίνειν) her spear, since she is a warlike (πολεμικὴ) goddess.<sup>147</sup>

It is clear from these two texts that Παλλάς was derived from πάλλειν.

- (3) It is also possible that Παλλάς is derived from one of several Gk. nouns with similar phonemes to those of the epithet. Such nouns include πάλλας, -αντος, 'youth', πάλλαξ, -ακος 'youth, fem., girl', παλλακή, -ης 'concubine', and παλλακίς, -ίδος, 'concubine'. According to LS, the epithet Παλλάς probably signifies 'virgin, maiden'. The geographer Strabo states



(17.1.46) that the Greeks call priestesses (ἱεράται) by the name παλλάδας.

This suggests that such etymologies may have been used in antiquity.<sup>148</sup>

These two possibilities are not satisfactory. It is not convincing to derive Παλλάς either from the verb πάλλειν or from the above nouns. The reasons for this are as follows:

(1) O.Carruba notes that it would be difficult to derive a word with the phoneme -αδ from the verb πάλλειν. Thus Athena's epithet has the form Παλλάς, -άδος.

(2) There is a more general reason to doubt the etymology from πάλλειν. We have already noted the statue or Παλλάδιον of Athena (p.204, no.3).

Concerning the Παλλάδιον, Carruba states:

'We do not ourselves believe it for intrinsic reasons, since this female warrior is only a secondary activity of the goddess who was represented also seated in antiquity. A hundred other attributes could be equally valid from the point of view of the quality or of the attributes of the divinity.'<sup>149</sup>

In other words, there is no special reason why the motif of the goddess 'brandishing' her spear should be the origin of the epithet Παλλάς, since Athena holds her spear in various positions.

Farnell illustrates several examples of Greek art, depicting different postures of the goddess. We have already noted three of these. There is a gemstone on which Athena is seated, leaning on her upright spear (p.166). On a black-figured hydria she is seated with her spear slanted against her shoulder, and on a black-figured kylix she brandishes her spear in the throwing position

(p.167, nos.3 & 4). There is also a black-figured vase of archaic style, on which Athena is depicted holding her spear off the ground, slanting slightly forward (Pl.XIII, a). Her name is given as AΘENAIA. On a black-figured amphora, Athena stands behind a brick altar (Pl.XV, c). She holds a huge shield and brandishes her spear, pointing it slightly downwards. On a gemstone, Athena leans on her helmet in one hand and on her spear in the other (Pl.XVIII, b). Finally, Athena is depicted in a mournful attitude leaning on her spear, on a relief from the Athenian Acropolis (Pl.XX).<sup>150</sup>

In all these examples, Athena is depicted either leaning on her spear or brandishing it, at various angles. There is no reason why the 'brandishing' motif in particular should be the origin of the epithet Παλλάς.

- (3) As for the similar Gk. nouns mentioned above, Carruba suggests that we have here a 'popular etymology' of Παλλάς.<sup>151</sup> Thus the original form of Παλλάς, if non-Gk., may have come to resemble the phonemes of these Gk. words. These nouns have different phonemes and gen. terminations, and so it would be difficult to know which one is the origin of Παλλάς. We also note that the constant association of Athena with the epithet suggests that it is a cult title, by which she was addressed, and not merely an ordinary noun.

Since the Gk. etymologies are doubtful, it is reasonable to attempt a Sem. one.

Carruba suggests that Παλλάς is derived from the W-S noun b<sup>c</sup>lt, 'lady, mistress', which is attested in the Ug. language. The Ug. pronunciation was probably ba<sup>c</sup>alatu, since the Heb. masc. form is בַּיָּד, 'lord, master'. Carruba observes that there are no excessive phonetic difficulties, especially if Gk. words helped to modify the form.

Thus the initial b may easily become Gk.π.<sup>152</sup>

We may note one example of this change; Gk. ῥύσσωπος, 'hyssop', from

Heb.  $\text{בַּיִת}$ . The Ug. guttural  $^c$  ( $\gamma$ ) would disappear altogether in Gk. It need not be 'assimilated' to the second  $\lambda$  of Παλλάς, forming a double  $\lambda$ , as Carruba thinks. We think that the  $\lambda\lambda$  of Παλλάς is to be explained by the common occurrence of this double consonant in Gk. nouns, such as the nouns above that may offer popular etymologies. The final consonant may easily become  $\varsigma$ , because no Gk. word may terminate in a  $\tau$ . Also, the alternation between  $\varsigma$  and  $\tau$  is common in Gk., as in the noun θάλασσα / -ττα, 'sea'.<sup>153</sup>

The etymological evolution may be as follows:

ba<sup>c</sup>alatu > \* Πάαλας > Παλλάς

Carruba observes that there is a parallel between the epithet Παλλάς and Athena's title Πότνια, 'Mistress/Lady'. We have noted that the Mycenaean ancestress of Athena is almost certainly a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja (p.151). Thus it is probable that Παλλάς is a transliteration of Ug. b<sup>c</sup>lt. The title Πότνια would be the Gk. translation. Thus we may have a Gk. cultic doublet of Ug. b<sup>c</sup>lt.

This theory is very convincing, for at Ugarit b<sup>c</sup>lt is also the name of a goddess. This occurs in text KTU 1.105, 2 (= RS 24.249, 2):

alp.w<sup>v</sup>s.l b<sup>c</sup>lt bhtm                      a cow and a sheep for the Lady of the Houses.<sup>154</sup>

It is significant that the Mycenaean Athena may have been a goddess of the palace. The Ugaritic goddess b<sup>c</sup>lt clearly provides an explanation for the cultic epithet Παλλάς.



(iii) Athena's epithet Onga (Ὠγα) in cult and mythology.

In the classical authors, this epithet is found in three forms; Ὠγα, Ὠγκαία and Ὠγα. We will now examine texts in which these forms occur, in order to discover the possible meaning of the epithet:

- (1) In his play Seven against Thebes, Aeschylus uses the form Ὠγα three times.

First there is:

'O child of Zeus, from whom is the holy completion in battle that ends war (πολεμόκραντον). And thou, blessed Lady Onka (Ὠγα), before the city defend thy abode of seven gates.' (161-165)

Thus the epithet Ὠγα is clearly connected with Athena, the war goddess (p.156). Later (487) Aeschylus refers to 'Onka Athena' (Ὠγκας Ἀθάνας), and also to 'Onka Pallas' (Ὠγκα Παλλάς), who is 'near the city, neighbour to the gates'. (501-502)

- (2) According to Stephanus Byzantius, the Ὠγκαίαι are the gates of Thebes, and Ὠγα is 'Athena among the Phoenicians':

Ὠγα γὰρ ἐν Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ Φοίνικας

Thus the epithet is specifically connected with Thebes.<sup>155</sup>

- (3) According to Hesychius, Ὠγα is a native epithet of Athena at Thebes:

176.32 Ὠγα Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Θήβαις ἐπὶ χώριος ἐπώνυμον  
ἔχουσα...

Ὠγα is also connected with the 'Ogygian gates' at Thebes:

176.36 ὄγκας Ἀθηνας· τας Ὠγυγίας πύλας λέγει

At least five subsequent entries in Hesychius' lexicon include similar words to the epithet. These may give clues to the meaning:

176.37 ὀγκᾶται· βοᾶ (verb, = shouts)

176.38 ὀγκηθμός· κραυγὴ ὄνου

(braying of the ass)

176.39 ὀγκη· γωνία· μέγεθος

(angle, greatness/magnitude)

176.40 ὀγκίαι· θημῶνες· χώματα· σιδηροθήκη

(heaps, mounds, armoury)

176.41 ὀγκίον· ἀγγεῖον, ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἀκίδες

(vessel, in which arrows)<sup>156</sup>

- (4) In his *Dionysiaca*, Nonnos uses the form Ὀγκαία four times, giving evidence both for cult and etymology. First Nonnos describes the sacrifice of the Delphian cow to Pallas by Kadmos. The stone altar of Athena Ὀγκαίη was reddened with blood (5.1-15). Later (44.38-41) Nonnos mentions the stone altar of Athena Ὀγκαίη which Kadmos built, when the cow sank its hoof. There is also a mysterious reference to the 'bronze' (χαλκόν) of Athena Ὀγκαίη, which Pentheus urges Kadmos to take up (45.65-69). According to W.H.D.Rouse, this may have been a spear.<sup>157</sup>

Finally, Nonnos discusses the foundation of Thebes by Kadmos and gives an interesting etymology of Ὀγκαίη:

'...he allotted the Onkaian gate (Ὠγκαίην ...πύλην) to the gleaming-eyed Moon (γλαυκῶπιδι Μήνη), taking the name from the lowing (Ὠκηθμοῖο) of the cow, because Selene herself, bull-shaped (ταυροφύης), horned, driver of cattle, having triple form is Tritonis Athena.' (5.70-73)<sup>158</sup>

Thus there is the tradition that the epithet signifies the lowing (Ὠκηθμός) of a cow. Hesychius lists this noun (above, no.3).

- (5) Pausanias tells the myth of how Kadmos came to Thebes (9.12.1-3). When Kadmos was leaving Delphi, he was guided on his journey by a cow that had a white mark on each flank resembling the full moon. Kadmos was instructed by the oracle to settle where the cow sank exhausted. Consequently at this spot in Thebes there was an altar and image of Athena, that was said to have been set up by Kadmos. Then Pausanias states that Athena is called by the Phoenician name Onga (Ὠγγα).
- (6) The same basic myth is told by the scholiast on Aeschylus' Seven against Thebes. According to the scholiast, Kadmos came to Greece in search of Europe, who had been abducted by Zeus. Kadmos inquired at Delphi where he should settle, and was told by the god that on leaving the temple he was to follow what he found. This was a cow, so Kadmos followed her and came to Thebes, where the cow slipped. Thus Kadmos dwelt at Thebes. He sacrificed the cow to Athena, and in the Egyptian tongue he honoured her as Ὠγκα. Thus the gates of Thebes were called Ὠγκαῖαι (486a.12-486b.32 & 486c). A little further on (487a.21) the scholiast states that Ὠγκα is a Phoenician word. There was an inscription at the temple, stating that it was the temple of



Athena Ὀγκᾶ, and that Kadmos sacrificed a cow there, when he founded the city of Thebes (487a.21-23). As we have seen, Pausanias also states that Ὀγγᾶ is Phoenician (above, no.5). Elsewhere the scholiast gives a little more information. He states that Ὀγκᾶ is Athena among the Thebans and that the native (ἐπιχώριον) Athena is worshipped (163a.10). Athena Ὀγκαία was honoured among the Thebans, Ὀγκᾶ among the Phoenicians, and the gates were called Ὀγκᾶῖαι (163a.13-14). The scholiast notes further that the 'native' Athena was worshipped when calling for help (163.c.21). The goddess was 'the queen in battles' (ἡ ἀνάσσα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις) and was warlike (163.h.11). This last point suggests that Athena under the epithet Ὀγκᾶ was called to help in battle.<sup>159</sup>

Is there an explanation for the three forms of the epithet; Ὀγκᾶ, Ὀγκαία and Ὀγγᾶ? A.Schachter states:

'The earliest known form of the epithet is Onka, and is given by Aischylos, who locates the sanctuary near one of the seven gates of Thebes, whence the later name Onkaiai for the gates. Later sources derived the epithet from the gates, instead of vice versa, with the result that they call the goddess Onkaia. A third variant, Onga, may, as Hesychius suggested, be a local dialect form.'<sup>160</sup>

All this is clear from the texts (pp.209-210, esp. nos.1-3). Thus it seems that Ὀγκαία is a later adjectival form given to the gates of Thebes. The termination is similar to that of fem. Ἀθηναία, 'Athenian', and also that of the bird Ἀνόπαια (pp.196-203).

The form Ὠγγα presents a different problem. According to H.Hitzig, the corrupt manuscript readings of Pausanias (see text 5) are οἶγγα and Σίγγα. Schachter notes that Ὠγγα is restored from Hesychius (text 3).<sup>161</sup>

### Conclusion.

These texts tell us that there was an important cult of Athena at Thebes, with a temple dedicated to her. The origin of this was connected with the myth of Kadmos. There were at least three forms of Athena's cultic epithet, which was believed to be either Phoenician or Egyptian in origin. Under this epithet, Athena seems to have been worshipped as a helper in battle (p.209, no.1 & p.212, no.6).

### (iv) A Semitic etymology of Onga (Ὠγγα)

First we will discuss several possible Gk. etymologies of Ὠγγα, then suggest a Sem. one.

As we have seen, there are three known forms of the epithet, and Ὠγκαία is a late evolute (p.212). Therefore this one is not relevant to the original etymology. It remains to be seen whether Ὠγγα or Ὠγγα is the original form. Any etymology will depend upon this.

- (1) We must first consider the ancient etymology, that the epithet is derived from the 'lowing' (Ὠγκηθμός) of the cow sacrificed by Kadmos. Nonnos expresses this idea most clearly (p.211, no.4). Concerning this etymology, Schachter states:

'Scholarly attempts in late antiquity to explain the epithet linked it with the earliest period in Theban history, that is, the foundation by Kadmos, and derived the word either from the lowing of the cow...or tried to give

foreign etymologies, either Phoenician or Egyptian.<sup>162</sup>

- (2) We noted above (p.210, no.3) that Hesychius lists some words with similar phonemes to ὄγκα. These include ὄγκηθμός, 'braying', in addition to synonyms for γωνία, 'greatness' and σιδηροθήκη, 'armoury'. Other words with the ὄγκ-stem are equally possible, such as ὄγκος, 'barb of an arrow'.<sup>163</sup> However, while the epithet ὄγκα resembles such words, the alternative ὄγγα cannot be explained by a single word in the Gk. language. Thus it is most probable that the ancient etymology from ὄγκηθμός is nothing more than a false popular etymology. Hesychius gives the form ὄγγα, while the manuscripts of Pausanias make it virtually certain (p.213). The copyists would have been puzzled by the meaning of ὄγγα, and therefore would have altered the non-Gk. original form to the nonsensical σίγγα or Σίγα. We note that perhaps the copyists imagined Athena to be a goddess of 'silence' (σιγή).<sup>164</sup>

The seemingly nonsensical, most altered reading ὄγγα is most probably the original. Therefore we may now delete the form ὄγκα, which is probably the result of popular etymology. The original consonants -γγ- would have become -γκ.

- (3) Schachter suggests an idea of his own:

'It is possible, I suppose, that the original significance of Onka may have had something to do with the war-cry. This would not be unsuitable for a goddess invoked - as Athena Onka is - as protectress of the city.' (p.131)

This idea is very vague, and Schachter does not even suggest a possible



etymology. Perhaps he is suggesting that  $\text{O}\gamma\kappa\alpha$  is a meaningless emotional utterance? It is not very probable in the case of this word. As Astour observes, emotional cries 'usually consist of vowels or a few open syllables', such as

'Oh! Ho! Oioioi!'. 'Entire articulate words' should have meaning.<sup>165</sup>  $\text{O}\gamma\kappa\alpha$  is clearly such an articulate word.

- (4) It is interesting that such Gk. sources as Pausanias and the scholiast on Aeschylus' Seven against Thebes suggest a Phoenician origin of the epithet (pp.211-212, nos.5 & 6). It is probable that this ancient tradition of a Phoenician origin is merely a guess, possibly derived from the Phoenician tradition of Kadmos.<sup>166</sup> The tradition concerning the epithet may be genuine, but the meaning is not given. The Egyptian suggestion adds yet more confusion.

In modern times there has also been speculation concerning a possible Sem. origin of  $\text{O}\gamma\kappa\alpha$ . Astour notes V.Berard's suggestion of Heb.  $\text{הקנה}$  'statute, law'. The consonants are clearly different from those of  $\text{O}\gamma\kappa\alpha$ , and there is nothing in the Gk. literature to suggest that the epithet is connected with law.<sup>167</sup>

A new etymology is therefore required. We propose to derive  $\text{O}\gamma\kappa\alpha$  from the Akk. adjective aggu, 'angry'. Quotations are given in the CAD, which show that Ishtar was sometimes an angry goddess:

'May she ( $\text{I}^{\text{v}}$ star) curse his royal rule with an angry heart, with great fury.  
...may the great gods glare at him angrily.'

There is also the Akk. verb agāgu, 'to be angry, to flare up in anger':

'The Assyrian  $\text{I}^{\text{v}}$ star was furious. She ( $\text{I}^{\text{v}}$ star) went against Teumman, king of Elam, against whom she was angry....When  $\text{I}^{\text{v}}$ star heard this... $\text{I}^{\text{v}}$ star became furious.'

There is also the adverb aggiš, 'angrily':

'May Istar of Uruk glare at him angrily and decree him an evil fate....She has established a battle host and rages furiously.'<sup>168</sup>

There are no great phonetic difficulties. The first vowel of the form 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁 has altered from α-, probably under the influence of Gk. words with similar phonemes (p.214, no.2). The Gk. has the same consonants as Akk. *aggu*, but in Gk. the first γ may have softened to an *ng* sound (i.e., *Onga*). It is clear that γ had such a nasal pronunciation. Thus we have the spelling 𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤍, 'call in', from an original \*𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤍, συγγενής, 'congenital, inborn', from \*𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤍 and συγχωρῶ, 'meet', from \*𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤍. We explain the final Gk. α as a fem. termination, appropriate as an epithet for a goddess. The Akk. nom. -u termination would probably be unstressed and therefore dropped.<sup>169</sup> The etymological evolution is probably as follows:

*aggu* > \*𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁 > 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁 > 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁.

The meaning of 'angry goddess' fits well in the context. The Hymn of lamentation to Ishtar describes her as a warrior:

'O supporter of arms, who determines battle,...O mighty one, Lady of battle,...the one covered with fighting and clothed with terror.'<sup>170</sup>

Athena was also a war goddess (p.156), while the epithet 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁 was also probably connected with battle (p.212, no.6).

There is another fragment of circumstantial evidence which suggests a Sem. origin of the epithet 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁. In the account of Nonnos quoted above (p.211, no.4), the moon is described as 'bull-shaped' (ταυροφυής). Pausanias also mentions that

the cow had a white mark like that of the full moon on each flank (p.211, no.5). The Sumerians had a myth of a bull mating with a cow. This concerns the god NIN-GIR-SU and the goddess BA-BA. Their wedding-room is compared to a stable:

'...the stable in his bed-chamber being sweet...' (p.336, note 12)

R.Jestin notes that the moon-god is often compared to a bull because of the horns of the lunar crescent, and that the goddess BA-BA is compared to 'the cow of the moon-god NANNA'. BA-BA is a 'holy cow'.<sup>171</sup>

In Mesopotamian mythology, the hero Gilgamesh slays the 'Bull of Heaven', who is probably the moon:

'Then Ishtar mounted the wall of ramparted Uruk,

Sprang on the battlements, uttering a curse:

"Woe unto Gilgamesh because he insulted me

By slaying the Bull of Heaven."

When Enkidu heard this speech of Ishtar,

He threw the right thigh of the Bull of Heaven,

Tossing it into her face.'<sup>172</sup>

It is possible that the Greek motif of the 'bull-shaped' moon and the cow with the 'lunar' markings may be derived from these oriental myths.

#### (v) Further literary evidence for the Semitic etymology of Onga.

It is most curious that there was a toponym called Ὀγκιον, near Thelpousa on the river Ladon in Arcadia. The phonemes of this toponym are very similar to those of the

epithet Ὀγγα / Ὀγκα. According to Pausanias (8.25.4-6) there was a sanctuary of

Demeter Ερινύς, Demeter 'Fury', at Thelpousa. Pausanias tells the myth of the pursuit of Demeter by Poseidon in the form of a horse (see p.126, no.2). When

Poseidon mated with Demeter, the goddess was angry. Pausanias states that she

received the epithet Ερινύς from the Arcadian ἐρινύειν, 'be angry'.<sup>173</sup>



The following conclusions are suggested by this information. The toponym  $\text{ᾠγκιον}$  has the same phonetic root as the epithet  $\text{ᾠγκα}$ , the Hellenised form of  $\text{ᾠγγα}$  (p.214, no.2). Therefore, both the toponym and the epithet may have the same origin. F.Vian states concerning Athena  $\text{ᾠγκα}$ :

'The ancient mythographers have supposed, without giving their reasons, that the epiclesis (i.e. epithet) of the goddess was Phoenician, but the name is evidently related to that of the Arcadian Onkeion where the union of Poseidon and Demeter Erinys was consummated,...perhaps also to other toponyms such as that of Onchestos.'<sup>174</sup>

Vian is most probably correct to stress the connection between the toponym  $\text{ᾠγκιον}$  and the epithet  $\text{ᾠγκα}$ . However, if the epithet is related to the Gk. toponym alone and is not oriental in origin, the meaning of both the epithet and the toponym remains a mystery. We suggest that the toponym  $\text{ᾠγκιον}$  may have been named after the epithet  $\text{ᾠγκα}$ , then translated by the Gk. epithet  $\text{ᾠΕρινύς}$ , 'angry'. This may all ultimately be derived from the Akk. adjective aggu, 'angry' (p.215):

$$\text{aggu} > \text{ᾠγγα} > \text{ᾠγκα} > \text{ᾠγκιον} > \text{ᾠΕρινύς}$$

Thus we may suggest the following mythological equation:

$$(\text{Athena}) \text{ᾠγγα} = (\text{Demeter}) \text{ᾠΕρινύς} \text{ at } \text{ᾠγκιον}.$$

In this section, the Semitic origin of three of Athena's epithets has been clearly demonstrated.

## SECTION C

### ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF AVIAN DAEMONS IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY - THE DEMONIC SIRENS.

#### (i) The Sirens in Greek literature.

First we will examine some texts that give evidence for the character of the Sirens (Σειρῆνες) in Greek mythology:

- (1) The myth of the Sirens is very ancient, for Kirke warns Odysseus about them in the Odyssey (12.39-46):

'To the Sirens (Σειρῆνας) first you will come, who enchant all men whosoever comes to them. Whoso in ignorance draws near to them and hears the voice of the Sirens, he nevermore returns homeward,...but the Sirens enchant him with their clear-toned song, as they sit in a meadow, and around (them) is a great heap of bones of mouldering men, and round (the bones) the skins are shrivelling.' (p.435)

Then Kirke advises Odysseus to row past the Sirens and to stop up the ears of his comrades with wax, lest they hear the song. However, if Odysseus himself wishes to hear the song of the Sirens, his comrades must bind him hand and foot at the mast (46-52). Later (166-167) Odysseus' ship comes to 'the island of the two Sirens' (Σειρῆνοιν). First Odysseus stopped up the ears of his comrades with wax, and they bound him hand and foot (177-179). When the Sirens saw the ship approaching (182-183), they began to sing (184-188):

'Come hither, as you go by, much-renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans; stay your ship that you may listen to the voice of us two. For never yet has anyone rowed past this (isle) in a black ship until from our

lips he has heard the sweet voice, but rejoicing he goes away knowing more.' (p.445)

Thus Odysseus alone, tied to the mast, hears the song of the Sirens.<sup>175</sup>

- (2) In the Helen (167-169) of Euripides, Helen says:

'Winged girls, maidens, daughters of Earth (χθονὸς κόραι), Sirens (Σειρῆνες)...,'

Thus the Sirens seem to have a chthonian connection.

- (3) A 'sepulchral epigram' of the Greek anthology (no.710), attributed to the poetess Erinna, also provides evidence for the chthonian connection of the Sirens (1-3):

'Columns and Sirens mine, and mournful urn (πένθιμε κρῶσσέ) that holds the little ash of death, bid those that pass by my tomb hail,...' (p.377)

The epigram states further that the bride buried in the tomb was Baukis (5-6), and that her friend Erinna engraved these lines on the tomb (7-8).

W.R.Paton notes that figures of the Sirens would have stood on the tomb.

This is the probable meaning.<sup>176</sup>

- (4) In the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, the Sirens are clearly modelled on those of the Odyssey (text 1). The ship Argo (see 4.763) encountered them during the return voyage from Colchis (4.891-894):

'And soon they saw a fair island, Anthemoessa, where the clear-voiced Sirens, daughters of Achelous, with sweet songs enchanting whoever cast anchor there, used to destroy (him).' (p.355)

Then Apollonius Rhodius states that the Sirens partly resembled birds and partly resembled maidens (4.898-899). The Argonauts were saved when the Thracian Orpheus, son of Oïagros, played his lyre to overcome the voices of the maidens (4.905-909).<sup>177</sup>

- (5) In the Alexandra (712-720), Lycophron describes the suicide of the Sirens:



'And he (i.e. Odysseus) shall slay the triple daughters of Tethys' son, who imitated the songs of their melodious mother: with self-slain hurlings from the cliff's top they dive with their wings into the Tyrrhenian wave, where the bitter flaxen thread (of the Fates) shall draw them. One of them washed up the tower of Phaleros shall receive, and Glanis wetting the earth with streams. There the inhabitants shall build a tomb for the maiden, and with libations and sacrifices of oxen shall yearly honour the

bird goddess (οἰωνὸν θεάν) Parthenope.' (pp.553 & 555)

Then Lycophron mentions the two Sirens Leukosia and Ligeia, who will also be washed ashore (723-727). Sailors will bury Ligeia on a beach near the eddies of Okinaros (727-729). Moreover, the ruler of all the navy of Mopsops will equip a torch-race for his sailors in honour of the first Siren (Parthenope). This will be in obedience to an oracle, which the Neapolitans will celebrate (732-736).

- (6) The scholiast on Lycophron's Alexandra (712) provides further information. The Sirens were the daughters of Achelous, son of Okeanos, and of Tethys. Unable to bear their defeat, the Sirens threw themselves into the sea (712.29-32). This seems to refer to their deception by Odysseus (text 1). According to the scholiast, the Sirens lived either in Peloris or in three rocky Italian headlands called Σειρηνοῦσαις (712.33-712.1). The names of the Sirens were Parthenope, Leukosia and Ligeia (712.1-2). They were girls or birds with wings (712.4-6). Thus in the later literature (texts 5 & 6) there were three Sirens, and two in the Odyssey (p.219, text 1).<sup>178</sup>

- (7) The geographer Strabo provides more information concerning the cult of the Sirens. First Strabo mentions (1.2.12) 'the temple of the Sirens' (τὸ τῶν Σειρήνων ἱερόν) on one side of a hill near the strait of Capri. On the other side, towards the Gulf of Poseidonia, lie three uninhabited and rocky little

islands called 'Sirens' (Σειρῆνας). Next Strabo states that a monument (μνῆμα) of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, is shown in Neapolis (1.2.13). Strabo again mentions the monument of Parthenope in Neapolis, stating further that a gymnastic contest is celebrated there in accordance with an oracle (5.4.7). This may be the same as the torch-race mentioned by Lycophron (text 5). Finally, Strabo states that the island of Leukosia is named after one of the Sirens, who was cast ashore there after they flung themselves into the deep (6.1).

- (8) There is also evidence for the worship of Sirens inland. Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of the goddess Hera at the town of Koroneia in Boeotia (9.24.3). The ancient image of Hera was represented with Sirens in her hand. The explanation for this was as follows. The daughters of Achelous (Sirens; see text 6) were persuaded by Hera to compete with the Muses in singing. When the Muses won the contest, they plucked out the Sirens' feathers and made crowns for themselves out of them. This amusing myth does not explain the specific connection of the Sirens with Hera.
- (9) Pausanias gives another fragment of information that may possibly be connected with the Sirens. At one time man-eating birds were believed to have bred on the water of the Stympthalos in Arcadia. According to the myth, Herakles was said to have shot them down (8.22.4-5). Next Pausanias mentions (8.22.7) that in Stympthalos there was an ancient sanctuary 'of Stympthalian Artemis' (Ἀρτέμιδος...Στυμφαλίας). Near the roof of the temple the Stympthalian birds were carved. Most significantly, standing behind the temple were 'maidens of white stone' (παρθένοι λίθου λευκοῦ), but with the legs of birds. Pausanias does not identify these maidens.<sup>179</sup>

However, it is tempting to connect them with the Sirens. Pollard calls them 'a unique type of Siren', and states:

'Since the temple was dedicated to Artemis the Sirens were presumably



her emissaries, indicating in the context that the man-slaying birds were controlled by the Mistress of the Beasts.'<sup>180</sup>

We have already observed that Artemis is a goddess connected with birds in iconography (pp.152-158). The Sirens are avian daemons who cause death (texts 1 & 4). Thus Artemis may have been the mistress both of the Stymphalian birds and of the maidens with the legs of birds, who may have represented Sirens. However, it is also possible that the 'maidens' are not Sirens at all, but a local avian depiction of Artemis herself, derived from the connection of this temple with the Stymphalian birds. The description of these maidens reminds us of the demoness depicted on the Burney Relief (pp.160-162).

### **Conclusion.**

These texts permit us to state several conclusions concerning the Sirens. Most significantly, they are chthonian demonesses of death. In both the Odyssey and the Argonautica (texts 1 & 4), the Sirens try to enchant sailors to their deaths.

Discussing the Odyssey, Harrison notes that the Sirens 'are not sea-maidens'; they merely happen to dwell on the island. Harrison states concerning their song:

'The end of that song is death. It is only from the warning of Circe that we know of the heap of bones, corrupt in death - horror is kept in the background, seduction to the fore.' (p.199)

Discussing the Helen of Euripides (text 2), she also states:

'The Sirens are not of the sea, not even of the land, but demons of the underworld.'<sup>181</sup>

The Sirens also resembled both birds and maidens (texts 2, 4, 5 & 6). They were depicted with feathers (text 8). Finally, the Sirens were worshipped in cult (text 7). They were believed to have committed suicide (texts 5, 6 & 7). We note that the suicide motif may be derived from their connection with death.



(ii) **The iconography of the Sirens in Greek art.**

The depictions of the Sirens in Greek art are both varied and numerous. Therefore we will list some examples that show different motifs:

- (1) D. Levi illustrates a fragment of a vase from Praisos in Crete, on which is depicted a strange, winged figure with a human head (Fig. 11). This is the so-called 'Siren' from Praisos, which may date from the first half of the 11th century B.C. The avian body is painted in black silhouette, with outstretched wings. We note that the tail is just visible at the bottom of the fragment, and that the long hair is suggestive of a female head. Levi observes that the facial features of the figure are reminiscent of LM art. Thus the face has a 'loose, open structure', 'vague features, retroussé (i.e. upturned) nose, and receding chin.' (p. 286)

However, such a facial profile may also suggest that the fragment is an example of early Hellenic art, with surviving Minoan features. Levi also illustrates a painted female terracotta head from Sparta (Fig. 13.a-b). This also has an upturned nose and receding chin.<sup>182</sup>

Concerning the Praisos 'Siren', Levi also notes the possibility of an oriental origin:

'The siren from Praisos, consequently, finds its obvious place in this renewed stream of Oriental art among the many monstrous creatures suggested for the second time to the art of Crete by the fantasy of the Orient.'<sup>183</sup>

Thus the Praisos 'Siren' may represent an early importation of the 'bird-woman' motif from the Orient to Crete, during or after the Minoan Age.

- (2) Harrison illustrates a black-figured Corinthian aryballos (Fig. 37), noting that it is the 'earliest artistic source' for the myth of the Sirens. Pollard also illustrates this example (Fig. 1). According to Pollard, the aryballos dates from the second

quarter of the 6th century B.C.<sup>184</sup> On the left there is a ship, with a figure tied to the mast. He is almost certainly Odysseus (p.219, text 1). The ship is situated in front of an island, upon which are standing two woman-headed Sirens with the bodies, wings and feet of birds. Behind the Sirens is a seated female figure, and to her rear on the extreme right is a strange rectangular object divided into squares. Two huge birds hover over the deck of the ship.

There has been considerable comment on this most interesting and somewhat enigmatic picture. Of the various features, three are important for our analysis. These are the meaning of the bird, the identity of the seated female figure, and of the rectangular structure behind her.

(a) The birds clearly have a menacing appearance. Harrison thinks that they are 'birds of prey in act to pounce on the mariners', and that they 'duplicate the Sirens'. In Harrison's view the birds are to be explained by the demonic nature of the Sirens (above, p.223). This seems probable. However, Pollard is sceptical of this view, stating that:

'There is no reason to suppose that the two large birds possess any special significance.' (p.359)

According to Pollard, it is possible that the birds represent vultures about to feed on those who are overcome by the song of the Sirens. However, Pollard thinks that a simpler explanation for the birds is to be found in the custom of depicting birds perched at the curved ends of ships, in geometric vase paintings. He illustrates such an example (Fig.4). Pollard thinks that one bird on the Corinthian aryballos 'more nearly resembles a bird of prey, but it may equally well be a seagull'. This may be the huge bird on the right.<sup>185</sup>

We think it possible that the position of the birds on the aryballos may be explained by geometric vase paintings. However, the appearance and attitude of the birds is completely different from those of Pollard's Fig.4. On that example the two thin birds sit calmly fore and aft. On the aryballos they are hovering in a threatening attitude. In association with the Sirens, a demonic



explanation is more satisfactory than a depiction of ordinary birds.

(b) There are two suggestions for the identity of the seated female figure. Harrison thinks that she may be Chthon (Earth), the mother of the Sirens (p.220, text 2). Pollard suggests that she is Kirke, who told Odysseus about the Sirens (text 1).

(c) If she is Kirke, the rectangular structure behind the island may be Kirke's palace, as Pollard notes. It is impossible to reach a definite conclusion concerning her identity. Harrison does not mention the structure.<sup>186</sup>

- (3) A red-figured stamnos is illustrated both by Harrison (Fig.38) and Roscher (Fig.1). According to Pollard, this dates from c.500 B.C.<sup>187</sup> Here we have a clear depiction of the Odysseus myth, in which there are two Sirens (text 1). Odysseus is tied to the mast, staring upwards, his hands bound by ropes. His name is written in front of him, in the form **ΟΥΥΣΕΥΣ**. The three Sirens here (see p.221, text 5) have heavy wings and tails with copious feathers and avian talons. Two of the Sirens are perched on either side of the ship. According to Harrison they are seated on islands, while Pollard thinks that the objects at the sides are 'rocky bluffs'. Over the head of the Siren on the left is written her name, **ΗΙΜΕΟΡΑ**, 'lovely-faced'. A third Siren plunges downwards to the deck, her eye closed. As Harrison notes, this means that she is dying. Thus the suicide of the Sirens (p.221) was depicted in art.<sup>188</sup>

- (4) A Hellenistic relief is also illustrated by Harrison (Fig.39) and Roscher (Fig.8). A man has fallen asleep on the ground. A nude winged woman with avian talons is bending over him. Harrison thinks that the man is having a nightmare, and states:

'The woman can be none other than an evil Siren.'<sup>189</sup>

It is wise to be cautious concerning the identity of this bird-woman. It is certainly possible that she is a Siren appearing to the man in an evil dream. She is curiously similar to the demoness of the Burney Relief.

- (5) Harrison also illustrates (Fig.40) a black-figured lekythos that provides



evidence for the connection of Sirens with tombs (p.220, text 3). On this lekythos, the Siren has an avian body and a woman's head. She stands in profile facing the right on the grave stele, playing a lyre. On each side of her stands a bearded man, his dog at his feet. Harrison thinks that the Siren here may have an apotropaic function, to keep away other souls, and that she is playing the funeral dirge. In the context this is possible, but not certain.

- (6) Harrison's final example (Fig.41) is a black-figured kylix, which is also illustrated by Roscher (Fig.4). Here bird-women appear in a more benevolent context. Five men are depicted reclining on couches at a drinking-party. Over their heads hover four strange winged figures. The two at the top and bottom of Harrison's illustration are bird-women with wings and tails. These resemble Sirens very closely. The two at the sides of her illustration have completely human bodies, including legs, but also wings. All four figures have human hands which carry a crown and a spray of vegetation. They seem to represent a benevolent aspect of the bird-women. Harrison calls them 'favouring genii of the feast', but refrains from making a certain identification of the bird-women with the Sirens. We note that the iconography may be borrowed from that of the Sirens. However, the character of the bird-women seems to have altered.<sup>190</sup>
- (7) More probable examples of Sirens are illustrated by Roscher. These provide even more interesting evidence for various artistic motifs. First there is a spherical Corinthian aryballos (Fig.2). A huge, winged Siren stands in profile over a prostrate human figure. It is tempting to regard this Siren as a demoness of death presiding over a human corpse. Several objects around the Siren resemble flowers. In the Odyssey, the Sirens are seated in a meadow (p.219, text 1).
- (8) There is also a Corinthian pinax (tablet), on which a Siren is depicted flying to the right (Fig.3).
- (9) On a tombstone from Chios (Fig.6) four nude female Sirens are depicted,

dancing and making music. Their breasts are clearly visible. They have large, feathered wings, tails and taloned feet. The two in the centre dance, the one on the left holds a mirror, and the one on the right plays a pipe.

- (10) On an amphora a fat Siren is depicted in profile to the right, playing a stringed instrument (Fig.7). A short tail and wing are visible.
- (11) There is also a terracotta from Kameiros in Rhodes (Fig.15). A female human head with long hair is attached to a fat avian body with a tail. There are no feet. This may be a Siren.
- (12) One motif of special interest is the bearded Siren. Two avian Sirens with bearded human heads appear on the shoulder of a geometric pot from Rhodes (Fig.16).
- (13) On a spherical Corinthian aryballos there is a double-headed avian daemon with large wings (Fig.18). One head is male and bearded, while the other seems to be female. Perhaps this variation is the invention of an ingenious artist, rather than a mythological theme. It may combine both a male and a female Siren in the same figure.
- (14) The Siren of another spherical Corinthian aryballos is even more interesting (Fig.19). This example has the usual avian body, a human head with a huge beard and the forelegs of a lion.
- (15) On a sarcophagus from Clazomenae (Fig.20), two avian Sirens face each other. Roscher thinks that they have 'lions' paws instead of hands'. It is clear from the illustration that paws of some sort are depicted.
- (16) Roscher also illustrates a hydria, on which there is a very beautiful Siren with an avian body and a woman's head (Fig.21). There is a huge 'eye' in the middle of her wing. Thus Roscher calls her an Augenseirene, 'eye-Siren'. She faces the left in profile.
- (17) There is also a Corinthian bowl (Fig.23), with a female Siren depicted on the left and a male, bearded one on the right. At least two birds appear with the Sirens. There are also flower-shapes, like those of Roscher's Fig.2 (above, no.7).



- (18) An Etruscan amphora is also of interest (Fig.32). At least two avian Sirens with human arms and heads advance towards the left. A bird flies in front, at the extreme left. The Siren in the centre has sharp avian talons.<sup>191</sup>
- (19) Finally, there are the bird-women depicted on the so-called 'Harpy tomb' from Xanthos in Lycia, illustrated by Harrison (Fig.21) and Roscher. This tomb dates from the period of Greek settlement in Lycia (see pp.119-121). Thus F.J.Tritsch observes that there is a similar 'pillar tomb', the 'Xanthian Stele', some fifty paces to the north-east of the 'Harpy tomb'. The 'Xanthian Stele' bears an inscription in Greek and Lycian, and dates from the end of the 5th or the start of the 4th century B.C.<sup>192</sup>

The bird-women of the 'Harpy tomb' have fat avian bodies and beautiful female heads. Thus they closely resemble artistic depictions of Sirens in profile (above, esp. nos.3 & 5). Each bird-woman carries a corpse wrapped in its shroud. Thus the name 'Harpy' (Ἅρπυια) has been given to them, for they seem to snatch (ἁρπάζειν) the dead.<sup>193</sup> Harrison states:

'The tender bird-women of the so-called "Harpy tomb" from Lycia.....perform the functions of a Harpy, but very gently. They are at least near akin to the sorrowing Sirens on Athenian tombs. We can scarcely call them by the harsh name of the "Snatchers".' (pp.177-178).

Pollard thinks that they are Sirens, and that their inspiration is 'rather oriental than Greek'.<sup>194</sup>

It is impossible to identify these bird-women. They may not represent daemons of Greek mythology at all, but rather native Lycian bird-women. Possibly the artistic form has been influenced by Greek depictions of Sirens.

### (iii) Semitic motifs in the iconography of the Sirens.

Four motifs of the iconography discussed above strongly suggest a Semitic



connection. These are the avian bodies with talons, the beards of some Sirens, the leonine paws, and the chthonian connection with tombs. Let us consider each in turn:

- (1) Since the Sirens are avian daemons, they are generally depicted with talons (esp. p.226, no.3 & p.229, no.18). Pollard states:

'Many of the earlier Sirens are represented as hostile creatures, with the claws and form of vultures or eagles.'<sup>195</sup>

The avian talons suggest a connection with the Mesopotamian avian demonesses. We have already discussed several of these in connection with Athena. Thus the demoness of the Burney Relief, probably kililu, has large talons (p.160). The feet of the demoness Lamashtu resemble those of the Zu bird (p.331).

- (2) It is even more astonishing that so many Sirens have beards. Thus Pollard thinks that the bearded Sirens are male. However, Pollard notes that this is not necessarily conclusive, since women may have beards. Thus Herodotus (1.175) mentions the priestess of Athena among the Pedasians near Halicarnassos:

'There were certain Pedasians, dwelling inland of Halicarnassos; when any misfortune was likely to befall them, both themselves and their neighbours, the priestess of Athena grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice.'<sup>196</sup>

We note that if some Sirens are male, it is strange that there is no mention of them in the Odyssey. Those encountered by Odysseus are clearly female (p.219, text 1).

- (3) One example definitely has the forelegs of a lion, while another has paws of some sort (p.228, nos.14 & 15). This leonine motif also suggests a connection with the demoness Lamashtu, who was depicted with a lion's head and mane (p.192). The female, bearded and leonine Gorgons are almost certainly derived from Lamashtu (pp.191-193). The iconography of the Sirens suggests to us a

parallel evolution.

- (4) The Sirens are also female demonesses who cause death (p.223). In iconography they are connected with tombstones (pp.226-228, nos.5, 9 & 15). It is also interesting that the bird-women of the 'Harpy tomb' are depicted 'snatching' the dead in their arms (p.229, no.19). In Mesopotamia the evil demoness Lamashtu was believed to cause the deaths of children, and she was described as a 'snatcher demon' (p.324).

### **Conclusion.**

We suggest that the Sirens are yet another evolute of the demoness Lamashtu into the chthonian daemons of Greek mythology. The motif of the bearded Sirens is interesting. It is possible that these Sirens are not male at all, but rather female daemons with beards, comparable to the female Gorgons (p.189). Like the Sirens, the Gorgons are chthonian (p.181). At least one Gorgon has avian talons (p.166).

The comparison with the Gorgons is interesting for another reason. The Sirens and the Gorgons were combined in Greek art. Thus Payne illustrates a 'Gorgon-bird' painted on a vase from the Megara Hyblaea tomb (no.501) at Syracuse (Fig.12). This belongs to the 'Gorgon-bird' group of vases. The head of a grinning, bearded Gorgon is attached to two avian bodies with two wings, two tails and four legs. A lion is painted on the back. It may be that the Sirens and Gorgons were combined in Greek art because of their common chthonian connections.<sup>197</sup>

### **(iv) An Egyptian motif in the iconography of the Sirens.**

Here we have another possible oriental connection with the Sirens. First we will note evidence for the 'soul-bird' in Greece, then explore some Egyptian iconography of the 'soul-bird', especially from the Egyptian book of the dead.<sup>198</sup>



### (1) The soul-bird in Greece.

There is a most interesting late vase-painting illustrated by Harrison (Fig.14), which depicts the death of Prokris. A strange, woman-headed bird flies away from the falling Prokris, who is pierced by a spear. This bird is curiously similar to some Sirens, especially those of the red-figured stamnos noted above (p.226, no.3). At this point Harrison refrains from interpreting the bird.<sup>199</sup> Later she thinks that this bird is a 'certain instance' of the soul depicted 'as a human-faced bird', and states:

'I felt uncertain whether the bird-woman were Harpy, Siren or Soul. I am now convinced that a soul is intended, and that the bird form was probably borrowed from Egypt:' (p.201, note 2)

As further Greek evidence for the soul as a bird, Harrison refers to the myth of Ktesylla, related by Antoninus Liberalis (Myth I). Ktesylla died in childbirth. When her body was being carried out for burial, a dove flew out from the funeral bier, and the body disappeared. Harrison thinks that the dove is the soul of Prokris. This is reasonable, but further Greek evidence is lacking.<sup>200</sup>

### (2) The soul-bird in Egypt.

For comparison with the Sirens, Roscher illustrates two examples of Egyptian soul-birds. The first is a soul-bird with huge, outstretched wings, a tail, a human head and human legs. The female head is in profile to the right (Fig.9). The second is a small soul-bird in profile from the Book of the dead (Fig.10).<sup>201</sup>

R.O.Faulkner illustrates many more vignettes from the Book of the dead, with both male and female soul-birds. Ani's human-headed soul is depicted together with his birth-goddesses. His soul has a green, feathered back. Its beard is just visible (p.14, Spell 125). There are four bearded depictions of Hor's human-headed soul, on a vignette in four registers (no.2, above). This vignette is incorrectly termed Spell 16 (p.42, Spell 16). Hunefer's bearded, human-headed soul stands on a plinth, with arms raised in praise. The soul has a green, feathered back and avian talons, but human arms. There are two depictions of Hunefer himself, with an identical beard,



behind and in front of his soul (p.43, part of Spell 17).

The souls of women are also depicted. On a vignette incorrectly termed Spell 16, there are two depictions of Anhai's human-headed soul. Anhai's soul is beardless with long, black hair and a green, feathered back. The soul stands on a plinth with arms raised in praise (p.43, Spell 16). Ta-Amen-iw kneels clasping her heart before her human-headed soul, which stands on a plinth (p.52, Spell 26).

Other vignettes include soul-birds depicted in the context of the tomb. Thus Ani's human-headed soul hovers over his mummy. The soul's black beard, green feathered wings and black tail are clearly visible (p.87, Spell 89). Ani's human-headed soul also stands in profile before the door of his tomb (p.88, Spell 91). Nakht walks towards his 'pyramid-capped tomb chapel'. His human-headed soul flies before him. Both Nakht and his soul are beardless (p.89, Spell 91). Ani is depicted walking from his tomb, his human-headed soul flying above him (p.90, Spell 92). Khary opens the door of his tomb so that his human-headed soul may fly out (p.91, Spell 92).<sup>202</sup>

### **(3) A comparison with the iconography of the Sirens.**

There is an amazing similarity between these Egyptian vignettes and the iconography of the Sirens. Four common motifs are worth noting. First, the Egyptian souls are human-headed birds, and so are the Sirens (pp.225-229). Second, the Egyptian souls are often depicted standing in profile (Spells 125, 16, 17, 26 & 91). Many Sirens are depicted standing in profile (pp.224-227, nos.2, 3, 5, 7, etc.). Third, Egyptian souls are connected with tombs (Spells 89, 91 & 92). The souls of Hunefer, Anhai and Ta-Amen-iw stand on plinths (Spells 17, 16 & 26). One Siren stands on a grave stele (p.227, no.5). Two others are depicted on a sarcophagus (p.228, no.15). Finally, the Egyptian male soul birds have beards (Spells 125, 16, 17, etc.). Some Sirens also have beards (p.228, nos.12-14, etc.).

These four motifs make a strong case for Egyptian influence on the iconography of the Sirens. If the bearded Sirens are male, their beards may be derived from those

of the Egyptian soul-birds. However, it is also possible that the bearded Sirens are female, connected with the Gorgons and the Mesopotamian demoness Lamashtu (pp.191-193). Thus the Egyptian soul-birds provide one possible explanation for the beards of the Sirens, and Lamashtu provides another.

One more point is of interest. Sirens do not usually have human arms, but these appear on an Etruscan example (p.229, no.18). It is possible that this feature is derived from the human arms of Egyptian soul-birds (Spells 17, 16 & 26).

#### **(4) Conclusion.**

Therefore it is a reasonable possibility that the Egyptian iconography of the soul-birds was borrowed into Greece, and evolved into the typical iconography of the Sirens. However, this theory in no way contradicts the derivation from the demoness Lamashtu. If the Sirens are derived from the Egyptian soul-birds alone, their demonic character remains unexplained (p.223). Harrison states concerning the soul-bird as a Siren:

'...the bird-woman became a death-demon, a soul sent to fetch a soul,...a Siren.'<sup>203</sup>

Such an evolution, from soul to demoness, is unlikely. It requires that the Sirens were originally imagined as human souls and nothing more. This is clearly nonsense in Greek mythology.

Therefore we conclude that the basic demonic character of the Sirens is derived from Lamashtu, and the iconographic motifs from the Egyptian soul-birds. The Sirens seem to represent a mixture of oriental traditions, both Semitic and Egyptian.



### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.

- (1) For these titles, see Leuven J.C.van, 'Mycenaean goddesses called Potnia', Kadmos 18 (1979), 114-116 (a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja) and 116, note 12 (di-wi-ja). For the first title, see also Hooker J.T., Linear B. An introduction, 153 (sec.281); Jorro F.A. and Adrados F.R., Diccionario Micénico I, 112, cols.1-2. For the second, see Jorro and Adrados, op.cit., 181, col.2 (di-wi-ja) and 178, col.2-179, col.1 (di-u-ja).
- (2) See Murray A.T., Homer The Iliad I (Loeb), 284-285 (Il.6.305). For the vocabulary, see Liddell H.G. and Scott R., A Greek-English lexicon (New Ed.), I-II. For πότνια, 'mistress', see LS II, op.cit. 1455, col.2; for δία, 'divine, marvellous', see LS I, op.cit. 434, col.2-435, col.1; and for ἑρυσίπολις, 'protecting the city', see LS I, op.cit. 693, col.2.

See Leuven, op.cit. (as note 1), 116. Concerning the origin of the name Athena, M.P.Nilsson states:

' Ἀθήνη belongs to a group of words, chiefly place-names, characterized by their ending -ήνη, Doric -ανα, which leading philologists are inclined to consider as pre-Greek...' (p.489)

Nilsson gives such examples as Παλλήνη and Πριήνη (p.490). See Nilsson M.P., The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion, 489-490. For the toponyms, see Meineke A., Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt, 497 (Παλλήνη) and 535 (Πριήνη).

- (3) For Pausanias generally, see Jones W.H.S., Pausanias Description of Greece I-IV (Loeb). See Paus.1.42.4 (Megara), 6.26.3 (Elis), 3.22.9 (Asopos) and 8.44.4 (Asea). For the inscriptions (Athens & Delos), see Farnell L.R., CGS I, 412 (nos.114b & 114c). For Athena Υγεία, see Paus.1.23.5 (Athens) and 1.31.6 (Acharnae). See also Farnell, op.cit., 411 (nos.109a & 109b).



- (4) See Nilsson, op.cit. (as note 2), 499; Evelyn-White H.G., Hesiod The Homeric Hymns and Homerica (Loeb), 120-121 (Theog.573-575); and Paus.9.26.8 (Thespieae). See also Farnell, op.cit., 410 (no.100g).
- (5) Séchan L. and Lévêque P., GDG, 342; for the origins of Athena generally, see 341-342.
- (6) Cook A.B., Zeus. A study in ancient religion Vol.III, Part 1, 794. For discussion of Athena's owl, see 776-836.
- (7) Cook, op.cit. (as note 6), 825.
- (8) Cook, op.cit., 786 (Fig.581) and 785-786 (comment). For the coins, see 790 (Figs.586-590) and 789-790 (comment). Concerning coins, E.M.Douglas states:
- '...the representation of the owl is really a sort of short-hand mark for the city of Athens.'
- See Douglas E.M., 'The owl of Athena', JHS 32 (1912), 175.
- (9) Cook, op.cit., 788 (Fig.583) and 787 (comment), 787-788 (red ware vessel), Pl.LIII opp.667 and 667, note 2 (comment). For the myth of Leda, see Frazer J.G., Apollodorus The Library II (Loeb), 24-25 (Apollod.3.10.7). The myth is as follows:
- 'But some say that Helen was a daughter of Nemesis and Zeus; for she, flying from union with Zeus, changed herself into a goose, but Zeus in his turn took the likeness of a swan and so enjoyed her; and as the fruit of their loves she laid an egg, and a certain shepherd found it in the groves and brought and gave it to Leda; and she putting it in a chest guarded it; and when Helen was hatched in due time, Leda brought her up as her own daughter.'
- See Frazer, op.cit., 25.
- (10) Cook, op.cit., 783 (Fig.578) and 782, note 4 (comment), and Douglas, op.cit. (as note 8), 174 (Fig.1) and 174-175 (comment). For the black-figured vase, see Douglas, op.cit., 176, and for the 'prototype', see 177.
- (11) Cook, op.cit., 796 (Figs.595-596) and 795 (comment).

- (12) Cook, op.cit., 796 (Fig.597). For comment, see 795 and 797 (wous). For this example, see also Harrison J.E., Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion, 304 (Fig.83) and 305 (comment).
- (13) Cook, op.cit., 799.
- (14) Cook, op.cit., 800 (Fig.600) and 799, note 1 (comment on 'Siren'), 801 (Fig.601), 799 and 801 (comment).
- (15) Cook, op.cit., 805 (Fig.612 & comment), 805 (archaic scarab), 807 (Fig.615 & comment), 808 (Fig.617), 807 and 809 (comment).
- (16) Cook, op.cit., 828 (Fig.639) and 830 (comment), 829 (Fig.640) and 830 (comment).
- (17) Pollard J.R., Birds in Greek life and myth, 144.
- (18) Astour M.C., HS, 249. For γλαυκός, 'gleaming', see LS I, op.cit., 350, col.2-351, col.1. For γλαύξ, 'the little owl, Athene noctua, so-called from its glaring eyes', see LS I, op.cit., 351, col.1. For Athene noctua, see Cramp S., Handbook of the birds of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa IV, 514ff. See Pl.48 between 494 and 495, and a map on 516.
- (19) For γλαυκιόων, 'glaring fiercely', see LS I, op.cit., 350, col.2, and for γλαύσσω, 'shine, glitter', see 351, col.1. See Dindorf W., Scholia Graeca in Homeri Ilias, IV, 238 (scholion on Il.20.172). For this scholion, see also Cook, op.cit., 793, note 1. Cook states:
- 'Again, the little owl...certainly derived its name glaux from the fiery glance of its eyes.' (792-793)
- (20) See Rogers B.B., Aristophanes I (Loeb), 512-513. For the scholion, see Rutherford W.G., Scholia Aristophanica II, 424; Dübner F. and Dindorf W., Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem, 159, col.2 (scholion on Wasps, 1086). For the epithet Ὠρεία, 'Warlike', at Athens, see Paus.1.28.5, and for collected references to this epithet, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 3), 407 (no.85). For the



epithet Νίκη, 'Victory', at Megara, see Paus.1.42.4, and Farnell, op.cit., 409 (no.96b); for Νικηφόρος, 'Bringing victory', at Pergamon, see Farnell, op.cit., 409 (no.97). For all above texts (nos.1-4), see Cook, op.cit., 784 and 785, note 1.

- (21) Perrin B., Plutarch's lives II, 34-35 (Them.12); Geer R.M., Diodorus of Sicily X, 170-171 (20.11); Scholfield A.F., Aelian On the characteristics of animals II, 332-335 (10.37); and Perrin B., Plutarch's lives IX, 456-459 (Pyrrhus 34), all Loeb. For comment on no.4, see Cook, op.cit., 785, note 1.

- (22) Papathomopoulos M., Antoninus Liberalis Les metamorphoses, 27-28 (Myth XV). For χαπαδριός, 'plover', see LS II, op.cit., 1976, col.2. For νυκτικόραξ, 'long-eared owl', see LS II, op.cit., 1183, col.2. Thus the meaning of this noun is uncertain. For 'night-raven', see Papathomopoulos, op.cit., 28.

- (23) See Lee S., Biblia sacra polyglotta II (Is.34.14-15). See also Driver G.R., 'Birds in the Old Testament I. Birds in law', PEQ 88 (1955), 14 (discussion on  $\text{וֶעֱבֹר}$ ). For  $\text{וֶעֱבֹר}$  meaning Gk. νυκτικόραξ, see the list on 8 (no.11). See also the list on 20 (Tawny Owl).

For the 'Tawny Owl', Strix aluco, see also Cramp, op.cit. (as note 18), 526ff., and Pl.49 between 494 and 495.

- (24) For Μερπίς, see Meineke, op.cit. (as note 2), 402, under Κῶς. See also Astour, op.cit. (as note 18), 245-246. Astour gives the form 'Meropiê', for the toponym (p.245).
- (25) Cook, op.cit., 831; Nilsson, op.cit., 496.
- (26) Astour, op.cit., 248, note 5 (owls), and 249 (oriental origin); Cramp, op.cit., 515, col.1 (habitat), and 516 (map).
- (27) Evans A., PM II.I, 340 (Fig.193a-c), and 339-340 (comment); Evans A., PM I, 224 (Fig.169 & comment); Nilsson, op.cit., 333 (Fig.154 & comment); and



Evans A., PM IV.II, Fig.410 and 410 bis, between 486 and 487, with comment on 487.

- (28) Cook, op.cit., 826 (Fig.635) and 827 (comment); Rogers, op.cit. (as note 20), II, 180-181 (Birds 515ff.).
- (29) For the Burney Relief, see Frankfort H., 'The Burney Relief', AfO 12 (1937-1939), 130 (Fig.1) and 131 (Fig.3); Opitz D., 'Die vogelfüssige Göttin auf den Löwen', AfO 11 (1936-1937), 351 (Fig.1); Buren E.D.van, 'A further note on the terracotta relief', AfO 11 (1936-1937), 354-357; and Kraeling E.G., 'A unique Babylonian relief', BASOR 67 (1937), 17 (photograph).
- (30) Frankfort, op.cit. (as note 29), 128.
- (31) Frankfort, op.cit., 131 (Fig.5) and 129 (comment); see 129 for comment on the Tell Asmar figurine.
- (32) Frankfort, op.cit., 133.
- (33) Buren, op.cit. (as note 29), 355 (Figs.2, 3 & 4) and 354 (comment).
- (34) Buren, op.cit., 355 (Fig.6) and 356 (comment).
- (35) Frankfort, op.cit., 132.
- (36) Kraeling states:

'We do not believe that our female figure is the goddess Ishtar but rather that it is a superhuman being of a lower order.'

See Kraeling, op.cit., 17. For lilû (fem.lilitu), see CAD 9, 190, cols.1-2; and for kililu, see CAD 8, 357, cols.1-2.

- (37) Buren, op.cit., 356 (start of comment)-357 (quot.).
- (38) See CAD 9, 190, col.2.
- (39) For this text, see Buren, op.cit., 356; Frankfort, op.cit., 135.
- (40) Kraeling, op.cit., 18; Frankfort, op.cit., 135. For Akk. līlātu, 'evening, night', see CAD 9, 184, col.2 ff.; and for Heb. לַיְלָה , 'night', see Brown F. A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament, 538, col.2 ff. For לִילִית , 'Lilith', see 539, col.1. Brown states that this is the 'name of a female night-demon haunting desolate Edom', that it was probably borrowed from Babylonian, and that the connection with לַיְלָה , 'night', may be due to

'a popular etymology'.

- (41) For this text, see above, note 23. See also Driver, op.cit. (as note 23), 135.
- (42) For kililu, see above, note 36; for texts and comment on the Burney Relief, see 357, col.2.
- (43) Frankfort, op.cit., 134 (comment) and 135 (quot.). For the poem, see Pritchard J.B., ANET, 107, col.1, and Astour, op.cit. (as note 18), 242.
- (44) Cook, op.cit. (as note 6), 834. For the Burney Relief, see also Pl.LXI opp. 832.
- (45) Cook, op.cit., 834-835 (ardat-lilî).
- (46) For ardat-lilî, see CAD 1, Part 2, 241, col.2 (three quots.) - 242, col.1 (one quot.).
- (47) For Athena Παρθένοϛ, 'Virgin', see Paus.5.11.10 and 10.34.8; see also the Homeric Hymn to Athena (no.XXVIII), line 3, for παρθένον αἰδοίην, 'revered virgin'. See Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 4), 454-455. For Παρθένοϛ ἥ, 'the Virgin Goddess', see LS II, op.cit., 1339, col.2.
- (48) Cook, op.cit., 835 (Smith's comment) and 836 (Cook's reply); see 836 (Fig.649) and 836, note 3 (comment).
- (49) For the scholion, see Scheer E., Lycophronis Alexandra, 335 (cols.1 & 2) - 336; see also Farnell, op.cit. (as note 3), 383 (no.1b), quoting the scholion on Alex.1141.
- (50) Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XIIIb opp.323, and 328 (comment). For Kerberos, see Frazer, op.cit. (as note 9), I, 232-233 (Apollod.2.5.11-12). Apollodorus states that Kerberos had three heads. See also Murray, op.cit. (as note 2), 364-365 (II.8.368), for κύνα στρυγερῶν ᾧδ' Ἄϊδαο, 'the hound of loathed Hades'. For the god Hades, see II.15.188ff.
- (51) Cook, op.cit., 769 (Fig.566) and 769-770 (comment); 770 (Fig.567 & comment); for this example, see also Harrison, op.cit. (as note 12), 307 (Fig.85 & comment).



- (52) Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XIVb opp.325 and 333 (comment), and Nilsson, op.cit. (as note 2), for comment; Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XVb opp.333 and 335 (comment). For this example, see also Nilsson, op.cit., 492 (a lark) and 496 (Boeotian), and Cook, op.cit., 782 (Fig.577) and 782, note 4 (comment).
- (53) Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XVIIIc opp.345 and 347 (comment).
- (54) Godley A.D., Herodotus IV (Loeb), 38-41 (Hdt.8.41); Perrin, op.cit. (as note 21), II, 28-29 (Them.10.1-2). Concerning the serpent, Plutarch states:
- 'When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude - Themistocles giving them the story - that the goddess had abandoned the city and was showing them the way to the sea.' (p.29)
- See also Cook, op.cit., 772.
- (55) See Paus.1.24.7, 3.20.8; LS II, op.cit., 1332, col.2.
- (56) Athanassakis A.N., The Orphic Hymns, 44-45 (lines 8 & 11). For αἰόλος, 'quick-moving', see LS I, op.cit., 40, col.2-41, col.1.
- (57) Cook, op.cit., 775.
- (58) Cook, op.cit., 189.
- (59) Evans A., PM IV.I, Fig.139 (between 176 & 177); for a colour picture see Evans A., PM I (Frontispiece). For description, see PM I, 501 and Fig.359 on 501 (back view). See also PM I, 504 (Fig.362a-d), 501 (comment) and 501-505 (descr.). For a photograph, see 502 (Fig.360a & b). For the limestone statuette, see PM IV.I, 194 (Fig.149), 195 (Fig.150), 193-196 (descr.) and 196 (quot.). See also 196 (Fig.151), for the head.
- (60) Evans, op.cit., I, 509; Edwards I.E.S., 'A relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester college collection, JNES 14 (1955), Pl.III opp.50.
- (61) Holland L.B., 'Mycenaean plumes', AJA 33, 2nd S. (1929), 191 (Fig.7) and 190-191 (descr.). Holland states:

'One cannot say with certainty that these four objects are meant for serpents, still less for the stems of water plants, but there is no third



obvious conjecture.' (p.190)

- (62) Evans, op.cit., IV.I, 142 (Fig.111 & comment), 155 (Fig.119a & b) and 156 (comment), and 163 (Fig.121 & comment). For the comment on snakes, see 142.
- (63) Evans, op.cit., IV.I, 164 (Fig.122) and 163 (comment), and 167 (Fig.129). The Beth-Shan example is from the 'House of Ashtoreth'. See our p.172.
- (64) Mellersh H.E.L., Minoan Crete, 110; Buren E.D.van, 'The god Ningizzida', Iraq 1 (1934), 78-79 (descr.); Frankfort H., 'Gods and myths on Sargonid seals', Iraq 1 (1934), 10 (Fig.1 & comment).
- (65) Buren, op.cit. (as note 64), 79.
- (66) Cook S.A., 'The American excavations at Beisan', PEF 57 (Quarterly Statement, 1926), 30.
- (67) Rowe A., 'Excavations in Palestine. The new discoveries at Beth-Shan', PEF 58 (Quarterly Statement, 1927), 74 (flower-stands), 75 (Mediterranean pottery), 71 (Cretan throne and altar), 70 (Ashtoreth) and 69 (palm tree columns).
- (68) Cook S.A., The religion of ancient Palestine in the light of archaeology, 98 (Beth-Shan), 99 (Tell Beit Mirsim), 99, note 1 (Beth-Shemesh), and 82 (Gezer).
- (69) Avi-Yonah M., Encyclopaedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land, II, 477 (descr. & photograph) and 476 (pottery). For the 'temple cult object', see Avi-Yonah, op.cit., I, 217 (descr. & photograph).
- (70) Rothenberg B., Timna, valley of the biblical copper mines, 173 (descr.), Pl.XIX (body) and Pl.XX (head). For the naos, see 152.
- (71) Rothenberg, op.cit., 173 and Pls. (as note 70).
- (72) Rothenberg, op.cit., 154.
- (73) Buren E.D.van, 'Entwined serpents', AfO 10 (1935-1936), 53-54, with quotation on 54.
- (74) Buren, op.cit. (as note 64), Pl.IX, b opp.72 and 71 (comment), 72 (Fig.1 & comment), Pl.X, a, opp.74 and 72-73 (comment), and Pl.X, c, opp.74 and 73

(comment).

- (75) Buren, op.cit., 69 (all information).
- (76) Perrin, op.cit. (as note 21), III, 42-45 (Per.13).
- (77) See Way A.S., Euripides IV (Loeb), 6-9 (Ion 21-26) and 136-137 (1427-1431). For the ET of these two texts, see also Cook, op.cit. (as note 6), 765. Our ET of Ion 1427-1431 is based on both Way and Cook. For the jewellery, see Cook, op.cit., 765 (Figs.555-557), 766 (Figs.558-562) and 765-766 (comment). See also 765 for comment on Ion.
- (78) Walters H.B., 'Athena Hygieia', JHS 19 (1899), 165 (descr.) and Pl.VII.
- (79) For these texts, see Murray, op.cit. (as note 2), 248-249 (Il.5.738-739); Godley, op.cit. (as note 54), II, 390-393 (Hdt.4.189); Oldfather C.H., Diodorus of Sicily II (Loeb), 314-317 (Diod.3.70); and Frazer, op.cit. (as note 50), 44-47 (Apollod.1.6.7). For the 'scales of snakes', see Frazer, op.cit., 42-43 (Apollod.1.6.1). For these texts, see also Cook, op.cit., 839-842.
- (80) Cook, op.cit., 838 (Figs.650-653), with comment on 837 and origin of statues on 837, notes 8-9; 840 (Fig.654) and 839 (comment).
- (81) Cook, op.cit., 837.
- (82) Cook, op.cit., 841-842.
- (83) Barrelet M.-T., 'A propos d'une plaquette trouvée a Mari;', Syria 29 (1952), 286 (Fig.1), 285-287 (descr.), 285-286 (comment on goddess), and 286 (Figs.2 & 3).
- (84) Barrelet, op.cit. (as note 83), 288 (Fig.4), 287-288 (descr.); 288 (Fig.5), 288-289 (descr.), 289 (cloth or wings), and 288 (date and comparison with Fig.4). Barrelet asks:  
  

'La cape portée par la petite silhouette divine du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire a-t-elle évolué et la retrouvons-nous transformée en ailes verticales sur la silhouette du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire?' (p.288)
- (85) Barrelet, op.cit., 289 (Fig.6 & comment); 289 (Fig.7) and 289-290 (comment). See also 290 (Fig.8), a vase from Larsa.



- (86) Barrelet, *op.cit.*, 291 (Fig.9), 292 (Fig.10), 291 (descr.) and 293 (conclusion).
- (87) Murray, *op.cit.* (as note 2), 248-249 (Il.5.738ff.) 364-365 (Il.8.349) and 482-483 (Il.11.36-37). See also Murray A.T., Homer *The Odyssey* I (Loeb), 430-431 (Od.11.633).
- (88) Evelyn-White, *op.cit.* (as note 4), 98-99 (Theog.274-275) and 236-237 (Shield 230-237). See Storr F., *Sophocles* II (Loeb), 40-41 (Ajax 450). For γοργός, 'grim, fierce, terrible', see LS I, *op.cit.*, 357, col.2.
- (89) Hopkins C., 'Assyrian elements in the Perseus-Gorgon story', *AJA* 38 (1934), 341.
- (90) See Hogarth D.J., 'The Zakro sealings', *JHS* 22 (1902), 84 (Figs.20 & 22); Cook, *op.cit.* (as note 6), 845 (Fig.659a & b, with comment); and Evans A., *PM* I, 703 (Fig.526, with comment).
- (91) Cook, *op.cit.*, 848 (quot.) and 848-849.
- (92) Cook, *op.cit.*, 848 (Fig.662) and 848, note 2 (comment). For this example, see also Roscher W.H., *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I.2, 1716. See Cook, *op.cit.*, 848 (Fig.163), 849 (comment) and 849, note 1 (date); 849 (Fig.664 & comment), with 849, note 2; 850 (Fig.665), 851 (comment) and 851, note 1 (date); 851 (Figs.666-668), 851 and 853 (comment), with 851, notes 2 and 3, and 853, note 1; 852 (Fig.671), 853 (comment) and 853, note 4; 854-855 (Figs.672-690) and 853 (comment).  
For λέβης, 'cauldron', see LS II, *op.cit.*, 1033, col.2. For Perseus and Medusa, see Evelyn-White, *op.cit.*, 98-101 (Theog.276-280).
- (93) See Payne H., *Necrocorinthia. A study of Corinthian art in the Archaic period*, 80 (Fig.23A-C & comment), 80 (Gela *aryballos*), 80 (23D & E) and 81 (comment), 82 (Fig.24A-C) and 81 (comment).
- (94) Payne, *op.cit.* (as note 93), 83 (Fig.24A-E) and 84 (comment, incl. quot.); see also 127 (Fig.45B-C), 126 and 128 (comment).
- (95) Payne, *op.cit.*, 85 (Fig.26) and 84 (quots.); Cook, *op.cit.* (as note 6), Pl.LXIV centre, between 844 and 845.



- (96) Payne, op.cit., 87 (Fig.27A-E) and 84 (comment, incl. quot.).
- (97) Payne, op.cit., 79.
- (98) See Godley, op.cit. (as note 54), I, 376-377 (Hdt.2.91); Way, op.cit. (as note 77), III, 84-85 (Bacchae 990ff.); Jones, op.cit. (as note 3), I, 358-359 (Paus.2.21.5) and 360-361 (2.21.6-7). For these texts, see also Cook, op.cit., 847, note 1.
- (99) Cook, op.cit. (as note 6), 846-847 (quot.).
- (100) Hopkins, op.cit. (as note 89), 347.
- (101) For  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\eta$ , 'sickle', see LS I, op.cit., 246, col.2. See Hopkins, op.cit., 348 (Fig.1 & comment); Frankfort H., AAAO, Pl.58A (at the back).
- (102) Hopkins, op.cit., 349 (Figs.2-3 & comment); Thureau-Dangin F., 'Humbaba', RA 22 (1925), 24 (Ill. AO.6778 & comment).
- (103) Goldman B., 'The asiatic ancestry of the Greek Gorgon', Berytus 14, 1 (1961), 15, note 96.
- (104) Dawkins R.M., The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (JHS Supplementary Volume 5), Pls.XLVII, XLVIII, 1-3 and XLIX; for Type A, 'Old Women', see also Dickins G., 'The masks', Chap.V, 166-167.
- (105) Hopkins, op.cit., 350 (Fig.4), 349-350 (comment), 351 (Fig.5 & comment). For this example, see also Roscher, op.cit. (as note 92), III.2, 2032 (Fig.5) and Goldman, op.cit. (as note 103), 22.
- (106) Hopkins, op.cit., 352 (Fig.6 & comment), 352 (Fig.7) and 352-353 (comment), and 353 (Figs.8-9 & comment).
- (107) See Hopkins, op.cit., 352-353, for description of the 'kneeling posture'.
- (108) Hopkins, op.cit., 351 (quot.) and Goldman, op.cit. (as note 105).
- (109) Hopkins, op.cit., 348.
- (110) Moon W.G., Ancient Greek art and iconography, 45 (descr.) and also 48 (Fig.3.9).
- (111) Dussaud R., 'Le sanctuaire Phénicien de Byblos d'après Benjamin de Tudèle', Syria 7 (1926), Fig.1 opp. 255, with comment underneath.

- (112) Hopkins, op.cit., 346.
- (113) Hopkins, op.cit., 357.
- (114) Goldman, op.cit. (as note 103), Pl.I, 1a-b (back), 1 (comment) and 3 (comment & quot.).
- (115) Goldman, op.cit., Pl.II, 1 (back) and 3 (comment), Pl.II, 2 (back) and 3 (comment), and Pl.III, 1 (back, incl. descr.) and 3 (comment).
- (116) Goldman, op.cit., 4 (quot.) and 5 (comment).
- (117) Goldman, op.cit., 5 (comment); Pritchard, op.cit. (as note 43), 384, col.2, line 50ff. (Prayer) and 384, note 6 (comment).
- (118) Goldman, op.cit., 6 (all comments).
- (119) For the demoness Lamashtu, see Chap. Four, pp.324-336.
- (120) Goldman, op.cit., 7 (amulets), 6 (lion-headed), Pls.IV, 1 and IV, 2 (back), with comment on 8.
- (121) Goldman, op.cit., 8 (quot.) and 9 (comment).
- (122) Goldman, op.cit., Pl.VII, 5 (back) and 15 (comment); Payne, op.cit. (as note 93); Goldman, op.cit., Pl.VIII, 2 (back) and 17 (comment); Pl.IX, 2 (back) and 17-18 (comment). For the Karkamiş plaque (Pl.IV, 1), see also 8.
- (123) Goldman, op.cit., 16 (all comment).
- (124) Goldman, op.cit., 16; Payne, op.cit., 86. See also Hopkins, op.cit. (as note 100), 344.
- (125) Goldman, op.cit., 21.
- (126) Hopkins, op.cit., 354 (Fig.11 & comment); Roscher, op.cit. (as note 92), I.<sup>2</sup>, 1716; see also 1717 for Roscher's illustration of the Neandria Gorgoneion, which has snake-hair, and 1723 for the Medusa Rondanini (above, p.183, and note 92).
- (127) Goldman, op.cit., 12 (quot.) and 13 (masks).
- (128) Goldman, op.cit., Pl.V, 2 (back) and 11 (comment); Pl.V, 3 (back) and 11 (comment); Pl.VI, 1 (back) and 12 (comment); Pl.VI, 2 (back) and 11 (comment); Pl.VI, 3 (back) and 11 (comment); Pl.VII, 3 (back) and 14



(comment); and Pl.VII, 4 (back) and 15 (comment). Also note the description under each Pl.

(129) Goldman, op.cit., Pl.IX, 1 (back) and 17 (comment).

(130) Murray, op.cit. (as note 87), 26-27 (Od.1.319-320) and 12-13 (1.126ff.).

(131) See Dindorf W., Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam I, 56 (Od.1.320), with

line nos. as in our text. For the etymologies of <sup>2</sup>ανόπαια, see LS I, op.cit.,

147, cols.1-2. For πέτομαι, 'fly', see LS II, op.cit., 1397, cols.1-2; for

διαπέτομαι II, 'fly away, vanish', see I, 407, col.1; for <sup>2</sup>ώψ, 'eye, face,

countenance', see II, 2042, col.2; for <sup>ε</sup>ορμάω, 'rush', see II, 1252,

col.2-1253, col.1; for παίω, 'strike, smite', see II, 1289, cols.1-2; for

<sup>2</sup>αόρατος, 'unseen, invisible', and the adverb <sup>2</sup>αοράτως, 'invisibly', see I,

173, col.1; for <sup>ε</sup>οράω, 'see', see II, 1244, col.2; for the root <sup>2</sup>ΟΠ-, see II,

1244, col.2; and for the contraction, see LS I, op.cit., as above (<sup>2</sup>ανόπαια).

(132) For Empedocles, see LS I, op.cit., as above (<sup>2</sup>ανόπαια). See also Wright

M.R., Empedocles. The extant fragments, 107 (no.28). For <sup>2</sup>ανωφερής,

'borne upwards, ascending', see LS I, op.cit., 170, col.2; and for <sup>2</sup>ανόπιν,

'backwards', see I, 147, col.2. See Murray, op.cit., 26-27, note 1 (quot.).

(133) See Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 131), 56. For <sup>2</sup>οπή, 'opening, hole', see LS II,

op.cit., 1237, col.2; for καπνοδόκη, 'smoke-receiver' and καπνοδόχος,

'receiving smoke', see I, 876, col.1. See Scholfield, op.cit. (as note 21), I,

70-71 (Aelian 1.52).

(134) Murray, op.cit. (as note 87), II, 354-355 (Od.22.240); Boraston J.M., 'The birds of Homer', JHS 31 (1911), 245.

(135) Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 131); for πανόπαια, see LS I, op.cit.,



- 147 ( <sup>2</sup>ανόπαια); for φήνη, see II, 1926, col.2; for χελιδών, see II, 1987, col.1; and for <sup>ε</sup>άρπη, see I, 246, col.2, with meanings as in our text. For identification, see Boraston, op.cit., 216 (nos.3 & 9 in list).
- (136) For <sup>α</sup>πᾶν, 'all', see LS II, op.cit., 1345, cols.1-2.
- (137) Astour, op.cit. (as note 18), 246; Mitchell E.C., Student's Hebrew lexicon. A compendious and complete Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon, 51, col.2 ( <sup>הפנק</sup>); for χαρδριός, 'plover', see LS II, op.cit. (as note 22); for <sup>2</sup>ανόπαια, see LS I, op.cit. (as note 131).
- (138) Driver, op.cit. (as note 23), 18, note 106, and 18. For <sup>הנ</sup>, 'nose', see Mitchell, op.cit. (as note 137), 55, col.1; see also Brown, op.cit. (as note 40), 60, col.1, for the meanings 'nostril, nose, face, anger'. For <sup>הנק</sup>, 'to breathe through the nose, be angry', see Mitchell, op.cit., 51, cols.1-2; see also Brown, op.cit., 60, col.1. For Mitchell's derivation of <sup>הפנק</sup> from <sup>הנק</sup>, see Mitchell, op.cit., 51, col.2.
- (139) Boraston, op.cit. (as note 134), 244. For the connection of <sup>2</sup>ανόπαια with Heb. <sup>הפנק</sup> and Akk. anpatu, see also Thompson D.W., A glossary of Greek birds (New Ed.), 52-53. This is quoted by Boraston, op.cit., 244.
- (140) Driver, op.cit. (as note 23), 18, note 105. See also Astour, op.cit., 246.
- (141) For anpatu, see CAD 1, Part 2, 143, cols.1-2; col.1 (list) and col.2 (quot.).
- (142) For the bird <sup>vv</sup>essebu, see CAD 4, 370, cols.1-2, with the quotations in col.2. Note also the quotation
- 'they (the demons) are e-birds that clamor in the town.' (370, col.2)
- For issur, 'bird', see CAD 7, 210, col.1ff.; for lemuttu, 'wickedness, misfortune, danger', see CAD 9, 127, col.1ff.
- (143) Pinches T.G., 'Tablets from Tel-loh in private collections', JRAS (1911), 1058 (list) and 1059 (quot.).
- (144) For Gk. <sup>ε</sup>ωραία B, 'the fitting time or season', see LS II, op.cit., 2036, col.1;

- for <sup>ε</sup>ωραῖος, 'timely', see 2036, col.2. For the Akk. fem. -t termination, see Caplice R., Introduction to Akkadian (3rd Ed.), 11.
- (145) See Godley, op.cit. (as note 54), III, 532-533 (Hdt.7.216); LS I, op.cit., 147, col.1 (<sup>2</sup>Ανόπαια); Smith C.F., Thucydides I (Loeb), 412-413 (Thuc.2.82) and III, 300-301 (Thuc.6.66.3). See also Astour, op.cit., 246, note 2.
- (146) See Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 4), 454-455 (Homeric Hymn XXVIII, 4-9); Frazer, op.cit. (as note 9), 40-41 (Apollod.3.12.3). For <sup>2</sup>ορούω, 'dart, rush forward', see LS II, op.cit., 1256, col.1; for σείω, 'shake', see II, 1589, cols.1-2.
- (147) See Fowler H.N., Plato IV (Loeb), 82-83 (Cratylus 407A); Gaisford T., Etymologicon magnum seu verius lexicon (EM), 649, lines 52-57 (ΠΑΛΛΑΣ); for πάλλω, see LS II, op.cit., 1293, col.2 (first meaning)-1294, col.1 (second meaning); for <sup>2</sup>αναπάλλω, 'dart, spring, bound up', see I, 115, col.1; for κραδαίνω, 'swing, wave, brandish', see I, 988, col.2.
- (148) For these Gk. words, see LS II, op.cit., 1293, col.2. See also Jones H.L., The geography of Strabo VIII (Loeb), 124-125 (Str.17.1.46).
- (149) Carruba O., 'Athena ed Ares Preellenici 3. Pallas e ba<sup>c</sup>alat', Atti e Memorie del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia 2 (1967), Incunabula Graeca, Vol.XXV, 2, 939 (quot. & comment).
- (150) See Farnell, op.cit. (as note 3), Pl.XIII, a, opp. 323 and 322-323 (comment); Pl.XV, c, opp.333 and 335-336 (comment); Pl.XVIII, b, opp. 345 (comment); Pl.XX opp. 349 and 350 (comment).
- (151) Carruba, op.cit. (as note 149), 939.
- (152) See Carruba, op.cit., 940 (all comment). For b<sup>c</sup>lt, 'mistress', see Gordon C.H., 'Ugaritic textbook', AnOr 38 (1965), 375, col.1. See under b<sup>c</sup>l, 374, col.2-375, col.1 (no.493). According to Gordon, b<sup>c</sup>lt b<sup>h</sup>tm, 'Mistress of the



House(s)', is an 'epithet of a goddess'; see 375, col.1, and above, p.208. For Heb.  $\text{לַיְיָ}$ , 'owner, lord', see Brown, *op.cit.* (as note 40), 127, cols.1-2.

- (153) For Gk.  $\text{ὕσσωπος}$ , 'hyssop', see *LS II*, *op.cit.*, 1905, col.1; for Heb.  $\text{חִסְסוֹן}$ , see Brown, *op.cit.*, 23, col.2, and Mitchell, *op.cit.* (as note 137), 20, col.2.

See Carruba, *op.cit.*, 940. For Gk.  $\text{θάλασσα} / \text{-ττα}$ , see *LS I*, *op.cit.*, 781, col.2.

- (154) Carruba, *op.cit.*, 940, and also 941 (equation). See Dietrich M., Loretz O. and Sanmartin J., *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, *AOAT* 24 (1976), 112 (*KTU* 1.105); see also Virolleaud C., 'Les nouveaux textes mythologiques et liturgiques de Ras Shamra', *Ugaritica* 5 (1961), Chap.3, 588 (*RS* 24.249, 2). See also Eliade M., *The encyclopaedia of religion*, I, 491. Eliade suggests that  
'Pallas may originally have been a Hellenic warrior goddess whose cult was conflated with that of the Mycenaean Athena.'

We agree that Pallas was originally a separate goddess from Athena, but of *Semitic* origin.

- (155) Smyth H.W., *Aeschylus I* (Loeb), 332-333 (*Septem* 161-165), 362-363 (487 & 501-502); Meineke, *op.cit.* (as note 2), 482.

- (156) Albert A. and Schmidt M., *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, 3, 176.32-41. For  $\text{βοᾶω}$ , 'shout', see *LS I*, *op.cit.*, 319, col.2ff; for  $\text{βοῶντος}$ , 'braying', see II, 1196, col.2; for  $\text{γωνία}$ , 'corner, angle', see I, 364, col.1; for  $\text{θημῶν}$ , 'heap', see I, 798, col.2; for  $\text{χῶμα}$ , 'mound', see II, 2014, col.2; for  $\text{σιδηροθήκη}$ , 'armoury', see II, 1597, col.1; and for  $\text{πακίς}$ , 'arrow, dart', see I, 50, col.2.

- (157) Rouse W.H.D., *Nonnos Dionysiaca I* (Loeb), 168-169 (5.1-15); III, 300-301 (44.38-41); and III, 324-325 (45.65-69); for Rouse's comment, see III, 325, note b.

- (158) Rouse, *op.cit.* (as note 157), I, 172-173 (5.70-73). For  $\text{βοῶντος}$ ,



- 'lowing', see LS II, op.cit. (as note 156).
- (159) See Jones, op.cit. (as note 3), IV, 222-223 (Paus.9.12.1-3); Smith O.L., Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia, Pars II Fasc.2, 220-221 (486a-487a) and 86-87 (163a-163h).
- (160) Schachter A., Cults of Boiotia 1. Acheloos to Hera, 130.
- (161) Hitzig H., Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio 3, 327, col.2; Schachter, op.cit., 130, note 1. For Ἀθηναία, 'Athenian', see LS I, op.cit., 32, col.1.
- (162) Schachter, op.cit. (as note 160), 130.
- (163) For ὀγκηθμός, see above, note 156; for the two following nouns, see also note 156; and for ὄγκος (A), 'barb', see LS II, op.cit., 1197, col.1.
- (164) For σιγή, 'silence', see LS II, op.cit., 1596, col.2.
- (165) Schachter, op.cit., 131; Astour, op.cit. (as note 18), 192, discussing Dionysos.
- (166) For the Semitic origin of Kadmos, see Astour, op.cit., 152ff.
- (167) Astour, op.cit., 217, note 2; Berard V., 'Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée', II, 367; for Heb. עֲקֻלָּה, 'enactment, statute', see Brown, op.cit. (as note 40), 349, col.2-350, col.2; see also Mitchell, op.cit. (as note 137), 228, col.1, for the meanings 'statute, law'.
- (168) For Akk. aggu, 'angry', see CAD 1, Part 1, 150, cols.1-2 (quots.); for agāgu, 'to be angry', see 139, col.2-140, col.1, esp. 140, col.1 (quot.1) and 140, col.2 (quots.2 & 3); for aggis, 'angrily', see 149, col.2-150, col.2, with quots. on 150, col.1.
- (169) For ἐγκαλέω, 'call in', see LS I, op.cit., 469, col.2; for συγγενής, 'congenital, inborn', see II, 1659, col.2; for συγχωρ-έω, 'meet', see II, 1669, cols.1-2. It is clear that Gk. γγ had such a nasal pronunciation. These examples are quoted by Jannaris A.N., An historical Greek grammar, chiefly of the Attic dialect, 95 (sec.189). However, this nasalisation is a Gk. linguistic development, and not the original pronunciation of Ogga.

- (170) Pritchard, op.cit. (as note 43), 384, col.1 (lines 6, 11 & 12).
- (171) Jestin R., 'Un rite Sumérien de fécondité: le mariage du dieu Nin-Gir-Su et de la déesse Baba', ArOr 17, 1 (1949), 336, note 12 (quot.) and 337 (comment).
- (172) Pritchard, op.cit., 85, col.1, line 153ff. The text is from Tablet VI of The epic of Gilgamesh.
- (173) Jones, op.cit. (as note 159), 22-25 (Paus.8.25.4-6); for the toponym <sup>3</sup>Όγκιον, see Paus.8.25.4.
- (174) Vian F., Les origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes, 139.
- (175) Murray, op.cit. (as note 87), I, 434-435 (Od.12.39-51) and 444-445 (12.166-188).
- (176) Way, op.cit. (as note 77), I, 482-483 (Helen 167-169); Paton W.R., The Greek anthology II (Loeb), 376-379 (no.710.1-8), with quotation on 377. For comment, see Paton, op.cit., 377, note 5.
- (177) Seaton R.C., Apollonius Rhodius The Argonautica (Loeb), 346-347 (Arg.4.763), 354-355 (4.891-899), with ET on 355, and 356-357 (4.905-909). We alter the ET where necessary.
- (178) Mair A.W., Callimachus and Lycophron (Loeb), 552-553 (Alex.712-715) and 554-555 (716-736); for comment on Odysseus, see Mair, op.cit., 553, note q; for the scholia, see Scheer, op.cit. (as note 49), 232 (on 712)-233 (on 715).
- (179) Jones, op.cit. (as note 148), I, 80-81 (Str.1.2.12), 82-83 (1.2.13); II, 448-449 (5.4.7); III, 2-3 (6.1); Jones, op.cit. (as note 3), IV, 322-323 (Paus.9.24.3), 4-5 (8.22.4-5) and 6-7 (8.22.7).
- (180) Pollard, op.cit. (as note 17), 191.
- (181) Harrison, op.cit. (as note 12), 199 and 200.
- (182) Levi D., 'Gleanings from Crete 2. The siren from Praisos', AJA 49 (1945), 282 (Fig.11 & Fig.13a-b), 281 (date of Fig.11), 286 (descr. & quot.) and 290-291 (comment on Fig.13 and Hellenic art).
- (183) Levi, op.cit., 292. The first period of such contact would have been in the Mycenaean Age. See our Chap. One, pp.17-18.



- (184) Harrison, op.cit., 200 (Fig.37 & comment); Pollard J.R., 'The Boston siren aryballos', AJA 53 (1949), 357 (Fig.1); for the date, see Pollard J.R., Seers, shrines and sirens, 138.
- (185) Harrison, op.cit., 200 (quot. & comment); Pollard, op.cit. (as note 184, 1st ref.), and 359 (quots., comment & Fig.4).
- (186) Harrison, op.cit., 200; Pollard, op.cit., 358.
- (187) Harrison, op.cit., 202 (Fig.38); Roscher, op.cit. (as note 92), IV, 606 (Fig.1); for the date, see Pollard, op.cit. (as note 184, 2nd ref.), 139.
- (188) Harrison, op.cit., 201 (comment); Harrison translates ΗΙΜΦ ΟΓΑ as 'lovely-voiced'. See also Pollard, op.cit., 139.
- (189) Harrison, op.cit., 203 (Fig.39 & comment); Roscher, op.cit., 615 (Fig.8).
- (190) Harrison, op.cit., 204 (Fig.40 & comment). It is interesting that there are two dogs at the grave stele. For the goddess Hekate and dogs, see our Chap. Four, p.275ff. See Harrison, op.cit., 207 (Fig.41) and 206-207 (comment & quot.); see Roscher, op.cit., 611-612 (Fig.4).
- (191) Roscher, op.cit., 609-610 (Fig.2), 610 (Fig.3), 611-612 (Fig.6), 613 (Fig.7), 622 (Fig.15), 623-624 (Fig.16), 625 (Fig.18), 626 (Fig.19), 625-626 (Fig.20 & comment), 627 (Fig.21), 629-630 (Fig.23) and 638 (Fig.32). For πίναξ, 'tablet', see LS II, op.cit., 1405, col.2. For κάμπος in Rhodes, see Meineke, op.cit. (as note 2), 351.
- (192) Harrison, op.cit., 177 (Fig.21); Roscher, op.cit., I.2, 1846; Tritsch F.J., 'The Harpy tomb at Xanthus', JHS 62 (1942), 41.
- (193) For Ἀρπυιαί, 'Snatchers', see LS I, op.cit., 246, col.2; for ἑαπάζω, 'snatch', see I, 245, col.2-246, col.1.
- (194) Harrison, op.cit., 177-178 (quot.); Pollard, op.cit., 139.
- (195) Pollard, op.cit., 141.
- (196) Pollard, op.cit., 137; Godley, op.cit. (as note 98), 218-219 (Hdt.1.175).
- (197) Payne, op.cit. (as note 93), 52 (Fig.12) and 285, col.2 (comment).



- (198) Faulkner R.O., The ancient Egyptian book of the dead.
- (199) Harrison J.E. and Verrall M. de G., Mythology and monuments of ancient Athens, lxix (Fig.14).
- (200) Harrison, op.cit. (as note 12), 200-201 (comment) and 201, note 1 (quot.); for Ktesylla, see Harrison, op.cit., 201; see also Papathomopoulos, op.cit. (as note 22), 2 (Myth I, Sec.5).
- (201) Roscher, op.cit. (as note 92), 617-618 (Fig.9) and 619 (Fig.10).
- (202) Faulkner, op.cit. (as note 198), 14, 42, 43, 52, 87, 88, 89, 90 and 91, with spells as noted in our text.
- (203) Harrison, op.cit. (as note 12), 201.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE GODDESS HEKATE AND RELATED CHTHONIAN DAEMONS, WITH ANTECEDENTS IN SEMITIC DEMONOLOGY.

#### SECTION A—THE CHARACTER OF HEKATE IN GREEK LITERATURE AND ART.

##### (i) The earliest appearance of Hekate in literature: Hesiod's Theogony and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

The goddess Hekate does not appear in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. However, she is of great antiquity. Let us examine the two most ancient sources for her mythology:<sup>1</sup>

##### (1) The description of Hekate in the Theogony.

The so-called *Hymn to Hekate* in the *Theogony* is a remarkable literary creation, whether or not it was composed by Hesiod himself.<sup>2</sup> It comprises a large section (404-452). Hekate's genealogy is given first. Koios and Phoibe were the parents of Leto<sup>3</sup> and Asteria (404-409). Asteria became the wife of Perses and the mother of Hekate (409-411). Following this, the honours of Hekate are described:

'And she conceived and bare Hekate, whom Zeus the son of Kronos honoured above all. He gave to her splendid gifts, to have a share of the earth and the unfruitful sea. She was apportioned honour also in starry heaven, and is honoured exceedingly by the deathless gods. For even now, whenever any one of men on earth offers good sacrifices and prays for favour according to custom, he calls upon Hekate.' (411-418)

Hekate's power to help mortals who call upon her is subsequently made clear. If she receives someone's prayers favourably, his reward is honour and wealth (418-420).

Hekate's power to give wealth, her δύναμις, is emphasised (420). This is because

she has αἶσα, destiny or portion among all those born of earth and heaven who were allotted an office (420-422). Furthermore, Zeus did not do her any wrong or take away from her the honours apportioned to her under the former Titan gods; Hekate has her division, as from the beginning (423-425). Since, or perhaps although she is an only child, she has still more honour, for Zeus honours her (428).<sup>4</sup>

There now follows a detailed description of the kinds of mortals helped by Hekate. She sits by venerable kings in judgment (434), in the assembly she causes whom she wishes to be distinguished among the people (430), when men arm themselves for battle she is present, if she wills, to give victory and glory (431-433), and she may stand by horsemen (439). She is also helpful to athletes contending in the games (435-438).

It is clear from the above that Hekate was understood here as a benevolent goddess. The adjective ὤεσθαλή, 'good', is applied to her three times throughout the entire text (435, 439 & 444). However, it must be noted that her benevolence is dependent upon her will, which is stressed frequently by means of the verb ὤεθέλω (first at 429).

After this, Hekate is described as helping mortals in conjunction with other deities, as follows:

'And to those who work the grey, nastily bubbling<sup>5</sup> sea, and pray to Hekate and the loud-crashing Earth-Shaker, easily the glorious goddess gives great catch, and easily she takes it away for herself<sup>6</sup> when seen, willing in heart. And she is good in stables with Hermes to increase stock. Both the droves of cattle<sup>7</sup> and wide herds of goats and flocks of wool-fleeced sheep, if willing in heart, she increases from a few, and makes many to be less.' (440-447)

Thus, as an only child, Hekate is honoured among the immortals (448-449). This seems to be why she has special honour, perhaps emphasised because such honour may have been surprising for an only daughter, without a brother to protect her



interests.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, we learn that Zeus made Hekate a child-nurse:

'And the son of Kronos made her a nurse of the young (κουροτρόφος) who after her saw with their eyes the light of much-seeing Dawn. Thus, from the beginning she is a nurse of the young, and these are her honours.' (450-452)

There is a clear contradiction here between the idea that Hekate was a nurse of the young from the beginning, under the rule of the Titans (424), and that Zeus made her one. Hesiod clearly recognises that Hekate is a goddess of the previous generation to that of Zeus, but it may be that the poet missed the historical contradiction, as M.L.West suggests.<sup>9</sup> In that case, this may be clumsy language, perhaps reflecting Hekate's 'adoption' by the Olympian generation.

## **(2) Hekate in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (no.II)**

Hekate appears twice near the start of this hymn, which may date from the 7th century B.C.<sup>10</sup> The context is as follows. Demeter's daughter was apart from her mother, picking flowers and playing with the daughters of Okeanos (4-6). By the will of Zeus, Gaia (Earth) grew the narcissus as a trick for the girl, to please 'the All-Receiver', Pluto (8-9).<sup>11</sup> However, when Demeter's daughter reached out with both hands to take the toy:

'...the wide-pathed earth yawned in the plain of Nysa, and the lord, All-Receiver, with his immortal horses sprang out upon her, the many-named son of Kronos.' (15-18)

Thus, the daughter of Demeter was abducted by Pluto. When she cried out for help to her father, the son of Kronos (20-21), she was not heard:

'But no one, either of the immortals or of mortal men, heard her voice,...only the tender-hearted daughter of Persaeus heard from a cave, Hekate with gleaming veil, and the lord Helios...' (22-26)<sup>12</sup>

It is not clear why these two deities, Hekate and Helios, hear the girl's cry for help,

and no others. We suggest that the poet may have included Helios because Demeter's daughter was gathering flowers in the bright world above, and Hekate, because of her chthonian, netherworld connections. Living in a cave is one early piece of evidence for this. Thus, since the abduction is from the sunlit world above to the chthonian world below, the poet may have chosen Helios and Hekate, deities representative of the two realms.

After this, Demeter went in search of her daughter, for nine days, with blazing torches in her hands (47-48). Then Hekate appeared to offer what help she could, on the dawn of the tenth day:

'...Hekate met her, with a torch in her hands, and spoke to her and told her news:

"Queen Demeter, bringer of seasons and giver of splendid gifts, what god of heaven or what mortal man has snatched Persephone, and has grieved your dear heart? For I heard her voice, yet I did not see with my eyes, who it was. But I tell you everything quickly and truly." ' (54-58)

In this scene, Hekate has a torch, like Demeter herself. Hekate's truthfulness and desire to help as much as she can shows that in this hymn she is a benevolent goddess.<sup>13</sup>

## (ii) The interpretation of Hekate in the Theogony by modern authors.

It is convenient to divide our discussion here into themes reflecting the character of Hekate.

### (1) Hekate, an ancient goddess, honoured by Zeus.

At the start of her article on Hesiod's Hekate, J.S. Clay asks the question:

'Why does Hesiod devote so much space to so minor a deity?'<sup>14</sup>

In the context of Hesiod's Hymn to Hekate, it is very difficult to believe that she is only minor. We have already quoted the passage (41 lff.) specifically describing her honours from Zeus. In discussing this, Clay makes three points of interest. First,



Hekate received a share (μοῖρα) of earth and sea (413). We must therefore not use this passage to describe Hekate as a universal goddess. The realms of earth, sea and sky are not given to her in their entirety, for she merely has a portion of honour in them. Second, Clay notes here the continuity of Hekate's share of τιμή, dating from the former rule of the Titans (423ff.). Third, Clay compares the honours given to Hekate with those allotted to her cousin Styx, prior to the Hymn to Hekate (Theog.389-404).<sup>15</sup> The purpose of this comparison is to show how Styx is rewarded by Zeus for siding with him against the Titans, unlike Hekate, who seems to be given her honours freely.<sup>16</sup>

The contrast between Styx and Hekate becomes clear when we examine the Styx passage. Zeus called all the gods to Olympus, in order to tell them that any who fought with him against the Titans would not be deprived of privileges (γερῶν), but would retain his former office or τιμή (390-394). Also, any who was without office under Kronos would receive one (395-396). It may be that Styx was in this position, but Hesiod does not say. It is clear that Styx came to Olympus, thus taking the side of Zeus, and he rewarded her with very great gifts, making her 'the great oath of the gods', and permitting her children to live with him for all days (397-401). Thus Styx fully deserved honours from Zeus.

This is clearly different from Hekate's position, as is noted both by West and Clay. West observes that Hekate, unlike Styx, 'performs no special deed or service' for Zeus.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, we may wonder exactly why he honours Hekate so greatly. Clay states the problem as follows:

'Zeus, in fact, almost seems to court Hekate's favour. He must in some sense recognize the importance and utility of maintaining Hekate's functions and timai under his new regime.'<sup>18</sup>

Exactly why does Zeus honour Hekate so greatly? Why are her previous honours so important that she receives even more (428)? The only logical answer is that Hekate was not originally a minor goddess at all, but a powerful, pre-Olympian deity, who



can still be of great value to Zeus in his new rule.

One factor strongly suggests Hekate's pre-Olympian antiquity; the fact that she is *μονογενής*, 'only-begotten' (426 & 448). As we noted above (p.256), this seems to explain Hekate's great honour, since she is without a brother to protect her interests. However, Clay suggests that Zeus honours her because she is an only child, 'in recognition of her unique status'.<sup>19</sup> Hekate's status also suggests that she is of great antiquity. P.A.Marquardt states the case for this as follows:

'The fact that Hecate is also the sole offspring of a less celebrated branch of the family makes her extraordinary position of honor among the younger gods all the more remarkable, if not actually anachronistic. The emphasis on Hecate's status as an only child is generally viewed as an example of Zeus' fairness in preserving the rights of a deity who has no brothers to defend her claim. The absence of siblings, however, might also suggest an original genealogy outside the Olympian family, especially since the mention of Hecate as an only child frames the recitation of her independent powers...' (p.245)

Following this, Marquardt notes that the use of the verb *λαγχάνω*, 'obtain by lot' (424), 'suggests Hecate's independent participation in an earlier division of power', contrasting with the verb *μείρομαι*, 'receive as one's portion' (414), which is more suggestive of Zeus' distribution of honour. Moreover, a pre-Olympian religious tradition concerning Hekate would best explain Hesiod's puzzling contradiction of the honour of *κουροτρόφος*, which we noted above (p.257).<sup>20</sup>

While not excluding the possibility that Hekate's status as an only child partly explains the great benevolence of Zeus towards her, the cumulative effect of the evidence is to suggest a pre-Olympian origin, of which Hesiod seems to be aware.

## **(2) A benevolent and arbitrary goddess.**

In the *Theogony*, Hekate's benevolence and arbitrariness are intimately connected. Thus she gives the fisherman a good catch, but only if she is willing, and she may

easily take it away again. She may also increase or decrease the stock in the fold (440ff.). It is not clear how Hekate does this. Possibly she prevents the birth of animals, or possibly she brings untimely death to the herds, through disease or neglect. This clearly shows her ambivalence.<sup>21</sup>

Thus both Clay and Marquardt stress this feature of Hekate's character. Clay observes that to regard the goddess as entirely benevolent is to neglect 'her darker side'. She states:

'The essential character of Hecate, then, resides in the easy exercise of arbitrary power over success or failure in every human enterprise.' (p.34)

Marquardt observes that 'the possibility of negative will' is inherent in 'the full spectrum' of her power. Marquardt then compares Hekate's arbitrariness with that of Zeus, in the opening lines of Hesiod's Works and days. In the similarity, it is possible to see that Hekate may have been a deity with a greatness comparable to that of Zeus:

'...through him mortal men are famed or unfamed, sung or unsung alike, by the will (ἑκῆτι) of great Zeus. For easily he makes strong, and easily he crushes (χαλέπτει) the strong man; easily he curtails (μινύθει) the conspicuous and raises the obscure, and easily he straightens the crooked and blasts the proud...' (3-7)

It is clear that Zeus has the same sort of positive and negative arbitrariness as Hekate.<sup>22</sup>

### **(3) Hekate as a 'mediating' goddess.**

We may describe Hekate as a goddess who mediates between gods and men. Both Clay and Marquardt observe that Hekate's functions in helping men are shared with the other deities; they are not unique to Hekate. This is clear from the mention of the Earth-Shaker Poseidon (441)<sup>23</sup> and Hermes (444) in the Hymn to Hekate. They aid the goddess when she answers men's prayers concerning fishing and farming respectively. However, other functions are also shared. Clay gives two examples.



First of all, Hekate gives victory (νίκη) and glory (κῦδος) in battle (433), but this function is performed by Zeus and the other gods. This is clear from a fragment assigned to Hesiod (Fr.75.19-20) that states (our ET):

'...and if he will conquer (νικήσῃ) and Zeus will give to him glory (κῦδος)...and the other immortals...' (Clay, p.33, note 26)

Second, we also know that Hekate sits by kings in judgement, and may cause those in the assembly to become distinguished among the people (434 & 430). It is only by influencing their speech that Hekate may achieve this. However, in the Theogony it is the Muses who help kings to make good judgements:

'Whomsoever of heaven-nourished kings the daughters of great Zeus honour, and behold at birth, they pour sweet dew upon his tongue, and kind words flow from his mouth. All the people look to him while he settles claims (θέμιστας) with true judgements...(81-86)...but kings are of Zeus, and happy is he whom the Muses love; from his mouth flows sweet speech.' (96-97)

Thus these functions of Hekate are shared with other deities. This is why Clay notes that Hekate's powers are 'extensive yet not fully independent'.<sup>24</sup> Finally, Clay notes that Hekate is an intermediary between gods and men:

'To give an example of Hekate's functions: I pray to Hermes to increase my flocks or to Zeus for victory. Both Hermes and Zeus surely have the requisite power to accomplish my wish, yet the prayer may or may not be answered. Something has intervened to bring about my success or failure...If I have been successful, it is because of the propitious conjunction of Hekate and some other god...Hekate has played her role as intermediary.' (p.35)

According to Marquardt, this 'overlap' between the functions of Hekate and those of other deities may be explained by 'an independent religious tradition'. Thus Hekate may originally have possessed some of these functions separately from other gods and



goddesses with whom she may not have been connected. Clay and Marquardt reach very similar conclusions concerning Hekate.<sup>25</sup>

#### **(4) Hekate and sacrifice.**

One more feature of Hesiod's Hekate suggests an original greatness. This is the somewhat puzzling statement which seems to mean that Hekate was invoked whenever any sacrifices were offered (Theog.416-418). We quoted this above (p.255). If this is so, it would imply that Hekate is a goddess of immense importance. However, the very general nature of this statement makes the above interpretation doubtful. West suggests that Hesiod merely meant, in a rather confused way,

'if a man calls upon Hekate, she hears him.' (p.283)

Hekate is a goddess of child-rearing (450-452), and such a goddess may have received the right of first sacrifice. Suggesting a ritual basis for Hesiod's statement, Clay quotes a fragment of the Phaon of Plato Comicus (Fr.174.5ff.) that refers to the goddess Aphrodite as κουροτρόφος. This text provides a useful parallel for the same function (our ET):

'For if you want to see Phaon, you must first make many preliminary sacrifices (προτέλεια) as follows. For first to me as κουροτρόφος there is sacrificed before (προθύεται) a flat cake, a he-goat,...' (see Clay, p.36, note 34)

Thus, in Hekate's case her function of κουροτρόφος may have given her precedence over other deities. This may explain the apparently 'universal' invocation of Hekate. At the very least, the statement shows Hesiod's willingness to stress her greatness, a feature that is omnipresent throughout the Hymn to Hekate.<sup>26</sup>

#### **(iii) The different genealogies of Hekate.**

As we have seen (p.255), Hesiod makes Hekate the child of Perses and Asteria. (Theog.409-411). However, later authors give Hekate quite a different genealogy.

According to the scholiast on Theocritus, she is the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, 'differing in strength and stature' (διαφέρουσιν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μεγέθει). The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius also gives this tradition, stating that some say she is the child of Zeus, and that in the Orphics she is given the pedigree of Demeter:

'And then Deo begat Hekate daughter of a noble sire (ἑυπατέρειαν).

Then the same scholiast reports a completely different tradition. According to the poet Bacchylides, she is 'the daughter of black-bosomed/great-bosomed night'. The scholiast also quotes Musaeus; thus Hekate is the child of Zeus and Asteria. This tradition gives her the same mother as in the Theogony. In the Phoinissae (109), Euripides makes Hekate (? = Artemis) the daughter of Leto, but in the Ion (1048-1049) he states that Enodia (Ἐνοδία) is the daughter of Demeter.<sup>27</sup>

This confused genealogy suggests that the Greeks were not sure of Hekate's origin. If the tradition in the Theogony is the original one, this may reflect Hekate's pre-Olympian origin. Her status as an only child may also be evidence of this (p.260). Since Bacchylides calls Hekate 'the daughter of night', he may also have been aware of her ghostly connections with the Netherworld (p.265ff.). Finally, we note that the attempts to connect Hekate with Zeus and Demeter suggest an 'adoption' of Hekate into the Olympian pantheon by later authors. Hekate's genealogy is very varied, but it is not without some logical sense.<sup>28</sup>

#### (iv) The goddess of childbirth and child-rearing in later Greek literature.

We have seen that the Hekate of Hesiod has the function of child-rearing (p.257). In the Troades (323-324), Euripides makes Cassandra invoke Hekate:

'Give light, O Hekate, to the marriage-beds of maidens, as is the custom.'

Aeschylus says that Artemis and Hekate watch over the beds of women (Supp.676).

These texts suggest a connection of Hekate with marriage and the begetting of



children.

More evidence is given by Pausanias (2.22.7), who states that at Argos the temple of Hekate was opposite that of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth. It is possible that the two temples were in proximity because of the common function. The scholiast on the Wasps (804) of Aristophanes states that a 'Hekataion' (Ἑκάταιον) is a temple of Hekate, or an image, set up everywhere by the Athenians to the goddess who watches over all as κουροτρόφος. The Orphic Hymn to Hekate also gives her this title, calling her 'child-rearing maiden' (line 8). Hesychius, under the entry Γενετυλλίς, states:

'Goddess of women, the name formed from generations (γένεσεις), like Hekate...'

Thus Hekate was specifically compared to another goddess of childbirth. Finally, discussing the imagery of Hekate, Eusebius in his Preparation for the Gospel says that she carries a bow like Artemis because of the sharpness of labour pangs.

It seems probable that Hekate was regarded as a goddess of childbirth even in the time of Hesiod. It is difficult to believe that a goddess of child-rearing would originally have no connection at all with childbirth.<sup>29</sup>

#### (v) Hekate as a goddess of the Netherworld.

The earliest evidence for Hekate as a chthonian goddess is found in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter which we examined earlier. Hekate dwells in a cave. Concerning this text (19ff.), Marquardt states that Hekate 'is not strongly chthonic'.<sup>30</sup> This is true, but the fact that the goddess both lives in a cave (25) and carries a torch (52) suggests some netherworld connections. Thus the cave suggests that Hekate lives close to or under the earth - caves may be entrances to the Netherworld.<sup>31</sup> The torches also suggest a goddess accustomed to living in darkness.

We know that rituals were performed in caves in honour of Hekate. Thus the



scholiast on the Peace (277) of Aristophanes states as follows:

'In Samothrace there were certain mysteries which they celebrated, it would seem, as antidotes against dangers. In Samothrace were the mysteries of the Corybantes and those of Hekate, and the Zerinthon cave was famous (as the place) where it was said that Hekate was worshipped with mystic rites, and they performed certain rites for her and they sacrificed dogs. It is mentioned by the author of the Alexandra - "Leaving Zerinthon, cave of the dog-slaughtering goddess..." (p.61)

Unfortunately, the scholiast gives no further information concerning the nature of these rites. However, the evidence indicates a ritual basis for the statement in the Hymn to Demeter that Hekate lives in a cave.

Lycophron gives a little more information in the Alexandra, mentioning the 'Zerynthian queen of Strymon', whose images were honoured with torches. This text (1174-1180) also mentions 'Three-formed Brimo', an epithet of Hekate meaning 'be angry' (βριμᾶομαι). In the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, Jason calls upon Hekate Brimo (3.1211). When the terrible goddess heard him 'from the uttermost depths' (1212-1213), fearful snakes surrounded her among the oak branches (1214-1215), there shone the light of countless torches, and 'chthonian dogs cried with sharp howling' (1216-1217). Here too we find the association of Hekate with dogs.

The poet Theocritus associates Hekate both with chthonian dogs, and with death:

'But shine fair Selene, for I will sing to you, gentle goddess, and to chthonian Hekate, who ascends from the tombs of corpses and black blood, dogs a-shivering.' (2.10ff.)

Thus Hekate is also connected with the moon, and with the dead. The scholiast on the same poem adds several details confirming this connection. First of all, he says that Hekate is said to be 'a chthonian goddess and ruler of the dead'. Then the scholiast tells a myth which shows how Hekate received these associations. Zeus and Hera

gave birth to a daughter called Ἄγγελος, that is, 'messenger'. The meaning seems to be that Hekate is a messenger of the dead. When she grew up, she stole Hera's perfume. Hera wanted to punish her, so Ἄγγελος fled, first to the house of a woman in childbirth, then to a place where men were carrying a corpse. (This detail is clearly intended to explain Hekate's connection with both childbirth and death.) After this, Zeus ordered the Kabeiri to receive and purify her. This was done in the Acherusian lake, 'whence the goddess has been allotted to the dead and is said to be subterranean'.<sup>32</sup>

After this, the scholiast says that Hekate was sent under the earth by her father (Zeus) in search of Persephone. Thus, the goddess is now called Artemis, guardian (φύλαξ), torch-bearer (δαδοῦχος), light-bearer (φωσφόρος) and chthonian.

Fragments of information in other authors confirm the netherworld connection. In the Ion (1048-1049), Euripides refers to Enodia daughter of Demeter, who rules over 'those roaming by night', and leads the unfortunate dead (δυσθανάτων) by day. As a chthonian goddess, Hekate is also wrathful. In The fourth discourse on kingship (Sec.90), Dio Chrysostom observes that some persons propitiated the wrath of Hekate with rites of purification. They said that the enraged goddess sends many apparitions, and these would be explained before the purification of any person. Under the entry Ἀνταΐα, Hesychius also states that Hekate sends daemons. The word is stated to mean ἐναντία, probably 'against' in a hostile sense, with reference to the daemons sent by the goddess. Moreover, according to the Suida Hekate (2nd entry) appears in strange phantoms to those who utter imprecations, and her phantoms are 'snake-headed men and exceedingly big'. Thus it is clear that Hekate's character has some very malevolent chthonian aspects. These are only some of the literary references.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, let us note two inscriptions that give evidence for the netherworld Hekate. The first is on a Phrygian tombstone, a curse against anyone who touches it:



'Whoever shall stretch forth a hand, may the heavy envy of black Hekate fall upon (him) with daemons.' (Farnell, p.600.20)

This may also be translated as:

'...may he encounter in daemons the heavy envy of black Hekate.'

The epithet μελαίνη, 'black', is fitting for Hekate as a goddess of the Netherworld.

The second inscription is from Cilicia, and dates from the Roman period:

'Whether we honour thee as Selene, or Artemis, or whether, O goddess,

as Earth (Γῆν), fire-bearing Hekate in the crossroads.' (ἐν τριόδῳ)

Thus, in a late syncretism, Hekate is specifically connected with the moon and with the earth.<sup>34</sup>

#### (vi) Hekate as a lunar goddess.

We have just seen some evidence for a lunar association of Hekate, both in the above inscription, and in the quoted text from Theocritus.<sup>35</sup> However, during the late classical era Hekate was specifically identified with the moon-goddess Selene. Thus Lucian ridicules beliefs concerning Hekate, in The lover of lies. The trivial magic displayed by a Babylonian sorcerer is described:

'...leading up daemons and calling stinking corpses (to life) and causing

Hekate herself to be present visibly and pulling down (κατασπῶν) the moon (= Selene)?' (Secs.13-14)

The rites performed by the sorcerer are then fully described (Sec.14ff.). Having waited for the moon to wax, he called up the ghost of Alexicles, father of Glaucias, who had died seven months before. This remarkable feat was accomplished by digging a pit. The reason for this is not explained, but it may have been to allow the ghost to ascend from the Netherworld. This is not all:

'Next he brought up Hekate who fetched Kerberos (with her), and he drew down the moon, a many-shaped spectacle, appearing differently at



different times; for at first she exhibited the form of a woman, then she became a very handsome bull, then she looked like a puppy.' (σκούλαξ)

Lucian seems to mean that the moon assumed these different shapes. If this is so, there is a complete confusion between the moon and Hekate, who herself had bovine and canine forms.<sup>36</sup> When the cocks were crowing, Selene flew up to the sky, Hekate sank under the earth, and the other phantoms vanished (Secs.14-15).

Although Lucian is aware that Hekate and Selene are separate deities, it is significant that they are both invoked at the same time, and that the animal symbolism of Hekate is given to the moon. They are clearly very closely connected in mythology.

Other authors identify the moon and Hekate. Eusebius states that Hekate is the moon, and that her power has three forms (the phases). As symbols of the new moon she bears a white robe, golden sandal and blazing torches; she bears a basket as a symbol of the harvesting of fruits, which she nourishes by the increase of light (possibly moonlight), and the bronze sandal is the symbol of the full moon.

The scholiast on Theocritus is clearly dependent on the same source, for he describes Hekate's symbolism in the same way, with one identical sentence, thus:

ὁ δὲ κάλαθος ὃν ἐπὶ τοῖς μετεώροις φέρει...

However, the scholiast also adds remarks of his own, stating that Hekate is called Selene because they are nocturnal (νυκτερινὰς) goddesses watching over the affairs of the night. Thus he says, 'Chthonian Hekate and Selene are the same'. She is chthonian because she was born under the hemisphere, and Selene, since she shines above. This is clearly a very close identification.

The Suida, under Hekate (2nd entry), states that some say she is Artemis, and others say that she is Selene. These identifications may reflect popular syncretism. The scholiast on Hesiod also identifies Selene with Hekate. These are some of the references to Hekate's lunar connection in Greek literature.<sup>37</sup>

Is it possible to trace the origin of this motif? There is a possible clue in Plutarch's work, On the obsolescence of oracles. Speaking about the moon, he states:

'...some call her an earth-like star, others a heavenly/Olympian (Ὀλυμπίαν) earth, and others the domain of Hekate, who belongs both to the earth and to the heavens.' (Sec.13)

This clearly reflects the honours received by Hekate in Hesiod's Theogony - in earth, the heavens and the ocean (413-414). It may be that the connection of Hekate with the moon arose because of her ancient heavenly association. Thus since the moon is heavenly, and may be thought of also as 'earth-like' (γεῶδες), the connection may have arisen with the heavenly and chthonian Hekate.

There is one more fragment of evidence that may suggest such an evolution. In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (52), Hekate carries a torch (σέλας). This noun has a curious resemblance to the name of the moon-goddess, Σελήνη. Whether or not the two words are really connected etymologically, this belief was held in ancient times. Thus Cleomedes gives the etymology of Selene as the phrase σέλας αἰνέον, 'light always new', stating also that the 'triple face', τριπρόσωπον, of Artemis (by which he may mean Hekate) is derived from the crescent, the half-moon and the full-moon. This is at least possible. However, the important point is the belief that σέλας and Selene were connected. It is possible to suggest that Hekate's development as a lunar goddess may have been encouraged by this similarity of sound, during the time following the composition of the Hymn to Demeter. This, combined with Hekate's astral connection in the Theogony, may have caused the evolution of the lunar motif. If our view is correct, the lunar motif is not original to Hekate, but was suggested by the use of σέλας in that Hymn. However, Farnell thinks that the lunar motif may have been original to the goddess. Since there is no more evidence, we cannot be certain which point of view is correct.<sup>38</sup>



**(vii) Hekate Enodia, sacrifices at the crossroads, and ritual purifications.**

The epithet  $\text{Ἐνοδία}$  may be translated as 'She in the road'. This designation was regularly used of Hekate, together with the other epithet,  $\text{τρίοδος}$ , 'of the three ways', better understood as 'crossroads'. Thus, in a fragment of the drama Root-cutters, Sophocles states as follows:

'O Lord Helios and holy fire, the spear of Hekate Enodia ( $\text{Ἐνοδία}$ ), that she bears frequenting Olympus and dwelling in the three roads/ways of the holy land.'

In the Antigone Sophocles also mentions a prayer offered by the messenger at the spot where the body of Polyneikes was found. The prayer was made to Pluto and to Enodia, to appease their anger. This is evidence for the worship of the crossroads goddess in the context of death. Another reference to Enodia occurs in the Helen (569-570) of Euripides:

Menelaos: O light-bearing Hekate, send kindly phantoms.

Helen: You do not see me appearing by night, a servant of Enodia.<sup>39</sup>

Thus Enodia was a common epithet of Hekate. What do we know about the rituals performed for Hekate at the crossroads? The evidence comes from various texts, so we will list them:

- (1) In his work Superstitiousness Theophrastus mentions some superstitions. A man passing one of the smooth stones at the crossroads would pour oil upon it, and would not go on his way until he had knelt in worship. Moreover, if such a person were to see a figure of Hekate wreathed in garlic (the reading is uncertain) at the crossroads, he would go away, wash his head, and call



priestesses, bidding them purify him with a puppy or a squill.<sup>40</sup> Theophrastus is clearly ridiculing such beliefs about the goddess, but his mocking tone gives credibility to the information, for he is reporting the absurd beliefs of the 'superstitious', not describing in an exaggerated way a goddess whom he worships.

- (2) In Concerning superstition, Plutarch quotes a poem that purports to show the assumptions the superstitious make about Artemis. However, the motifs in the poem apply much better to Hekate, who was often associated with Artemis:

'If hasting from hangings,...or from passing corpses, you entered polluted, and from the three roads attending with purifying rites, entwined with the blood-guilty.' (pp.484-487)

The text is rather corrupt, so the translation is difficult.<sup>41</sup> It seems to mean that somebody suffering from pollution (by being present at such unclean things) needs purification, in association with the crossroads.

- (3) We learn more about the sacrifices to Hekate at the crossroads from the scholiast on the Wealth of Aristophanes. He states as follows:

'...Formerly they used to honour Hekate in the three roads, because Selene herself is called both Artemis and Hekate. And during the new moon the wealthy used to send dinner in the evening, as a sacrifice to Hekate in the three roads. The poor used to come hungry, and they would eat these (offerings) and say that Hekate ate them...' (594, lines 33-39)

Thus some would provide dinner for the goddess, and some would eat it (40-42). Alternatively, the scholiast states that it was the custom for the rich to offer Hekate loaves of wheat bread (ῥᾶπτοις) and other things, and the poor would take from them. Consequently, he states that the beggars live by the sacrificial victims. The custom is ridiculed by the question, 'Isn't it foolish?' (42-46). 'Hekate's dinner' also consisted of eggs and toasted cheese (596). The Suida, under 'Hekate' (1st. entry) gives a summary of the same

information.

- (4) This custom benefited the poor, but it was regarded by the pious as despicable.

The orator Demosthenes notes:

'...that these men used to devour the food set out for Hekate (Ἑκαταῖα), and to gather up on each occasion for dining with one another the testicles of the pigs which are offered for purification when the assembly convenes...' (p.157)

- (5) In Banquet questions (708F), Plutarch gives a possible reason for a ritual of 'Hekate's dinner', mentioning that some people carry out dinner 'for Hekate

and the hostile spirits' (ἀποτροπαίοις), but do not taste the food themselves.

This shows that the food given to Hekate was for appeasing the goddess and the accompanying spirits.

- (6) In The Deipnosophists, Athenaeus gives more information concerning this ritual. He states that dinners were carried to Hekate on the thirtieth day of the month (7.325A). Later (14.645A-B) he describes the cake ἀμφιφῶν. It was a flat cake offered to Artemis, with lighted candles in a circle. Athenaeus quotes Philemon, who wrote of the amphiphon as an offering to Artemis. However, Athenaeus says that the cake is also mentioned by Diphilus in Hekate. This shows that the cake was also offered to Hekate, a fact made clear by the rest of the text:

'Philochorus (says that) it was called amphiphon and was carried to the temples of Artemis and also to the three roads, since on that day the moon is overtaken on the point of setting by the rising of the sun, and the sky is

lighted doubly (ἀμφιφῶς).

It is clear that this story is intended to explain the meaning of the word

amphiphon. The name means 'shining all round' (\* ἀμφιφάω), but this probably refers to the candles, not to the light of the sun and the moon.



However, we know from the scholiast on Aristophanes that Hekate's dinner was offered at the new moon.<sup>42</sup> Therefore it is probable that a lunar calendar may have regulated the time of offerings to Hekate (according to Athenaeus on the thirtieth day). The reference to the sun and the moon in this text suggests a specific time of offering. Such a lunar calendar would be appropriate for Hekate as a lunar goddess. The EM suggests that the cake was sent to Hekate because it was 'all moon-like', possibly with reference to the shape.

Thus the offerings to Hekate at the crossroads were most probably made in accordance with a lunar calendar, in order to appease her. The above references are the main ones for this ritual.<sup>43</sup>

- (7) Finally, let us note the ritual purifications called  $\rho\omicron\chi\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota\alpha$ , literally 'sharp anger'. Both Harpocrates and the Suida give information on this. According to Harpocrates, purifications ( $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\alpha$ ) were carried to the images of Hekate ( $\epsilon^{\circ}\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ ) in the three roads. These were called oxythumia. They were burned as a  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ , a 'turning towards/supplication' of the city. This seems to mean that the oxythumia were for the propitiation of Hekate. This is suggested by the meaning of the name - Hekate's anger would thereby be averted. According to the Suida,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  were taken away to the three roads, whenever houses were cleansed. It is clear from this that these 'purifications' consisted of the household rubbish, in the sense of the noun used here, meaning 'that which is thrown away in cleansing'.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the 'superstitious' of Theophrastus would constantly be purifying his house because an attraction ( $\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ) of Hekate had occurred. It seems that he wanted to get rid of her.

However, Hekate was a protective goddess of the home. The Hekataia mentioned above stood 'everywhere before the doors', according to Aristophanes in Wasps (804). The scholiast on the same text states that a Hekataion is a temple of Hekate or



simply an image. These were set up everywhere by the Athenians. They probably had a beneficial, apotropaic significance, keeping away hostile spirits. This may be why Hesychius calls Hekate Φυλάδα, 'Guardian', and Προφυλαί(α), 'Before the gates', probably in the sense of guarding the gates of the city. There is also a Carian inscription dedicated to Ἐκάτη πρόπολις, 'Hekate before the city'.

It is clear that the 'purifications' of the home for Hekate, as well as her images, were intended to benefit society.<sup>45</sup>

**(viii) The animal connections of Hekate - dogs and other creatures.**

We have already noted several texts in which Hekate is connected with dogs.<sup>46</sup> Now it is necessary to examine this theme in detail. Since there are a large number of texts we will list them by author:

- (1) In the work Roman questions, Plutarch three times speaks about dog-sacrifices to Hekate. First of all, he says (Sec.52) that the Greeks sacrifice a bitch (κύνα) to Hekate. Then he quotes Socrates as saying that the Argives sacrifice a bitch to Eilioneia by reason of the ease with which it gives birth. Second (Sec.68), he describes an astonishing ritual of puppy-sacrifice. Stating that the dog was and is still used by the Greeks as a sacrifice in purification rites, he continues:

'...they bring out for Hekate puppies (σκυλάκια) with the other (materials for) purification, and they rub round about with puppies those in need of cleansing (ἁγνισμός), and this kind of purification they call "puppifriction" (περισκυλακισμός). (pp.104-105)

Contact with the puppies apparently caused purification. Third, Plutarch notes (Sec.111) that the ancients did not think of the animal as entirely pure. Thus, it

was never dedicated to the Olympian gods, but rather was sent to the three roads as a dinner for 'chthonian Hekate'.<sup>47</sup> Thus Plutarch notes that the dog has a share in apotropaic rites and cleansings. Finally, he observes that in Boeotia there was a rite of public purification, which involved passing through the parts of a dog cut in two. It is not known if this referred to Hekate.

- (2) Pausanias states that he knows of no other Greeks who sacrifice puppies except for the Colophonians. The inhabitants of that city in Asia Minor used to sacrifice a black puppy to Enodia (Hekate 'In the road') at night. However, Pausanias also mentions here the sacrifice of puppies at Sparta to Enyalios the god of war. It seems that his information is limited to these two examples, but we may note the more detailed information in Plutarch.<sup>48</sup>

- (3) According to Theocritus, the dogs howling in the town are a sign of the goddess 'in the three roads'. In contrast to the black puppy of the Colophonians, the scholiast on Theocritus states as follows:

'What? Did you buy a little white scabby dog for the goddess in the three roads?' (19, col.1, line 40)

This is a fragment of Aristophanes. The dog sacrificed could be black or white (no.2).

- (4) In Isis and Osiris Plutarch quotes a fragment of Euripides:

'May you be a dog, image (ἰμάγιον) of light-bearing Hekate.' (379E)

This shows that images of Hekate were made in the shape of dogs.

- (5) This is confirmed by Hesychius, who states that 'image of Hekate' means dogs, since dogs were carried out for Hekate. He adds that 'some form her dog-headed'. This shows that Hekate was really worshipped in the shape of a dog, not merely connected with them as a minor motif. Under the entry Γενετυλλίς, Hesychius adds that dogs were placed before her, and that 'the goddess is foreign'.

- (6) The canine association of Hekate occurs constantly in the Greek literature. The



Orphic Hymn to Hekate calls her by the epithet Σκυλακίτις, 'Dog-like'.

Eusebius refers to 'the terror of netherworld dogs'.

- (7) Finally, there is a most interesting anecdote in Plutarch, which makes it clear that dogs were connected with death. When Cimon was about to make a military expedition against Egypt and Cyprus, he had a dream in which he thought that he saw an angry bitch, baying at him. Mixed with the baying it uttered a human voice, with the words:

'Go, for you will be a friend both to me and to my puppies.' (Cimon, 18.3)

This was interpreted by the seer Astyphilus of Poseidonia as meaning the impending death of Cimon. The interpretation was that a dog is a foe of a man at whom it bays, and one can best be a friend to a foe by dying. The foe was said to be the Mede. Indeed, Cimon died shortly afterwards of sickness while besieging Citium, or from a wound received in battle with the barbarians. We suspect that the bitch with the human voice may have been the goddess Hekate, to whom puppies were sacrificed.

The texts above make it clear that the canine connection of Hekate was an integral part of her character.<sup>49</sup>

However, Hekate was also connected with other animals. The Orphic Argonautica states as follows:

'...child of Tartaros Hekate: from her left shoulder darted away a horse with long, flowing mane; on the right, one could see a bitch with raging face/eye (λυσσώπις); in the middle a serpent with savage form...'  
(977-979)

Thus the horse and snake<sup>50</sup> were also connected with her. In On abstinence from animal food, Porphyry discusses the animal symbolism of various deities. Thus he mentions Poseidon ἵππιος and Athena ἵππία, the epithets indicating the 'horse'



motif. Then Porphyry states:

'Hekate hearing bull, dog and lioness hearkens more.' (3.17.2)

This may be translated less literally as

'One makes Hekate more propitious by invoking her under the name of bull, dog and lioness.'

Speaking about Persian religion, Porphyry also states:

'And thus the Persians call these gods demiurgic causes: for they call Artemis a she-wolf; but the sun, a bull, a lion, a dragon, and a hawk, and Hecate a horse, a bull, a lioness, and a dog.' (4.16.53f.)<sup>51</sup>

If Porphyry is referring to a Persian goddess who was identified with Hekate, this animal symbolism is not genuinely Greek, and is consequently of no value for the study of the goddess. At most we would have a confused syncretism. However, it is unlikely that in this text Porphyry is speaking about a Persian goddess. Persian symbolism of the deities listed shows no connection with the animals mentioned by Porphyry. Thus in the Avesta the sun is associated with horses, but not with bulls or other animals. The 'Persian Artemis' Anahita does not seem to be connected with wolves. As for Hekate, it is not clear what her Persian equivalent could be. Porphyry seems to be completely confused. Thus it is reasonably safe to regard his symbolism of Hekate as genuinely Greek, placed in a spurious Persian context.<sup>52</sup>

**(ix) Some comprehensive literature containing different motifs of Hekate.**

Finally, let us examine some more texts which include most of the motifs already discussed. Since the information is rather scattered, we will list it numerically.

(1) The Orphic Hymn to Hekate contains the following motifs:

'Lovely Hekate of the roads (Εἰνοδίαν) and crossroads (τριοδίτιν) I invoke;...tomb spirit (τυμβιδίαν) reveling in the souls of the

dead,...haunting deserted places (φιλέρημον), delighting in deer,...beast-roaring (θηρόβρομον),<sup>53</sup>...herder of bulls (ταυροπόλον),...nymph, mountain-roaming nurturer of youth (κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφώτιν)...<sup>54</sup> (1, 3, 4, 7 & 8)

- (2) In Lucian's Lover of lies (Secs.22-24), there is an account of an apparition of Hekate witnessed by Eucrates. When Eucrates went into a wood to think something over, he heard the howling of dogs and thought that his son Mnason was out hunting. However, the dogs preceded the appearance of Hekate. Then there was an earthquake and a noise like thunder, and Eucrates saw a fearful woman approaching, nearly half a stade high. She carried a torch in her left hand, had snake-feet (ὄφιοπούς) with snakes instead of hair, twined around her neck and coiled upon her shoulders, with the appearance of curls (βοστρυχηδόν). She resembled the Gorgon in her glance and the horror of her appearance. Her dogs were taller than Indian elephants, black in colour and shaggy with filthy hair. She was the goddess Hekate. Then she stamped her snake foot (δρακοντείω ποδί) upon the ground, made a huge chasm, and leapt into it. Eucrates saw everything in Hades, including Kerberos, the dead and his own father, still dressed in his burial clothes. This last detail is probably intended to make fun of the account, in Lucian's usual style.<sup>55</sup>
- (3) The snakes seem to have been quite important in the worship of Hekate. Eusebius quotes a verse in which Hekate gives instructions for the construction of her statue. She is to have long snakes creeping around her girdle, coiled around her from her head to her feet.<sup>56</sup>
- (4) The most comprehensive descriptions of Hekate occur in spells of The Greek magical papyri. These texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt date mainly from the 2nd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D.<sup>57</sup> Although the texts are from Egypt,



they are especially useful for the study of popular Greek religion, including Hekate. H.D.Betz states:

'The gods and their activities resemble those in the popular myths and local cults, as reported by mythographers or by Pausanias. Therefore, strange as it may sound, if we wish to study Greek folk religion, the magical papyri...are to be regarded as one of the primary sources.'<sup>58</sup>

The first relevant text is a 'Love spell of attraction' performed with the help of those who have died violently (PGM IV.1390-1495). A spell is to be written upon pieces of bread:

'...to those who died untimely (ἄωροις) deaths and those dead violently, I'm sending food:

Three-headed (τρίκράνε) Goddess, Lady of Night (νυχία), who feed on filth (βορβοροφόρβα),...grim-eyed (γοργῶπι)...child girt with fiery serpents (πυριδρακοντόζωνε)...Who rouses up with fire souls of the dead, Unlucky heroes, luckless heroines,...

O mistress Hekate...

O Lady of the Crossroads (εἰνοδία),

O Black Bitch (κύων μέλαινα).<sup>59</sup>

- (5) Another 'spell of attraction' (PGM IV.2006-2125) includes a figure of Hekate drawn upon a leaf of flax. Hekate holds torches in her hands and has three heads; the head of a dog on the left, a cow on the right and a maiden in the middle with sandals upon her feet.<sup>60</sup>
- (6) There is also a 'Document to the waning moon' (PGM IV.2241-2358). This includes the following epithets:

'...Darkness (σκοτεία), Brimo,...wolf-formed (λυκώ), grim-eyed, shrill-screaming (ῥοξυβόη),...Mene,...dog-shaped (κυνώ),...Minoan



(Μινώα),...' (2270-2285)

These epithets are very suitable for Hekate, although they are here applied to the moon (Μήνη), with whom Hekate was often identified. For instance, there is the canine connection. The term 'Minoan' suggests a connection with Crete.<sup>61</sup>

Later in the same spell there is the statement:

'For I...possess your key. I opened the bars of Kerberos...' (2290ff.)

The netherworld goddess naturally possesses the key of that realm. Later she receives the epithets 'mare', 'lion' and 'she-wolf'. Near the end of the spell her 'key' and 'black dog' are mentioned.<sup>62</sup>

- (7) Another spell also invokes the moon, but the epithets show even more clearly a complete syncretism with Hekate:

'...night-shining (νυκτοφάνεια), triple-sounding (τρίκτυπε), triple-voiced, triple-headed Selene,...triple-faced, triple-necked, and goddess of the triple ways (τριοδίτι),...with three forms and flames and dogs.' (p.84, 2520ff.)

Selene has assumed the 'triple' character of Hekate. Later in the same spell we have:

'Come to me, horn-faced (κερατώπι), light-bringer (φαισφόρε), bull-shaped (ταυρεόμορφε), horse-faced (ἵπποπρόσωπε) goddess, who howl doglike (κυνολύγματε); come here, she-wolf (λύκαινα),...torch-bearer (δαδοῦχε), fire-breather (πυρίπνου)...' (2548ff.)

The first epithets in the last part seem to refer more closely to Selene, while the dog and horse epithets are more appropriate for Hekate.<sup>63</sup>

- (8) After this, a 'coercive spell' invokes 'Queen Brimo' under the epithets 'Einodia and bull snake' (ταυροδράκαινα), 'mare-bitch' (ἵπποκύων) and 'Minoan'

once more.<sup>64</sup>

- (9) The next text (PGM IV.2708-84) is a 'Love spell of attraction' specifically invoking Hekate. Chthonian motifs are especially conspicuous here:

'Spell: "Come, Hekate, giant (γῆγάεσσα),...torch-bearer,...Kore, hear, you who've parted gates of steel (ᾠδάμαντρος) unbreakable. O Artemis,...Mistress, who burst forth from the earth (Ἐρηξίχθων), dog-leader (σκυλακάγεια),...crossroad goddess (εἰνὸδία), triple-headed,...Come, Hekate, goddess of three ways (τριοδίτι), who with your fire-breathing phantoms (πυρίπνοα φάσματ') have been allotted dreaded roads and harsh enchantments. Hekate I call you with those who untimely passed away..." ' (p.89, 2714ff.)

Later in the same spell there are the epithets 'cow-eyed' (βοῶπι) and 'who burst forth from the earth/earth-mare', (Ἐρηξίχθων/ἵπποχθων).<sup>65</sup>

- (10) Next there is a 'Prayer to Selene for any spell' (PGM IV.2785-2890). This describes Selene as 'child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls'. Then snake imagery is prominent, as with Hekate:

'...who arm your hands with dreaded, murky lamps, who shake your locks of fearful serpents (φοβερώων ὀφίων) on your brow,...whose womb is decked out with the scales of creeping things (Ἐρπυστήρων), with pois'nous rows of serpents down the back,...bull-faced (ταυρώπι),...bull-headed (ταυροκάρηνε), you have the eyes of bulls, the voice of dogs (σκυλακῶδεα φωνήν); you hide your forms in shanks of lions, your ankle is wolf-shaped (μορφόλυκον), fierce dogs are dear to you, wherefore they call

you Hekate,...Mene...' (pp.90-91, 2795ff.)

Here we see the main animal connections of Hekate; the snakes, dogs and lions. There is somewhat more ambiguity concerning the bulls. Hekate's connection with cattle goes back to the Theogony, but may have been reinforced by the connection of Selene with bulls, since the moon is 'bull-shaped' both in these magical texts and in Nomos.<sup>66</sup>

This spell continues by referring to some gruesome acts of the goddess. She eats the dead:

'...O you who have your meal amid the graves,...O you with hair of serpents (ὄφεοπλόκαμε), serpent-girded (ζωνοδράκοντι), who drink blood, who bring death and destruction, and who feast on hearts (καρδιόδαιτε), flesh-eater (σαρκοφάγε), who devour those dead untimely, and you who make grief resound and spread madness, come to my sacrifices...' (p.92, 2855ff.)

- (11) Just after this there is a 'Protective charm for the rite'. A three-faced Hekate was carved upon a lodestone, the face on the left that of a dog, on the right that of a goat, and in the middle a maiden with horns. This may have been Hekate with the crescent moon. The carving had to be dipped in the blood of one who had died violently (2880ff.). However, the goddess who ate the dead was not invoked only for malevolent purposes, since the 'Offering for the rite' (2870ff.) was also for doing good.<sup>67</sup>

It is clear that the PGM developed the chthonian, malevolent connections of Hekate to a greater extent than any other literature. There is also considerable syncretism, and some very imaginative animal epithets appear, that are clearly derived from the motifs of the earlier literature.



**(x) Some artistic evidence for the mythological motifs of Hekate.**

Here we will discuss some depictions of Hekate in art, which help to confirm the mythological motifs. Here is a list of the relevant works of art:

- (1) Hekate is often depicted holding blazing torches. N.Alfieri and P.E.Arias illustrate (Pls.90 & 89) a krater by the 'Peleus painter'. The horses of Peleus' chariot are shown clearly, with Hekate standing behind them (Pl.90). She holds a torch in each hand and her name is written over her head in the form EKAKTH. Hekate has a very beautiful face.
- (2) Hekate also appears holding torches on a krater by the 'Niobid painter'. This is also illustrated by Alfieri and Arias (Pl.35). The 'Sending of Triptolemos' is depicted on the lower frieze. Hekate stands with a torch in each hand, next to the woman in front of the chariot.
- (3) The myth of Triptolemos is also depicted upon a kalpis in the British Museum. Here too Triptolemos sits in his chariot. The figure with two blazing torches has her name inscribed as EKATH. As with the previous examples there is no hint of malevolence in the demeanour of Hekate.<sup>68</sup>
- (4) L.R.Farnell illustrates a small terracotta from Athens, which seems to be the earliest known image of Hekate (Pl.XXXVIIIa). According to Farnell, the inscription giving her name indicates that the terracotta dates from the 6th century B.C. Hekate sits upon a throne, wearing a head-dress. She has a single body and head.
- (5) Other art shows Hekate with her triple form. A relief from Aegina has a triple-bodied Hekate with six arms and three heads. One figure holds torches, the other two one torch each, with an oinochoe and a phiale. This is illustrated by Farnell (Pl.XXXIXc) and by Harrison (Fig.15).
- (6) There is a very unusual carving of Hekate upon the Pergamene Frieze, illustrated by Farnell (Pl.XL) and Roscher. Here Hekate also has three heads

and probably six arms, but unlike on the Aegina relief she has only one body. Armed with torch, shield, spear and sword, she is fighting ferociously with a monstrous 'serpent-man', who is falling to her right. He has two legs composed of snakes; the left snake coils between Hekate's legs, while the head reaches up to bite her shield. She raises her torch aloft. Roscher also depicts fragments of a serpent and a man beyond the broken left edge.

- (7) A similar Hekate is depicted on a small gemstone illustrated by Roscher. Here too she has a single body with three heads. One pair of arms brandishes swords, while the other two pairs have whips and torches. Rearing up on each side of Hekate is a coiled snake (see p.277).

Thus Hekate was depicted in both single and triple forms.<sup>69</sup>

- (8) There is a most interesting Roman Hekataion of the triple-bodied Hekate, with five scenes depicted on her dress. In the lowest row but one, there is a triple-headed Hekate with swords and torches, a woman bearing a basket on her head, a single Hekate with torches (Harrison thinks that this may be Artemis), and a woman with a knife about to slay what is probably a dog. This is Farnell's opinion (Pl.XXXIXd & p.557); the dog-shape is clearly visible on Harrison's larger Fig.17, although she does not identify it. Thus here we may have two Hekates and a dog-sacrifice. The woman may be carrying Hekate's basket, as Harrison suggests (see p.269).

In the third row up, a woman has her hand upon the head of a child; another woman on the right holds up a small, slain animal. As Harrison suggests, possibly the child is being 'baptised' with its blood. Two other animals are being led to sacrifice; the one on the right is a stag, and the one on the left perhaps an ox, as Harrison suggests. She also thinks that the figure with the disc on its back may be the moon-goddess. In the next row above there is a woman holding a child who is possibly about to be initiated. To her left is probably a small dog, and to her right a woman touching a larger hound. As Harrison says, this is without doubt Hekate's hound.



Although many details are unclear, it seems as if this is a pictorial representation of sacrifice and initiation to Hekate.

- (9) Other triple Hekataia are also in existence. Farnell illustrates a badly damaged one (Pl.XXXIXb) of which only the torso remains. The hands may have held torches. The Prague Hekataion illustrated by Harrison (Fig.16) is in a better state of preservation. It shows three maidens dancing around the body of the goddess. These may be the Charites. Harrison also mentions, but does not illustrate, an example with Pan and a dog, from the collection at Venice.<sup>70</sup>
- (10) Hekate appears in a somewhat more sinister light upon the relief discovered at Thasos. She sweeps along in a long, flowing chiton, brandishing torches, two dogs prancing at her sides. The artist conveys the impression of movement, perhaps thinking of Hekate's visits to the graves of the dead.<sup>71</sup>
- (11) Hekate's netherworld connections may also explain a small black-figured lekythos at Athens, which is discussed by S.Karouzou. Between two Doric columns are four female figures. Three are standing upon their own feet, but the one in the centre is different. Karouzou states:

'It seems clear that she stands not on her own feet but on the body of a black dog with feet projecting beneath and a long, fat, unnatural tail stretching behind, to which is connected the hindquarters of a second dog. Its head...ends in a pointed nose which pierces the back of a small human figure. The latter is suspended in mid-air...' (p.64)

Having described the figure, Karouzou proceeds to explain and to identify it. First of all, the two columns suggest that this is a netherworld scene. Second, the central figure seems to be attached to the two dogs. The tail of the lower dog may also be part of the woman's body, but it also seems to join onto the body of the upper dog. The woman and two dogs are intimately connected; as Karouzou says, we have a 'three-bodied' figure (p.65).

In Karouzou's opinion, there is a choice between Hekate and Skylla for her identity. Since Skylla is not connected with the netherworld, he prefers



Hekate. However, the possibility that she may be Skylla is not entirely excluded. The upper dog may be about to devour the human figure. The monster Skylla ate sailors. We will explore Skylla's similarity to Hekate later.<sup>72</sup>

However, Hekate seems a stronger possibility. Noting her connection with dogs, Karouzou thinks that the dogs here may be drinking the blood of the human figure as a punishment ordained by Hekate. Since she drinks blood in the PGM, this is certainly possible. Hekate would then be the central female. The presence of two dogs also suggests Hekate, since she has two dogs on the Thasos relief. In that picture the dogs are behind her, but could also represent one two-headed dog. In any case, there too we have a 'triple' scene. It is probable that the other three figures here are giving orders for the human to be punished, perhaps as a ghost in Hades. The figure on the right stretches out her arm, perhaps for this purpose. Karouzou thinks that the figures may be the Erinyes, the Furies.

Thus the evidence of this picture, together with such literary evidence as that of Theocritus, suggests that Hekate is a savage dispenser of justice in the Netherworld. While this seems entirely malevolent, the function may not be unrelated to Hekate's connections with justice in the Theogony.<sup>73</sup>

- (12) Karouzou also mentions two other pictures of value. The first is a 'bell-krater' in Utrecht depicting Herakles about to attack Kerberos. Above the single head of the dog is the figure of a woman upon a rock. It is tempting to identify her with Hekate. There is also a small red-figured lekythos depicting a young woman. She bends over, holding a basket in one hand and a small animal by the tail in the other. Three torches are fixed in the earth. If the animal is a puppy, this may be a sacrifice to the netherworld Hekate.<sup>74</sup>

**(xi) Some possible reasons for the evolution of the 'triple' Hekate.**

As we observed above, the earliest image of Hekate seems to be the 'single-form' Athenian terracotta (no.4). Later there are many examples of the 'triple' Hekate, either with one body (e.g. the Pergamene Frieze, no.6), or with three (the Aegina relief, no.5), but always with three heads. Several reasons have been suggested for this evolution:

- (1) The first idea is that the 'triple' Hekate symbolised the three phases of the moon. As we saw above (p.270), this was suggested by Cleomedes. According to Pausanias, it was Alcámenes who first made three images of Hekate attached to each other. However, no further details are given and we would be very reckless to conclude that such a Hekataion symbolised the moon. Discussing the question, Farnell observes the absurdity of such a 'frigid astronomical symbolism'. Selene herself, as far as we know, was not given such a form. The absence of any evidence for lunar symbolism in the monument of Alcámenes makes the theory impossible to sustain. Exactly why the symbolism is peculiar to Hekate remains a mystery.<sup>75</sup>
- (2) Farnell then discusses the theory that the triple form is derived from the conception of Hekate as a goddess of 'many elements' or motifs. Perhaps the triple form represents a triad of Selene, Artemis and Persephone, as goddesses of the heavens, earth and chthonian realm respectively. This is clearly a nonsensical confusion.

First of all, it is scarcely likely that a late syncretism of Hekate with other goddesses (such as Artemis) could reasonably account for such an important motif as the triple image. We would expect some more substantial explanation. Second, Farnell observes that any goddess could have a 'trinity' based upon different motifs. Yet this idea seems to be peculiar to Hekate. There is no more evidence for this theory.



- (3) The epithet  $\tau\rho\iota\omicron\delta\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ , goddess of 'the three ways', offers the most probable explanation. As Farnell says, there would be a motive in having an image with triple heads at the crossroads, for one could then see the face of the goddess from any direction. Hekate would 'protect' the traveller from ghosts, in apotropaic fashion. Athenaeus offers a fragment of evidence for this:

'For she is the goddess of three ways ( $\tau\rho\iota\omicron\delta\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ ) and looks three ways ( $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\lambda\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ), and they offer her meals on the thirtieth day.' (pp.460-461, 7.325A)

This confirms the intimate connection between the triple Hekataion and the crossroads. However, Farnell also notes that we cannot prove this, for all the triple images are late. Thus the explanation must remain tentative.<sup>76</sup>

- (4) Another interesting idea is suggested by Karouzou:

'was it perhaps the earlier image of chthonic Hekate attached to two dogs, and not the Trioditis, which determined the triple body?' (p.69)

We have already observed the two dogs depicted on the Thasos relief and the black-figured lekythos. It is hard to escape the conclusion that this had some influence. However, there seems to be no reason why the two explanations above must be mutually exclusive. Both the dogs and the crossroads may have played their part.<sup>77</sup>

- (5) Finally, we may note the explanation given by Harrison. She thinks that the dancing maidens on the Prague Hekataion may have suggested the triple form. However, this is not likely. Karouzou observes that a Hellenistic artist may have connected the maidens with the Hekataion. Thus the triple image would have already been in existence. This seems more probable.<sup>78</sup>

This completes our analysis of Hekate's character.



## SECTION B

### SOME THEORIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF HEKATE.

(i) Is Hekate an evolute of the Thracian goddess Bendis?

L.R.Farnell suggests this idea, stating as follows:

'The theory that Thrace was her native country becomes the stronger as we find the undoubtedly Thracian goddess Bendis with many points of likeness to Hekate.'<sup>79</sup>

There are certainly similarities between Hekate and Bendis. This is clear even from the meagre references to Bendis in Greek literature. A brief list of relevant texts will help to show this:

- (1) Under the entry Βενδῖς, Hesychius states:

ἐν Ἀρτεμίδι Θρακιστί.

Thus Bendis was believed to be the 'Thracian Artemis'.

- (2) Palaephatus also confirms this idea, stating that the Thracians call Artemis Βένδεια, the Cretans Diktyнна and the Lacedaemonians Upis (Οὐπίς). We have already discussed the origin of the goddess Diktyнна (pp.110-113), who was certainly not the same as Artemis. It is significant that Palaephatus does not identify Βένδεια with Artemis. He merely says that the Thracians call Artemis by this name. As with the two other goddesses, a syncretism is being indicated here.<sup>80</sup>

- (3) In his work Icaromenippus, Lucian hints at the Thracian connection, stating:

'...and the temple of Bendis (τὸ Βενδίδειον) arose (ᾧ ἐγένετο) in Thrace...' (pp.308-309, Sec.24)

- (4) Hesychius also has the entry Βούσβατον, 'cow-pasturing', with reference to the Thracian worship of Artemis. This suggests a connection with the Hekate of the *Theogony*, who was concerned with cattle (*Theog.*444ff.).
- (5) However, Hesychius also gives a full description of Bendis. Under the entry δῖλογχον, 'two-lots', he says that Cratinus called Bendis by this name because she was allotted (ἐκκληρώσατο) two honours (τιμᾶς), heaven and earth. Hesychius then clarifies the entry by saying that κλήρους, 'lots', were called λόγχας. This reminds us of the honour (τιμή) received by Hekate upon the earth and in heaven (*Theog.*413-414). The use of the same noun τιμή suggests that Cratinus may have been thinking of Hekate while describing Bendis.

After this, Hesychius gives other reasons for the epithet Δῖλογχος. Either Bendis carries two spears (λόγχας) because she is a hunting goddess (κυνηγετική), or she has two lights (φῶτα), one of which was her own (τὸ ἴδιον), and the other the sun. Hesychius concludes by saying that Bendis and Artemis are named the moon (Selene). It seems that the 'two lights' are the sun and the moon.

Thus Bendis, like Hekate, is a lunar goddess. Like Artemis she seems also to be a hunting goddess. The spears may have been for hunting, but they recall the two swords carried by the 'triple Hekate' on the gem illustrated by Roscher. This description of Hesychius suggests some connection between Hekate and Bendis.<sup>81</sup>

- (6) Under the entry μεγάλη θεός, 'great goddess', Hesychius notes that Aristophanes said this of Bendis.
- (7) This seems to be confirmed by Photius in his lexicon. The phrase Μεγάλην

θεόν is attributed to Aristophanes ἐν Λημνίαις. There follows the nonsensical reading τελβαιναιν, which should probably be corrected to τὴν Βενδίν, after Hesychius.

- (8) Commenting on Plato's Republic, Proclus mentions 'the many names of the moon' in association with Bendis, whom he calls Βενδίζ...κραταιά, 'mighty Bendis'. Thus it seems that Bendis is a lunar goddess of some importance.
- (9) Plato gives evidence for the cult of Bendis at Athens. At the start of the Republic, Socrates says that he went down to the Peiraeus to pray to the goddess at the festival in which the Thracians took part. Adeimantus and Polemarchus came up to Socrates. Adeimantus asked Socrates if he knew about the torch-race (λαμπάς) on horseback in honour of the goddess, which was to take place in the evening. Socrates then asked if the torches were to be passed from one rider to another in the horse-race. Then Polemarchus confirmed this, adding that there was to be a night-festival (παννυχίδα). It is clear that Bendis is the goddess, since later on 'the festival of Bendis' (τοῖς Βενδιδείοις) is mentioned (354A).

The three aspects of this festival that are mentioned show similarity to the motifs of Hekate. As Farnell notes, the torch seems to have been a symbol of both goddesses. Moreover, both Bendis and Hekate are connected with the horse. A nocturnal festival suggests a connection with the nocturnal (νυχία) Hekate of the PGM.<sup>82</sup>

- (10) Herodotus (4.33) states that the Thracian and Paeonian women, when they sacrifice 'to Artemis the Queen' (Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείῃ), always use wheat-straw in the offering (πυρῶν καλάμης). 'Artemis the Queen' seems to mean Bendis, in a Thracian context. If this is so, Bendis may also have been an



agricultural goddess, concerned with the fertility of the crops. This is not a function of Hekate mentioned by Hesiod, although it would fit well with the character of the Hesiodic Hekate.<sup>83</sup>

The above texts provide us with our portrait of the character of Bendis. The evidence suggests that she was a powerful goddess with various connections: cattle, the sun, the moon, hunting, torches and horses (texts 4, 5 & 9). Some of the motifs are similar to those of Hekate. Are we justified in assuming that the Greek Hekate is an evolute of the Thracian goddess Bendis? There are several reasons for scepticism:

- (1) Hesychius and Palaephatus connect the Thracian Bendis not with Hekate, but with Artemis. If Hekate were originally Bendis, it is strange that not one ancient author has preserved a tradition making this identification. The only hint (text 5) is that Cratinus describes Bendis in a way reminiscent of the Hesiodic Hekate, as we noted. However, Bendis was thought of as a hunting goddess. This compares with Artemis, but not with Hekate.
- (2) The description of Bendis as the 'Thracian Artemis' is probably a syncretism, based upon the connection of both with hunting. Therefore we have no right to conclude that the similarities to Hekate suggest anything more than a syncretism.
- (3) It is also significant that these similarities are of a very general nature. We have noted such motifs as heaven and earth, heavenly bodies (the sun and the moon) and hunting, in the description of Hesychius (text 5). Hekate is a lunar goddess, a goddess of heaven and earth, and so is Bendis. However, such associations of deities are so general that they could arise anywhere. The same may be said about the use of torches and horses (text 9). We have no evidence whatsoever for the worship of Bendis in animal form. The horse-race mentioned by Plato may have been purely of a sporting nature.
- (4) We have no reason to doubt that Bendis is really a Thracian goddess. The name is clearly foreign, showing no relationship with any Greek word. However, all

the evidence is from Greek texts. There is no surviving Thracian literature, so we know almost nothing about Thracian religion, only what the Greeks cared to tell us. This alone casts doubt upon the 'Thracian' character of the goddess described above. The long description of Hesychius seems influenced by the epithet Δίλογχος. Since Bendis has 'two lots', Hesychius may have decided to give her two of everything; two realms (heaven and earth), two spears and two lights. The description seems coloured by Greek religion, especially by Hekate and Artemis (text 5).<sup>84</sup>

Therefore the evolution of Hekate from Bendis is unconvincing. If the Greek authors reported the character of Bendis correctly, this suggests nothing more than syncretism with Greek religion. However, it is also possible that the 'Thracian' character of Bendis is really a Greek character. If this is so, little more than the name is really Thracian.

**(ii) Are Hekate and Hekabe both of Thracian origin?**

There is a certain similarity between the goddess Hekate and Queen Hekabe, the wife of King Priam. Here we will explore the mythology of Hekabe in Greek texts, so that we may understand the nature of this similarity. Then we will show what light the character of Hekabe throws upon any Thracian connection with Hekate. The main texts concerning Hekabe are as follows:

- (1) Hekabe (Ἑκάβη) is mentioned frequently in the Iliad. She is the wife of Priam (22.234), and appears in the Iliad as a merely human figure. Homer gives her a Phrygian genealogy (16.717-719). We learn from this text that Asios was the brother of Hekabe and the uncle of her son Hektor. Asios, the son of Dymas, dwelt in Phrygia by the river Sangarios. Thus the earliest source gives Hekabe's family a Phrygian origin.



In the Iliad Hekabe is a very tragic figure. Her grief for her slain son Hektor is foretold (6.451). After Hektor has been slain by Achilles (see 22.326ff.), Hekabe led the mourning for her son (22.430ff.). She shows her great bitterness, saying that she would like to set her teeth in the liver of his killer and eat it (24.212-213). This is a typical Homeric expression of hatred; as Hektor himself lies dying Achilles wishes that he had the strength to eat him raw. In any case, Achilles hopes that the dogs will do it (22.345ff.).

Finally, Hekabe led the mourning for Hektor preceding his funeral (24.747ff.).

- (2) In Euripides' tragedy Hekabe she has a Thracian genealogy. She is also transformed into a dog. The genealogy is clear near the start of the play:

'O chthonian gods, save my son, solitary anchor of my house, who holds snowy Thrace...' (79-81)

Hekabe is the speaker. Her son in the play is not Hektor, but Polydorus, whose ghost makes the opening speech (1ff.).

Near the end of the play, Hekabe learns her fate. Polymestor tells her of her canine metamorphosis. She will become a dog or bitch (κύων) with 'fiery glances' (πύρσ' ἔχουσα δέργματα). Since she is a woman, perhaps Euripides intended 'bitch' to be the meaning (1265). After this, Polymestor tells Hekabe that she will die (1271) and that her grave will be called by the name 'mound of the wretched dog' (κυνὸς ταλαίνης σῆμα). It will be a sign to sailors (1273).<sup>85</sup>

- (3) The scholiast on Euripides' Hekabe follows Homer in quoting the Phrygian genealogy, noting also that Kisseus was believed to be her father. We learn from the scholiast that Polymestor king of Thrace raised Hekabe (quoting Polydorus), that Pherecydes gave her the Phrygian genealogy, and that Nicander made her the daughter of Kisseus. Thus there were two traditions of Hekabe's origin; the Phrygian and the Thracian.<sup>86</sup>



- (4) Apollodorus also makes it clear that there were differences in the genealogy of Hekabe, stating that she was the daughter of either Dymas, or Kisseus, or the Phrygian river Sangarios and Metope. In his Epitome, he says that Helenos seized Hekabe and carried her across to the Chersonese, where she turned into a bitch (κύνα). Then he buried her at the place now called 'mound of the dog'. This may have been the promontory in the Hellespont of the same name (Κυνὸς σῆμα) mentioned by Thucydides, where the Athenians won a battle (8.104). It seems that a natural feature resembling a dog was connected with Hekabe, in popular mythology.
- (5) In the Alexandra, Lycophron may be thinking of Hekabe when he uses the phrase 'O unhappy mother' (ὦ δούσητερ). Hekabe's tragic role in the Iliad suggests this interpretation. In this text which we discussed above (Alex.1174-1180), this mother is connected with Brimo, a form of Hekate (p.266). Moreover, Lycophron says that the 'Zerynthian' goddess was worshipped on the Strymon. According to Stephanus Byzantius, this was the river of the city of Amphipolis. Thus the cult of Hekate was located close to Thrace. Moreover, we have already noted the worship of Hekate in the Zerinthon cave on the north Aegean island of Samothrace. Since the names Ἐκάτη and Ἐκάβη are similar, the 'Zerynthian' goddess of the Strymon may have been the same as Hekate on Samothrace.<sup>87</sup>
- (6) Moreover, the scholiast on Lycophron gives extra evidence. First he notes that Hekate and Brimo seem to be the same. Then, commenting on the Alexandra (1176), he says that Hekabe was an attendant (ἑπώπιδα) of Hekate. Hekabe became a bitch and 'was raised to the rocks', probably a reference to Kynossema. Hekate was said to be followed by 'black fearful bitches'.<sup>88</sup>

Thus there is evidence for a close mythological connection between Hekabe and Hekate.

- (7) Dio Chrysostom (33.59) quotes a fragment of poetry that connects Hekabe with Thrace. She is a 'bright-eyed dog'. When she cries out, Tenedos, Ida and the 'wind-loving rocks' of Thrace listen.
- (8) Finally, Farnell cites a myth that seems to be from the scholiast on the Odyssey. According to Callimachus, the goddess Artemis was intimate with Ephesus the son of Kaustros. When she was cast out by his wife, Artemis took revenge by transforming the woman into a dog or bitch (κύνα). Then the goddess took pity on the woman and restored her human form. The latter was ashamed of the event and hanged herself, so Artemis clothed her in her own dress and named her Hekate.

Farnell is correct in assuming that this myth is an explanation for the worship of the canine goddess Hekate at Ephesus in Asia Minor. However, we note that the myth has a strange resemblance to the story of Hekabe. In each case a woman was transformed into a dog.<sup>89</sup>

These texts tell us two important things concerning Hekabe; like Hekate she is canine, and she is connected with Thrace. Are we therefore justified in deriving both Hekabe and Hekate from Thrace? Despite the clear connections between the two in Greek mythology, there are still reasons for scepticism:

- (1) As we have just seen, Hekate is not likely to be derived from the Thracian goddess Bendis. Thus the case for the Thracian origin of Hekabe is also improbable.
- (2) Hekabe is Thracian in Euripides' Hekabe, but Phrygian in the Iliad. The alternative genealogy may just as easily suggest a Phrygian origin.
- (3) In the Iliad, Hekabe is not transformed into a dog. Indeed, it is doubtful if she has any original connection with Hekate. In a note on Apollodorus, J.G. Frazer suggests that the similarity of the two names may be the origin of the connection between Hekabe and Hekate (see p.241, note 4). We may suggest another possible reason.



In the Iliad, Hekabe wants to eat the liver of Achilleus (24.212-213). This resembles the activity of dogs, that Achilleus wishes would devour Hektor's corpse (22.345ff.). Indeed, in his essay On superstition (170C), Plutarch states that Hekabe's bitterness is barbaric and beast-like (θηριώδης). It is probable that this aspect of Hekabe's character later evolved into the myth of her metamorphosis. This would be helped by the similarity of her name to Hekate. If this is so, the two are not originally connected, and cannot have a common Thracian origin.

- (4) Little can be made of the geographic evidence, despite Farnell's use of it to stress a Thracian origin of Hekate. We know from Pausanias (2.30.2) that the inhabitants of the island of Aegina honoured Hekate most of all, saying that her mysteries were instituted by 'Orpheus the Thracian'. This seems a popular tradition of little value, since we know almost nothing of Thracian religion. Also, the connection of Hekate with the Strymon and Samothrace (above, text 5) is inconclusive. Such cults could have originated anywhere in the Aegean.

For these reasons a Thracian origin of Hekabe is impossible to prove. Thus a Thracian Hekate is also very unlikely.<sup>90</sup>

### (iii) Is Hekate a Carian (Anatolian) goddess?

In the present century various scholars have supported this theory. It is discussed at length and refuted by W.Berg. Since Berg has done this so successfully, we need only review his main arguments, adding a few minor points where necessary. We will deal with the arguments in favour of the Carian theory first, then give the objections.

We may summarise Berg's main arguments as follows:<sup>91</sup>

- (1) Hekate was worshipped at the temple of Lagina in Caria. She had the epithets sōteira (Saviour), megiste (Greatest) and epiphanestate (Most Conspicuous). The epithet 'Saviour' was also given to Hekate in Phrygia. With regard to



Caria, the use of these epithets at Lagina is used as evidence for an originally benevolent and mighty Carian Hekate similar to the goddess described by Hesiod. It is assumed that she was contaminated later in Greece by demonic, chthonian influences, after her migration there during the Archaic period. Such malevolent influences may include the worship of Enodia in Thessaly and the practice of witchcraft in that region.<sup>92</sup>

Apart from her cultic epithets, the greatness of the Lagina goddess is also attested by the friezes upon her temple. Berg notes that Hekate is prominent in the 'Titanomachy' scene upon the west frieze. On the east frieze, where the birth of Zeus is depicted, Hekate is shown giving the stone to Kronos. As Berg says, Hekate is a kourotrophos here as in the Theogony. If we accept the Carian theory, the benevolent Hesiodic Hekate reflects the Carian, non-Greek original.<sup>93</sup>

- (2) As we have already noted (p.284), the original form of Hekate probably had a single body. This is clear from the terracotta at Athens. Later Hekataia usually have a triple body. Berg notes that the cult statue of Hekate, as shown on the north frieze of the Lagina temple, had a single body. It is argued that the monomorphic Carian Hekate is evidence for her original form. Thus the Hekate of Lagina would be representative of an original Anatolian Hekate.
- (3) There are various personal names in Caria formed from the stem hekat-. These include Hekataios the geographer and the Carian tyrant Hekatomnos, of the 4th century B.C. It is argued that Carians were named after Hekate because she was originally a Carian goddess.<sup>94</sup>

These arguments seem to make a reasonable case for a Carian Hekate. However, the objections to this view are very strong indeed:

- (1) It is clear that the Hekate of Lagina was benevolent and mighty, like Hesiod's Hekate. However, we cannot assume that the goddess of Lagina had no

chthonian aspects. Berg gives several possible hints of a chthonian character. Thus mysteries were celebrated in honour of Hekate here. It is possible that these mysteries may have been similar to those of the Zerinthon cave on Samothrace. Also, Lagina inscriptions often mention the ritual of the kleidophoria, the carrying of a key. This reminds us of the key of Hekate mentioned in the 'Document to the waning moon', one of the PGM (above, p.281). As we noted, this key was used to open 'the bars of Kerberos'. Berg suggests that the key of the Lagina ritual was used to open the Netherworld. Finally, coins of Stratoniceia (the city of the Lagina temple) show a dog beside the goddess. This reminds us both of Hekate's chthonian dogs, and a Lydian dog-goddess called Nenenene. For these reasons, it is not necessary to say that an originally exalted Carian goddess later degenerated into a chthonian goddess in Greece.<sup>95</sup>

- (2) It is not convincing to argue that a monomorphic Hekate at Lagina indicates a Carian origin. Berg notes that the Stratoniceians struck coins showing a single-bodied goddess, from the 1st century B.C. on. One such coin shows a single-headed, monomorphic Hekate holding a torch (Pl.II.2), similar to the single-bodied goddess of the north temple frieze (Pl.I.1).

We may note two other examples from Stratoniceia illustrated by B.Head. One of them (Pl.XXIII.13) shows a single head of Hekate in profile, surmounted by a lunar crescent. The other (Pl.XXIII.17) shows a Hekate on the reverse. She has one body and head, and stands to the front wearing a polos surmounted by a crescent. She holds a torch and a phiale.

However, only one coin from another Carian town certainly shows the goddess of Lagina, as Berg notes. This is from the town of Euhippe (Berg's Pl.II.3). Elsewhere Hekate was sometimes depicted as monomorphic, as on a coin of Mastaura in Lydia (Pl.II.4). Another Mastauran coin shows a trimorphic Hekate (Pl.II.5). Berg concludes from all this that Hekate's 'original' monomorphic form was probably confined to the temple of Lagina.<sup>96</sup>



This means that the Lagina goddess was probably not representative of Hekate in Caria. Berg's comments are illuminating:

'Can the unusual appearance of Hecate at Lagina be attributed to the steadfastness of a Carian tradition which preserved the goddess' original form despite the universal popularity of her triple image? The theory breaks down with the word "Carian", for in Caria Hekate seems to have been worshipped in her familiar triple form.'<sup>97</sup>

Therefore the monomorphic image of Lagina cannot be used as evidence for an original 'Carian' Hekate.

- (3) Little can be made of the theophoric names with the stem hekat-. As Berg notes, such names may not refer to Hekate at all. They may be derived from the epithet hekatos of the god Apollo. As evidence for this, Berg cites the islands called Hekatonnesoi, which are mentioned by Strabo. The geographer gives their names this meaning.
- (4) The three objections above adequately answer the three fragments of 'evidence' for Hekate's Carian origin. However, all this is insignificant when we consider the lateness of the evidence. The earliest evidence for the worship of Hekate at Lagina is the altar of Menophilos, a priest of the goddess. This altar dates from the 2nd century B.C. We cannot know if Hekate was worshipped at Lagina before this date. This cannot be evidence for a Carian prototype of Hesiod's Hekate.
- (5) Thus we probably have a late syncretism of the Greek Hekate with a native Carian goddess. Possibly the confusion of the Greek Artemis with Hekate may have made it easy for a native goddess of Lagina (who would probably be monomorphic) to be identified with the usually triple Hekate of the late classical era, as Berg notes in his summary on the question.<sup>98</sup>

Whether or not this is the explanation for the unusual monomorphic Hekate of Lagina, a late Hellenisation is certainly in accordance with Anatolian evidence generally. We have already noted the syncretism of Leto with a Lycian mother



goddess (pp.119-121). Berg gives another similar example; in Pisidia a goddess with torches and serpents called Edbebe was also identified with Leto. In the case of the Lagina goddess, her greatness is probably derived from Roman imperial policy and nothing else. An original Carian Hekate is as unlikely as a Thracian one.<sup>99</sup>

**(iv) Is Hekate a PIE (Proto-Indo-European) goddess?**

It is possible that the benevolent functions of the Hesiodic Hekate may reflect the 'tripartite' theory of IE mythology, which was originated by G.Dumézil. A brief summary of this theory, with regard to the Indian pantheon, will be given here. Then we will see how it may apply to the Hesiodic Hekate. The views of Dumézil have conveniently been summarised by C.S.Littleton. The hierarchy of gods is said to consist of three strata. At the highest rank were the two sovereign gods Mitra and Varuna, the former being concerned with 'the rational and legal aspects of sovereignty', and the latter with the 'magico-religious aspects'. Thus the first of the three functions is the religious sovereignty of the universe. This would include such activities as sacrifice, on the human level the responsibility of the Brahmans.

The second rank in the Indian pantheon, according to the theory, consists of warlike gods, with Indra the warrior as the most important. It is believed that Indra is 'a collective representation of the Kṣatriya caste'. On the human level, this caste would protect society from invasion. Thus the second function is that of physical force.

The third function is that of plant and animal fertility. This naturally preserves human life. It is believed to be symbolised by such deities as the Aśvins and the goddess Sarasvatī. On earth this function is represented by the food-producing class.

Thus, the three divine strata are believed to symbolise the three functions of sovereignty, force and fertility in human society.<sup>100</sup>

, Discussing the different types of mortals who are aided by Hekate, D.Boedeker fits them neatly into this 'tripartite' IE structure. Thus the magico-religious aspect of

the first function, sovereignty, seems to be represented by those who sacrifice to Hekate and propitiate her (Theog.416-420). The legal aspect of sovereignty would have its counterpart in the kings with whom Hekate sits in judgement (434) and the people in the assembly (430).

Hekate's involvement with the second function, that of physical force, seems to be clear from her desire to help warriors (431-433), athletes in the games (435-438) and horsemen (439). Boedeker notes that warriors and athletes may be the same people, as is the case in the funeral games (horse-racing) of Patroklos (Il.23.285ff.). The charioteers of the Iliad also fought in battle. Thus 'the same social group' took part both in battles and athletic contests.<sup>101</sup>

The third function, fertility, seems to be represented in the Theogony by Hekate's help in fishing (440-443), animal husbandry (444-447) and child-rearing (450-453). In the case of the first two activities, Hekate may increase or decrease the creatures that provide food for man. The only difficulty, as Boedeker observes, is that there seems to be no connection of Hekate with agriculture. This could be explained by the connection of Demeter with this mode of production. Thus Hesiod may have wanted to avoid an overlap of function with Hekate. This is an idea also suggested by Marquardt. Boedeker's second possible explanation for the omission of agriculture, that Hekate may have been a potnia theron (Mistress of the Beasts) has some evidence too.

Finally, Boedeker notes that the 'tripartite elements' of the Hesiodic Hekate include all her functions, in a human context. This strengthens the case for the application of the 'tripartite' theory to the Hesiodic Hekate. However, we must not be too literal; the use of the same order of IE functions in the Theogony as that proposed in the 'tripartite' theory may only be a coincidence.<sup>102</sup>

It must be remembered that this theory has not been proved. If the 'Hesiodic Hekate' is connected with these IE tripartite functions, this may explain her extraordinary benevolence, in contrast to the manifestly chthonian Hekate in the later Greek literature. However, we cannot conclude from all this that Hekate is a PIE



goddess in origin. There are two reasons for this scepticism:

- (1) Since any PIE mythology is a reconstruction, there is no way in which a prototype of Hekate may be identified convincingly.
- (2) Boedeker herself is sceptical about such a PIE origin for Hekate. She observes that outside the Theogony Hekate's cult, myths and iconography do not suggest such an origin. In other words, such features as Hekate's chthonian character and canine connections remain unexplained by the 'tripartite' theory. Hesiod's use of this structure may indicate nothing more than the grafting of IE ideology in Greek society onto the goddess.<sup>103</sup>

**(v) Is Hekate a Mycenaean goddess?**

**Iphimedeia as an original form of Hekate.**

We have already seen how Berg criticises the theory of the Carian Hekate. Now we will examine his theory that Hekate was originally a Mycenaean goddess. This will help us to discover her ultimate origin.<sup>104</sup>

Since Berg's theory depends entirely upon a connection between Hekate and Iphimedeia (Ἰφιμέδεια), we will now focus our attention upon this mythological figure. First of all we will list some texts which demonstrate that Iphimedeia was an early form of the heroine Iphigeneia (Ἰφιγένεια). Then we will analyse the evidence for a Mycenaean prototype of Hekate and Iphimedeia. The mythological texts are as follows:

- (1) Pausanias gives us our first clue. He states:

'I know that Hesiod in the Catalogue of Women represented that Iphigeneia was not killed but, by the will of Artemis, became Hekate.'  
(pp.204-205, 1.43.1)

- (2) This statement is not recorded in any of the surviving complete works of Hesiod. Fortunately we possess a fragment which is possibly by Hesiod



(Fr.23a). This helps to confirm the above statement by Pausanias:

'And because of her beauty Lord of men Agamemnon wedded dark-eyed Klytimestre (Κλυταιμῆστρην) daughter of Tyndareos, who begat Iphimede (Ἰφιμέδη) of beautiful ankle in the halls...And the well-greaved Achaeans slaughtered Iphimede upon the altar of noisy (κελαδαινῆς) Artemis of gold spindle (χρυσηλακάτου) upon the day when with ships they sailed to Ilion exacting retribution for the Argive daughter of beautiful ankle, a phantom, but the deer-shooting arrow-pourer very easily saved her, and shed lovely immortality upon her head, so that her flesh would be lasting, and made all her days deathless and ageless. Indeed now the tribes of men upon the earth call her Artemis Einodia (εἰνοδίην), an attendant of the famed arrow-pourer.' (13-15 & 17-26)

Despite the uncertainty of some reconstructed words (underlined), it is clear that the story is basically complete. There are two points of interest here. First, the author of the poem has used the name Iphimede instead of the more usual Iphigeneia for the heroine of the myth. Second, Iphimede is here made an attendant of Artemis the arrow-pourer. The poet states that Iphimede was called Artemis Einodia. This strongly suggests a syncretised cult in which Iphimede was identified with the latter. Since Einodia (or Enodia) was an epithet referring to Hekate in the crossroads, we have some reason to identify Iphimede with Hekate. The application of the epithet Einodia to Artemis probably reflects the constant association of Hekate with that goddess.<sup>105</sup>

- (3) It is clear that a very similar myth was applied to the heroine Iphigeneia. In the Cypria, quoted by Proclus, Agamemnon shot a stag and boasted that he surpassed Artemis at hunting. The goddess was so angry that she sent a storm to prevent the expedition from sailing to Ilion. The seer Kalchas said that it was necessary to sacrifice Iphigeneia to Artemis. The girl was fetched on the

pretence of marriage to Achilles, but when they tried to sacrifice her, Artemis snatched her away (ἔξαρχάσασα) and transported her to the Taurians, substituting a stag for the girl on the altar. Artemis made Iphigeneia immortal.

- (4) Both Euripides and Apollodorus agree with the version of the Cypria. In Iphigeneia at Aulis, a 'mountain-running stag' (ἔλαφον ὄρειδρόμον) was substituted upon the altar. This was a more pleasing sacrifice to Artemis than the girl, for the altar would not be defiled with noble blood (1593-1595).

After this, the chorus report the words of the messenger, saying that the child remains living among the gods (1613-1614). Agamemnon tells Klytemnestra (the Κλυταιμήςτρην of our text 2) that their child has fellowship (ὁμιλίαν) with gods (1622). Thus Euripides, like the author of the Cypria, made Iphigeneia immortal.

In the Epitome (Secs.3.22-23), Apollodorus gives a very similar version to that of the Cypria. Kalchas said that the fleet could not sail unless the fairest of Agamemnon's daughters was sacrificed to Artemis. The goddess was angry with Agamemnon for two reasons. First, when he had shot a deer, he said that Artemis could not (οὐδὲ ἢ Ἄρτεμις). The sense seems to be that Artemis could not do it better, a boast which naturally angered the hunting goddess. Second, Atreus (his father) had not sacrificed the golden lamb. Agamemnon sent for Iphigeneia, as if to marry her to Achilles as a reward for his military service. When her father was about to slaughter her upon the altar, Iphigeneia was carried away to the Taurians by Artemis, to be their priestess. According to some, Artemis made her immortal.<sup>106</sup>

- (5) It is interesting that in other versions of the Iphigeneia myth, such as in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus (224-227), she was sacrificed. Pindar says that she was slaughtered at the Euripos (Pyth. 11.22). Thus it seems that there were two different versions of the myth; either the maiden was slain or she was saved.



Most authors have chosen either one version or the other. However, the author of the fragment (text 2) has stated both. If the author of this was Hesiod, it is possible that this was the original version combining both motifs, with Iphimede as an alternative name. In any case, the similarity of all the versions clearly shows that Iphimede was an original form of Iphigeneia.

- (6) According to Herodotus (4.103), the Taurians sacrificed captured Greeks to their Maiden (Παρθένη) goddess, claiming that she was Iphigeneia. Probably this means that the Greeks identified this local Scythian goddess with Iphigeneia, as is suggested in the Loeb edition (p.305, note 1). It is not likely that the Scythian Taurians would worship a Greek heroine. However, the text suggests that Iphigeneia may have originally been a goddess, since there was this identification with a foreign goddess.
- (7) One more clue suggests that Iphimede was an original form of Iphigeneia. There were different traditions concerning the names of Agamemnon's daughters. However, the prefix ἰφι-, 'strong', occurs consistently. In the Iliad (9.144-145), one is called Iphianassa, 'Strong Queen' (ἰφιάνασσα), and the other two Chrysothemis and Laodike. The Laurentian scholiast on Sophocles' play Electra notes that in the Cypria there were four daughters, two of whom were Iphigeneia (Strong-born) and Iphianassa.<sup>107</sup>

Thus Iphimede was almost certainly another name for Iphigeneia. What are the reasons for saying that Iphimede (or Iphimedcia) was a Mycenaean form of Hekate? There are three points of interest:

- (1) There is a LB tablet from Pylos (Tn 316) with the names of several deities. On the recto side there is the name po-si-da-e-ja. Hooker notes that this is a feminine name formed from po-si-da-o (i.e. Poseidon). She may have been his consort, for on the verso side we find the word po-si-da-i-jo, 'the shrine of Poseidon' (Ποσειδῆϊον). Also on this side there is the most important



feminine name i-pe-me-de-ja, almost certainly the classical Iphimedeia. Thus Hooker notes that 'her connection with Poseidon seems to go back to the Mycenaean age'. (p.161)

One slight problem is caused by the stem in i-pe-, which differs from the Mycenaean form of <sup>2</sup>  $\text{w}\text{I}\text{p}\text{I}$  -, that is, wi-pi (  $\text{w}\text{I}\text{p}\text{I}$  ). Jorro suggests that this may reflect a pre-Hellenic origin of the name. Chadwick agrees with him, stating that 'the later spelling  $\text{w}\text{I}\text{p}\text{I}$  - is no doubt due to popular etymology...'. Thus the evidence suggests that Iphimedeia is pre-Gk.<sup>108</sup>

- (2) The connection of Iphimede/Iphimedeia with Poseidon also appears in classical literature. In the Odyssey (11.305-306) Odysseus says:

'...I saw Iphimedeia ( <sup>2</sup>  $\text{I}\text{p}\text{I}\text{m}\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\text{I}\alpha\text{v}$  ), wife of Aloeus, who declared that she had lain with Poseidon.' (p.409)

According to the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, the Aloidae were the sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia.

Finally, Apollodorus tells (1.7.4) how Aloeus wed Iphimedeia, but she fell in love with Poseidon. She continually went to the sea, drew up the waves in her hands and poured them into her lap (  $\text{k}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\text{p}\text{o}\text{i}\varsigma$  ). Poseidon met her and begat sons on her, the Aloidae.

Possibly the listing of Mycenaean i-pe-me-de-ja on the same tablet as the 'shrine of Poseidon' and his female consort is only coincidental, and not really the origin of Iphimedeia's link with Poseidon. Therefore, this remains only an intriguing possibility.

- (3) We have noted above the connection between Iphimede and Hekate's epithet Enodia. Also, Hekate was worshipped in Caria, although she is not a Carian goddess (p.302). If Iphimedeia were a form of Hekate, we would expect that she too was worshipped in Caria. Pausanias states (10.28.8) that the Carians in Mylasa honoured Iphimedeia greatly. This shows that she had a cult.<sup>109</sup>

We may state our conclusions as follows:

- (1) It is probable that the Mycenaeans worshipped a goddess of the crossroads under the name i-pe-me-de-ja, who was probably the origin of Iphimede and Iphimedeia. These are clearly two forms of the same name, with short fem. -η and long fem. -εῖα (as in ἠδεῖα) terminations respectively. The name Iphigeneia may be a later evolved form, but it is not directly relevant to the question of a Mycenaean Hekate. Since Iphimede was called Artemis Einodia in the Hesiodic fragment, this may mean that she was a form of Hekate dating back to Mycenaean times. The name Hekate seems to be missing from the LB tablets.

Speaking about Iphimede, Berg suggests two possibilities:

'...Stesichorus and others assumed that Hesiod meant to identify Iphigeneia/Iphimedeia with Hekate; the frequent confusion of Artemis with Hekate undoubtedly helped to confirm this identification for all time. On the other hand, the possibility should not be overlooked that the poet of the Catalogue did really mean einodia to signify the traditional goddess of crossroads - that he knew, in other words, an old tradition which actually identified Iphimedeia with Hekate.' (p.139)

It could be that the poet invented the identification himself, associating Iphimede with Artemis, and thus with Enodia (Hekate). However, the second possibility of an old tradition remains open.

Berg's other suggestion, that a triad of Hekate with Persephone and Demeter is reflected on the Pylos tablet, is much more dubious.<sup>110</sup>

- (2) If i-pe-me-de-ja is a Mycenaean form of Hekate, this helps to show the great antiquity of the goddess. It does not prove that Hekate is Greek in origin. Berg seems to go beyond the evidence when he states:

'Hekate must have been a Greek goddess.' (p.134)

She may have been Greek, or she may have been a foreign goddess imported during the Mycenaean age. If Hekate really is Greek, we would expect there to



be evidence of a PIE prototype, but this is dubious. The Mycenaean theory provides a useful possibility for the antiquity of Hekate, but that is all.<sup>111</sup>

**(vi) Is Medea an allomorph of Hekate and Iphimedeia?**

The sorceress Medea (Μήδεια) is constantly associated with the goddess Hekate. For this reason she is of great interest to our exploration of Hekate's origin. We will list some texts which show this close connection:

**(1) In the Medea of Euripides she calls upon Hekate:**

'Nay, by the Mistress (δέσποιναν) whom I honour most above all and have chosen a fellow worker for myself, Hekate, dwelling in the corners of my hearth...' (395-397)

Medea wants to take revenge upon Jason because he has wed the daughter of Kreon, betraying her children (17-19). Now all things are hateful to her, and her dearest ones make her sick (16). Indeed, Medea will slay her own children; one of them asks how he will flee the hands of his mother, but his brother does not know (1271-1272). They are near to the 'nets' of the sword, and are then murdered (1278ff.). The chorus announce the murder (1309). It seems that Medea has chosen Hekate as her fellow worker because that netherworld goddess will make her bold enough to kill (395 & 394).

However, she kills Jason's bride and also Kreon by means of deadly poison. When the bride took Medea's robes and clad herself (1159), her skin changed (its colour), her limbs trembled and she fell upon the throne (1168-1170). An old maidservant cried out, thinking that the frenzy (ῥογᾶς) was sent by Pan or one of the gods. White froth came from the girl's mouth and her eyes rolled. Her flesh became bloodless (1170-1175).

When her father Kreon fell upon the corpse (1205), he too was poisoned.



He wanted to extricate himself from the corpse, lifting his knee, but the old flesh was torn from his bones (1215-1217). Such was the effect of Medea's deadly poison.

In similes Medea is compared to different animals. The nurse says that she looked at the children 'with bull-like eye' (ὄμμα ταυρουμένην), and that 'she glares bull-like the glance of a lioness with cubs' (τοκάδος δέργμα λεαίνης ἀποταυροῦται). The bull and lioness are connected with Hekate (p.278), so perhaps the choice of simile is not accidental (92 & 187). The scholiast on the play (92) says that she is like a bull because the animal is without natural affection (ἀστοργόν) befitting a mother (μητρικόν). She is again said to be 'a lioness, not a woman' (1342). She is also connected with dragons, as is Hekate (pp.280-283). This does not appear in the play, but according to the scholiast (1320) she appears driving a dragon-chariot. This seems to be an instruction for the stage scenery.

- (2) The other main source for Medea is the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. Medea is the priestess (ἱερὰ) of Hekate in her temple (3.251-252), she bewitches with drugs (φαρμάσσειν) at the suggestion of Hekate (3.478), she has both good and destructive (ἐραιστήρι) drugs (3.803), and they protect Jason from the heat of the fire-breathing bulls (3.1304-1305). Her great powers are described fully:

'There is a maiden, nurtured in the halls of Aietes, whom the goddess Hekate taught to handle drugs with exceeding skill - all that the land and flowing waters produce. And with these is quenched the blast of tireless flame, and at once she stays the flowing rivers as they roar (κελαδαινᾶ), and binds the stars and the paths of the holy moon.' (3.528-533)

The last statement is of special interest. It suggests that Medea is able to 'pull

down the moon' like the Babylonian sorcerer in Lucian (p.268).

Thus it is clear from both Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius that Medea is a clever sorceress intimately connected with Hekate, who can kill with her sorcery.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, let us list the reasons for stating that Medea may be an allomorph of Hekate:

- (1) In Euripides' Medea Hekate dwells in her house (397) and in Apollonius Rhodius she is Hekate's priestess. Thus Medea may originally have been a form of Hekate, later reduced to human form.
- (2) Like Hekate, she is very malevolent.
- (3) The same creatures associated with Medea were also associated with Hekate (text 1).
- (4) As we have seen, Iphimedeia may be an early form of Hekate. The name Medea (Μήδεια) has a strange similarity to Iphimedeia, whether or not the two names are etymologically related. Thus it is possible that Medea may have been connected with Hekate because of the latter's link with Iphimedeia. Of course, this cannot be proved.<sup>113</sup>

**(vii) Witchcraft in Thessaly and the Thessalian cult of Enodia.**

Here we will explore the evidence for sorcery in Thessaly, in connection with the local cult of Enodia. This will cast more light upon the magical beliefs concerning Hekate, giving us further reason to connect the goddess with Medea and Iphimedeia.

First we will examine texts dealing with female witchcraft in general, then the evidence for the cult of the crossroads goddess in Thessaly. It seems that there are two significant aspects of sorcery in the texts; causing lunar eclipses and enchanting with drugs. The latter includes the metamorphosis of humans into animals. Both these aspects will appear in the texts under discussion:



- (1) In the Clouds of Aristophanes, there is a conversation in which Strepsiades says to Socrates that he would like to hire a 'woman sorceress' (γυνᾷκα φαρμακίδ') of Thessaly, so that he could take down the moon by night and enclose it in a 'round crest-case', like a mirror (749-751). The scholiast explains this bizarre text. First (749) he says that to this day (μέχρι νῦν) Thessalian women are called witches (φαρμακίδες), noting that people slander the Thessalians for being sorcerers (γόητες). This implies that the Thessalians were notorious for this practice. Then he notes that Medea threw away a box of herbs (φαρμάκων) there (in Thessaly), and these sprouted up. Finally, he tells us (751) that the στρογγύλον was the box in which the mirror was kept, and that this noun means the box for the crest (λοφείον) of a helmet. Thus we may translate στρογγύλον as 'crest-case'.
- (2) In the Gorgias of Plato, there is also a reference to Thessalian women who 'take/pull down' (καθαιρούσας) the moon (513A), so the idea was well known. We have already encountered it in Lucian (p.268). The sense of the text in the Clouds seems to be that the witch is able to pull the moon down from the sky. This suggests that she may cause it to disappear. The only logical explanation for this seems to be a lunar eclipse. This is suggested by E.R. Dodds in his commentary on the Gorgias.<sup>114</sup>
- (3) Subsequent comments by the scholiast on Clouds give some evidence for the nature of such a lunar ritual. Explaining ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον, 'like a mirror', in the Clouds of Aristophanes (scholion on 752), he states that the disc of the moon is round in shape (στρογγυλοειδής) like mirrors. Then he adds that those who are clever at such things lead down (κατάγειν) the goddess in this



way. He does not name her, but Hekate is the most probable goddess. The scholiast seems to mean that a round mirror was used to pull down the moon, because the lunar disc would be attracted to it. The shiny surface of the mirror would also resemble the moon.

Confirmation that this is the case is then provided by the description of a bizarre ritual. The scholiast says (752) that there is a toy of Pythagoras, for which a mirror was used. The 'game' was as follows. At the time of the full moon, one would write whatever he wished in blood upon a mirror. Then he would tell someone else to stand behind him, while he displayed the writing to the moon. If the person behind gazed at the lunar disc, he would recognise all the writing on the mirror as if written upon the moon.

This seems to mean that the writing on the mirror was 'sent up' to the moon, since the moon was the same shape. We also suggest that this may have been a blood offering to the lunar Hekate. It is the same sort of magic as 'leading down' the moon, except that the mirror was used to send the writing up.

Of course, nothing like this could really happen. Possibly the Thessalian witches were clever enough to make the superstitious think that they were responsible for lunar eclipses, when they occurred.

- (4) In his Stratagems of war, Polyaeus tells a myth that gives evidence for the use of drugs by the priestesses of Enodia in Thessaly (Chap.43). Cnopus of the Codridae family made war upon an Ionian colony at Erythra. He received an oracle telling him to make the Thessalian priestess of Enodia the commander of the expedition. Therefore he sent an embassy to the Thessalians telling them this, and they sent to him the priestess Chrysame, who was experienced in drugs (φαρμάκων). In order to win the battle, she devised a very cunning plan. She chose out of the herd the biggest and most beautiful bull, gilded his horns and adorned him with garlands and gold-sprinkled purple raiment (χρυσοπάστοις ἑαλουργίσι). She mixed in his food a drug that causes

madness (φάρμακον...μανιουργεῖν) and gave it to him to eat. Not only the bull but also anyone tasting its flesh would go mad. Chrysame set up an altar in sight of the enemy and ordered the bull to be led out. Driven mad by the drug he leapt out bellowing and fled. The enemy saw the bull with its gilded horns coming towards their camp from Chrysame's intended sacrifice, and received it as a good and auspicious (αἰσίον) sign. Thus they seized it and sacrificed it with good omens (καλλιεροῦσι) to their gods, dividing and sharing the meat between each as if it were a holy sacrifice (θείας ἱεροουργίας). At once the whole camp was stricken with madness. They all leapt up and ran about, forsaking the guard-duty. When Chrysame saw this, she bade Cnopus equip the army and attack, since the enemy could not defend themselves. Thus Cnopus destroyed them all and conquered Erythra.

This story shows that the priestesses of Enodia were believed to be very cunning and skilled in the use of drugs. The use of the bull is also interesting, since it is an animal connected with Hekate (p.278).<sup>115</sup>

- (5) A good description of the powers of Thessalian witches is given by 'Pseudo-Lucian' in his work Lucius or the ass. Lucius travelled to Thessaly and stayed at the home of Hipparchus in Hypata (Sec.1). The maid was called Palaestra (Sec.3). During his stay in Thessaly, Lucius wanted very much to find one of the women able to use magic arts (μαγεύειν), and to see something incredible, such as a man flying or turning into stone. Walking round the city, he met a woman called Abroea, who warned him about the wife of Hipparchus. She was a terrible enchantress (μάγος δεινὴ) and lustful, casting her eyes at the young men. If any did not listen to her, she punished him with her art. She transformed many men into animals, and destroyed others (Sec.4). Later Lucius asked the maid Palaestra to show him her mistress undergoing a metamorphosis (Sec.11). When it was evening, she bade Lucius look through



a crack in the bedroom door, so that he could see Hipparchus' wife. Lucius saw her undressing. Then she approached the lamp naked, placed two grains of frankincense (λιβανωτόν) upon it and babbled. She opened a box containing caskets, one of which she took out. Lucius guessed that it contained olive oil. The woman started to anoint her whole body with the substance, from her toenails up. Whatever the magic ointment was, it made her grow feathers, her nose became horny and crooked, and she assumed the appearance of a night-raven (κόραξ νυκτερινός). Then she cawed like a crow and flew away through the window (Sec.12). As we noted above (p.158), the night-raven is a bird of evil omens.

Following this, Lucius asked Palaestra to anoint him with the drug so that he could fly. He wanted to learn if his soul would also become a bird. However, Lucius got more than he expected, for instead of a bird he became an ass (Sec.13). Palaestra had chosen the wrong casket, with a different ointment (Sec.14).

We may note one more point. Later (Sec.27), Lucius cursed Palaestra for not changing him into a dog rather than an ass, for the dogs gobbled up all the morsels, such as were found at weddings. Transforming men into dogs would be appropriate for a witch of the canine Hekate.

The three main points of interest in this story are the night-raven, the dogs and also the mention of Lucius' soul as a bird, an idea reminiscent of the Egyptian soul-birds (pp.232-234).<sup>116</sup>

- (6) In Plutarch's essay On superstition (Secs.165-166), there is evidence for the use of witches in protective, apotropaic rites. If one fears a phantom (φάντασμα) in sleep, connected with the band (κῶμον) of chthonian Hekate, the solution is to call the old woman who performs magical purifications (τήν περιμάκτριαν...γραῦν). Thus it is probable that witches were not only



feared for their powers, but were also useful in protecting people from chthonian influences.<sup>117</sup>

These texts give us at least some information concerning the supposed practices of Thessalian witches. As we have noted, Chrysame was the priestess of Enodia, the Thessalian crossroads goddess (text 4). There is some evidence for the Thessalian cult of Enodia, and her identification with Hekate:

- (1) Pausanias mentions (2.10.7) a temple of 'Pheraeian Artemis' at Sikyon. The wooden image was said to have been brought from Pherae (in Thessaly). Later (2.23.5) Pausanias states that the Argives also worshipped 'Pheraiaian Artemis', with the same tradition of the origin of the image.
- (2) Under the entry Τρίοδος, 'triple road', Stephanus Byzantius notes that Hekate was called Enodia because she was found in the road by Inachos. Hesychius identifies Ἐνοδία with Artemis. Since Hekate is often identified with Artemis, this is not surprising.
- (3) The scholiast on Lycophron's Alexandra (1180) says that Φεραία is 'another Hekate' (Ἐκάτη ἑτέρα). Hekate was the daughter of Pheraia and Zeus. When she was born, she was cast into the 'triple roads' (ἐν τριόδοις) and cowherds of Pherae found and reared her, therefore sacrifices were made to her 'in the triple roads'. This clearly refers to 'Hekate's dinner' (pp.272-274). As Pheraia she was honoured in Pherae. Thus this Thessalian town had a local cult of Hekate. The genealogy reflects this.

Speaking about this text, Farnell notes the 'close connection' between 'Artemis Pheraea' and Hekate. It would have been more accurate for him to call her 'Hekate Pheraia', since the scholiast makes this connection.<sup>118</sup>

- (4) There is also archaeological evidence from Pherae, which shows that Enodia was worshipped there. S.Miller discusses this. Two ancient blocks were





Pherai.' (p.252)

Hera's replacement by Themis is not relevant here. Miller suggests that Hera was not popular in Thessaly.

Miller also notes (Pl.4.4) a bomiskos dedicated to Artemis Enodia from Demetrias.<sup>120</sup>

- (5) Epigraphic evidence of various inscriptions and coins shows that the cult of Enodia was well established in Thessaly and elsewhere. We may note her name upon two stones from Thessaly; ἘΝΝΟΔΙΑΙ (Pagasae) and ἘΝΟΔΙΑΙ (Larissa). There is also a dedication to ἈΡΤΑΜΙΤΟΣ ἘΝΟΔΙΑΣ (Epidauros). Several Thessalian coins illustrated by P.Gardner show the goddess Hekate. The obverse of one has a wreathed head of Hekate with a torch in front (Pl.X.9, left); on the reverse is a lion-headed fountain with a fish below and the inscription ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ (right). A coin with a lion's head on the obverse (Pl.X.10, left) has on the reverse Hekate with torches riding a horse, with the same ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ inscription (right). She also appears on the obverse of two other coins (Pl.X.11/12, left), holding a torch in her hand. Another coin has a head of Hekate on the obverse (Pl.X.13, left) and a lion's head on the reverse (right). A coin of Pherae has a head of Hekate with a torch behind (Pl.X.15, left); on the reverse is the nymph Hypereia with her hand upon a lion's head fountain, and the inscription ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ (right). Finally, we see Hekate's head with a torch in her hand (Pl.X.16, left), while on the reverse she is holding a torch and riding a galloping horse. There is also the inscription ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ (right).
- (6) One more text seems to show that the Thessalians had a superstitious regard for the crossroads. In Lucius or the ass (above, text 5), Lucius escapes as an ass carrying the girl taken prisoner by the robbers (Secs.22-23). When they reached a place where three roads divided (Sec.24), they were overtaken and



captured by their enemies, who recognised them in the moonlight. They asked the girl where she was going so late (ᾠπρίᾱ), and if she had no fear of the spirits (τὰ δαιμόνια).

Superficially, the mention of the crossroads and the moonlight advances the story, for in this way they are captured. M.D.Macleod notes in the Loeb edition that this is an abridgement of Apuleius' version of the story (6.29), in which they are captured because they have stopped and are arguing about which road to take. As for the moonlight, this is the way in which they are recognised. However, we have here a transparent reference to the lunar Hekate worshipped at the crossroads. Enodia leads the spirits of the dead. We have observed this in the Ion of Euripides (p.267). In the story of Lucius, the robbers expect the girl to be afraid of the spirits. Of course, such fear would be widespread in the rest of Greece too.<sup>121</sup>

We may now state our conclusion. For the following reasons, Enodia of Pherae should be identified with Hekate:

- (1) The texts concerning the Thessalian goddess identify her with Hekate (esp. text 3).
- (2) As we saw above, the coins of Pherae show Enodia holding a torch and riding a horse. The lion's head or lion-head fountain is also featured upon the same coins. The torch, horse and lioness are attributes of Hekate (p.258 & p.278). Since the Pheraeans gave Enodia the same iconography as Hekate, they almost certainly made this identification.
- (3) Enodia is usually an epithet of Hekate. Its use as the name of the Pheraean goddess suggests that the magical rites of the crossroads were especially important in Thessaly, where witches were common. Possibly this suggests a Thessalian cult of the crossroads goddess dating back to the Mycenaean era. Of course, we cannot demonstrate this.
- (4) Since Artemis is frequently confused with Hekate, her identification with

Pheraean Enodia is no more convincing.<sup>122</sup>

**(viii) Ancient Greek dog burials - Some possible evidence for a Mycenaean Hekate.**

Both the literary and artistic evidence shows that Hekate was a canine goddess. She may also have eaten the dead in the shape of a dog, upon the black-figured lekythos (p.287). Dogs were sacrificed to her too. Thus any evidence for canine burials is of interest. We will first note the existence of dog burials in the Iliad, then list the archaeological evidence:<sup>123</sup>

- (1) The earliest literary reference to dog burials comes from the Iliad (23.173-175). At the funeral of Patroklos, Achilles set jars of oil and honey beside him (170), drove four horses onto the pyre (171-172) and cut the throats of two of Patroklos' dogs (174).

L.P.Day discusses possible reasons for this. Since the dogs belonged to Patroklos, it is probable that they were intended to accompany him on his journey after death. The jars of oil and honey also suggest this conclusion; they may have been food for the deceased. There is also the possibility that the dogs were slain in order to purify the dead warrior, but in the case of Patroklos we have no more evidence (see p.276).<sup>124</sup>

- (2) Day lists many examples of canine burials in the eastern Mediterranean. Here are the most important ones from the Greek mainland. They date from the LH III period. The royal tholos tomb of Dendra (Day's no.10) contained unburnt bones of humans and animals, including the skull of a dog. This may have been a sacrifice, or perhaps debris from a previous burial. A chamber tomb at Asine (no.11) also provided a dog's head next to a skeleton. Another tomb at Mycenae contained two skeletons with the skulls of a dog and a pig, a tholos tomb of Oxyolithos in Euboea had the bones of animals (cow, sheep, goat, pig and dog) above the human remains, and one skeleton of Tomb I from Perati had



been cremated together with a dog (nos.12, 13 & 15). Animal sacrifice is particularly suggested by the Euboea and Perati burials. Since the dog remains were found above the human skeletons at Mycenae and Oxyolithos (nos.12 & 13), Day suggests animal sacrifice after the burials.

- (3) Other examples come from Crete. Two burials of the LM period are especially interesting. At Knossos a chamber tomb yielded a larnax containing a human burial, with a dog's skull and leg bones in a grave deposit underneath (no.5). At Gournes a skeleton of a dog with sheep bones was found above the pit where the larnax was situated (no.7). This may have been a sacrifice after the burial.
- (4) The Kavousi burials from east Crete are the most significant. The pit beneath the floor of the tomb contained many animal skeletons. Most of these were canids, including some puppies. The complete skeletons suggest that the animals were thrown in whole. The tomb belongs to a cemetery dating back to the Sub-Minoan period.

Since puppies were sacrificed to Hekate (p.275), there is a possible connection with the goddess, as Day suggests.

These are the most important examples of canine burials from Mycenaean and Minoan sites.<sup>125</sup> We may make the following conclusions:

- (1) All the evidence is very tentative. Mycenaeans and Minoans may have buried dogs for any number of reasons.
- (2) However, the puppy burials at Kavousi are of special interest, if these were sacrificed to Hekate or to some prototype in the Mycenaean age. Since the Cretan dog burials are later than those of the mainland (1450 B.C. or later), the practice may have spread from Mycenaean Greece to Crete. Thus a possible connection with a Mycenaean Hekate is not excluded (pp.309-310).<sup>126</sup>



**Conclusion.**

In this section we have observed the inadequacy of various theories concerning the origin of Hekate. She is clearly not a Thracian (i & ii) or a Carian (iii) goddess. Evidence for a PIE origin is lacking (iv). There is some evidence for a Mycenaean prototype (v-viii), yet this leaves her character and rituals in a state of complete obscurity.

## SECTION C

### THE EVOLUTION OF THE GODDESS HEKATE FROM FEMALE DAEMONS OF MESOPOTAMIA, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO THE DEMONESS LAMASHTU (LAMASHTU).

#### (i) Lamashtu in the Mesopotamian literature.

The demoness Lamashtu was formerly known as Labartu, but Lamashtu is most probably the correct reading. We have already discussed her briefly in relation to the Greek Gorgon.<sup>127</sup> Here we will consider her relationship with Hekate.

The Akkadian texts from Mesopotamia dealing with this demoness are numerous. The most extensive is the so-called Labartu text, which was translated by D.W.Myhrman. Henceforth we will call it the Lamashtu text. Our translations of the relevant sections are based largely upon Myhrman, but also upon F.Thureau-Dangin and the CAD where appropriate. This text will be examined in detail, followed by three other smaller ones. First of all, there are several quotations in the CAD:

- (1) It is clear that Lamashtu was both a disease, and the demoness personifying it:

‘whom the l.-demon has seized...

He repulsed the l.-demon, sending (her) back to the “Mountain”...

May the goddess Annunitu crush the...daughter, the snatcher-demon l...

The l.-demon has come down from heaven...

The l.demon will seize children...

An epidemic of the l.-disease will be in the country...

If his face is yellow the l.-disease has seized him...

Chills and fever, craving for water...

(the symptoms of sick children).<sup>128</sup>

- (2) This and the following items in our list (nos.2-13) are from the Lamashtu text.

Describing her epithets, it starts as follows:

'Incantation : Lamashtu, "daughter of Anu" is her first name; the second is "Sister of the gods of the streets" (a-hat ilâni ša sū-qâti), the third "Sword who cleaves the skull", the fourth "Who lights the fire" (i-ša-tú); the fifth "Goddess whose face is fearful", the sixth "Entrusted to, adopted by the goddess Irnina", the seventh "By the name of the great gods be enchanted, with the birds of the sky fly away".' (Part 1, col.1, 1-8)

Two of these epithets may have been suggested by disease; the 'sword who cleaves the skull' and the 'fire' possibly refer to headaches and burning fever.<sup>129</sup>

- (3) Following this, the prescribed ritual was to write the incantation upon a sealstone, and lay it at the throat of the child (1.1, 10). There then follows a second incantation. Lamashtu is 'named by the names of the gods' (11) and she is to be enchanted by Heaven and Earth (13). The enchanter states:

'I have given a black dog (kalba salma) to you as your servant, I have poured out for you spring/well water (būri)...go away, remove yourself and fly away from the body of this child...' (14-16)

The enchanter enchants her by Anu and Anatu (17), by Anunitu (18) and 'by the great gods of Heaven and Earth', in order that she does not return to the house (19-20). This is an incantation 'to drive out the heat of fever and Lamashtu' (21). It is clear by now that the purpose of the text is to exorcise the demoness and her disease.

The ritual for this purpose is described in detail:

'Ritual for that: You must make a Lamashtu like a prisoner, prepare a preparation, lay before her twelve loaves (akālē) of...flour (kēmu), pour out spring/well water (būri) for her, give her a black dog, for three days set them at the heads of the sick, you place the heart of a young pig (libbi saḥē siḥri) at her mouth, you pour out for her a hot soup (ba-aḥ-ru)....give [her] oil, [food] give her to eat (or supply her with



provisions for the road).' (1.1, 22-27)<sup>130</sup>

- (4) In order to make the incantation effective, she is enchanted by a long list of deities (1.2, 7-17). These include Anu (7), Bēl (8), Ea (9), Sin (11), Shamash (12) and Ishtar (16).

- (5) After this there is a purification ritual:

'You must cleanse the building, take clay (tītu) out of the building, make a picture of Lamashtu, set it at the heads of the sick. You must fill a fire-basin with flames, put a sword inside, for three days stand (it) at the heads of the sick. On the third day, when the day sets, you must bring it out, smash it with the sword, bury it in a nook of the wall. You must surround it with meal-water, you must not look behind you.' (1.2, 23-27)

After this Lamashtu is stated to be the 'daughter of Anu' (28), she is to be enchanted by Heaven and Earth (30) and she is great/big (ra-bu-ū, 31).<sup>131</sup>

- (6) Next she has various associations. She probably meets a lioness (neštu), and also a wolf (barbaru) (1.3, 10-11). She goes on the road (har-ra-nu) and stops traffic (13).

She is a gory carnivore:

'She drinks the blood...of men, (their) flesh, that is not for eating, their bones, that are not for nibbling, you eat, O daughter of Anu, the food of moaning and weeping (a-kal dim-ma-te ū bi-ki-ti)' (19-22).

Then Lamashtu herself is addressed with the words:

'You drink the blood...of men, their flesh, that is not for eating, their bones, that are not for nibbling. Anu, your father, gives it to you to eat, Anatu, your mother, gives it to you to eat.' (23-26)

She is compared to some sort of wild animal, perhaps a calf or wild donkey:

'Like a wild donkey/calf of the steppe (pu-rim seri) mount your mountain.' (28)

Then she is told emphatically to depart:

'May you be anointed with oil of...

May you put on sandals that last eternally.

May you carry away a skin (to quench) your thirst.

May Siris give you bread cooked under the ash,

malt,...and fill for you leather pouches with it.' (32-35)<sup>132</sup>

(7) This is followed by another ritual:

'Ritual for that: You must make a picture of Anu's daughter out of canal-clay. You must make a donkey (imēru) out of canal-clay, give food to him,...pour out a hot soup for her,...and pour out drink for her, you must slaughter a little pig, place the heart (of the same) in the mouth of Anu's daughter, for three days, three times each day, say the incantation before her,...' (1.4, 3-9)

The purpose of these rituals is now clear. In the last section (no.6), the wish is expressed that Lamashtu be anointed with oil, given bread, drink and eternal sandals, so that she will never return. This is similar to a previous ritual (1.1, 22-27), in which she is given loaves, soup, oil and food to eat. This clearly implies travelling provisions (see no.3). In this text (no.7) a donkey must be made out of clay (3). This is probably her beast of burden. Thus, by giving Lamashtu the things that she needs for her journey, she may be exorcised from the house, and the sick child may recover (see no.3). The purification ritual, in which clay is removed from the house (no.5), seems to have the same purpose.

Perhaps an evil demoness would not wish to reside in a clean house.<sup>133</sup>

(8) This and the following items (nos.9-13) deal with various further details of incantation and ritual. The start of the second part of the Lamashtu text refers to the heat and cold of fever (2.1, 1). Then 'horse-skin' seems to be mentioned (13). After this, 'your ship' (elippi-ki) occurs in a fragmentary context (22). (Lamashtu) is told to remove herself from the child's body (27). Then there is a fragmentary ritual. Horse-skin, fish and the fat of a white pig (šaman šahe piše) must be stirred together (30-31).



After this there is more description, including animal symbolism:

'Incantation: Anu's daughter is furious (ez-zi-it)....furious, frightful (i-mat), brilliant (na-mur-rat)...her face is formed (like) the face of a ferocious lion (pa-an nē<sup>v</sup>si da-pi-ni), her flanks are spotted like those of a panther (nimru)....[Go] away to the mountain-range, which you love, catch stag and ibex/mountain-goat (a-a-li u tu-ra-hu),...I have made a sailing-ship for you, have brought you up. I have brought up with you four dogs, two white and two black. I have allowed you to travel over the U<sup>v</sup>lai-river, over the sea...'  
(34-37, 41-42 & 44-46)<sup>134</sup>

It is clear that the sailing-ship is also for Lamashtu's departure.

- (9) In the second column there are more details. We have a fragmentary reference to 'earth (epir) of the door of a man's house' (bab bi<sup>v</sup>ti amēli). (2.2,5)

This suggests another purification ritual (see no.5). Then there is a possible reference to dog-images. There are the words 'dogs' (kalbē), 'gypsum' (gašši), 'dog-hairs' (šārat kal[bi]) and 'kidhair' (šārat uniki). The CAD has a tentative translation of these broken lines:

'you [coat?] (the figurines of the dogs) with gypsum and kalu (9-10) / you put hair of a black dog on their (the dog figurines') heads and hair of a kid on their tails...' (11-12)

This is tentative, but the interpretation is suggested by the above references to dogs (e.g. no.8).

After this there is another mention of flesh and blood, similar to the above (1.3, 19ff. = no.6):

'...Anu's daughter went to Bel, her father, and sp[oke]: "About which I have prayed to you, bring me, my father, Bel, the flesh of men, that is not good, the blood of men,..."' (33-36)

Thus Lamashtu really wants to eat men.

We may note several other interesting motifs in this column. There is the phrase (43) 'by door and entrance' (niš abulli u nē-ri-bi-e-[ti]). This seems to



be part of the enchantment, ensuring that she does not return to the house (46).

She is given a further canine connection:

'O Goddess (Ishtar), seize the mouth of your dog, O Goddess (Nana),  
grab the mouth of your puppy/young beast (mū-ra-a-ni-[ki])' (49-50)

'Puppy' seems better in the context.<sup>135</sup>

After this, there is another ritual. A bristle (zappu) is to be taken from a donkey (imēri), a donkey mare (atāni), a donkey foal (bak-ka-ri-e) and a white pig. A 'hallulaja-insect of the road' is also included (54-56). In the incantation (59-60) we again find the adjectives 'furious' (ez-zi-it), 'frightful' (i-mat) and 'brilliant' (na-mur-rat), as well as 'impetuous/wild/violent' (ṣam-rat). She is a wolf and a robber. Moreover,

'She takes away the tread/step of cattle (kib-si alpi), the step of sheep (ṣu<sup>v</sup>  
ṣi)' (61-62).

Thus she is also connected with cattle.

(10) Lamashtu is 'great' (2.3, 10). She states:

'I enter the house,...' (15).

Reference is made to her attacks upon children:

'Incantation: Great is Anu's daughter, [who torments the little ones], her hands are a snare-net,...she sweeps the innards of pregnant women, violently she tears the child out of the pregnant,...A whore (ka-diṣ<sup>v</sup>-tu) is Anu's daughter beneath the gods, her brothers. Her head is a lion-head, a donkey-shape is [her] shape,...

she roars (?) like a lion,

she howls like a wolf (?),...' (29-30, 33-34, 37-38 & 41-42)<sup>136</sup>

(11) Now we come to the obverse of the third part of the Lamashtu text. There are several scattered phrases similar to the passages discussed above. There is 'a dog, a pig' (Obv.5), 'serpents' (ṣire) in the hands' (6), and 'earth from the door of the house' (10). This reminds us of the purification ritual (1.2, 23ff.).

There is another mention of a bristle from a donkey, a she-donkey, a

young donkey and a white pig (26-27), similar to the above (2.2, 54ff.). Then the ritual includes 'pig-fat, fish-fat' (šaman šahē saman nūni) and the 'fat of a white pig' as an ointment (50-52). We have noted this above (2.1, 30ff. = no.8).

The incantation includes the words:

'Lamashtu, Anu's daughter,...I have given a black dog to you', (54 & 60).

This suggests dog-sacrifices to Lamashtu.

(12) Finally, there is the reverse. Again (as 2.3, 29) we have the statement:

'Great is Anu's daughter, who torments the little ones' (Rev.10).

She is described as an 'evil utukku' (17). The ritual for the first three days is then described (20-25). This is a repetition of a ritual in the first part (1.1, 22-27), but less fragmented (see no.3). Extra details are as follows:

'...lay bread before her (Lamashtu), [give her] an ointment-box, in the morning, midday, evening say an incantation. For three days you must place it (the Lamashtu-image) at the heads of the sick, on the third day, when the day sets, you must bring it out and bury it in a nook of the wall.' (see also no.5 = 1.2, 23-27)

Then there is the following:

'On the fourth day you must make (an image) of Anu's daughter out of clay,...a dress "for all the day"...an ointment-box/flask of oil (sikkat samni) you will give her; bread cooked under the ash, malt,...you will fill four leather pouches with UDDA bread; then you will make four donkeys of clay and you will load them with these provisions.' (Rev.26-30)

This is similar to Thureau-Dangin's previous text (above, no.6). The last intact part of the Lamashtu text has a repetition of the 'purification ritual' (Rev.34ff. = 1.2, 22-27)<sup>137</sup>

(13) Thureau-Dangin quotes a similar incantation to the Lamashtu text, but with extra details (AO 6473). Here is some of the Reverse:



'Incantation: she is furious (iz-zi-it), she is impetuous (ṣam-rat), she is a goddess (i-lat), she is terrible/brilliant (na-mur-rat) and she is like a she-wolf (bar-bar-rat), Anu's daughter; her feet (are like those) of Zu, her hands are soiled, her face is that of a powerful/ferocious lion (neṣi da-pi-nu); from the thicket of reeds she arises, her hair is in disorder, her breasts are uncovered; she goes after the tracks of ox (kib-su alpi), she follows the tracks of sheep (kib-su immeri), her hands are in the flesh and the blood; she enters by the window, she glides like a serpent; she enters the house, leaves the house:

"Bring me your children, that I may suckle them, and your little girls, that I may be their guardian; to the mouth of your little girls I want to give the breast."

Ea her father hears her: "Instead, O Anu's daughter, of appearing hostile and maltreating men, instead of having your hands in the flesh and the blood, instead of entering the house, of leaving the house, receive from the merchant your cloak and your provisions for the road, receive rings from the smelter, ornaments for your hands and your feet,"...I conjure you by Anu your father, by Antu your mother. I conjure you by Ea the creator of your name.' (AQ 6473, Rev.13-29)

This text shows that Lamashtu is a cattle-killer, and makes sense of a broken part of the Lamashtu text (2.2, 61-62 = no.9). It also suggests a certain benevolence towards children. However, Ea does not trust her. Perhaps Lamashtu really wants to afflict the little girls with disease.<sup>138</sup>

- (14) Thureau-Dangin also quotes a short incantation upon one of his plaques (no.18):

'Incantation: Lamashtu, Anu's daughter, whose name has been pronounced by the gods, Innin, queen of queens, Lamashtu, O very great, who captures the painful asakku and the overwhelming alu, [of man] do not approach.



By the sky be conjured....'

(15) Finally, W.von.Soden quotes 'an Old Babylonian incantation' against Lamashtu:

1. A(n)num created her, Ea made her great,
2. Enlil appointed her the face of a bitch (pa-ni kal-ba-tim).
- 3-5. Her hands are little, her fingers very long, her fingernails very long, her elbows are dirty.
6. She enters through the door of the house,
7. she slips in past the door-pivot (se-ra-am),
8. she has slipped in past the door-pivot, she kills the little ones;
9. she has given it (the child) a seizure in its abdomen seven times.
14. Wide (enough) for you is (the place at) the door-pivot,
15. the doors are open:
16. go, and then go around in the steppe. With earth your mouth,
17. with a dust-cloud your face,...
20. I have enchanted you by the ban of Ea:
21. you must go away.

This text shows that the demoness was imagined as a child-killer with the face of a bitch, who entered the house to cause disease. She is probably Lamashtu, for Anu created her and she has the same character. However, in the Lamashtu text the demoness is lion-headed (2.3, 38) while here she is bitch-faced. Possibly demons were imagined changing their shape.

These above texts clearly show the complex character of Lamashtu.<sup>139</sup>

## (ii) Lamashtu in Mesopotamian art.

Numerous plaques most probably depict Lamashtu, with the same motifs as in the literature. Here we will list and describe F.Thureau-Dangin's most significant

examples:

- (1) The most important (no.1 in his list) is a bronze plaque found in Syria. The obverse is divided into four registers or rows (R.), with a complex scene in each. We will list the relevant ones:
  - R.2. Seven animal-headed spirits stand upright, dressed in long fringed garments. They have the heads of panther, lion, wolf, ram, ibex, bird of prey and serpent.
  - R.3. A bearded man lies upon a mattress. To the right are two lion-headed beings, their legs terminating in bird-of-prey talons, dressed in short garments with a dagger in a belt, the right fist raised behind the head.
  - R.4. Here there is a landscape scene. Five fishes swim in a river. The main figure is a monster with a woman's body covered in fur, with the head of a roaring lioness. A nail is fixed in her skull, with a sort of pouch suspended from it. Her arms seem to end in lion's claws; in each arm she holds a double-headed serpent. Her legs end in bird-of-prey talons. Her right knee rests upon the back of a donkey which seems about to get up; her left paw is upon its head. The donkey is placed in a boat. The female monster has a dog (?) sucking at her right breast, and a piglet at her left one. To the right are nine different objects, including a vase, a bowl, a bottle and a sandal.
- (2) This is a similar plaque:
  - R.2. Here there are six spirits with short garments and animal heads, including those of panther, dog, lion and serpent.
  - R.3. Here again there is a man lying upon a bed. At the right is a lion-headed being.
  - R.4. The female monster is the same as the above (1.R.4.), with a serpent in each hand and the same little animals hanging from her breasts. There is no donkey, only the boat. There are also several objects, including two vases, a sandal and a lamp.
- (3) This is a blackish tablet, illustrated by Thureau-Dangin (no.3 & Pl.I.1). There



are three registers on the obverse:

**R.2.** Here again there is a personage lying upon a bed. As can be seen from the picture, two others stand at each end of the bed. A lion-headed figure at the right holds a sword.

**R.3.** The female monster has a roaring head with long ears, and a serpent in each hand. Only the heads are visible. A pouch hangs from one ear. To the left there is a sandal and a bowl.

Upon the reverse are seven animal-headed beings, including fox, ram, antelope, serpent and panther.

- (4) This fragment is also illustrated (no.4 & Pl.I.2).

**R.1.** Seven animal-headed beings are dressed in long garments. Their heads include antelope, serpent, wolf and panther.

**R.2.** A personage lies upon a bed. The lion-headed female monster holds up a serpent; the animal at her breast may be a dog.

- (5) This is a tablet found at Babylon.

**R.1.** Here there is a man lying on a bed.

**R.2.** The female daemon has the head of a lioness and holds a serpent in each hand. She is on the back of a seated donkey which raises a forepaw as if about to rise. A dog and a piglet are suspended from her teats. To her left is a lion-headed figure, which raises its hands armed with swords.

- (6) A single scene is depicted upon the obverse. The female daemon rests a foot on the neck of a donkey raising its rear. The donkey is in a boat. The daemon feeds a dog and a piglet at her long breasts. To the left are several objects, including two vases and a sandal.

- (7) On the obverse of this tablet is the female daemon, a dog and piglet suspended from her breasts, holding a serpent in each hand. She is upon the rising donkey.

- (8) An Assyrian tablet has a rather different scene. A 'demon' with large talons stands upon a couchant bull and holds a serpent in each hand. Two dogs hang from 'his' breasts. Thureau-Dangin notes that the 'talons' are bird-of-prey



claws. We note that the breasts suggest that the daemon is female.

- (9) This plaque was found at Assur. A female daemon with the head of a roaring lioness stands upon the body of a woman with long breasts and a 'very developed belly'. Possibly the woman is pregnant. The daemon holds a spindle in one hand and a comb in the other.
- (10) This is also from Assur (= Thureau-Dangin's no.11). The female daemon has the head of a lioness. To the left there is a comb and a pig with bristles.
- (11) This is a little serpentine plaque (= no.12). The daemon is the same as that of the above. To her left there is a pig with bristles; to her right a dog.
- (12) This is a little alabaster plaque (= no.14). The female daemon has the head of a roaring lioness; her lower limbs end in bird-of-prey claws. In the field there is a running dog and a piglet.
- (13) This marble fragment has the same type of daemon as the above (= no.15). To the left there is a comb and a piglet; to the right a dog rising towards her.
- (14) This little plaque is from Babylon (= no.16). The daemon with the head of a lioness raises her arms ending in claws. At the left there is a pig with bristles; at the right a crouching dog.
- (15) This is an obsidian fragment (= no.18) illustrated by Thureau-Dangin. On the obverse there is a female eagle-headed daemon with long talons at the end of the arms. To the left there is a two-headed pin, a round jar, a comb and a piglet; to the right the leg of a horse (?) and two triangles fixed on a stalk. The inscription (above, pp.331-332, no.14) gives her name as Lamashtu. These are the most important plaques.<sup>140</sup>

Thureau-Dangin observes (p.183) that the identification of the above female daemons with Lamashtu is not in doubt. This was first suggested by a plaque from Babylon (our no.5), which has an incantation against her on the back. Indeed, the motifs of Lamashtu in the texts and the iconography of the plaques make the identification almost certain:

- (1) Lamashtu has the face or head of a lion; the female daemon has the head of a lioness.
- (2) Lamashtu holds serpents in her hands; so does the daemon of the plaques.
- (3) Dogs and pigs were sacrificed to Lamashtu; the daemon is constantly associated with these animals.
- (4) Lamashtu is given a donkey for her journey; the daemon is often seated on it. These features above occur together (see plaques 5 & 6).
- (5) Lamashtu is given a boat; the donkey of the plaques is seated in a boat. As Thureau-Dangin says (pp.183-184), the boat may be for Lamashtu's voyage to the Netherworld.
- (6) Her provisions for the journey may appear upon the plaques; there are such objects as pouch, vase, bowl, bottle and sandal (no.1, R.4).
- (7) Lamashtu is a cattle-killer; an Assyrian tablet probably shows the demoness, standing on a bull (no.8).
- (8) Lamashtu is a child-killer, tearing the child from its mother's womb. She seems to be standing on the body of a pregnant woman (no.9).
- (9) Lamashtu is also bitch-headed. It is possible that some of the animal-headed spirits, such as those with the heads of lion, panther, dog and wolf (nos.1.R.2 & 2.R.2) may be identified with Lamashtu herself. She is also compared to a panther and a wolf. However, these spirits could just as easily represent other daemons, such as the lion-headed utukku, with whom Lamashtu herself is identified.
- (10) The man lying upon a bed (e.g. no.1, R.3) may be afflicted with the Lamashtu-disease.

This concludes our analysis of Lamashtu's iconography.<sup>141</sup>



**(iii) The benevolent daemons Gula, Lamassu and Lamassatu.**

These daemons show precisely the opposite character to that of Lamashtu. First of all, there are several texts concerning Gula:

- (1) In the CAD there are some quotations:

'(oath by) the dog of Gula.

If he touches the dog of Gula he is clean (again). O Ninkarrak, keep back your little dogs (and) put a muzzle on the mouth of your big dogs.' (p.71, col.1)

- (2) Further evidence shows that Gula was a goddess of healing, who could also inflict disease. We may quote a prayer and two curses from ANET.

'(Then) I lay down and beheld in a night(ly vision) the goddess Gula who restores the health of the dead(ly sick) and bestows long life. I prayed to her for lasting life for myself and that she might turn her face towards me. And she actually did turn and looked steadily upon me with her shining face (thus) indicating (her) mercy...I beheld the throne of the goddess Tashmetum (who is) Gula (in the role of) bestower of life. She did present my cause favorably before Marduk, my lord, with regard to the lengthening of (my) life into future days and the overthrowing of all opposition.' (p.310, col.1)

The curses are as follows:

'May Gula, the great physician, put illness and weariness [into your hearts], an unhealing sore in your body, so that you bathe in your own blood as if in water. (pp.538-539)

May Ninkarrak, the daughter of Anum, my advocate in Ekur, inflict upon him in his body a grievous malady, an evil disease, a serious injury which never heals, whose nature no physician knows, which he cannot allay with bandages, which like a deadly bite cannot be rooted out, and may he



continue to lament (the loss of) his vigor until his life comes to an end.'

(p.180)

We noted Ninkarrak above (text 1). J.B.Pritchard states that she is a form of Gula worshipped at Isin.<sup>142</sup>

These texts show that Gula is a dog-goddess, connected with healing and disease. There is also evidence for apotropaic dog-figurines of Gula and Ninkarrak. According to E.D.van Buren, dogs appear on boundary stones as the attendants of Gula. A clay dog engraved with a foundation inscription to Ninkarrak revealed the site of the ruined temple to Nebuchadnezzar. The same king buried six dogs at the gateway of Gula's temple; two of gold, two of silver and two of bronze. At Ur two bronze dogs were found at the base of a wall in a room of the palace built by Nabonidus. Two more were in another room. As Buren states, they were apotropaic, to avert evil influences from the building. Two clay dogs from Kish were inscribed 'Biter of his enemy' and 'Consumer of his life'. Buren gives other examples.<sup>143</sup>

It is natural that a goddess of healing was also invoked in order to inflict disease. She would have control over disease. Gula and Lamashtu were both connected with dogs. This fact leads us to suspect that Gula and Lamashtu are evolutes of the same mythological figure. Lamashtu represents malevolence and Gula benevolence. Gula too is connected with disease, although as a goddess of healing this may not have been her most important function.<sup>144</sup>

Another benevolent daemon is Lamassu, with her variant form Lamassatu. Here are some texts:

- (1) Lamassu was a spirit of childbirth, the protectress of doorways and of the country generally.

'Two l.-spirits descended from heaven (one carrying oil, the other bringing down the water-of-easy birthgiving). (1a)

Wild-Bull is the name of the temple, L.-Spirit is the name of the door.

(1b)

The protective spirit of the temple has gone into hiding (Sum.destroyed).  
(1b)

The gods will remove the protective spirit of the country. (1b)

May the favourable <sup>V</sup>sedu- and l.-spirits who are watching over my royal steps, who make my mind happy, stay forever in this palace. (1c)

sedu- and l.-figures of stone which according to their (the stones') nature ward off evil, protecting (my) path, safeguarding (my) going in and out.

I placed at their (the palace's) doorways figures of l.-spirits made of alabaster and ivory...' (both 2b)

(2) There is also the protective spirit Lamassatu:

'Tomorrow I will dam up the breach...

If the protective spirits of my lord Zimri-Lim accompany me I will indeed dam up the breach.

The protective spirit of my lord accompanied me and the campaign of my lord was safe.

Tasmetu, famous, outstanding, protective spirit of the country.' (all 1.)

We noted above that Ta<sup>V</sup>smetu (Tashmetu) is a form of Gula (see the prayer to Gula, text 2). As for Lamassu, her mythological function is completely the opposite of Lamashtu. Lamashtu's presence in the home is extremely unwelcome, since she bears disease and kills children. Lamassu is a protective spirit of childbirth, the king and the country generally. She may also, like Gula, have an original connection with her evil counterpart Lamashtu, especially since the names are similar.<sup>145</sup>

**(iv) Various evil demons and demonesses - The symbolism of animals and disease.**

Here we will briefly note the evil significance of dogs and pigs, and their images that were used for apotropaic rituals. Then several demonic texts will be listed, with special attention to animal connections and similarities to Lamashtu.



(1) Dogs and pigs were believed to be bad omens:

'If he (the <sup>v</sup>āsipu on his way to a patient) sees a black dog or a black pig, that patient will die. If having been sick for a long time, he sees (something) like a dog, his disease will come back to him, he will die.

If a corner of the city causes dogs to congregate, quarrels will be continuous in that city.

If a corner of the city causes dogs to circle around, the gods of this city will leave it, (and there will be an) attack of an enemy.

...apotropaic ritual against the evil (portended) by a dog.'

Such rituals were:

'The evil of this dog shall not approach the man and his house, the ritual therefor:

make a dog from clay.

...two dogs for the outer door, two dogs for the inner door, two dogs for the door of the bedroom.'

As we have seen, dog images were probably made of Lamashtu (p.328). Apotropaic images of pigs were also known. Buren notes that there were different colours of apotropaic pigs; light, dark, red, spotted and grey. In order to purify the house, the priest must bring 'seven little pigs'. These may have been images.<sup>146</sup>

(2) Demons in ancient Mesopotamia were generally symbolised as various animals.

There is an incantation to expel them from a house:

2. 'Be it the one that in a ruined house...

3. Be it the one that in a secret place of the house...

4. Be it the one that in the washing chamber of the house...

or Be it (a demon) who stands in the lavatory of the house (CAD).

5. Be it the one that within the house stands, or the one that...

6. Be it the one that at the entrance...



7. Be it the one that beside the house wanders.
8. Be it the one that in a recess of a cave has crouched.  
or...who lurks in a hole (hur-ri) of the house (or in) a crevice (ni-gi-iṣ-ṣi),  
(CAD).
9. Be it the one that bellows (?) like an ox (alpi); or the one that bleats like a  
sheep (imмери).
10. Be it the one that bleats like a goat (enzi); or the one that brays like an ass  
(imēri).
11. Be it the one that howls like a dog (kalbi).
12. Be it the one that squeals like a pig (sah<sup>v</sup>i).
13. Be it the one that enters into the bosom of a man; or be it the one that  
enters into the bosom of a woman.
14. Lugalgirra heard the words of the wise diviner,
15. and he called all the gods instructing them
16. "He that makes to you a libation of meal, he that offers unto you spelt  
meal, I am." (Obv.2-16).

Gula is mentioned on the reverse, perhaps as a benevolent protectress against  
the dog-demon (11):

5. 'Upon the lintel Gula the great healer has taken up her abode.
6. Ninurta will purify, surrounding (the house) with meal-water.'

The CAD also has the lines:

'You bury (the figurines) to the right and to the left at the door of the  
lavatory.

The demon of the lavatory has seized that man.'<sup>147</sup>

- (3) Apart from Lamashtu, there were many other demons and demonesses in  
Mesopotamia. Like Lamashtu, these also brought disease:

(alu) '...she (Lama<sup>v</sup>stu) who fetters the dangerous asakku-demon, the

important alu-ghost who attacks mankind.

The a-ghost has put on my body as if it were a garment. (a)

The a-ghost will strike that man. (c)

If the a-ghost falls upon a man while he is in bed.

a-ghost, headache, exhaustion (and) la<sup>2</sup>bu- disease have weakened my limbs.

Turn back, evil a-ghost, to be exorcised

(go back, desert dweller, to your desert). (all c)

There is also ardat lilî, 'the lilû-woman':

'The man whom the lilû-woman has chosen, the man whom the lilû-woman has detained.

...l-woman who has no husband.

The l-woman blew in through the man's window.

I am the paralyzing l-woman.

Without your (permission, <sup>v</sup>Istar)..., the lilû-demon and the ardat-lilî do not affect a sick man.

The l-woman has seized him.

A l-woman will seize this man for two years.

The l-woman will choose him.'

Since ardatu means 'young woman', we know that 'the lilû-woman' is the female counterpart of the demon lilû.

(asakku) 'The dangerous asakku-demon has settled in the body of the man.

(apotropaic figurines of dogs, the name of the first is) Driver-Away-of-the-a.Demon. (b)

...whom pestilence, a-disease, chills, exhaustion have seized. (c)

The owner of that house will die of seizure of a-disease.' (d)

(labašu) 'I am the paralyzing labašu-demon.

lamastu and labašu, who make the body sick.

If he (the sick man) gets "the profuse sweat of the labašu-demon" again and again.' (b)

(lilû) '...sickness, death, l.-demon, female l.-demon, asakku or evil namtaru.

Be it the l.-demon, or the female l.-demon, or the l.-girl.

The utukku, the l.-demon and the female l.-demon take refuge in the hidden corners. (a)

The l.-demon will seize this man.

l.-demon and headache will seize him. (b)

...in order that the l.-demon should not come near the baby. (c)

(namtaru) 'with ref. to the demon's evil power:

command that there be plague.

The n. closed in on the man's throat.

n., a mighty flood and a dike-break hold him,

n., who grips the country like an evil storm. (a)

(utukku) 'The evil utukku had a lion's head.'

(Under nēsu<sup>v</sup>, 'lion', p.195, col.2)

It is clear that all of these demons and demonesses are very similar to Lamashtu:

- (1) They all cause disease, and consequently may cause death (e.g. asakku).
- (2) Like Lamashtu, they enter the house, and may afflict babies with disease (e.g. lilû).
- (3) Lamashtu is canine, while a dog figurine was used to drive away asakku.
- (4) Utukku, like Lamashtu, was lion-headed.
- (5) They are generally listed together (see lilû), Lamashtu herself 'fettters' asakku.

It seems probable that the existence of disease originally gave rise to the belief in demons.<sup>148</sup>



(v) **Mesopotamian Maqlû and necromancy rituals, with reference to witchcraft and magical apotropaic practices.**

Here we will examine various texts dealing with sorcery and necromancy:

- (1) Let us first note that dust or earth (eperu) played a significant part in Mesopotamian magic. Here are some quotations from the CAD:

'(the sorcerer) who has placed dust (on which) my feet (have stepped) in a grave, has taken my measurements, has collected a lump of earth (touched by) my feet.

The dust from (under) my feet has been collected, my measurements have been taken.

For purposes of magic, a witch will take dust from a man's footprints.

...dust from a crossroads.

...dust from the front threshold, dust from the upper and lower drainpipes, dust from the box of the door, these kinds of dust.

...dust from a tomb.

...dust from an abandoned canal, dust from a road.

...earth from a temple,...a city gate, a ditch,

...from a bridge (collected) when the evening star shines, from a crossroads,...from the door of the palace,...from the road,...you crush all these kinds of earth.

...dust pawed up by a dog.

...earth from the lair of a dog, earth from the lair of a pig.' (all b)

Several motifs are of interest; dust was taken from the road or crossroads, and earth from the lair of a dog or a pig. The latter animals remind us of Lamashtu.<sup>149</sup>

- (2) W.G.Lambert has translated a long Maqlû incantation, followed by two shorter



or of fat, or of wax,

23. Or of sesame-hulls, or of pitch, or of clay, or of dough,
24. [Or of] bitter-vetch dough, or of parched grain dough,
25. And they have fed them either to [a dog], or to a pig, or to a bird of the heavens, or to a fish of the deep.
26. <sup>v</sup>Samaš<sup>v</sup>, these are they, these are their images. Since they are not present, I am burning
27. Their images in the presence of your great divinity.
28. They have made [images] of me and placed them in the bosom of a corpse,
29. [Ditto] and immured them in a bulwark of the wall, and ...ed them in the drain through the wall, ....
33. Dit[to] and immured them in a hole in the West, ditto and.....in the temple of the god Kupu.
34. [Ditto] and burnt them in a potter's kiln, ditto and [roasted them] in a brewer's kiln,...
37. Ditto and burnt them in the West, ditto and [buri]ed them at the entrance to the city ga[te],
38. [Ditto] and buried them at the crossroads, ditto and [buri]ed them under the god Ku[pu],
39. [Ditto] and li]ke a broken pot they placed them in a well and[..].

After this there is a prayer to Shamash for the destruction of the witches and wizards:

54. <sup>v</sup>Samaš<sup>v</sup>, as to my sorcerer and sor[ceress],
55. My wizard and she who has had me bewitched, [my] male [and female] charmers,
56. May their evil sorceries, charms and spells, which are not good,
57. Prostrate them, and attack them and their bodies...
59. <sup>v</sup>Samaš<sup>v</sup>, let Girru, the burner, burn them, let Girru glare at them,
60. Let Girru ignite them, let Girru destroy them, let Girru carbonize



them,...

- 62. Let Girru [pour] out their life like water,
- 63. Let Girru dismiss [them] to the land of No Return,...
- 65. Let Girru hand [them over] to Namtar, the vizir of the underworld,
- 66. <sup>✓</sup>Šamaš<sup>✓</sup>, they who have [wrought] sorceries, charms, spells and  
black magic - ...
- 73. Let their sorceries overwhelm them beneath you as though with a  
net,...
- 74. And let the sorceries catch them...
- 78. Let them die, but let me live...

(3) Here is the second text in Lambert's article (CBS.1203):

- 28. Incantation for finding and seizing a sorceress who has performed  
much sorcery, for speedily binding the mouth of the sorceress who  
has performed charms against him. (Rev.28)
- 1. The ritual for it:  
Either in the . or in the open country you must sweep the ground,  
sprinkle pure water,
- 2. Set up a table in the presence of <sup>✓</sup>Šamaš<sup>✓</sup>, put on it three food  
offerings consisting of twelve loaves each of wheat,
- 3. ...set up a brazier in the presence of <sup>✓</sup>Šamaš<sup>✓</sup>,
- 4. ...You must tie together four images of clay,...
- 5. four of fat,...four of sesame-hulls,
- 6. four of dough, four of bitter-vetch dough, four of parched grain  
dough,...
- 8. You must ignite a torch
- 9. In burning sulphur, put it in the brazier
- 10. And recite this incantation three times. When they (the images) have  
been baked, you must quench them in water,
- 11. And recite the incantation, "You, Water" three times. Then you  
must burn them (the images) and throw them into a deserted place...

(4) Finally, Lambert quotes a 'Short Incantation'. (Bu.91-5-9)

29. <sup>✓</sup>[Samaš, these are] my wizards,  
 30. ..[....] those who have had me bewitched,...  
 32. They continue to pursue me with evil [intent],  
 33. They have put me in charge of a dead man,  
 34. They have handed me over to a skull.  
 35. They made over images of me to Girru.  
 36. They immured them in a hole in the West,  
 37. They fed them to a dog, they laid down the water of my life in a  
 grave,  
 38. They poured out my water to the stars of the heavens,...  
 42. Smash them like a [po]t,  
 43. Let their smoke [as from a furnace] cover the heavens....  
 50. [...].a sorceress has bewitched and again tries to seize.

The last line suggests that the danger of sorcery is never completely eliminated.

We may summarise the above Maqlû rituals as follows. In order to bewitch their victim, sorcerers and sorceresses made images of him and destroyed them in various ways. These included burial (text 2; 29, 33 & 38) and burning (text 2; 34 & 37). The images were also fed to various creatures (25). If this was really done, the dough and grain images were probably used (23 & 24). The consequences of sorcery are affliction with an evil spirit (15), disease (19) and perhaps even death (28). The remedy is to burn images of the sorcerers and sorceresses in turn (26 & 59ff.).

Certain aspects of these rituals are very curious. The images were certainly fed to a pig and perhaps also to a dog (25). There is a lacuna. However, the 'Short Incantation' makes it clear that the dog was one of the animals in the ritual (text 4; 37). The same text also hints at the possible death of the victim - he is put in charge of the dead and handed over to a skull (33-34). We have just seen that the sorcerers cause disease (text 2).

It is most interesting that the canine demoness Lamashtu received pig

sacrifices (see p.327). One possible reason for the rituals of the sorcerers is that they were worshipping Lamashtu, especially since the images were fed to both dogs and pigs. Indeed, the dog may have represented Lamashtu herself. This conclusion is most logical. Since Lamashtu caused disease, she could easily help the sorcerers to make their victims sick. Such 'black magic' would be consistent with the evil character of the sorcerers.<sup>151</sup>

Now let us continue with some necromancy rituals.

(5) The first text involves the use of a skull for necromancy (BM 36703, Obv. col.ii):

2. ...dust of the Underwor[ld...
  3. May he bring up a ghost from the darkness for me! May he [put life back (?)] into the dead man's limbs!
  4. I call [upon you], O skull of skulls:
  5. May he who is within the skull answer [me]!
  6. O S<sup>∇</sup>amaš<sup>∇</sup>, who brings light in (lit. who opens) the darkne[ss! (ÉN)]
- 
7. Its ritual: you crush (?) a male and female partridge (?), dust from a crossroads, 'dust' of a jumping cricket (?) of
  8. the steppe, (and) an upturned potsherd from a crossroads in pūru oil, [...]);
  9. You mix it all together and leave it to stand overnight. In the morning you anoint either the e<sup>∇</sup>temmu (figure), and/or the NAM.[...],
  10. and/or the skull, and when you call upon him he will answer you.

I.L.Finkel explains this text. It seems that Shamash is being asked to summon the ghost (6), in order that it may enter the skull and so answer the necromancer. The e<sup>∇</sup>temmu (ghost) seems in this context to mean a figure of the ghost. It is not certain if it was necessary to anoint the figure, skull and NAM, whatever that was. We note that in this ritual also dust from a crossroads was



used (see no. 1).<sup>152</sup>

(6) There is another similar incantation (BM 36703ii, 14ff.).

14. An incantation to enable a man to see a ghost.

---

15. Its ritual: (you crush)...oil, beer and wine...

16. You dry, crush and sieve...hair of a dog, hair of a cat, hair of a fox.....

21. ...You recite the incantation three times and you anoint your eyes (with it), and

22. you will see the ghost: he will speak with you.

23. You can look at the ghost: he will talk with you.

Dog hair or bristles were also probably used for the ritual to expel Lamashtu.<sup>153</sup>

(7) The next text is an apotropaic ritual to avert the evil of a ghost's cry (K 2279, 10ff.):

10. In order to avert the evil (inherent) in a ghost's cry you (sic) crush a potsherd from a ruined tell in water. He should sprinkle the house (with this water)....

---

13. You keep them in check, O <sup>∇</sup>Samaš<sup>∇</sup>, the Judge. You carry those from Above down to Below,

14. Those from Below up to Above. The ghost who has cried out in my house,...

16. An offering has been made for him! Water has been poured out for him! May the evil in his cry go away behind him....

---

19. If a ghost cries out in a man's house there will be a death in the man's house. If an evil apparition comes up (?) in a man's house: in order to avert that evil from the man and his house.

---

20. In the evening he makes an offering to <sup>√</sup>Samaš<sup>√</sup>. In the morning at a secluded place by the gate he sweeps the ground, [sprinkles] with pure water...

Two points are of interest here. First, the use of the potsherd from the ruined tell reminds us of the potsherd from the crossroads (text 5; 8). Second, there is a purification ritual with water (text 7; 10 & 20).

- (8) Finally, we may note the canine ingredients of another ritual mixture (BM 76671):

5. Its ritual: you mix together a human bone, a dog's bone,
6. wolf's dung...

- 
9. When you perform this ritual you [...] pus from a black dog....

The text seems to be concerned with the zabbu or 'ecstatic'. We note that black dogs were sacrificed to Lamashtu (p.325).

The above Maqlû<sup>^</sup> and necromancy texts clearly show similarity to those of Lamashtu.<sup>154</sup>

**(vi) Akkadian demonology texts at Ugarit and Byblos - The evidence for the worship of Lamashtu and other Mesopotamian daemons in the West-Semitic world.**

In searching for any possible connections between the figures of Greek mythology and Mesopotamian demonology, one difficulty seems to be the geographical gap. A critic may wonder how Mesopotamian motifs were transmitted across the W-S area into Greece. Were the demons and demonesses of Mesopotamia known at Ugarit? Were these figures also worshipped by the Western Semites? We will now show that there is no geographical problem of transmission. There are various texts and amulets.

- (1) Our first text from Ugarit (<sup>√</sup>RS17.155) mentions various Mesopotamian demons

and demonesses:

1. [O! Evil], appear before the Sage of the gods, Marduk! O! Evil,  
[appear (?)]
2. before Asalluhi,...
3. (In) all evil, your formula is life, O! Marduk,...
6. In the street, they (= the demons) are produced by the Earth,...
7. ...everything evil (!), every baneful thing,
8. every mortal thing,...to the Netherworld retur[n...!]
10. [Al]l evil, all sickness, which in your flesh or your muscles is  
found,
11. that the Enchanter of the gods (these)...that the Sage Asalluhi, from  
your body (them)...
16. \*Many are his maladies: I do not know (all) their names. They are  
con[jured (?),]
20. [E]a (?) has created them, the Earth has made them grow great ...
22. [The <sup>2</sup>a]śu, the evil-redness, the evil-yellow, [the aḥḥâ [zu,...,]
23. ...the fever, almu (and) allamu, the migr[aine (and) the headache  
(?),]...
26. the evil alu,...
27. ...The <sup>v</sup>śiqu, the <sup>v</sup>śassatu, the lamastu,]
28. the labasu (?) (and) the aḥḥâzu, the hayattu, the lil[û, the  
ardat-lil]li,
29. (and) the lilitu, the catarrh (and) the influenza,
30. the great gallu, (all) high over the town, go, enter the houses,
31. climbing the roofs, (and) searching in the street, surrounding,  
circling,
32. the brave boy and the brave girl.
36. ...That evil of head, of tooth, of lung, or of belly,
37. and every other thing that produces evil in humanity, (every)  
perfidious machination,



38. no more approach him! From (his) armpit make them rise in sweat (?)!
39. From (his) carbuncle (lachrymal) they (already) stream in mucus.
40. From his respiratory tracts they (already) flee in fillets of sweat....
42. Marduk, they flee....
45. By the skies be conjured, by the Earth be conjured.

This text clearly has an apotropaic function similar to that of the Lamashtu text. We observe that the various demons and demonesses of disease listed here are also found in the Mesopotamian literature. (see pp.341-343). Lamashtu may be in this text, in a lacuna (27). Note especially ardat-lili, the 'lilû-woman' (28) and the lilitu (29).<sup>155</sup>

- (2) There is a long incantation from Ugarit against Lamashtu (RS 25.456 A + 25.440 + 25.445 + 25.420 + 25.447):

## I

1. [Daily she count]s [the (days of) pregnant females,]
2. [she pu]rsues [those giving birth.]
3. ["Bring me y]our [sons], that I may suckle them,
4. [and you]r [daughters], that I may raise them".
5. ....] of death her bosom bathes (?)
6. She enters the open (house),
7. she sne[aks in] by the door of the closed house.

## II

- 4-5. [She meets a li]on, her terrible brilliance is renewed (?) (by it).
6. [She meets a w]olf, she (to him) returns (?) (his) barking...
14. You have never ceased [absorbing the bl]ood of humans...,
16. the flesh that one must not [eat,]
17. the bone [that one must not crush] (?):
18. (Therefore) pull up your [(tent)] p[egs],
19. [bury] your [excrement,]

20. (and) disappear like the savage donkey:
21. that you may see (again) the resting place....
22. Come, I give you meal, wheat flour, green malt,
23. must and leather pouch.
24. I exorcise you, o. daughter of Anu, (by)
25. Anu and Antu,...
32. ...you are chased,...

## III

27. He is worthy of you, the enchan[tor Asalluhi:]
28. he contradicts [your] word [,...]
29. he destroys the evil [(spell)]
30. in the body of the infant.[...]

## IV

9. That [she may suckle the puppies from the bitch (kal-ba-ti  
mu-ra-ni-sa<sup>v</sup>)
10. ...] her brother twin.

## VI

15. She is furious (ez-ze-et) (and) violent (sam-rat<sup>v</sup>) [, goddess (and)  
terrible,]...
17. and she is the she-wolf (!) (bir-bir-ri is a scribal error for  
barbarat),...
18. On the tracks of ox...
19. on the tracks of sheep (?)...

(3) Here is a similar incantation fragment from Ugarit (RS 25.513):

1. [She is te]rrible (na(?)- a (?)-mur-ra-at), she a god[dess (i-la-a  
(?)-at),
2. ..] she is strong (gas-ra-at<sup>v</sup>) [
3. she is fu]rious, the she-wolf (bar-bar-tum), the daughter [of Anu.]

(4) Another short incantation from Ugarit seems to suggest that a child has  
recovered (RS 25.457):

1. Incantation : Lamashtu, daughter of Anu,
2. chosen of the gods,
3. lilith,
4. (this) child is in good health (?),
5. (this) child is in good health (?),

These texts clearly show the same literary forms as the Mesopotamian Lamashtu incantations. Identical motifs include suckling children (text 2, I.3), entering the house (I.6-7), the lion (II.4), cannibalism (II.14), receiving rations (II.22ff.), puppies (IV.9), furious (VI.15) and possibly cattle killing (VI.18).<sup>156</sup>

(5) Lamashtu also appears upon an amulet from Byblos:

'(Amulet) of [...], chief of the guard of Šamši-Adad king of Assyria, (and) prefect of Aššur. To protect (?) his life (and so that) the evil spell does not approach his person. "Lamashtu, Labašu (?), Aḥḥâ[zu(?). Daughter(?)] of Anu, from me (who am) son of his god, do not approach, do not touch (me)! By the Sky be exorcised, by the Earth be exorcised."  
Incantation: She is furious (ez-ze-et), she is cruel (šam-rat), she is a goddess, she is of terrifying brilliance (na-mur-rat)....She does not cease entering [the houses of pregnant females,] she does not cease holding [to the bed of those giving birth:]

"Give me your sons,] that I may suckle (them), [that to the mouth of your daughters] I give the [breas]t."

The lion-headed Lamashtu is depicted on the other side of the Byblos amulet, holding an animal up by the hind legs. Since the demons Labašu and Aḥḥâzu are also mentioned, the incantation is probably intended to protect Šamši-Adad from these too.<sup>157</sup>

It is clear that Lamashtu was known at Ugarit and Byblos, but was she addressed in 'worship' for the purpose of exorcism there? Did she feature in



W-S ritual? This is at least possible. The short incantation from Ugarit which we quoted above (text 4, <sup>V</sup>RS.25.457) occurs upon an amulet which was found in a tomb. There was also a skeleton in a very poor state, apparently that of a child. J.Nougayrol thinks that the amulet may have been hung around the neck of a child for protection:

'There is then, it seems, an example of an object with Babylonian inscription and tradition used in the country of Ugarit for immediate practical ends.' (p.407)

Concerning the Akkadian of the inscription, he adds that

'The "foreign" language matters little: the Babylonians, for their part, did not hesitate to use Sumerian there, which most of them no longer understood...'<sup>158</sup>

Therefore it is probable that Lamashtu played some part in the religion of Ugarit and Byblos.

**(vii) The evidence of native Ugaritic demons and their relations with Mesopotamian demonology.**

Several Ugaritic texts give further evidence for a demonology very similar to that of the Mesopotamian world.

(1) The first text is a 'ghost-expelling' incantation:

Strophe A

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) <u>ydy dbbm dgzr</u>              | He will expel the enemies of the hero |
| <u>tgh<sub>v</sub>tk r [ ]</u> (2)... | The spirit, thy ghost(?) (2)...       |
| (3) <u>kqtr urbtm</u>                 | Like smoke from a chimney             |
| <u>kbtm<sup>ε</sup> mdm</u>           | Like a snake from the ceiling-beam    |
| (4) <u>ky<sup>ε</sup> lm zrh</u>      | Like a mountain goat to the mountain. |
| <u>klbim skh</u>                      | Like a lion to the lair...            |

Strophe B

<u>aphm (9) k<sup>v</sup>spm dbbm</u>	Forthwith(?) (9) sorcerers, enemies.
<u>ygrs<sup>v</sup> h<sub>1</sub>rn (10) h<sub>1</sub>brm</u>	Horon will expel (10) the binders
<u>wglm d<sup>c</sup>tm</u>	And the Youth soothsayers.
<u>lk (11)...</u>	Depart (11)...
<u>w&lt;r&gt;d h<sub>1</sub>tm lars</u>	Descend, (o.) ghost(?), to the nether world.
<u>zrm (15) lbn adm</u>	(Thou art) alien to mankind...
(18) <u>[b]t ubu al tbi</u>	(18) To the house to (which) I go, thou shall not go
(19) <u>[atr atb] al t<sub>1</sub>b</u>	(19) And in the place I dwell thou shall not dwell. (p.15)

Since this text is very difficult, we have only quoted small sections. Y. Avishur interprets tghtk (1) as 'the spirit, thy ghost'. Thus, tg may be an Ug. form of Sum. UDUG, the Akk. utukku demon. The syllable ht could be from Sum. GIDIM, Akk. etemmu, 'ghost'.

This is possible, but very tentative. Unfortunately, the interpretation of this text as a 'ghost-expelling' incantation depends largely upon the repeated translation of ht as 'ghost' (lines 1, 2, 5 & 14). However, other features also give us a clue to the meaning. The mention of smoke, a snake and a lion are reminiscent of demons. We need only think of Lamashtu's snake and lion imagery (lines 3-4). The mention of sorcerers (Heb. קְשָׁפִים = Ug. k<sup>v</sup>spm), binders (Heb. חֹבְרִים = Ug. h<sub>1</sub>brm) and soothsayers may be relevant also. The last noun (d<sup>c</sup>tm) is similar to, but not identical with Heb. דַּעְתָּי (B, 9-10). Thus, Avishur notes that these three nouns also occur in a Biblical context. He states:

'This tri-colon verse seems to be an address of the adjurer to black-magic practitioners.'

This makes the exorcistic interpretation a possibility at the very least.<sup>159</sup>

- (2) The second relevant text (KTU 1.82) makes various references to demons. We may quote the following:

Reverse.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (12) <u>[qr.btk.y]g*[r<sup>v</sup>sk.]</u><br><u>ᶜpr.btk.ygr*s*k*</u>   | [May the well of your house] dr[ive you away],<br>may the dust of your house drive you away!... |
| (18) <u>[hr.]h[r.]bnt.ṣ<sup>ᶜ</sup>ṣ.</u><br><u>bnt.hr* p.</u>          | [Go back,] go [back], creatures of Agitation,<br>creatures of Insanity!...                      |
| (21) <u>[lms]k*.pth*y.</u><br><u>ag*[rs.]</u><br><u>d*t*[-]m*.ml[ ]</u> | [From the scr]een of my door<br>I will drive away<br>those who [ ]                              |
| (22) <u>[dt.t]tk.ytmt.dlt.</u>  | [those who b]ite the poor orphan,...  |
| (23) <u>[wt]qp.bn.htt.</u><br><u>bn.htt.[.t]d*<sup>2</sup>u*[.]</u>     | [And may] the sons of Disease turn around,<br>[may] the sons of Disease [f]ly away [ ],         |
| (24) <u>[tq]p.km.dlt.</u><br><u>tlk.km.pl*[g.]</u>                      | [may they t]urn around like a door,<br>may they flow away like a dit[ch],...                    |

The noun plg (Heb. אֲבַיָּה) may also be translated as 'brook, stream'.

Stylistically, this seems better than 'ditch'.<sup>160</sup>

The text continues:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| [hr] (26) <u>[l]h*kl.bkl.</u><br><u>lpgm.pgm.</u><br><u>l.d*[bbm.dbbm]</u>  | [go back to the] Palace of Confusion!<br>The Legions to the Legions,<br>[the Flies] to the F[lies],   |
| (27) <u>[lmdb.] mdbm.</u><br><u>lhm.h*r[nm.]</u>  | those of the Flood [to the Flood],<br>[those of] Hor[on] to Horon,.   |
| (33) <u>[------]llm.</u><br><u>ygr<sup>v</sup>sk.qr.btk.</u><br><u>ygr<sup>v</sup>sk (41) [ᶜpr.btk].</u><br><u>bnt.ṣ<sup>ᶜ</sup>ṣ.</u><br><u>bnt.m<sup>ᶜ</sup>m<sup>ᶜ</sup>.</u><br><u>ᶜbd.hrn.</u> | [ ] night-demons...<br>May the well of your house drive you away,<br>may [the dust of your house] drive you away,<br>o creatures of Agitation,<br>creatures of Intestinal Trouble,<br>servants of Horonu, |



ṭ\*k(42) [ytmt.dlt.] (you who) bite the poor orphan ....

Although the sense of many lines is very tentative, it is possible to see similarities to the Mesopotamian Lamashtu literature. Here too, demons must be driven away from the house (21) and they cause disease (23 & 41), in this case to the orphan (22 & 42). We note also the noun ilm, probably cognate with the Akkadian lilû demon.<sup>161</sup>

- (3) In the 'Baal poem' we find a curious canine monster:

<u>mḥst.klbt.<sup>v</sup>ilm.<sup>v</sup>ist</u>	I have smitted/slain Il's bitch Ishatu (Fire),
<u>klbt.<sup>v</sup>il.dbb.</u>	Have finished off Il's daughter Dabibu (Flame).

(KTU 1.3 III, 45-46a)

This monster is certainly female. We know this because of the noun klbt (45), the Ug. equivalent of Akk. kalbatu, 'bitch'. Also, she is almost certainly the same as Il's daughter in the following line, since she too is fiery.

There are two reasons for thinking that klbt.<sup>v</sup>ilm may be a native Ugaritic form of Mesopotamian Lamashtu. The Ugaritic monster is both canine and fiery, while Lamashtu has the head of a bitch and 'lights the fire'. If we are correct here, the W-S world not only knew of Lamashtu, but also had their own mythological equivalent.<sup>162</sup>

The above texts make clear the close relationship between Ugaritic and Mesopotamian demonology.

**(viii) A systematic comparison of Greek Hekate mythology and rituals with Mesopotamian demonology.**

In the first section of this chapter we analysed all the relevant mythology and rituals of the goddess Hekate. In the second section we discussed several theories concerning her origin. In the third section we analysed the nature of Mesopotamian demonology, especially the character and rituals of Lamashtu. Now it is time to bring all the information together, in order to show that the most convincing theory for Hekate's

origin is the Semitic one.<sup>163</sup>

The following motifs of Hekate are either very similar to or exactly the same as those of the above Mesopotamian demonology:

- (1) According to Hesiod in the Theogony, Hekate received great honour in heaven. Her various genealogies also reflect an exalted status among the Olympians. Hesiod makes Leto, who is the mother of Artemis, the aunt of Hekate. Other authors (the scholiasts on Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius) state that Zeus himself was her father, placing Hekate in relation to the Greek version of the IE sky-god. It is most curious that Lamashtu's father is Anu, the Sumerian-Akkadian sky-god, and her mother is Antu (or Anatu), the female equivalent.

Marquardt suggests that Hekate's status as an only child in Hesiod's Theogony may reflect a pre-Olympian genealogy. If, as we believe, Hekate is Semitic, her 'adoption' as such an honoured member of the Olympian family may reflect the parentage of the demoness Lamashtu.<sup>164</sup>

- (2) The torch is a constant attribute of Hekate. This is clear from the literature (e.g. the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, and the Christian writer Eusebius). Hekate bears torches in art. One good example is the relief from Thasos.

One of the epithets of Lamashtu near the start of the Lamashtu text is 'Who lights the fire'. It is also worth noting that Hekate is connected with 'fire-breathing phantoms' in the PGM. Hekate seems to have been connected with fire as a chthonian goddess.<sup>165</sup>

- (3) Another motif of Hekate is her giant size. The scholiast on Theocritus describes her as 'differing in strength and stature' (διαφέρουσιν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μεγέθει). In Lucian (Lover of lies), Eucrates sees Hekate 'nearly half a stade high'. In the PGM she is 'giant'.

In the OB incantation, Ea made Lamashtu great (u-ra-bi-si<sup>V</sup>). She also has



very long fingers and fingernails.<sup>166</sup>

- (4) On a gem illustrated by Roscher, Hekate carries swords. One of the epithets of Lamashtu is 'Sword who cleaves the skull'. In Lamashtu's case, the epithets of 'fire' and 'sword' may refer to disease. The connection of Hekate with torches (above, no.2) and swords in Greek religion remains unexplained.<sup>167</sup>
- (5) Although she is a goddess, Hekate sends demons. This is clear from Dio Chrysostom, Hesychius and the Suida. According to the scholiast on Theocritus, she is 'a chthonian goddess and ruler of the dead'. In the Ion, Euripides states that she leads the 'unfortunate dead'. Other authors stress the chthonian connection (e.g. Theocritus and Apollonius).

Lamashtu is generally a demoness of disease and death, a tormentor and killer of children.<sup>168</sup>

- (6) According to Euripides, the dog was an image of Hekate. Hesychius states that she was formed dog-headed, that dogs were placed before her and that she was a foreign goddess. The PGM uses the epithet κυνῶ, 'dog-like'.

We know from the OB incantation that Enlil gave Lamashtu the face of a bitch. The Lamashtu text probably refers to dog figurines coated with gypsum. Hair of a black dog was to be placed upon their heads.<sup>169</sup>

- (7) Hekate was constantly connected with canine sacrifices. Plutarch mentions the sacrifice of a bitch to her. Pausanias says that a black puppy was sacrificed to Enodia at night by the Colophonians. Lucian mentions Hekate's black dogs. The scholiast on Theocritus refers to the purchase of a 'little white scabby dog' for the crossroads goddess. According to the scholiast on Aristophanes, dogs were sacrificed to Hekate in the Zerinthon cave on Samothrace. Theocritus seems to refer to the fear of the dogs about to be killed, in the phrase 'dogs a-shivering'. The PGM calls her 'black bitch'. A black-figured lekythos at Athens probably shows Hekate attached to two black dogs.

The Lamashtu text makes it clear that both black and white dogs were given to the demoness. This most probably means sacrifice. Lamashtu is also



called a 'puppy'.<sup>170</sup>

- (8) Plutarch describes the ritual of 'puppifrication', rubbing with puppies, which was a purification. According to the CAD, touching 'the dog of Gula', the healing goddess, made one clean. There were also apotropaic dog figurines of Gula.<sup>171</sup>

It is clear that the canine associations of Hekate and the Mesopotamian daemons Lamashtu and Gula are not coincidental; they show the same structure of ritual and motifs. This alone is very convincing evidence for the identification.

- (9) Porphyry connects Hekate with the lioness, and in the PGM she hides her forms 'in shanks of lions'.

Lamashtu has constant feline motifs. In the Lamashtu text 'she meets a lioness', she has the face or head of a lion, and she is also compared to a panther. In one of Thureau-Dangin's incantations (no.13) she is also lion-faced. Lamashtu also has the head of a lion (or perhaps lioness) on the plaques. In an incantation from Ugarit she meets a lion. She has the head of one on a plaque from Byblos.<sup>172</sup>

- (10) Hekate is constantly connected with serpents. This is clear from the Orphic Argonautica and from Lucian, who gives her snake-feet and hair. According to Eusebius, Hekate's statue was entwined with snakes. In the PGM she is 'girt with fiery serpents', she has 'locks of fearful serpents', and poisonous serpents down her back. The Pergamene frieze shows her fighting a serpent-man.

Lamashtu both holds serpents in her hands and 'glides like a serpent'. She also holds serpents on the plaques.<sup>173</sup>

- (11) According to the Suida, Hekate's phantoms are snake-headed men. Among the animal-headed daemons upon the Lamashtu plaques are human figures with the heads of snakes.<sup>174</sup>

- (12) In the Theogony, Hekate may increase or diminish cattle. Lucian says that she became a bull. Porphyry also connects her with the bull. The PGM calls her

'bull-snake' and 'bull-headed'.

In the Lamashtu text, the demoness 'takes away the tread of cattle'; in another incantation (our no.13) she follows their tracks. Since her hands are 'in the flesh and the blood', this may mean that she slays them.

It may be that Hekate brings untimely death to the herds, in the Theogony.<sup>175</sup>

- (13) Both the Orphic Argonautica and Porphyry connect Hekate with the horse. In the PGM we find the epithets 'mare-bitch' and 'earth-mare'.

This may be connected with Lamashtu's donkey, which is for her transport. She receives clay donkeys in the Lamashtu text and at least one other incantation (no.12). In a text from Ugarit, she is told to 'disappear like the savage donkey'. The donkey is also illustrated upon the Lamashtu plaques.<sup>176</sup>

- (14) In the PGM we find the epithets  $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omega}$ , 'wolf-formed' and 'she-wolf'. This motif may refer to Hekate, but there is no more evidence.

According to the Lamashtu text, 'she howls like a wolf'. Another incantation (no.13) compares her to a 'she-wolf'.<sup>177</sup>

- (15) According to Demosthenes, pigs were sacrificed for purification in Greece, but a connection with Hekate is not known. Lamashtu received the heart of a young pig, as part of her 'exorcism'.<sup>178</sup>

- (16) Theocritus connects Hekate with 'corpses and black blood'. According to the PGM, the crossroads goddess devours 'the untimely dead', eating their flesh and drinking their blood. The lekythos noted above (no.7) probably shows Hekate eating a human. Lamashtu eats the flesh and bones of men, and drinks their blood. This is clear both from the Lamashtu text and an incantation from Ugarit (no.2).<sup>179</sup>

- (17) Various authors testify to the sacrifices at the crossroads for Hekate, known as 'Hekate's dinner'. This is clear from the scholiast on Aristophanes and the Suida. Plutarch states that the dinner was also for the hostile spirits. This indicates an apotropaic function. Athenaeus tells us that circular cakes were



carried to the crossroads for the goddess.

Lamashtu was given loaves of bread for her provisions after her expulsion from the house. This is similar to the incantation from Ugarit, in which she is to be given meal and wheat flour. Moreover, we have already noted the importance of the crossroads in Mesopotamian magic. Witches took dust from the crossroads (p.344) and buried images of one whom they wished to harm there. Some of these images were made of dough. (p.346). This is an almost identical ritual to 'Hekate's dinner'. Loaves of wheat were offered to Shamash for the purpose of defeating witchcraft, that is, for apotropaic reasons. Dust and a potsherd from the crossroads were also used in necromancy rituals (p.349).

The similarity of these rituals is too close to be a coincidence.<sup>180</sup>

- (18) We have already suggested that the witches may have been worshipping Lamashtu, because of the offerings of images to a dog or a pig (p.349). It is not certain if Lamashtu herself was connected with the crossroads, but in the Lamashtu text she is called 'Sister of the gods of the streets'. This may be because she was sent away on a journey. There was a street in Sippar named after her.

We have already seen that Thessalian witches worshipped Hekate Enodia, the crossroads goddess. This may be compared with the suggested worship of Lamashtu by the Mesopotamian witches.<sup>181</sup>

- (19) According to Harpocrates and the Suida, purifications were removed from the house and taken to the images of Hekate in the crossroads. These seem to have consisted of household rubbish. Theophrastus also mentions purification of the house, perhaps to send Hekate away.

According to the Lamashtu text, the building must be cleansed and clay removed. Perhaps this is too general; demons in Greece or the Orient may not have wished to live in a clean house.<sup>182</sup>

- (20) According to Aristophanes and his scholiast, images of Hekate (Hekataia) stood



in doorways. They probably kept away evil spirits.

In the Lamashtu text, the demoness is enchanted 'by door and entrance', in order to send her away. In the OB incantation, she enters through the doorway of the house. This is also the case in the long incantation from Ugarit.<sup>183</sup>

- (21) Hekate is a goddess of childbirth in the Greek literature. This may come from her 'child-rearing' function in the Theogony, or it may be derived from her association with Artemis.

However, Lamashtu wants to suckle baby girls, in one of Thureau-Dangin's texts (no.13). This motif of child-suckling also appears at Ugarit (no.2). The motif may have had some influence upon Hekate.<sup>184</sup>

- (22) We noted above that Hekataia were placed in doorways (no.20). Apotropaic figurines of the benevolent spirit Lamassu were also placed in doorways (p.339). Lamassu was also a spirit of childbirth, like Hekate's function. It is possible that Lamassu too had some influence upon Hekate, especially since Lamassu's character is directly opposite to that of Lamashtu. It is also worth noting that the sedu and Lamassu spirits stay in the king's palace, keeping his mind happy. The protective spirit Lamassatu had a similar function. The wish is expressed that the protective spirits accompany Zimri-Lim to 'dam up the breach'. Such a spirit also helped with a campaign (p.339).

These benevolent functions of helping the king and campaigns are curiously similar to some benevolent functions of Hekate in the Theogony; sitting by kings in judgement and giving victory in battle. It is tempting to derive much of Hekate's benevolence from Lamassu and Lamassatu. However, the origin of the last two motifs is ambiguous. Helping the king and giving victory in battle may just as easily be IE functions (p.303).<sup>185</sup>

- (23) It is clear from several texts that Lamashtu is a potnia theron, a 'Mistress of the Beasts'. In the Lamashtu text she is compared to a wild animal of the steppe and told to mount her mountain. Then she is told to catch stag and ibex (or

mountain-goat). In one of Thureau-Dangin's incantations she arises from the thicket of reeds, her face that of a ferocious lion, and follows ox and sheep (our no.13). In the OB incantation, she is told to go to the steppe (our no.15). In the long incantation from Ugarit (our no.2), she is told to 'disappear like the savage donkey'.

We have just seen the close parallel between the animal connections of Hekate and those of Lamashtu. The most convincing of these are dogs (nos.6-8), lions (no.9), serpents (no.10) and snake-headed men (no.11). It is significant that these animal connections of Hekate are not explained by the classical authors who mention them. If Hekate has evolved from Lamashtu, then it is logical that Hekate too was originally a potnia theron, an idea suggested by Marquardt. This may explain her constant association with Artemis, the supreme Mistress of the Beasts, in Greek religion (see pp.78-83).<sup>186</sup>

- (24) Finally, we may note that the worship and rituals of Hekate are curiously apotropaic, as if she were originally a demoness (see above, nos.17, 19 & 20).<sup>187</sup> All the corresponding rituals of Lamashtu are also apotropaic.

For the above reasons it is virtually certain that the Greek Hekate is an evolute of Mesopotamian Lamashtu. However, we have also noted that the Gorgon is probably an evolute of Lamashtu (see pp.190-193). It seems that Lamashtu has undergone a double evolution in Greek mythology. Her feline motifs are especially emphasised in the Gorgon, and her canine ones in Hekate, although Hekate too is connected with the lion.<sup>188</sup>

Our conclusions concerning Hekate are essentially the same as those of Myhrman, in his introduction to the Lamashtu text. Myhrman notes that Hekate is connected with witchcraft, then mentions her animal connections; cattle, lions and the heads of dogs. These are then compared with Lamashtu, whose rituals also involved dogs and who was lion-headed. Myhrman continues to discuss Hekate:



'Most of her cult-places are found in Asia Minor and in Greece proper only on the east coast, a fact that points to an importation from the east. Could perhaps a communication between this Greek and that Babylonian divine being be possible?'

We have expanded Myhrman's original idea and demonstrated its validity.<sup>189</sup>

**(ix) Theories concerning the etymology of Hekate, including a suggested Egyptian etymology.**

The only unexplained aspect of the goddess Hekate now remaining is her name. We will now examine several theories, beginning with some suggested Gk. meanings:

- (1) The god Apollo has an epithet with two forms. These are ἑκηβόλος (II.1.14 & 21) and ἑκατηβόλος (II.15.231). Hesychius suggests that these forms mean 'striking from afar' and 'hitting the mark', but also notes that some say that Apollo slew the dragon in Pytho with a hundred darts: ἑκατηβόλος καὶ ἑκηβόλος ὅς οἱ ἑκάθεν βάλλων καὶ ῥεπιτυγχάνων. τινὲς δὲ ῥεπὲι ἑκατὸν βέλεσι τὸν ῥεν Πυθοῖ[ς] δράκοντα ῥανείλεν ῥΑπόλλων. Thus Apollo's epithet has at least two possible meanings. LS suggest that the original sense may have been 'hitting the mark at will' (ἑκῆτι) (I, p.506).

It is most curious that ἑκατηβόλος seems to contain the name ἑκᾶτη. This suggests that the name of the goddess may be the same as that of the above epithet; 'striking from afar' or 'hitting the mark at will'.

Apollo certainly uses arrows (II.1.43ff.), but it seems totally out of context to apply this meaning to the name Hekate. As Farnell points out, there is little evidence that she carried a bow (see above p.265). Farnell also notes



the idea that Apollo's epithet may have been applied to his sister Artemis and then become detached, as a separate goddess (Hekate). This would suggest the same possible meanings that we noted above. If this theory is correct, Hekate is nothing more than a evolute of Artemis. Given Hekate's unique character, this is clearly impossible, although she is often connected with Artemis (p.269).<sup>190</sup>

- (2) Perhaps the Gk. etymology of Hekate is correct, but the meaning is different.

Thus Ἑκάτη may mean 'far away', in the sense of a goddess of the Netherworld. The suggested derivation is from the common adjective ἑκάς, 'afar'. As J.B.Bury points out, this is very doubtful. Thus the adjective ἑκάς has a different form from the epithet ἑκατηβόλος. This is also a very vague meaning that is not satisfactory in terms of Hekate's complex character.<sup>191</sup>

- (3) Clay observes that Hesiod etymologises the name Hekate in the Theogony, and that this has suggested a derivation from ἑκητι, 'by the will of'. This word is used with reference to Zeus (Od.20.42). We note that Hesiod's frequent references to Hekate's good will may reflect nothing more than a popular etymology based upon the similarity of ἑκητι to Ἑκάτη. In any case, the vowels are different.<sup>192</sup>

- (4) There is another much more interesting idea, suggested by Bury. Having observed the connections of Hekate with dogs, he states as follows:

'I would therefore suggest that the name of the goddess means dog.

Ἑκάτη corresponds to Teutonic hund (Germ. Hund, hound), exactly as

ἑκατόν, 100, corresponds to hund-red...The epithets of the sun

ἑκατηβόλος ἑκατηβέλτης admit of an obvious explanation. The rise of the sun slays the moon; Apollon is therefore called 'smiter of Hecate'.

On the other hand the sun was conceived as the brother of the moon

(Artemis) and therefore he was called Hecatus, masc. of Hecate: or may we conjecture that there were originally two dogs, Hecatus and Hecate, in magic rites, and that the former name fell out of use in this connection, being superseded by Cerberus, and was transferred to the brother of Artemis? In later times the meaning of the name Hecate was forgotten and

ἑκάτη -, naturally enough, connected with ἑκάς.'

These mythological speculations are very dubious. First of all, the rise of the sun does not slay the moon, for the sun and the moon may be present in the sky at the same time. Second, Bury assumes that Apollo is the sun and Artemis (of course!) is the moon, a very doubtful 'naturalistic' origin of deities. Third, the very existence of the male dog 'Hecatus' is a conjecture, as Bury himself admits.

However, Bury's idea is very interesting for linguistic reasons. The words for 'hundred' and 'dog' are very similar in the various Teutonic languages, such as Goth. (Gothic), OE (Old English), OFris (Old Frisian), OS (Old Saxon), OHG (Old High German) and MHG (Middle High German).

<u>Hundred</u>	<u>Dog</u>
Goth. <u>hunda</u>	* <u>hunds</u>
OE, OS <u>hund</u>	<u>hund</u>
OFris. <u>hundred</u>	<u>hund</u>
OHG <u>hunt</u>	<u>hunt</u>

The forms hundred in OFris, and hundert in MHG, are compounds of hund-. It is clear that the two nouns are very similar in all the above languages. Therefore the following equation seems possible also in Gk.:




















hekaton (hundred)Hekate (dog)

This seems to suggest an PIE origin of the name Hekate, with evidence from the related Teutonic languages.<sup>193</sup>

However, this is very doubtful, because the PIE roots of 'hundred' and 'dog' are completely different. According to S.E.Mann, k̂mtóm is the root of the former and k̂uō (k̂uōn) the root of the latter. Thus it is most probable that the equation hundred = dog in Teutonic and Gk. is nothing more than a coincidental resemblance of sound. Moreover, W.P.Lehmann notes that <sup>ε</sup>ε-κατόν is formed with a prefix <sup>ε</sup>ε-. J.H.Vince thinks that not <sup>ε</sup>εκατόν, but \*-κατον would be the syllable in Gk.corresponding to Goth. hund. However, we note that \*-κατον would correspond to PIE k̂mtóm (hundred), but not to k̂uōn (dog). Vince rightly objects to the proposed etymology of Hekate on the grounds that the <sup>ε</sup>ε- prefix remains unexplained. We have taken the objection further, observing that the two PIE roots are not at all related.<sup>194</sup>

- (5) Thus the above attempts to explain the name Hekate in terms of Gk. or PIE are doubtful. However, we have also been unable to discover any Sem. meaning. Since Hekate is of Mesopotamian origin, some sort of oriental etymology would be logical.

Thus we propose to derive <sup>ε</sup>Εκάτη from the Egyptian noun     , hk3, which means 'magic'. It is possible to suggest a fem. form \*hk3t, 'female magic', with a fem. -t suffix. This appears on other nouns. Thus there is     , hf3w (snake), fem.     hf3t (female serpent); note also   hm (slave) and    hmt (female slave). The conventional reconstructed common vowel is e, while the pronunciation of the fem. ending may have been -at. Thus our reconstructed form is \*hek3at, with the meaning 'female magic'. The sense fits



Hekate well. In Greece she was connected with witches, while her Mesopotamian prototype Lamashtu has strong connections with sorcery.

However, a critic may argue that an Egyptian name presupposes an Egyptian goddess, which Hekate is not. We reply that the presence of Egyptians in Mycenaean Greece (see pp.19-20) suggests at least the possibility of an appropriate word from Egyptian as the origin of this mysterious name. Moreover, if some Greeks believed that Hekate was Egyptian, albeit falsely, this would give some support to the etymology. During the classical era this seems to have been so. Diodorus Siculus states that in Egypt there was a temple of Hekate Σκοτιά (darkness). Probably this was a local syncretism.

While our etymology is tentative, it does Hekate's character more justice than the other dubious theories listed above.<sup>195</sup>

## SECTION D

### OTHER CLASSICAL DAEMONS AND MONSTERS WITH MYTHOLOGICAL SIMILARITIES TO HEKATE AND LAMASHTU.

#### (i) Lamia (Λάμια).

We will now analyse the characters of various daemons and monsters, starting with Lamia. Here we will show the connections of Lamia with Hekate and Lamashtu. There are several texts concerning this daemon:

- (1) In Wasps, Aristophanes gives a satirical description of the Athenian politician Cleon (1030-1035). Cleon is described in monstrous terms, such as 'jag-toothed' (καρχαρόδοντι), 'the smell of a seal' (φώκης δ' ὀσμην), 'the unwashed testicles of Lamia' (Λαμίας δ' ὀρχεῖς ὀαπλύτους) and 'the anus of a camel' (πρωκτὸν δὲ καμήλου). Such phrases (1031 & 1035) are seemingly intended to express the general foulness of Cleon. The same description is repeated almost verbatim in the play Peace, where the same phrase is used for Lamia (758).
- (2) The scholiast on Wasps (1035) explains the phrase Λαμίας ὀρχεῖς, 'testicles of Lamia'. He states that Lamia is a beast, deriving the name λάμια or λαίμια from the noun λαιμός, since Lamia had a 'big throat' (μέγαν λαιμόν). Lamia's testicles were vigorous (δραστικῶι) and images were made of them. Lamia was female. The scholiast then tells a myth. According to Duris in his work On matters Libyan (Λιβυκῶν), Lamia was born as a beautiful woman. Zeus copulated with her, but Hera was jealous and destroyed

the girl's offspring. Due to her grief, Lamia became ill-shapen (δύσμορφον) and snatched up the little children of others, in order to destroy them (scholia on 1035, lines 30-37).

- (3) The scholiast on Peace tells essentially the same myth, but with minor variations. Lamia was female with vigorous testicles. She was the daughter of Belos and Libya. Zeus loved her and carried her from Libya to Italy, where the city of Lamia (Λάμια) was said to be named after her. When Zeus copulated with her, Hera was jealous and destroyed Lamia's children. Lamia was distressed when her children were dead. Through jealousy she stole the little children of others and destroyed them. As a result of this, children call fearful nurses 'Lamia'. Lamia continued sleepless in her grief by Hera's will, until Zeus pitied her by allowing her to take out her eyes and put them back in again. By the will of Zeus, Lamia was said to be able to change her form into whatever she wanted. Cleon was a 'monstrous wonder' (ῥαλλόκοτον...τέρας).

Lamia was said to be a savage animal with a foul smell (δύσοσμον), like the stink around Cleon (scholia on 758, lines 12-34).<sup>196</sup>

- (4) The scholiast on Aristides' Panathenaicus tells the same myth. He begins by saying that children are frightened of Lamia and Mormo. Thus Lamia was born a very beautiful (περικαλλής) Libyan woman, whose children were destroyed by the jealous Hera, after she was loved by Zeus. Lamia snatched up the children of others to destroy them. She received the name Strigla (στρίγλαν). This contains the same motifs as the above texts; the beautiful Libyan girl who turned into an ill-shapen (δύσμορφος) child-killer through grief (see also texts 1, 2 & 3).<sup>197</sup>

- (5) Further information is given by Diodorus Siculus (20.41ff.). Near Automala in Libya there was a mountain with a deep ravine in the centre, from which a rock



rose to a peak. At the base of the rock there was a big cave. According to myth, Lamia was born in this cave. She was a queen 'of surpassing beauty' (τῷ κάλλει διαφέρουσιν). Diodorus Siculus states that after a time her 'savagery of heart' (τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγριότητα) made her face 'beast-like' (θηριώδη). After the death of her children, she envied the happiness of other women in their children. Thus Lamia ordered that the new-born babies (τὰ βρέφη) be snatched out of their mothers' arms and slain at once (41.1-4). Finally, Diodorus Siculus quotes Euripides as a witness that Lamia was born in Libya:

'Who does not know the name of Lamia, the most shameful (ἐπονείδιστον) among mortals, of Libyan race (τῆς Λιβυτικῆς γένος)?' (End of Sec.41)

- (6) Antoninus Liberalis tells a very similar myth about Lamia, located in Greece (Myth VIII). There was an enormous cave still in existence, situated upon Mount Kirphis, at the foot of Parnassos near Krisa. In this cave there dwelt a monster (θηρίον) called Lamia (Λάμιαν) by some, and Sybaris (Σύβαριν) by others. It was enormous (ὑπερφύεσ) and ventured out each day to snatch up beasts from the fields and also men. As a consequence of this, the Delphians considered migrating to another country, but the Oracle advised them to remain. They would be delivered from their misfortune if they placed a youth outside the monster's cave (8.1-3). Alcyoneus the only son of Diomus and Meganeire was chosen; he was beautiful both in appearance and character. The priests crowned him and were leading him to the cave, when they were met by Eurybatus the son of Euphemus, who fell in love with Alcyoneus (3-5).

Thus Eurybatus stripped off Alcyoneus' crown, put it upon his own head and bade the priests lead him to the cave instead. When inside Eurybatus seized Sybaris, carried her from the lair and hurled her down the rocks, where she died from a head-wound (6-7).

It is clear that the myth told by Antoninus is very similar to that of Diodorus. They may both be derived from an ancestral version. According to Diodorus (text 5) Lamia lived in a cave upon a Libyan mountain, while the Lamia of Antoninus lived in a cave upon a Greek mountain. The Libyan Lamia was beast-like (θηριώδη), while Lamia of Kirphis was a beast (θηρίον). The Libyan Lamia caused the deaths of babies, and the Greek one snatched both men and animals. Finally, a youth was offered to the monster of Kirphis, suggesting a connection with the young.<sup>198</sup>

- (7) A rather different myth of Lamia is told by Flavius Philostratus in The life of Apollonius of Tyana. One of the pupils of Apollonius was a twenty-five year old Lycian called Menippus, who resembled an athlete in his beauty (4.25ff.). Most people thought that Menippus was loved by a foreign woman, who seemed to be beautiful, dainty (ἑαβρά) and rich. She only appeared to be so. In fact, when walking along the road to Kenchreae Menippus had met an apparition (φάσμα) in the shape of a woman. She took his hand and told him that she had long been in love with him. She said that she was a Phoenician woman living in a suburb of Corinth. She invited Menippus to her home, enticing him with the offer of her singing and wine, and assuring him that he would have no rival in love (ᾠαντεραστής). They would live together, a beautiful woman with a beautiful man (καλὴ ξὺν καλῷ). Menippus visited her in the evening and came often in the future, not realising that she was an apparition (Par.1).

Apollonius told Menippus that his love was a serpent (ὄφις) and that he



could not marry her. The 'woman' then appeared for her wedding to Menippus, together with gold and silver goblets for the drinking-party (Par.2). Apollonius told Menippus that this was not real, just as the world itself was only 'a semblance of matter' (εὐλης δόξα). Menippus' bride was one of the Empousae, also thought of as Lamias (Λαμίας) and Mormolukias (μορμολυκίας). Such beings love, being especially attracted to 'the delights of Aphrodite' (Ἀφροδισίων) and to human flesh. They decoy with these delights humans whom they wish to devour. Upon hearing this, the 'woman' at first pretended to be disgusted, but when the goblets turned out to be as light as air (Ἀνεμιαία) and flew away, she pretended to weep. Apollonius forced her to admit that she was an Empousa and was fattening Menippus with pleasures before feeding upon his body:

'...for she was accustomed to feeding upon beautiful and young bodies, since their blood is pure.' (Par 3.)

Thus Apollonius saved Menippus from the Lamia. We would call her a vampire. Like the Lamias of Diodorus Siculus and Antoninus Liberalis (texts 5-6), this one devoured human flesh. It is also interesting that she received the name Empousa, whom we will discuss presently.<sup>199</sup>

- (8) Now we will explore several ideas for the etymology of Lamia. As we have seen, the scholiast on the Wasps of Aristophanes derives Lamia (or Λαίμια) from the noun λαιμός, 'throat' (text 2). The EM and the Suida give exactly the same information and text, stating that Lamia is a beast. This etymology is made very uncertain, due to the different phonemes of λαιμός and Λάμια.
- (9) However, a different possibility is suggested by the noun ἡ Λάμια, a type of



fish mentioned by Aristotle in the History of animals. Aristotle states:

The Selachia (σελάχη) include, beside those already mentioned, the ox-fish (βοῦς), the Lamia (λάμια), the eagle-ray (ἰαετός)... (5.4-5)

According to LS, this is a 'fierce shark'. This noun lamia is identical to the name of the monster, including the position of the accent. If Lamia were originally a sea-monster, perhaps this is the origin of her name. Speaking about the Sibyl, Pausanias (10.12.2) mentions that she was descended from Zeus and Lamia (Λάμια), a daughter of Poseidon, but no more information is given. The marine etymology of the daemon Lamia remains only an interesting possibility.<sup>200</sup>

There is also an interesting Sem. possibility. The name Lamia could be a shortened Gk. form of the Mesopotamian demoness Lamashtu, whom we connected with the goddess Hekate (Sec.C). The ending -shtu may have been dropped because the phoneme <sup>✓</sup>š is unknown in Gk. The ι may be a corruption, caused either by the noun λάμια, or by the popular etymology from λαιμός, 'throat' (see above). In any case, it is virtually certain that Lamia is a form of Lamashtu, for the following reasons:

- (1) Lamashtu is a 'snatcher demon', who steals babies from the wombs of their mothers and kills them. Lamia either snatches babies herself in order to kill them (texts 2, 3 & 4), or gives the orders for this (text 5).
- (2) Lamashtu is a cannibal, feeding upon the flesh and blood of men. The Lamia of Antoninus Liberalis (text 6) was in the habit of snatching men from the fields, while that of Corinth (text 7) was especially fond of human flesh and blood.
- (3) Lamashtu has animal characteristics (lion, she-wolf), while Lamia is described as a savage animal (text 3) or as a beast (text 6).
- (4) Lamashtu is a demoness. The Lamia met by Menippus took the shape of a

phantom (text 7).

- (5) The Greek literature preserves a hint of Lamia's Semitic origin. She is either Libyan (texts 2, 3 & 5) or Phoenician (text 7).

While Hekate is clearly derived from Lamashtu, Lamia has an even closer connection in character with the Mesopotamian demoness, as a specific 'child-snatcher'.<sup>201</sup>

(ii) Empousa (Ἐμπουσα).

Here are the texts concerning our second daemon:

- (1) Empousa is mentioned in the Ecclesiazusae of Aristophanes. A youth is being dragged away by an old woman or hag (γρᾱῦς).

Girl. Where drag you him?

Hag. I'm taking home my (husband).

Girl. Not wisely then: for he is too young to sleep with you, since you are more of a mother than a wife to him... (1037-1040)

After this, the youth is grateful to the girl for saving him from the hag (1045-1048). However, a second hag now appears, protesting to the first that she is to sleep with him before her (1049-1051). The second hag now proceeds to drag the youth away:

Hag B. Come hither.

Youth (to the girl) Don't stand by watching me being dragged away by this (hag), I beseech you.

Hag B. 'Tis not I, 'tis the LAW drags you.

Youth. Not at all (οὐκ ἐμέ γ), 'tis an Empousa, clothed around with a blood-blister. (1051-1056)

It is clear from this that Empousa is identified with an old hag, who drags away youths for seduction.

The scholiast on this text (1056) states that Empousa is now called *ῥονοσκελίδα*, 'donkey-leg', and that it means demon (*δαίμονα*).

- (2) The Frogs of Aristophanes gives more information on Empousa. Xanthias is speaking to Dionysus:

Xa. And now by Zeus I see a great monster (*θηρίον*).

Di. What sort?

Xa. Indeed it assumes every shape (*παντοδαπὸν*); now it's a bull (*βοῦς*), and now a mule (*ῥορεύς*), and now again a most beautiful woman.

Di. Where is she? Well, I'll go to her.

Xa. But it's no longer a woman, it's a dog now.

Di. It is Empousa.

Xa. Well, its whole face is bright with fire.

Di. And has it a copper leg?

Xa. Yes, by Poseidon, and the other is of cow-dung, know it well.

Di. O, whither shall I flee?

Xa. O, whither I?

(285ff.-296)

This text is of special interest. Since fun is made of Empousa, she must have been well known to Aristophanes' audience. She takes the shape of a bull, a mule, a woman and a dog; her face is fiery and one leg is of cow-dung (*βολίτινον*).



- (3) Four sources preserve a common tradition of information concerning Empousa, with only minor variations of information in each. These are the scholiast on Aristophanes' Frogs, the EM, the Suida and Hesychius' Lexicon.

The scholiast on Frogs states, as do the other sources, that Empousa is a 'demon-shaped phantom sent by Hekate (φάντασμα δαιμονιώδες ὑπο Ἑκάτης ἐπιπεμπόμενον). Then the scholiast continues by stating that Empousa seems to appear at midday to those sacrificing to the dead, and that some think she is the same as Hekate. In support of this the scholiast quotes a fragment of Aristophanes (τοῖς Ταγηνισταῖς):

'And chthonian Hekate spiralling the coils of snakes...Why do you call the Empousa?' (p.283, col.2)

This fragment clearly shows the identification of Empousa with Hekate, and the latter's connection with snakes (see pp.277-283).

The EM also states that Empousa changes into many shapes, giving a popular etymology from the verb ἑμποδίζειν, 'to fetter'. She appears from dark places to those with closed eyes (τοῖς μυοῦμένοις), that is, in dreams. Others said that she was a phantom sent by Hekate to the unfortunate.

The information in the Suida is very similar to the above. The Suida too states that some identified Empousa with Hekate. She was called Ὀνοκώλη, 'ass-limbed', because she had the foot of an ass.

Hesychius states that Aristophanes called Hekate Empousa. This is suggested by the above fragment of Aristophanes.<sup>202</sup>

- (4) Another fragment comes from the second book of Flavius Philostratus, related in the Treatise of Eusebius. Philostratus says that Apollonius and his companions were on a road to India, when they saw along the road a demon

called Empousa. They drove it away with abuse (Chap.13).

- (5) There is also evidence from later times. Evagrius Scholasticus mentions Empousa in his Ecclesiastical history. Evagrius describes the divine signs that appeared during the birth of the Byzantine Emperor Mauricius (acceded 582 A.D.):

'...and his mother told me that, at the time of her delivery, the earth sent forth a strange odour of peculiar sweetness; and that Empousa, as she is called, had often carried off the child for the purpose of devouring him, but had been unable to injure him.' (5.21, 30ff.)

The exact significance of this is not clear. This Empousa may possibly have been a witch who genuinely abducted the baby, or perhaps was imagined as so doing. Possibly this is similar to the situation in the Ecclesiazusae of Aristophanes (see text 1), in which a youth is abducted by an old hag, identified with Empousa.<sup>203</sup>

- (6) There is one more fragment of Byzantine evidence. Sozomen has a curious anecdote in his Ecclesiastical history.

'John also deposed Gerontius, bishop of Nicomedia. This latter was a deacon under Ambrosius, of the church of Milan: he declared, either with an intention to deceive others, or because he had been himself deceived by some phantasy of a demon, that he had seized a quadruped resembling an ass (ὄνοσκελὶς) by night, had cut off its head, and flung it into a grinding-house.' (8.6, 16-18)

The same noun for a 'donkey-leg' (see text 1) is used by the scholiast on Aristophanes with reference to Empousa. Therefore this is almost certainly a late reference to Empousa. The literal meaning of the above text strongly suggests that Gerontius encountered Empousa in the shape of an apparition.

Thus the verb τεράτευόμενος, 'talking marvels', is rendered by 'with an intention to deceive others'. The phrase δαιμονίου σπουδῇ καὶ φαντασίαις ὑπαχθείς, 'led on in haste by phantasies of a demon', is again expressed by the English 'deceived'.<sup>204</sup>

In conclusion, we observe that Empousa is almost certainly a form of Hekate, for the following reasons:

- (1) The ancient authors state that she was either a phantom sent by Hekate, or Hekate herself (text 3).
- (2) Hekate is a goddess connected with dogs, cattle and horses, who carries torches (see Sec.A). The Empousa of Aristophanes changed into a bull, a mule, a woman and a dog. Her face was fiery (text 2).
- (3) Hekate is emphatically a chthonian goddess. Empousa appeared to those who were sacrificing to the dead (text 3).<sup>205</sup>

However, the name Empousa seems to be a Greek form, unlike Hekate's possible Egyptian etymology (see p.370). Ἐμπουσα is possibly connected with the verb ἔμπυέω, 'suppurate', with reference to a wound. Aristophanes connects her with a 'blood-blister' (text 1).<sup>206</sup>

### (iii) Mormo and Mormolukeion.

These two daemons will be discussed together:

- (1) Aristophanes mentions these briefly. In the Equites, Paphlagon is described:

'Now this Paphlagon approaches, a pushing, agitating swell (ῥωθῶν κολόκυμα...ταράττων) and stirring up (κυκῶν), in order to devour



( ἔως δὲ καταπιόμενός) me, a bold Mormo (μορμῶ τοῦ θράσους).  
(691ff.)

This hints that Mormo is cannibalistic. In the Acharnians there is a scene involving the Gorgon shield of Lamachus:

Lam. ...Who awakened the Gorgon from its cover? ·

Di. O Lamachus, hero of crests and cohorts (λόχων).

(574-575)

Following this, Dionysus states:

'But I beseech you, carry away from me the Mormo (τὴν Μορμόνα).'

(582)

Thus the shield is described both as Gorgon and Mormo. The scholiast on this

(582) states that τὴν Μορμόνα is a substitute for τὰ φοβερά, 'fears'.

- (2) In the Thesmophoriazusae, Aristophanes also refers to the 'Mormolukeia'.

'...upon the womens' apartments they now throw seals and bars, guarding us, and Molossian dogs besides, wolf-Mormos

(μορμολυκεία) for adulterers.' (414-417)

This clearly shows the canine connection of the Mormolukeion, whose name expresses a wolfish (λύκειος) association.

- (3) Strabo mentions several daemons or 'bogeys' which were used to frighten children into good behaviour:

'As for children, we employ the pleasing myths to exhort them, and the fearful ones to deter them; for instance, Lamia is a myth, and so are

Gorgo (Γοργῶ) and Ephialtes and Mormoluke (Μορμολύκη).' (1.2, 8)

Clearly, Mormoluke is another form of Mormolukeion.<sup>207</sup>

- (4) In the Lover of lies, Lucian gives more evidence for the 'child-scaring' function of bogeys. Tychiades states:

'...very strange and wonderful little fables (μυθίδι<sup>α</sup>), able to bewitch (κηλ<sup>ειν</sup>) the souls of children who still dread Mormo and Lamia.'

(324-325)

Later in the same work, Eucrates compares Hekate to 'a gigantic Mormolukeion' (γιγάντειόν τι μορμολύκειον) in a text which we have already discussed (p.279).<sup>208</sup>

- (5) Theocritus (Idyll 15) mentions an equine Mormo. Praxinoa says to the child:

'...I will not take you, child. Horse Mormo (μορμώ<sup>ς</sup>ἵππος) bites. Cry, as much as you like...' (40)

Praxinoa may be frightening the child into good behaviour.

The scholiast on this text gives more information:

'Mormo: Lameia queen of the Laistrygonians, who is also called Gelo, being unhappy in regard to her own children that died, wanted to slay those remaining.' (15.40)

Thus Mormo was identified with Lameia. The scholiast adds that 'Horse Mormo' was for the purpose of terror (εἰς κατάπληξιν).<sup>209</sup>

- (6) The identification of Mormo with Lameia (Lamia) is much more than just a casual syncretism. The scholiast on Aristides tells of a Corinthian Mormo who ate up her own children. As a result of this:

'And therefore when women wish to frighten their own children, they call upon Mormo.' (102, 5, lines 18-19; see above, p.373)

- (7) Two brief references also show the connection with fear. In the Hellenica, Xenophon notes that the Lacedaemonians laughed at their cowardly allies the Mantineans:

'...that the allies feared the peltasts just as young children (fear) Mormos (μορμόνας).' (4.4.17)

In Plato's Phaedo, Cebes says that death should not be feared as if it is a 'wolf-Mormo' (μορμολύκεια). (77d-e)

- (8) Some items of vocabulary in Hesychius show clearly the terrifying connotations of this daemon:

63. μόρμη · χαλεπή. (dangerous) ὀκνηκτική (terrifying)

64. μόρμοι · φόβοι κενοί (empty fears)

65. μορμουκεία τὰ τῶν τραγωδῶν προσωπεῖα (the masks of tragedies)

67. μορμολύττει φοβερίζει (terrifies, scares)

69. μορμόνας · πλάνητας δαίμονας (wandering demons)

(p.120)

- (9) Under the entry ΜΟΡΜΟΛΥΚΕΪΟΝ, the EM states that these are the masks of tragedies, and that Mormo is the name of a woman. Also, the masks that were 'moulded for terror' (πρὸς κατάπληξιν τυπωθέντα) were called mormolukeia, as a metaphorical use of language.

The Suida adds that mormolukeia were the masks of actors, which the Dorians called γόργια (Gorgons). Also, Lamias (see p.376) were called Mormolukias.<sup>210</sup>

It is clear that Mormo and Mormolukeion are closely connected with Hekate, for the following reasons:

- (1) Hekate is connected with the horse, while Theocritus (text 5) mentions a 'horse Mormo'.
- (2) Hekate is connected with dogs, and possibly with the 'wolf' (PGM). The mormolukeia of Aristophanes is wolfish, and possibly to be identified with the 'Molossian dogs'. (see text 2)
- (3) Hekate sends demons, while according to Hesychius (above) 'Mormones' are



'wandering demons'.

- (4) Lucian (see text 4) compares Hekate herself to Mormolukeion.<sup>211</sup>

(iv) **Skylla.** (Σκύλλα).

The canine monster Skylla provides more valuable evidence for this complex of Greek mythology. Here are some texts:

- (1) Skylla first appears in Homer's Odyssey. Kirke advises Odysseus about her (12.80ff.). Skylla dwells in a dark cave (σπέος ᾗεροειδές), in the middle of a cliff (μέσσω δ' ᾗεν σκοπέλῳ):

'And therein dwells Skylla, yelping terribly (δεινὸν λελακυῖα). Her voice is indeed as loud as (ὥση) that of a new-born puppy (σκύλακος νεογιλῆς), but she on the other hand is an evil monster (πέλωρ κακόν), nor would anyone rejoice upon seeing her, not even if a god were to meet her. Verily she has twelve feet, all pendulous (ᾗωροι), and six necks, very long (περιμήκεα), and on each one a fearful (σμερδαλέη) head, and therein three rows of teeth, close and thick (πυκνοὶ καὶ θαμέες), full of black death. Her middle has sunk into the hollow cave, but she puts forth her heads outside the terrible chasm (βερέθρου), and fishes there, peeping eagerly around the rock, for dolphins and sea-dogs (δελφῖνας τε κύνας), and whatever greater beast (κῆτος) she may haply catch, such as much-groaning Amphitrite nourishes in myriads. And by her no sailors yet may boast that they have ever fled past in a ship, for

with each head she carries off a man, snatching him out of  
(ῥεξαρχάξασα) the dark-prowed ship.' (12.85-100)

Thus she snatches up six sailors at one time, with her six heads. Later on six of Odysseus' companions met this fate. Skylla took them like a fisherman (12.251). They were lifted struggling (ῥασπαίροντες) towards the rocks (255), and Skylla ate them up screaming (κεκληγῶτας) in her doorway (256).

Thus in the Odyssey Skylla is a terrible man-eating monster.

- (2) Further details are given by the scholiast on the Odyssey. He states that Skylla is the daughter of Phorkys and Hekate. She has dogs (σκύλακας) at her sides, and controls the Sicilian strait. Her stature is wondrous (μέγεθος θαυμαστή) and her eyes are fiery (πυροειδεῖς). The lower part of her body was hidden in the cave, attached to the rock, but she was able to reach a ship with her long necks. She is a howling (λελακυῖα) or barking (ῥυλακτοῦσα) creature (scholia on 12.85, lines 19 & 1-14).

Moreover, later people (οἱ νεώτεροι) moulded (περιέπλασαν) the heads of dogs (κυνῶν μὲν κεφαλὰς) for her (12.86, 16). The scholiast also adds that Skylla had feet shaped like snails (κοχλιῶδες) and of coiled form (πλεκτανῶδεις) (12.89, 10).

- (3) In the Argonautica, Apollonius Rhodius states that Skylla dwells in a 'hateful hole' (στυγερὸν κυθμῶνα), and that she is 'baleful' (ῥολοόφρονος). He gives her the same genealogy as the scholiast on the Odyssey; she is the daughter of Hekate, whom he says is also called Krataiis, and of Phorkys. There is the danger that Skylla may destroy the Argonauts with her 'terrible

jaws' (σμερδαλέησιν...γένυσσιν). (4.827-831)

- (4) In the Epitome, Apollodorus also makes Skylla the daughter of Krataiis (Hekate) and Phorkys. Her father may have been Trienos (Τριήνορ), in a different version. Apollodorus adds that Skylla had the face and breast of a woman, with six heads and twelve feet of dogs from her flanks (7.20-22). The human part of Skylla seems to be a new development, for it is not mentioned in the Odyssey (see text 1).<sup>212</sup>
- (5) The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (4.828) gives two genealogies of Skylla. In the Great Eoiae of Hesiod, she is the daughter of Phorbas and Hekate (see texts 2-4), while Stesichorus makes her the daughter of Lamia. Both Skylla and Lamia devoured men.<sup>213</sup>
- (6) In the Alexandra, Lycophron describes Skylla:

'...who (i.e. Herakles) also slew the fierce bitch (ῥαγρίαὺν κύνα) that watched the narrow straits of the Ausonian sea, fishing over her cave, the bull-slaying lioness,...' (44-47)

This animal imagery is most interesting. Hekate is connected with cattle in Hesiod's Theogony (p.256). Later on she was associated with the lioness (p.278). These motifs are possibly borrowed from Hekate.<sup>214</sup>

- (7) In the Metamorphoses, Ovid emphasises Skylla's canine connection. Her stomach (alvum) is girded with cruel dogs (feris...canibus succingitur), and she has the face of a maiden (virginis ora), which she once was (13.732-734). The goddess Kirke transformed her into a canine shape because of jealousy, when she was rejected by Skylla's lover Glaukos (14.37ff.). The goddess contaminated Skylla's bathing-pool with poisons (55ff.) and Skylla assumed a monstrous form, when she entered the pool:



'...she sees her lions disfigured with barking monster-shapes (sua foedari latrantibus inguina monstribus adspicit)...looking for her thighs, her legs, her feet, she finds in place of these the jaws of Kerberos (rictus Cerbereos). She stands, upon raging dogs (canum rabie),'...(14.59-66)

As a result of this, Skylla took revenge upon Odysseus and his companions (70ff.).

The mythographer Hyginus summarises the same tale, noting that Skylla is the daughter of Krataeis (see texts 3 & 4), and that she was once a most beautiful maiden (virgo formosissima). When she went to bathe in the water poisoned by Kirke, dogs were born from her loins (ab inguinibus eius canes sunt nati), and she took revenge upon Odysseus and his companions (Myth 199).

In the above Roman versions, there seems to be an attempt to explain Skylla's monstrous nature and deeds in the Odyssey (texts 1 & 2). In the Odyssey there is no trace of Skylla as a maiden. Perhaps Ovid and Hyginus were influenced by the myth of the maiden Hekabe, who was also changed into a dog (see pp.295-296). It is also interesting that the scholiast on the Odyssey (text 2) gives Skylla fiery eyes, which is a characteristic of Hekabe (p.295).<sup>215</sup>

- (8) The canine motif was used for an etymology of Skylla. The EM derives Σκύλλα from the noun σκύλαξ, 'puppy', since she has a puppy's voice in the Odyssey (12.86). Hesychius has the entry σκύλλον·τὴν κύνα λέγουσιν emphasising the bitch motif (see text 6). LS note that the derivation from σκύλαξ is 'probably erroneous', although it is implied in the Odyssey. The single λ of σκύλαξ makes the etymology rather dubious. It is more probable that Skylla is derived from the verb σκύλλω, 'maltreat, molest, annoy'.<sup>216</sup>

Finally, we may note Skylla's close similarities to both Hekate and Lamia. Skylla resembles Hekate in the following ways:

- (1) Skylla is canine (above, texts 1-8), and so is Hekate.
- (2) Skylla is described as a 'bull-slaying lioness' (text 6), while Hekate is connected with both animals.
- (3) Skylla's necks are very long and could be understood as snake-like (text 1), while Hekate has snake connections.
- (4) Skylla is very big (text 2) and so is Hekate.
- (5) Both Hekate and Skylla lived in caves (text 1).
- (6) Skylla is Hekate's daughter (texts 2-5).
- (7) Dog-headed images were made of Skylla (text 2), as of Hekate.

The following also connect Skylla with Lamia:

- (1) Both Lamia and Skylla lived in caves.
- (2) Both devoured human beings (text 1).
- (3) Ovid's Skylla (text 7) was originally a woman, as was Lamia. Lamia was beautiful and so was Skylla (Hyginus).
- (4) Lamia was Skylla's mother (text 5).

It seems that Skylla is a Greek evolute of the same Mesopotamian Lamashtu mythology that produced Hekate and Lamia. For instance, Lamashtu, Hekate and Skylla all seem to have had dog-images in cult. In the case of Skylla, the canine motifs seem to have been reinforced both by the similarity of her name to the noun σκύλαξ (text 8), and by the 'sea-dogs' that she hunted (Od.12.96).<sup>217</sup>

(v) Echidna (Ἐχιδνα) and Delphyne (Δελφύνη).

We will now briefly examine these two monsters.

- (1) Echidna is an ancient monster, first appearing in Hesiod's Theogony. Echidna's parents were probably Phorkys and Keto (270), although Chrysaor

and Kallirrhoe are also possible, since they are mentioned just before Echidna. Kallirrhoe was the daughter of Okeanos (288). In any case, Echidna is then described:

'And in a hollow cave she begat another monster, irresistible (ῥαμῆχανον), in no way similar to either mortal men or to the deathless gods, divine (θείην), stout-hearted (κρατερόφρον) Echidna, who is half a nymph with glancing eyes and fair cheeks, and half again a monstrous snake (πέλωρον ῥόφιν), terrible and huge, dappled/quick-moving (αἰόλον), eating raw flesh (ῥωμηστῆν) under the depths of the very holy earth. And there she has a cave below under a hollow rock far from deathless gods and mortal men. There, then, did the gods appoint her a glorious house to dwell in: and she keeps guard in Arima beneath the earth, baneful (λυγρῇ) Echidna, a deathless and ageless nymph all her days. (295-305)<sup>218</sup>

- (2) Apollodorus (2.1.2) mentions Echidna. She was the daughter of Tartaros and Ge (Earth), and used to snatch up (συνήρπαζεν) passers by, but was caught asleep and slain by Argos.
- (3) Diodorus Siculus states that the myth of Echidna was known to the Scythians:

'...there was born among them a maiden begotten from the earth; the upper parts of her body as far as her waist were those of a woman, but the lower parts were those of a snake (ῥεχίδνης).' (2.43.3)

- (4) Pausanias (8.18.6) gives Echidna another genealogy; according to the poet Epimenides she was the daughter of Peiras and of Styx, who was the daughter



of Ocean.

Such was Echidna. The monster Delphyne was almost identical:

- (5) According to Apollodorus (1.6.3), Delphyne was a she-dragon (δράκαιναν) and was half a beast (ἡμίθηρ) and half a girl, who dwelt in the Corycian cave in Cilicia.
- (6) Apollonius Rhodius (2.705-706) states that Apollo slew Delphyne under Parnassos.<sup>219</sup>

The two monsters Echidna and Delphyne are very similar to Skylla:

- (1) They both lived in caves (texts 1 & 5), and so did Skylla.
- (2) Echidna was an eater of raw flesh who snatched up humans (texts 1 & 2), while Skylla devoured sailors.
- (3) Both Echidna and Delphyne were half girl and half snake or dragon (texts 1, 3 & 5). According to Apollodorus and Ovid, Skylla was a woman above and a canine beast below. In the *Odyssey*, her necks were long and snake-like.
- (4) The Echidna of Hesiod was beautiful, and so was the Skylla of Hyginus.

There does not seem to be any direct oriental connection with Echidna and Delphyne. It is clear that they are related to Skylla in the Greek world.<sup>220</sup>

#### (vi) The Striges.

One type of daemon in the Latin literature is also worth discussing. The Striges are described in Ovid's *Fasti*. Ovid begins by saying that they are greedy birds (*avidae volucres*), not the same as those that stole the food of Phineus (i.e. the Harpies), but descended from their race (6.131-132). Thus the Striges are compared to the Harpies of Greek mythology. The Striges have large heads (*grande caput*), staring eyes (*stantes oculi*), beaks fitted for robbery (*rostra apta rapinis*) and talons fitted with hooks (*unguibus hamus inest*). Thus they are birds of prey (133-135). They are also child-snatchers:

'They fly by night and attack children destitute (egentes) of nurses, and defile their bodies, snatched (raptā) from their cradles. They are said to rend the flesh of sucklings with their beaks, and their throats are full of the blood which they have drunk. Screech-owl (strigibus) is their name; but the reason of the name is that they are wont to screech (stridere) horribly by night. Whether, therefore, they are born birds, or are created by incantation (carmine), and the magic song of the Marsi (naeniaque...Marsa) transforms beldames (anus) into birds, they came into the chambers of Proca.' (6.135-143)

The baby was only five days old, and was a new prey (praeda recens) for the birds. They sucked his breast with their tongues and cut his cheeks with their claws (143-148). When the nurse discovered this, she went to Crane and told the story (151). Crane then performed an apotropaic ritual to protect the baby; the entrance was sprinkled with drugged water (157) and the raw inwards of a sow two months old were held (158). This was sacrificed (see 163-164) and was offered to the birds as a substitute for the baby:

'And thus she spoke: "Ye birds of night (noctis aves), spare the child's inwards: a small victim falls for a small child. Take, I pray ye, a heart for a heart, entrails for entrails. This life we give you for a better life." ' (159-162)

After this ritual, the birds did not violate the cradle, and the baby boy recovered his former colour (167-168). Such is the myth of the Striges.<sup>221</sup>

There are two observations of interest to be made concerning this text. The first is the etymology of Striges, and the second the similarity of these birds to Lamashtu.

Ovid derives the name from the verb stridere, 'to screech', but this etymology is very dubious. The d cannot be the origin of the g of Striges. It is tempting to connect



the name with the Latin noun striga, 'witch'. However, this noun may be derived from Striges, since the birds themselves may have been witches (Fasti 6.142).

It is certain that the name comes from Latin strix, strigis, 'screech-owl'. Moreover, there may be a Gk. form of striges. We have already noted the form στρίγλα, a name of Lamia in the scholiast on Aristides (p.373). Hesychius records the noun στρίγλος : τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ κέρατος. νυκτίφοιτον. καλεῖται δὲ καὶ νυκτοβοα. οἱ δὲ νυκτοκόρακα. Thus striglos is said to mean 'roaming by night', 'shouting by night' and 'night-raven'. These meanings fit the Striges well, for Ovid says (Fasti 6.140) that the birds screech by night. We have already discussed the night-raven in the myth of Meropis (p.158).<sup>222</sup>

The myth of the Striges shows the following parallels with the demoness Lamashtu:

- (1) The Striges are described as ferocious owls, rending babies. They have hooked talons reminiscent of birds of prey. One obsidian fragment (see p.335) has an eagle-headed Lamashtu with talons on her arms, depicted upon the obverse.
- (2) Ovid's Striges are child-snatching birds. Lamashtu is often described as a child-stealer or snatcher.
- (3) The Striges eat the flesh and drink the blood of babies. Lamashtu eats the flesh and drinks the blood of men.
- (4) Pigs were sacrificed to Lamashtu, as part of the apotropaic ritual to send her away. In order to protect Proca, Crane sacrificed a sow.

The available evidence strongly suggests that the ultimate origin of the Striges is to be found in the mythology of Lamashtu. However, it would be impetuous to suggest such a close connection as between Lamashtu and Lamia (pp.377-378). The Striges are part of Roman mythology, and the motifs may first have passed through the Greek world.<sup>223</sup>



(vii) Gello (Γελλώ) and the Mesopotamian Gallu demon.

Our information on Gello is very limited. There are three relevant texts:

- (1) Zenobius mentions Gello in his work Centuries of proverbs.

Fonder of children than Gello (Γέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα); a saying used of those who die untimely (ῥάωρως), or of those who are lovers of children but ruin them with delicacy (τρυφή); for Gello was a girl who died untimely, and of whom the Lesbians say that her ghost haunts little children, ascribing to her the death of such as die before they are grown up (τοὺς τῶν ῥάωρων θανάτους). It occurs in Sappho'. (Paroem. 1.58)

The Suida preserves the same tradition, stating that Gello died untimely and that her ghost appeared to little children, and to the untimely dead departed (αὕτη ῥάωρος ῥετελεύτησε, καὶ τὸ φάντασμα αὐτῆς ῥεδόκουν ῥεπὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ τοὺς ῥάωρους θανάτους ῥιέναι).

- (2) Under the entry Γελ(λ)ώ, Hesychius states:

ῥίδωλον ῥεμπούσης τὸ τῶν ῥάωρων, τῶν παρθένων.

Thus Gello was believed to be a phantom of Empousa (Sec.D ii), of the untimely dead, or of maidens.

In the next entry, Γελλῶς, Hesychius states:

δαίμων, ῥῆ(ν) γυναῖκες τὰ νεογνὰ παιδία φασὶν ῥαρπάζειν

Thus Gello was a snatcher of new-born children.<sup>224</sup>

- (3) In the Thesaurus of the Greek language, H. Stephanus gives a quotation from the Byzantine author Michael Psellus, revealing the Semitic origin of Gillo (Γιλλῶ):

But Gillo, this ancient and much-famed name, is neither a certain demon, nor a man transformed into an altogether most savage beast. For all philosophers have denied the change of nature, and neither could a beast ever be turned into a man, nor indeed a man transformed into a beast, nor too into a demon, nor into an angel. Although (δέ) I know the names of demons and their powers, both many and (?) various (ἐν πολλοῖς), neither among the chroniclers nor among the fraudulent books of Porphyry have I encountered Gillo. But for me a secret Hebrew book originated/fabricated (προσέπλασεν) this name. And the author of the book The Solomon makes a hypothesis.....Therefore, according to him Gillo is a certain power opposed to creation and being. Anyway, it is said that she (i.e. Gillo) both carries away/destroys (ἀναίρει) those pregnant with young, and slips away as many as are in the womb. And I define that the time for her in carrying off is one year (of age)...But today it is the opinion that this power is granted to old hags (γραιδίαις). Anyway, she furnishes those who have grown old (the hags?) with wings, and invisibly makes herself at home with the babies. Then she makes these give suck and all the swallowing into the babies (is) just like a wetness. Anyway, the women around the woman in child-bed (τὴν λεχῶ) name those of the new-born babies wasting away "Eaten by Gillo" (Γιλλόβρωτα).'

This is very obscure, and the ET is very difficult. However, the text suggests that Gillo (= Gello) was responsible for the wasting diseases and deaths of new-born babies. We may also state that:

- (1) Psellus denies that Gillo is either a demon, a man or a beast. The denial suggests the existence of such a tradition.
- (2) In the above text, Gillo is also female. Thus there seem to have been two traditions concerning Gillo; she was both male and female (see also texts 1 & 2).
- (3) There is one more possible fragment of evidence for this daemon as a beast. Stephanus Byzantius mentions a 'wondrous animal' called Gelonos (Γελωνός), which had the name Tarandos (τάρανδος). This animal was able to change the colour of its hair, according to what place it was in. Due to the change it was hard to catch.

Gelonos may be another form of the name Gello. In any case, the animal seems to have existed in nature. Aelian states:

'But the animal known as Tarandos transforms itself hair and all, and can adopt such an infinite variety of colours (πολύχροιαν...μυρίαν) as to bewilder the eye. It is a native of Scythia...and its size resembles a bull'.

(On animals 2.16)

LS suggest that it may have been an elk.<sup>225</sup>

- (4) The Semitic origin of Gello suggested above (text 3) is made virtually certain by the fact that the name has no convincing Greek etymology. The only similar Greek word is γέλως, 'laughter', which seems totally inappropriate for such a deadly demoness of death.

A much more convincing origin of Gello was suggested by C.Frank. Using the evidence of the Byzantine text, Frank concluded that Gello was the Greek form of the Babylonian Gallu demon. Frank notes the contradictions inherent in the Greek



tradition. Thus either Gello became a female phantom (weiblichen Spukgestalt) or a demon in the shape of a wild beast or a man.

It is possible that Gallu (or some similar demon) was imagined as beast-like. Frank also quotes a text (CT 16) in which the third evil demon is described as a 'fearful panther' (nimru ezzu), 'who steals children'. We have already noted the lion-headed utukku demon. Thus it is quite possible that Gello's male, beast-like connections may be derived from such a male figure as the Mesopotamian Gallu.<sup>226</sup>

In the CAD, various texts concerning Gallu are quoted:

'...Seven insolent g.-demons are they...

...They are the g.-demons, full of wickedness...

...The evil g.-demon roams in the city, he kills people without mercy...

...the evil ghost, the evil demon who blocks the street for those who walk around at night...

The g.-demons have driven its (the city's) inhabitants to wherever they have run...

I shall drive the raging g.-demons (back) to the nether world...

They are the evil utukku, the evil alu-demon, the evil g. (that) have come forth from the nether world...' (col.1)<sup>227</sup>

The etymology of Gello (Γελλώ) from Gallu has no serious difficulty. The first a may have changed to e under the influence of the similar-sounding noun γέλως. This assimilation of Gallu to Γελλώ is also suggested by the form Γελλῶς (text 2). The final vowel u may have become o by the same linguistic evolution that probably produced Leto from litu (see p.124).<sup>228</sup>

Gello also shows the following similarities to the demoness Lamashtu:

- (1) Gello is a snatcher of little children (texts 1-3); Lamashtu also snatched and

killed children.

- (2) Gello (Gillo) seems to have been connected with wasting disease (text 3), and Lamashtu is a demoness of disease.
- (3) Gello suckles babies. This is a desire expressed by Lamashtu.

Finally, the ambiguous male/female traditions of Gello may be explained by her derivation from both Gallu and Lamashtu. We suggest that Gello's name and male characteristics come from Gallu, and her female identity from Lamashtu.<sup>229</sup>

**(viii) Byzantine evidence - The demons of Michael Psellus.**

Michael Psellus wrote a book called Dialogue concerning the works of demons. Several texts in this show the same motifs as the above Greek and Semitic literature:

- (1) According to Psellus, each of the demons is able to transform its body into whatever shape it may choose. It may appear as a man or a woman (pp.114-115). It may also transform itself into various animals:

'...so/as the lion becomes angry, and the leopard (πάρδαλις) leaps, and in the same way (ὥσπερ) the savage boar attacks. And if it ever seems good to it (the demon), it changes its shape into a wineskin.'  
(pp.116-117).

Thus we could say that the transformed demon inspires various animals with aggression. The 'wineskin' (ᾠσκός) is probably included in order to illustrate the demon's ability to transform itself into anything, if it so wishes.

- (2) Psellus gives a lengthy description of the habitats of demons, and their transformations:

'For when they come upon the above-named watery and chthonian middle (regions), they are not able to change completely into more forms, except into those in which they at any time rejoice. To these on the whole they cleave. For all those (ὅσοι) that live in wet places, and cherish the milder way of living, transform themselves into both birds and women. Wherefore the children of the Greeks call these in feminine form Naiads (i.e. river nymphs) and Nereids (sea nymphs) and Dryads (tree nymphs). And all those that live in dry places have their bodies somewhat dry (ὕποξηρά), and they are said to be of the kind that have the legs of asses (ὄνοσκελεῖς), and these transform themselves into men. And sometimes they also resemble dogs and lions and the other animals, which have a manly (ἄρρενωπόν) character. Therefore it is not at all surprising (ἄπορον) that the demon falling upon the women in child-bed is seen in female form, being lusty (μάχλον), and rejoicing in impure moistures'. (pp.122-125)

- (3) Later on (pp.118-119), Timotheus mentions to Thrax that he has heard from many how demons in female form appear to all the women in child-bed.<sup>230</sup>

The demons described by Michael Psellus show an amazing similarity to the demonic mythology already discussed, both classical Greek and Semitic. We may list the common motifs:

- (1) The animal symbolism is the same. The Mesopotamian Lamashtu is connected with the panther, which is one of Psellus' demonic metamorphoses (text 1). Both Lamashtu and Hekate are connected with lions and dogs, like Psellus' demons (texts 1 & 2). Lamashtu herself is described as having the head of a lion or dog, and Hekate is dog-headed.



- (2) Psellus' demons living in dry places have the legs of asses ( $\rho\omicron\nu\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ). This same word was used to describe Empousa (p.379) and also the demonic animal seized by Gerontius (p.381).
- (3) Psellus' demons appear in female form to women giving birth. Lamashtu is a destroyer of babies, including the unborn (p.329), while Gello (p.395) is intimately connected with infants and new-born babies.

Although Psellus' information on demons is from the much later Byzantine period, it is still valuable. The closeness of motifs to the classical and Semitic mythologies make it almost certain that these traditions are the ultimate source of the Byzantine material. The motifs would first have been transmitted through the Semitic world, then through the Greek world, before appearing in the Byzantine Empire.<sup>231</sup>

**(ix) Confirmation of the relationship existing between Hekate and various daemons - The opinions of three modern authors.**

In the above section we have explored the mythological relationship of several daemons to Hekate and Lamashtu. Our conclusions on the intimate connections of these daemons with Hekate are also supported by modern authors.

E.Rohde has some interesting discussion on this subject. He states:

'Hekate is the same as Gorgo, Mormo and Empousa.' (p.591)

Following this, Rohde notes the identification of Mormo with Lamia and Gello by the scholiast on Theocritus (above, p.384). Rohde thinks of the other monsters, such as Mormo, Gello and Empousa, as 'particular Lamiai, who also merge into one another' (p.592). Finally he states:

'The vagueness of feature and confusion of personality is characteristic of these ghostly and delusive apparitions. In reality the individual names...were originally the titles of local ghosts. In the long run they all come to suggest the same general idea and are therefore confused with

each other and are identified with the best known of them, Hekate...most of them...are relegated to children's fairy tales.' (p.593)

This is especially the case with Mormo and Mormolukeion (Sec.D iii).<sup>232</sup>

The second author, B.C.Dietrich, asks why Hekate became the mistress of 'malignant spirits'. He suggests that her connection with Artemis may explain this, since Artemis led such daemons as nymphs. However, these were not malignant, unlike Hekate's band. Dietrich concludes from this that Hekate must have originally 'possessed qualities that marked out her dark nature'. (p.341)

We agree that Hekate is originally chthonian and malevolent, especially since her rituals have such an apotropaic quality (see p.274). However, she is clearly not a Carian goddess (Sec.B iii), which Dietrich assumes.

We are sure that Hekate evolved out of Lamashtu. Hekate's band of malevolent daemons may come from various sources. Lamia (Sec.D i) is almost certainly a parallel evolute of Lamashtu, and hence an allomorph of Hekate herself. Empousa (Sec.D ii) may be a Greek allomorph of Hekate, since her name seems to be Greek. Other daemons, such as Mormo and Mormolukeion (wolf-Mormo), may originally have been quite separate.<sup>233</sup>

Following this, Dietrich observes the reduction of Hekate to a 'bogey' feared by the superstitious and the ignorant:

'Thus Hecate in popular belief came to hold the position of 'Mistress of Souls', as which she could inspire terror, when she appeared to man at night at the head of her band. Eventually, however, because of her predominantly malignant nature in this capacity, Hecate turned into a figure of popular superstition divorced from religious significance, and then she was no more than a frightening witch, a threat and source of fear in the nursery; and the ranks of her followers - the souls of the dead - were joined by bogeys that lurked in dark corners to bring fear to the

child, such as Acco, Mormo, Baubo, and others.'

We have already noted the mockery of Hekate by Lucian (see p.279).<sup>234</sup>

The third author, J.Fontenrose, regards the various daemons as 'underworld spirits, minions of Hekate, forms of Hekate herself'. He also states:

'So it is not merely caprice that Skylla's mother is called variously Hekate, Lamia and Echidna in the tradition. All (including Skylla) were names of one monstrous being, mother or wife of the giant-dragon-monster-demon whom we know best as Typhon or Python.'

This view seems a little extreme. It is unlikely that all the daemons were originally one. However, they are clearly related.

These three authors give support to our views on this subject.<sup>235</sup>

In this chapter we have clearly shown the Semitic origin of the Hekate mythology.

**(x) Two tables illustrating the correspondences of mythological themes.**

We will now illustrate the correspondences of relevant themes with the different daemons, both Greek and Semitic. First of all, here are the lists of daemons and themes, respectively. In the two tables, daemons (horizontal axis) and themes (vertical axis) may be identified by their list numbers:

**List of daemons.**

1. Hekate.
2. Bendis.
3. Hekabe.



4. Iphimedeia and Iphigeneia.
5. Medea (Medeia).
6. Lamia.
7. Empousa.
8. Mormo and Mormolukeion (Wolf-Mormo).
9. Skylla.
10. Echidna and Delphyne.
11. Striges.
12. Gello.
13. The demons of Michael Psellus.
14. Lamashtu.
15. Ardat lili (Lilû-woman).
16. Utukku.
17. Gallu.
18. Mesopotamian animal demons in the house.
19. Lamassu and Lamassatu.
20. Gula (Tashmetum, Ninkarrak).
21. klbt <sup>?</sup>ilm (Bitch of Il).
22. Various Ugaritic demons.

Discussion of the above daemons may easily be found in the relevant parts of this chapter. For instance, the animal demons in the house (no.18) are from Langdon's incantation (p.341), while the 'bitch of Il' is from our discussion of Ugaritic demonology (p.359).<sup>236</sup>

#### List of themes.

1. Related to Hekate in Greek genealogy / cult / myth.
2. Giant.
3. Fire / torch.
4. Sword.

5. Chthonian and demonic.
6. Child-snatcher / killer.
7. Child-suckler.
8. Disease-bearing.
9. Man-eater.
10. Beautiful goddess / woman.
11. Whore / seductive demoness.
12. Enters doorway / window.
13. Cave-dwelling / beast-like.
14. Dog / bitch.
15. Wolf / she-wolf.
16. Lion / lioness.
17. Panther / Leopard.
18. Cattle.
19. Horse / mule / donkey.
20. Pig.
21. Serpent / dragon.
22. Bird of prey.
23. Crossroads.
24. Bread / cake offerings.
25. Ritual purifications.
26. Healing daemon.
27. Benevolent daemon of childbirth.
28. Protective / helping daemon  
(king, country, doorways).

Different examples of each theme may easily be found in the discussion on each daemon, after referring to the tables.

**TABLE ONE (A)**

(Daemons, nos.1-11; Themes, nos.1-14).

**X** = Major theme.**x** = Minor theme.**DAEMONS**

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>THEMES</b>	1			x	X	X		X	X	X		
	2	X								X		
	3	X	X	x				X		x		
	4	X										
	5	X				x	X	X	X			
	6	X					X	x	X			X
	7											
	8											
	9	X					X		X	X	X	X
	10	X		x		X	X	X		X	X	
	11						X	X				
	12	x										
	13						X			X	X	
	14	X		X				X		X		





TABLE TWO (A)

(Daemons, nos.12-22; Themes, nos.1-14).

X = Major theme.

x = Minor theme.

DAEMONS

		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
THEMES	1											
	2			X								
	3			X							X	
	4			X								
	5	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
	6	X	x?	X			X?					X?
	7	X		X								
	8	x		X	X					X		X
	9	x?		X								
	10		x		X							
	11			x	X?			x?				
	12			X	X			X				
	13	x?						X				
	14		X	X				X		X	X	

**TABLE TWO (B)**

(Daemons, nos.12-22; Themes, nos.15-28).

**X** = Major theme.

**x** = Minor theme.

DAEMONS											
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
THEMES	15		X								
	16	X	X		X						x
	17	X	X								
	18		X				X				
	19	X	X				X				
	20	X	X				X				
	21		X								x
	22	x?	X								
	23		x?								
	24		X								
	25		X								
	26							x?	X		
	27							X			
	28							X			



## NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

- (1) For the probable date of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, see Evelyn-White H.G., Hesiod The Homeric Hymns and HomERICA (Loeb), xxxv-xxxvi (Introduction). For instance, the use of the digamma ( ϝ ) suggests that the hymn dates from the 7th century B.C. For the antiquity of the Theogony, see West M.L., Hesiod Theogony edited with prolegomena and commentary, 46-47. According to West, the Theogony may be the oldest Greek poem (p.47).
- (2) For the view that Hesiod is the author, see West, op. cit. (as note 1), 278-280. West observes that  

'Hecate is not mentioned elsewhere in the Theogony, but there is nowhere else where we should expect her to be mentioned.' (p.278)

We may say that the Hymn to Hecate fits naturally into the genealogical structure of the Theogony.
- (3) For our discussion of Leto in Chap. Two, see pp.114-124.
- (4) Our ET of various Greek texts is based upon the structure of the Loeb versions. However, it is sometimes necessary to alter a word or phrase in ET, for the sake of accuracy. For Theog.411-418, see Evelyn-White, op.cit., 108-109 (ET on 109). Thus we have translated ἐμμορε as 'apportioned', not merely as 'received'; for μείρομαι, 'receive as one's portion', see Liddell H.G. and Scott R., A Greek-English lexicon (New Ed.), II, 1093, col.2. For the text of the Theogony, see also West, op.cit., 111-149. We follow West's order of lines for the text. Evelyn-White translates ὅτι as 'because' (p.111, line 426), and West has 'although' (p.285, comment on line 428).
- (5) See Evelyn-White, op.cit., 110-111. For δυσπήμελον, 'nastily bubbling', see West, op.cit., 287 (comment on line 440). See also LS I, op.cit. (as note 4), 460, col.1, for the ET 'rough and stormy'.

- (6) For the ET 'takes it for herself', see Marquardt P.A., 'A portrait of Hecate', AJP 102, No.3 (1981), 255. As Marquardt notes, Hecate may be interested 'in the creatures of the sea themselves'. (p.255)
- (7) For the phrase βουκολίας δὲ βοῶν, see West, op.cit., 128; for the reading βουκολίας δ' ᾧ ἀγέλας, see Evelyn-White, op.cit., 110 (Theog.445).
- (8) See Evelyn-White, op.cit., 111, note 1; West, op.cit., 284 (comment on Theog.426).
- (9) Evelyn-White, op.cit., 112-113. See also West, op.cit., 290, where he states:  
 'However, the contradiction is reinforced by 452 ἔξ ἀρχῆς  
 κουροτρόφος,...and we must suppose that Hesiod so naturally said  
 "Zeus made her - " for "she is - ", and was so unpractised at thinking  
 historically, that he failed to realise that an adjustment was necessary in  
 speaking of the period of the Titans' rule.' (comment on Theog.450)
- (10) For the date, see Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1). For Hecate in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, see Evelyn-White, op.cit., 288-293 (lines 1-61).
- (11) Evelyn-White, op.cit., 288-289 (lines 1-16). For πολυδέκτης, 'the All-receiver', see LS II, op.cit., 1437, col.2. Evelyn-White, op.cit., 289, has 'Host of Many'.
- (12) Evelyn-White, op.cit., 288-289 (lines 1-16) and 290-291 (lines 17-26ff.). The 'Son of Kronos' (line 21) is Zeus.
- (13) For the chthonian connections of Hecate, see above, pp.265-268. For ET, see Evelyn-White, op.cit., 292-293 (lines 47-58).
- (14) Clay J.S., 'The Hecate of the Theogony', GRBS 25 (1984), 27.
- (15) Clay, op.cit. (as note 14), 31-32.
- (16) Clay, op.cit., 32. See also Marquardt, op.cit. (as note 6), 247:  
 'Zeus' reasons for honouring Hecate, which presumably go beyond  
 affection or familial ties, are never mentioned by Hesiod.'



- (17) See Evelyn-White, op.cit., 106-109 (Theog.390-404) and West, op.cit. (as note 1), 284 (comment on Theog.423-424).
- (18) Clay, op.cit., 32.
- (19) Clay, op.cit., 33.
- (20) Marquardt, op.cit., 245 (quot.) and 246 (comment).
- (21) See Evelyn-White, op.cit., 110-111 (Theog.440ff.). For this suggestion of Hekate's 'ambivalence', see Marquardt, op.cit., 256.
- (22) Clay, op.cit., 34 (quot.); Marquardt, op.cit., 249 (comment & ET); Evelyn-White, op.cit., 2-3 (Works and days, 3-7). We have translated this text more literally. Thus we have rendered χαλέπτει as 'crushes'; see LS II, op.cit. (as note 4), 1972, col.1. μινύθει is rendered as 'curtails'; see LS II, op.cit., 1135, col.2.
- (23) For the Earth-Shaker Poseidon, see Murray A.T., Homer The Iliad II (Loeb), 4-5 (II.13.43).
- (24) See Clay, op.cit., 33 (examples) and 33, note 26; Merkelbach R. and West M.L., Fragmenta Hesiodica, 47-48 (Fr.75) and 48 (lines 19-20); Evelyn-White, op.cit., 84-85 (Theog.81-97); and Clay, op.cit., 33 (quot.).
- (25) Clay, op.cit., 35 (quot.); Marquardt, op.cit., 246-247.
- (26) West, op.cit. (as note 1), 283 (comment on Theog.418); Clay, op.cit., 35-36 (comment) and 36, note 34 (Phaon text); for this text of Plato Comicus, see also Meineke A., Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum I (Editio minor), 388-389 (Phaon II, 5-8).
- (27) See Kern O., Orphicorum Fragmenta, 113, no.41 (scholion on Apollon.Rhod.) and no.42 (scholion on Theocritus); Dübner F., Scholia in Theocritum, Nicandrum, Oppianum, 19, col.1 (line 34); and Farnell L.R., CGS II, 596 (nos.2 & 3). For Bacchylides, Farnell gives the reading μελανοκόλπου, 'black-bosomed' (no.3), while Kern has μεγαλόκολον, 'great-bosomed' (no.41). See Way A.S., Euripides III (Loeb), 350-351



(Phoin.109) and IV, 102-103 (Ion 1048-1049). The Phoinissae text may refer to Artemis, the daughter of Leto, or to a combination of Artemis and Hekate. For Leto and Artemis, see p.114. For Enodia, see p.271. For collected Greek references to Hekate, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 596-602.

- (28) See above, p.260; Marquardt, op.cit., 245.
- (29) See Way A.S., Euripides I (Loeb), 382-383 (Troades 323-324); Smyth H.W., Aeschylus I (Loeb), 68-69 (Supp.676); Farnell, op.cit., 602 (no.23k & f.); Jones W.H.S., Pausanias I (Loeb), 366-367 (Paus.2.22.7); Dübner F. and Dindorf W., Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem, 153, col.2 (Wasps 804), lines 4-8; Athanassakis A.N., The Orphic Hymns (no.1), 6-7 (line 8); Albert A. and Schmidt M., Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon 1, 422.44; Gifford E.H., Eusebii Pamphili evangelicae praeparationis I, 150 (Gk.) and III.1, 124 (ET), for 113b; see also Places E.des, Eusèbe de Césarée La préparation évangélique (2-3), 222-225 (Gk. & Fr.).
- (30) Marquardt, op.cit., 252.
- (31) For an example of this, see Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), II, 158-161 (Paus.3.25.5-6). At Tainaron there was a cave where Herakles was believed to have brought up the 'hound of Hades' ( <sup>ε</sup>Αἰδου τὸν κύνα), to whom later poets gave the name Kerberos.
- (32) Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 29), 179, cols.1-2, lines 53-56 (Peace 277); for ET, see also Rutherford W.G., Scholia Aristophanica II, 61. See Mair A.W., Callimachus and Lycophron (Loeb), 590-593 (Alex.1174-1180); for βριμῶ, 'the Terrible One', see LS I, op.cit., 330, col.2, and for βριμάομαι, 'to snort with anger, to be indignant', see I, 330, col.2. See Seaton R.C., Apollonius Rhodius The Argonautica (Loeb), 276-277 (3.1211-1217); Edmonds J.M., The Greek bucolic poets (Loeb), 26-27 (2.10ff.). The ET of this text is very difficult. Edmonds has the following:

'So shine me fair, sweet Moon; for to thee, still Goddess, is my song, to thee and that Hekat infernal who makes e'en the whelps to shiver on her goings to and fro where these tombs be and the red blood lies.' (p.27)

The blood is not red, but black (μέλαν). See also Rist A., The poems of Theocritus, 39:

'Shine clear, Moon: low, in your hushed ears, shall my spells be sung, goddess, and to her, the earth-bound Hecate, before whom the dog-pack cowers when she comes among the tombs for the black blood of corpses.'

For an explanation of this text, see Dover K.J., Theocritus Select Poems, 102. Dover observes (comment on 2.12) that the dogs fear Hekate because they are to be sacrificed to her. For dog sacrifices, see above, pp.275-276. Dover also states, commenting on 2.13:

'One does not normally find blood in cemeteries, and the reference may be to the exposed bodies of malefactors (Pl.Rep.439E).'

This refers to the corpses of the executed seen at Athens by Leontius son of Aglaion. See Shorey P., Plato V The Republic I (Loeb), 398-399. For the scholia, see Dübner, op.cit. (as note 27), 19, col.1, lines 19-37 (2.12); for the Acherusian Lake, see Fowler H.N., Plato I (Loeb), 386-387 (Phaedo 113C).

- (33) See Way, op.cit. as note 27 (Ion 1048-1049); Cohoon J.W., Dio Chrysostom (Loeb), 208-209 (Sec.90); Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 1, 209.8; and Adler A., Suidae lexicon, Pars 2, 214.364.
- (34) For the inscriptions, see Boeckh A. and Franz I., CIG 3, 1087 (no.3857k), quoted in Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 600 (no.20); Hicks E.L., 'Inscriptions from eastern Cilicia', JHS 11 (1890), 252 (ET), quoted in Farnell, op.cit., 600 (no.21).
- (35) See above, p.268 and p.266. Of course, it is necessary to be cautious concerning statements of a colourful, poetic nature.
- (36) For Hekate's animal forms, see above, pp.277-278. See Harmon A.M.,



Lucian III (Loeb), 340-343 (Secs.13-15).

- (37) See Gifford, op.cit., and Places, op.cit. (as note 29), for Eusebius 113b (same text); Dübner, op.cit. (as note 27), 19, col.2, line 2, and 19, col.1, lines 44-54 (2.12); Adler, op.cit. (as note 33), 214.364; and Kern, op.cit. (as note 27), 224, no.204 (scholion on Hesiod's Theog. 411).
- (38) See Babbitt F.C., Plutarch's moralia V (Loeb), 386-387 (Sec.13); Ziegler H., Cleomedis de motu circulari corporum caelestium libri duo, 200 and 202 (Gk.); Goulet R., Cléomède théorie élémentaire, 164 (2.5, 3), for Fr.; Farnell, op.cit., 511; for Hekate generally, see 501-519.
- (39) For Root-cutters, see Campbell L., Sophocles II, 528 (Fr.490), and Sutton D.F., The lost Sophocles, 118 (ET), quoted in Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 598 (no.13a). See Storr F., Sophocles I (Loeb), 406-407 (Antigone 1198-1200); Way, op.cit. (as note 29), 514-515 (Helen 569-570).
- (40) Edmonds J.M., The characters of Theophrastus (Loeb), 80-81 and 82-83 (no.16). For σκίλλα, 'squill', see LS II, op.cit., 1610, col.2. Pouring oil upon stones is a Semitic ritual; see Gen.28.18 (Jacob at Bethel); for the Heb. text, see Lee S., Biblia sacra polyglotta I, 25, col.1 (top). See also Chap.One, p.22.
- (41) Our ET is based upon that of the Loeb; see Babbitt, op.cit. (as note 38), II, 484-485 and 486-487; see 486, note 1, for other readings of the text.

According to Sextus Empiricus (1.185), Artemis and Enodia are both goddesses:

'Again, if Artemis is a goddess, Enodia too will be a goddess; for the latter has been accounted a goddess equally with the former.' (p.95)

See Bury R.G., Sextus Empiricus Against the physicists III (Loeb), 94-95 (1.185). This text clearly shows the connection between Artemis and Enodia (Hekate).

- (42) See Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 29), 357, col.1, lines 33-48 (Wealth 594), and Rutherford, op.cit. (as note 32), I, 63 (ET); Adler, op.cit. (as note



- 33), 214.363; Murray A.T., *Demosthenes Private orations* III (Loeb), 156-157 (no.54, *Against Conon* Sec.39); Minar E.L., Sandbach F.H. and Helmbold W.C., *Plutarch's moralia* IX (Loeb), 66-67 (708F); Gulick C.B., *Athenaeus The Deipnosophists* III (Loeb), 460-461 (7.325A) and VI, 480-483 (14.645A-B). See also Farnell, *op.cit.*, 598 (no.13a-f), for Hekate as a lunar goddess (collected texts). For \* <sup>2</sup>αμφιφάω, see *LS I*, *op.cit.*, 95, col.1.
- (43) Gaisford T., *Etymologicon magnum seu verius lexicon*, 94.55f. (ἈΜΦΙΦΩΝ). The explanation for the name is as follows:
- '...by reason of being lit in a circle by the candles, or by reason of being all moon-like (διὰ τὸ πανσελήνου οὐσης) is sent to Hekate...'
- (44) See Dindorf W., *Harpocratonis lexicon in decem oratores Atticos* I, 224; Adler, *op.cit.*, Pars III, 545.425-546.425; Farnell, *op.cit.*, 601 (no.22); for κάθαρμα, 'that which is thrown away in cleansing, purifications', see *LS I*, *op.cit.*, 850, col.1.
- (45) See Edmonds, *op.cit.* (as note 40), 80-81 (no.16); Rogers B.B., *Aristophanes* I (Loeb), 486-487 (*Wasps* 804); Dübner and Dindorf, *op.cit.*, 153, col.2, lines 4-7 (scholion on *Wasps* 804); Albert and Schmidt, *op.cit.* (as note 29), 4, 261.69 and 3, 384.44; Boeckh and Franz, *op.cit.* (as note 34), 2, 523 (no.2796); see also Farnell, *op.cit.*, 601 (no.23b).
- (46) See above, p.266 and p.269.
- (47) For 'Hekate's dinner', see above, pp.272-274. See Babbitt, *op.cit.* (as note 38), IV, 84-85 (Sec.52), 104-105 (Sec.68) and 164-165 (Sec.111). See also Farnell, *op.cit.*, 597-598 (no.12).
- (48) Jones W.H.S. and Ormerod H.A., *Pausanias* II (Loeb), 88-89 (Paus.3.14.9); Farnell, *op.cit.*, 598.
- (49) See Edmonds, *op.cit.* (as note 32), 28-29 (Theocritus 2.35-36); Dübner, *op.cit.* (as note 27), 19, col.1, line 40 (scholion on 2.12); Babbitt, *op.cit.*, V,

- 164-165 (379E). Babbit's ET (p.165) of <sup>2</sup>ἀγαλμα as 'pet' is nonsense. See also Albert and Schmidt, op.cit., 1, 12.68 ( <sup>2</sup>ἀγαλμα <sup>6</sup>ἑκάτης) and 422.44 (Γενετυλ(λ)ίς); Athanassakis, op.cit. (as note 29), 4-5 (line 4); Gifford, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 261 (Eusebius 203A) and III, 220 (ET); Places, op.cit. (as note 29), 320-321; and Perrin B., Plutarch's lives II (Loeb), 460-461, 462-463 and 464-465 (death of Cimon), with the quotation on 461 (18.3).
- (50) See Vian F., Les Argonautiques Orphiques, 145 (Gk. & Fr.), lines 977-979.
- (51) See Bouffartigue J. and Patillon M., Porphyre De l'abstinence Tome II, 171, Sec.3.17.2 (Gk. & Fr.); Taylor T., Porphyry On abstinence from animal food, 126 (ET). For the Gk. text of Porphyry (4.16.53f.), see Herscher R., Porphyrius philosophus, 79-80; for ET, see Taylor, op.cit. (as note 51), 168.
- (52) See Darmesteter J., The Zend-Avesta, Part II, The Sirozahs, Yasts and Nyayis, Edited by Müller F.M., The sacred books of the east, Vol.XXIII; see Darmesteter, op.cit., 85 (Yast to the sun):

'1. We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.'

For Anahita, see Darmesteter, op.cit., 52-84 (Yast of the waters). For collected references to the 'Persian Artemis' in Greek texts, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 590 (no.132).

However, there is one possible fragment of Persian mythology in Porphyry's discussion of Hekate. As we have seen, Hekate is a moon-goddess who may become a bull (p.269). The Yast to the moon of the Avesta connects the moon with the bull:

'Unto the moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull of many species.'

See Darmesteter, op.cit., 88-89. Thus it is possible that Porphyry may have applied the Persian symbolism of the bull to Hekate, because she is a lunar goddess. The rest of Porphyry's statement concerning the Persian religion remains very doubtful. In Semitic mythology the moon and the bull are also



- connected. See above, p.217.
- (53) For ET, see Athanassakis, op.cit. (as note 29), 5 (line 6). We have translated  $\theta\eta\rho\acute{o}\beta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$  as 'beast-roaring', not as 'devouring wild beasts', which is too free. See LS I, op.cit., 800, col.2.
- (54) For this ET, see Athanassakis, op.cit., 7 (line 8).
- (55) Harmon, op.cit. (as note 36), 352-357 (Secs.22-24).
- (56) Gifford, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 261 (201D), for the Gk., and III.1, 219 (ET). See also Zink O., Eusèbe de Cesarée La préparation évangélique IV-V, 316-317.
- (57) For the date, see Betz H.D., The Greek Magical Papyri in translation, including the demotic spells, xli. For the Greek texts of the PGM that we have used, see Preisendanz K., Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri I.
- (58) Betz, op.cit. (as note 57), xlv (quot.).
- (59) Betz, op.cit., 64-65 (PGM IV. 1400-1430). The line nos. from Betz are only approximate. For the Greek, see Preisendanz, op.cit. (as note 57), 118-120. For Hekate and the crossroads, see above, pp.271-272, for black puppies, see p.276, and for the 'triple' Hekate, see pp.284-285.
- (60) Betz, op.cit., 75 (PGM IV.2120); Preisendanz, op.cit., 136. For Hekate and torches, see above, p.286; for the sandal, see p.269.
- (61) Betz, op.cit., 78-79 (PGM IV.2270-2285ff.); Preisendanz, op.cit., 142. For the epithet Brimo, see above, p.266; for Semitic influence in Minoan Crete, see Chap. One, pp.15-19.
- (62) Betz, op.cit., 79 (PGM IV.2290ff.) and 80 (2335ff.); Preisendanz, op.cit., 142 and 144. For Hekate and the lioness, see above, p.278.
- (63) Betz, op.cit., 84-85 (PGM IV.2525-2530 & 2545ff.-2560); Preisendanz, op.cit., 150 and 152. For the lunar Hekate, see above, pp.268-270; for the horse, see p.278.



- (64) Betz, op.cit., 86 (PGM IV.2610ff.); Preisendanz, op.cit., 154. This is the 'third coercive spell'; see Betz, op.cit., 85ff. For 'Minoan' and Brimo, see above, pp.280-281.
- (65) Betz, op.cit., 89 (PGM IV.2715-2750) and 90 (2755); Preisendanz, op.cit., 158 and 160. We have translated 'Hekate, giant' following Preisendanz's order (p.158). For Hekate as a giant, see above, p.264; for her phantoms, see p.271.
- (66) Betz, op.cit., 90-91 (PGM IV.2790-2815ff.); Preisendanz, op.cit., 160 and 162. For Hekate's snakes, see above, p.277; for cattle, see p.256. For Nonnos, see Chap. Three, p.211.
- (67) Betz, op.cit., 92 (PGM IV.2855-2885); Preisendanz, op.cit., 164. For Hekate and graves, see above, p.266.
- (68) See Nereo A. and Arias P.E., Spina. Die Neuentdeckte Etruskerstadt und die Griechischen Vasen ihrer Graber, Pls.89 & 90 (Wedding of Peleus) and Pl.35 (Sending of Triptolemos). For comment, see Nereo and Arias, op.cit., 57, col.1 (Peleus) and 41, col.1 (Triptolemos). For the BM kalpis, see Harrison J.E. and Verrall M. de G., Mythology and monuments of ancient Athens, lii (Fig.9 & comment); for a larger illustration, see Roscher W.H., Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie, Vol.I<sup>2</sup>, 1902.
- (69) For our no.4, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), Pl.XXXVIIIa opp.549 (comment); for no.5, see Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XXXIXc opp.552 (comment); Harrison and Verrall, op.cit. (as note 68), 378 (Fig.15 & comment); for a larger illustration, see Roscher, op.cit. (as note 68), 1903; for no.6, see Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XL opp.557 (comment), and Roscher, op.cit., 1907-1908; for no.7, see Roscher, op.cit., 1909. See also a similar gemstone of the 'triple Hekate' below this one. She carries torches, whips (?) and swords (p.1909).
- (70) For no.8, see Harrison, op.cit., Fig.17 opp.380 (comment), and Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XXXIXd opp.552, with comment on 556-557; for no.9, see Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XXXIXb opp.552, with comment on 555, and see

Harrison, op.cit., 379 (Fig.16 & comment); for the Venice example, see Harrison, op.cit., 379-380.

We have already noted that Hekate carries a basket as a symbol of fertility in Eusebius; see above, p.269. Thus the woman with the basket on her head on the Hermannstadt Hekataion may indeed be Hekate; see Harrison, op.cit., 380.

- (71) See Farnell, op.cit., Pl.XXXIXa opp.552, with comment on 551.
- (72) See Karouzou S., 'An underworld scene on a black-figured lekythos', JHS 92 (1972), 64 (comment & quot.), 65 (further comment), 65, note 3 (scenes in Hades), 66 (Hekate) and Pl.XVIIIa-b (back). For Skylla, see pp.386-390.
- (73) Karouzou, op.cit., 66 (blood) and 67 (Furies). For the PGM (blood), see above, p.283, for Theocritus, see p.266, and for the Theogony, see p.256.
- (74) For the Utrecht 'bell-krater', see Karouzou, op.cit., 69, and for the lekythos, see 70, and 70, note 38; see also Deubner L., Attische Feste, Pl.2 (back).
- (75) See Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 408-409 (Paus.2.30.2); and Farnell, op.cit., 552 (quot.).
- (76) See Farnell, op.cit., 553-554 (comment) and 554, note a (crossroads). For the epithet  $\tau\rho\iota\omicron\delta\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ , see above, p.278. See also Gulick, op.cit. (as note 42), 460-461 (7.325A).
- (77) Karouzou, op.cit., 69.
- (78) Harrison, op.cit. (as note 68), 379; Karouzou, op.cit., 73.
- (79) Farnell, op.cit., 507 (quot.); for discussion of the Thracian theory generally, see 507-510.
- (80) See Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 372.21; Brunner M., Palaephati de incredilibus, 47 (Gk.) and 48 (Latin), for Chap.32, lines 10-12. For this text (and others concerning Bendis), see Farnell, op.cit., 587 (no.129).
- (81) See Harmon A.M., Lucian II (Loeb), 308-309 (Sec.24), for Icaromenippus; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit., I, 391.72 (Βούσβατον) and I, 516.56



(δίλογχον). For the Theogony, see above, p.255; for the gemstone, p.285.

- (82) See Albert and Schmidt, op.cit., 3, 78.58. For the reading τελβαιναιν, see Porson R., Photii tou patriarchou lexeon synagōgē, Vol.1, 251; for the correction to τὴν Βενδίν, see Naber S.A., Photii patriarchae lexicon, Vol.1, 410. For the scholion on Plato's Republic, see Kern, op.cit. (as note 27), 223, no.200. See also Shorey, op.cit. (as note 32), I, 3-7 (Secs.327A-328B) and 106-107 (354A), the latter text for the 'festival of Bendis'; and Farnell, op.cit., 507. For the PGM, see above, p.280.

- (83) Godley A.D., Herodotus II (Loeb), 232-233 (4.33). See also Marquardt, op.cit. (as note 6), who states:

'We may wonder why Hesiod has not depicted Hecate working alongside the farmer in the fields.' (p.257)

For possible explanations, see Marquardt, op.cit., 258.

- (84) For Bendis generally, see above, pp.290-294; for texts 4-9, see pp.291-292.

- (85) See Murray, op.cit. (as note 23), I and II (Loeb), for the Iliad texts. See also Way, op.cit. (as note 29), 248-249 (Hekabe 1ff.), 253-255 (79-81) and 344-347 (1265-1267).

- (86) Schwartz E., Scholia in Euripidem, Vol.I, 10 (lines 1-6) and 11 (3-4 & 9-14).

- (87) Frazer J.G., Apollodorus II (Loeb), 44-45 (Epitome 3.17.5), for the genealogy, and 240-241 (5.23), for the metamorphosis; Smith C.F., Thucydides IV (Loeb), 384-385 (Thuc.8.104.5); Mair, op.cit. (as note 32), 590-591 (Alex.1174), quoted by Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 588 (no.130); for the text, see also Scheer E., Lycophronis Alexandra, Vol.I, 98. For the Zerinthon cave, see above, p.266. For the river Strymon (Στρυμών), see Meineke A., Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt, 588.

- (88) For the scholion on the Alexandra (1176), see Scheer, op.cit. (as note 87), 340 (line 20ff.)-341 (line 5), where there is the phrase 'black fearful bitches'



(κύνας μελαίνας φοβεράς).

- (89) Cohoon J.W. and Crosby H.L., *Dio Chrysostom III* (Loeb), 328-329 (33.59). We have translated χαροπὰν κύνα as 'bright-eyed dog' and φιλήνεμοι as 'wind-loving'. For χάροψ, 'bright-eyed', see *LS II, op.cit.*, 1980, col.2; for φιλήνεμος, 'wind-loving', see *II*, 1934, col.1. See Farnell, *op.cit.*, 597 (no.9), for the text, and 506 (comment). It does not seem possible to trace the source of this text from Farnell's reference.
- (90) For Bendis, see above, pp.290-294, and for Hekabe in the *Iliad* and in Euripides, pp.294-295. See also Frazer, *op.cit.* (as note 87), 241, note 4 (comment on Hekabe); Babbitt, *op.cit.* (as note 41), *II*, 486-487 (170C); Farnell, *op.cit.*, 508; Jones, *op.cit.* (as note 29), 408-409 (Paus.2.30.2).
- (91) For the 'Carian theory' of Hekate's origin, see *The new Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.5 (Micropaedia)*, Ed.15, 793; Dietrich B.C., *Death, fate and the gods. The development of a religious idea in Greek popular belief and in Homer* (Appendix III), 341; and West, *op.cit.* (as note 1), 277. According to West, the 'theophoric names' are evidence for Hekate's Carian origin. This is very dubious; see above, p.301. See Berg W., 'Hecate: Greek or "Anatolian"?', *Numen* 21, Fasc.2 (1974), 128-140.
- (92) Berg, *op.cit.* (as note 91), 128 (epithets), and 129 (Carian theory). For Σωτήρη, see Boekh and Franz, *op.cit.* (as note 34), 3, 1054 (3827Q), quoted in Farnell, *op.cit.* (as note 27), 602 (no.23h).

For the importance of the Carian Hekate, see Jones H.L., *The geography of Strabo* (Loeb), VI, 296-297 (Str.14.2.25). The temple of Hekate at Lagina in the country of Stratonikeia was called ἐπιφανέστατον, 'most conspicuous', and great festal assemblies took place there every year.

For ἐπιφανέστατος, 'most conspicuous', see *LS I, op.cit.*, 670, col.1.

See also Berg, *op.cit.*, 129. Discussing the Carian theory, Berg notes

that 'children are not called after spooks'. One possible exception is Gorgo (Γοργώ), the daughter of King Cleomenes of Sparta. The girl seems to have been named after the Gorgon; see Chap. Three, pp.180-182. For Gorgo, see Godley, op.cit. (as note 83), III, 56-57 (Hdt.5.51).

- (93) Berg, op.cit., 129-130.
- (94) For the monomorphic Hekate, see above, p.284. See Berg, op.cit., 131-132 (comment). For Hekataios, see Jones, op.cit. (as note 92), I, 22-23 (Str.1.1.11); for Hekatomnos, see VI, 284-285 (Str.14.2.17).
- (95) Berg, op.cit. (as note 91), 130 (mysteries), 137 (key) and 136 (dog). For Hekate's chthonian dogs, see p.266.
- (96) Berg, op.cit., 131-132 (comment), with Pl.II opp.133 (coins) and Pl.I opp.132 (frieze); Head B.V., Catalogue of the Greek coins of Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc, Pl.XXIII (nos.13 & 17), with description on 148 and 150. No.XXIII.13 dates from c.166-88 B.C., and no.XXIII.17 from after c.81 B.C.; see 147 and 150. See Berg, op.cit., 132 (comment), and Pl.II (as note 95).
- (97) Berg, op.cit., 131.
- (98) Berg, op.cit., 128 (Hekat- names) and 134-135 (discussion). See Jones, op.cit. (as note 92), VI, 146-147 (Str.13.2.5). Strabo gives the islands called Hekatonnesoi (Ἑκατόννησοι) the meaning Apollononnesoi (Ἀπολλωνόννησοι, 'islands of Apollo'. Thus these islands (between Asia Minor and Lesbos) are named not after Hekate, but after Apollo. See Berg, op.cit., 134 (Lesbos), 133 (Menophilos) and 136 (summary). For the triple Hekate, see above, note 94 (ref.).
- (99) See Berg, op.cit., 135 (Pisidia), and 133, where Berg states:  

'If she was a "great" goddess, it was Rome that made her so.'

For our discussion of a 'Thracian' Hekate, see above, note 90 (ref.).
- (100) Littleton C.S., The new comparative mythology. An anthropological



assessment of the theories of Georges Dumézil (3rd Ed.), 7-9 (Introduction), with the 'three strata' on 8-9. See also O'Flaherty W.D., Hindu myths. A sourcebook translated from the Sanskrit, 63, note 12:

'Mitra and Varuna together represent the Indo-European duality of fire and water and of earthly and spiritual power.'

We are not attempting to prove Dumézil's theory, merely showing how it may be applied to Hekate. For the Ásvins, see Chap. Two, pp.127-128.

- (101) Boedeker D., 'Hecate: A transfunctional goddess in the Theogony?', TAPA 113 (1983), 83-84 (Hekate) and 84-85 (tripartite functions). For the funeral games, see Murray, op.cit. (as note 23), 2, 514-515 (Il.23.285ff.). For comment, see Boedeker, op.cit., 85.
- (102) Boedeker, op.cit., 85; Marquardt, op.cit. (as note 6), 258, discussing the earth-goddess Gaia. For the line nos. of the Theogony, see West, op.cit. (as note 1).
- (103) Boedeker, op.cit., 88-89. For the benevolence of the Hesiodic Hekate, see above, p.261.
- (104) Berg, op.cit. (as note 91), 138-140. Hekate's true origin is Semitic; see above, pp.324-371.
- (105) See Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1), 204-205, for ET (no.71), quoting Pausanias. See also Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 228-229 (Paus.1.43.1). See Merkelbach and West, op.cit. (as note 24), 13 (Fr.23a), with our ET. For Artemis and Hekate, see above, p.269.
- (106) See Evelyn-White, op.cit., 492-493 and 494-495 (Cypria); Way, op.cit. (as note 29), 146-147 and 148-149 (Aulis 1593-1595, 1613-1614 & 1622); Frazer, op.cit. (as note 87), II, 191-193 (Epitome, Secs.21-23).
- (107) See Smyth, op.cit. (as note 29), II, 22-23 (Ag.224-247); Sandys J., The odes of Pindar including the principal fragments (Loeb), 300-301 (Pyth.11.22); Godley, op.cit. (as note 83), II, 304-305 (Hdt.4.103), with comment on 305, note 1; and Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1), 502-503 (no.14). See also



Murray, op.cit. (as note 23), I, 392-393 (II.9.144-145); for  $\text{ἰφί}$ , 'by force', see LS I, op.cit. (as note 4), 845, col.2.

- (108) Hooker J.T., Linear B. An introduction, 158-159 (Py Tn 316 & transliteration) and 161 (comment). For i-pe-, see Jorro F.A. and Adrados F.R., Diccionario Micénico I, 282, col.1 (the entry is i-pe-me-de-ja):

'...diferente de  $\text{ἰφί}$ -, y sin dudo de origen prehelenico.'

See also Chadwick J., 'What do we know about Mycenaean religion?', Linear B: A 1984 survey, 196 (edited by Davies A.M. and Duhoux Y.).

- (109) See Murray A.T., Homer The Odyssey I (Loeb), 408-409 (Od.11.305-306); Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1), 156-159 (no.6), for the scholion; Frazer, op.cit. (as note 87), I, 58-59 (Apollod.1.7.4); and Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), IV, 532-533 (Paus.10.28.8).

- (110) For  $\text{ἠδεια}$ , see LS I, op.cit. (as note 11), 765, col.2. See Berg, op.cit. (as note 91), 139 (quot.) and 140 (triad).

- (111) Berg, op.cit., 134 (quot.). For the PIE theory, see above, pp.302-304.

- (112) See Way, op.cit. (as note 29), IV, 314-315 (Medea 395-397), 284-285 (1271-1309), 376-377 (1215-1217), 290-291 (92), 298-299 (187) and 388-389 (1342); Schwarz, op.cit. (as note 86), II, 149, lines 9-10 (scholion on Medea 92), and 211, lines 5-7 (scholion on 1320); Seaton, op.cit. (as note 32), 230-231 (Arg.3.528-533).

- (113) The name Iphimedeia may be derived from the prefix  $\text{ἰφί}$ -, 'by force', and the verb  $\text{μῆδομαι}$ , 'be mindful of'. See LS I, op.cit., 845, col.2, and II, op.cit., 1089, col.2. Medea ( $\text{Μῆδεια}$ ) may be derived from the verb  $\text{μῆδομαι}$ , 'be minded'. See LS II, op.cit., 1125, col.2. In each case there seems to be a fem. -εια termination; see above, note 110.

- (114) See Rogers, op.cit. (as note 45), I, 334-335 (Clouds 749ff.); Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 29), 115, col.2, lines 7-15 (scholion); for ET, see

- Rutherford, op.cit. (as note 32), I, 216-217. See Dodds E.R., Plato Gorgias. A revised text with introduction and commentary, 165 (Sec.513A.5-6) and 350, lines 5-6 (comment). See also Lamb W.R.N., Plato with an English translation V (Loeb), 484-485 (Gorgias 513A).
- (115) See Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 114), lines 16-25 (scholion on Clouds 752); Rutherford, op.cit. (as note 114), 217; Shepherd R., Polyaenus's strategems of war, 346-347 (Chap.43), for ET; for the Gk., see Woelfflin E. and Melber I., Polyaenus Stratagematon Libri VIII, 405-406. For the Gk. words quoted, see 405, lines 16, 19 and 20-21; and 406, lines 4 and 6.
- (116) See Macleod M.D., Lucian VIII (Loeb), 52-53 (Sec.1), 54-55 (Secs.2-3), 56-57 (Sec.4), 68-69 (Sec.11), 70-71 (Sec.12), 72-73 (Secs.13-14), 94-95 and 96-97 (Sec.27). Lucius or the ass may not be by Lucian; see Macleod, op.cit., 47-51.
- (117) See Babbitt, op.cit. (as note 41), II, 460-461 (Secs.165-166).
- (118) See Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 302-303 (Paus.2.10.7) and 370-371 (2.23.5); Meineke, op.cit. (as note 87), 636; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), I, 104.42; Scheer, op.cit. (as note 87), 341, lines 7-11 (scholion on Alex.1180); and Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 504-505 (discussion) and 597 (no.5), for the text.
- (119) Miller S.G., 'The altar of the six goddesses in Thessalian Pherai', CSCA 7 (1974), 231ff; for discussion of Block A, see 231 (descr.) and 233 (goddesses), with Fig.1 on 232 and Pl.1.1 opp.234; for the date of Block A, see 235-236; for Fig.4, see 244, with discussion on 242-243; for goddesses, see 250.
- (120) Miller, op.cit. (as note 119), 251 (Enodia as a combination of Artemis and Hekate), and 251, note 76 (cited classical authors); for the quotation, with discussion of Themis and Hera, see 252; and see Pl.4.4 opp.235.
- (121) For the inscriptions, see IG.IX<sup>2</sup>, 98, no.358 (Pagasae), 160, no.575 (Larissa) and IG.IV, 276, no.1191 (Epidauros). For the coins, see Gardner



P., Catalogue of Greek coins Thessaly to Aetolia, 47, for comment on nos.X.9 and X.10 (dating from c.450-400 B.C.), and nos.X.11, X.12 and X.13, dating from c.369-357 B.C.; 48, for comment on nos.X.15 and X.16, dating from c.302-286 B.C. and 300-190 B.C.; and Pl.X. See Macleod, op.cit. (as note 116), 84-87 (Secs.22-23), 90-91 (Sec.24) and 91, note 1 (comment). See also Gaselee S., Apuleius The golden ass, being the metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius (Loeb), 292-293 (6.29-30). When Lucius and the girl came to the crossroads (trivium), they argued about the road, and the robbers caught them by the light of the moon.

(122) For witches, see pp.312-317, and for the Mycenaean Hekate, see pp.309-310.

(123) For the archaeological evidence, see Day L.P., 'Dog burials in the Greek world', AJA 88 (1984), 21-32.

(124) See Murray, op.cit. (as note 23), II, 506-507 (II.23.173-175); Day, op.cit. (as note 123), 26-27 and 27-28 (purification).

(125) Day, op.cit. (as note 123), 24 (nos.10-15), 26 (comment on animal sacrifices), 23 (no.5) and 23-24 (no.7). For the Kavousi burials, see 21-22, and for Hekate, see 27.

(126) Day, op.cit., 29-30 (dog burials on Crete), and 29, note 46, where Day states concerning Crete:

'There is no evidence for burials of dogs there before the destruction of Minoan sites around 1450 B.C., so this seems to be a Mycenaean custom which spread to Crete.'

(127) See Ungnad A., 'Labartu oder Lam<sup>√</sup>astu?', ZA 36 (1925), 108. At first Ungnad thought that the sign BAR could also be read as MAS, but the reading lamastu was confirmed by the street la-ma-as-tim in Sippar. For this street, see CAD 9, 66, col.2, in the entry lamastu. For the Gorgon, see Chap. Three, pp.190-193.

(128) See Myhrman D.W., 'Die Labartu-Texte. Babylonische Beschwörungsformeln nebst Zauberverfahren gegen die Dämonin Labartu', ZA 16 (1902), 141-200. For introduction, see 141-153, for text, 154-195 and



for cuneiform, 196-200. See also Thureau-Dangin F., 'Rituel et amulettes contre Labartu', RA 18 (1921), 161-198. For the quotations, see CAD 9, 66, col.2-67, col.1.

- (129) For this ET, see Thureau-Dangin, op.cit. (as note 128), 198 (Fr.); see also Myhrman, op.cit. (as note 128), 154-155 (1.1, 1-8). For Akk. suqu, 'street', see CAD 15, 400, col.1ff., and for isatu (esatu), 'fire', see CAD 7, 227, col.2. The origin of the epithets is my idea.
- (130) Myhrman, op.cit., 154-155 (1.1, 1-15) and 156-157 (1.1, 16-27). For kalbu, 'dog', see CAD 8, 68, col.1-72, col.2; for salmu, 'black', see CAD 16, 77, col.1ff; for buru 2, 'well, pond, pool', see CAD 2, 342, col.2; for akalu, 'bread, loaf of bread', see CAD 1, Part 1, 238, col.2ff.; for qemu, 'flour' (= kemu), see CAD 13, 204, col.1; for libbu, 'heart', see CAD 9, 164, col.2ff.; and for sihru, 'small, young', see CAD 16, 179, col.2ff. For these Akk. words, see also Myhrman, op.cit., 156-157 (1.1, 22-26). For sahu, 'pig', see Meissner B. and Soden W.von, AHW 3, 1133, col.1. For the ET 'you pour out for her a hot soup' (1.1, 26), see CAD 2, 29, col.1, under bahru, 'soup'. Myhrman has 'bahru-fruit'; see Myhrman, op.cit., 157. For the ET 'provisions', see Thureau-Dangin, op.cit. (as note 128), 184, commenting on Myhrman's 'oil' (1.1, 27).
- (131) Myhrman, op.cit., 158-159 (1.2, 7-17) and 160-161 (1.2, 23-31). For rabu, 'big', see Meissner and Soden, op.cit. (as note 130), 2, 936, col.2. One must not look behind one during the Lamashtu ritual. It is interesting that the worshipper of Hekate averted his face. See Lewy H., Chaldaean oracles and theurgy. Mysticism, magic and platonism in the later Roman empire, 272:

'It behoved to avert one's face when worshipping Hecate; for a glance at her and also the utterance of her name in vain bring about the attack of the "streams of the Heimarmene", i.e. the demons.'

Perhaps the Lamashtu ritual contains a related prohibition?

- (132) Myhrman, op.cit. (as note 128), 162-163 (1.3, 10-35). The noun nestu, 'lioness', is partly reconstructed here (1.3, 10). For nestu, 'lioness', see CAD

11, Part 2, 192, col.2; for barbaru, 'wolf', see CAD 2, 108, col.1ff; for harranu, 'road', see CAD 6, 106, col.2; for akalu, 'bread', see above, note 130 (ref.); for bikitu 3, 'wailing, moaning', see CAD 2, 223, col.2. The phrase dim-ma-tim u bi-ki-tim is translated as 'moaning and weeping'; see CAD 2, 224, col.1. For buru, 'young calf' (= purim), see CAD 2, 340, col.2, and for seru, 'steppeland', see CAD 16, 138, col.1 (A). For the ET (1.3, 32-35), see Thureau-Dangin, op.cit. (as note 128), 184-185.

- (133) Myhrman, op.cit., 164-165 (1.4, 3-9). For imēru, 'donkey', see CAD 7, 110, col.2ff; for the ET 'you pour out for her a hot soup', see above, note 130 (ref.).

- (134) Myhrman, op.cit., 168-169 (2.1, 1 & 2.1, 13), 170-171 (2.1, 22-44) and 172-173 (2.1, 45-46). For elippu, 'ship, boat', see CAD 4, 90, col.2ff; for ezzu, 'furious, angry, fierce', see CAD 4, 432, col.2ff.; for namurru, 'of awesome brightness', see CAD 11, Part 1, 254, col.1. For nesu, 'lion', see CAD 11, Part 2, 193, col.1, and 195, col.2, where there is the quotation:

'her face is like the face of a mighty lion.' (pa-an nes<sup>v</sup>i da-pi-ni)

For nimru, 'panther', see CAD 11, Part 2, 234, col.2; see 235, col.1, where there is the ET:

'her flanks are spotted like those of a panther.'

For dapinu, 'heroic, martial, ferocious', see CAD 3, 104, col.2ff. For alu, 'a fine breed of sheep', see CAD 1, Part 1, 374, col.1ff., also Meissner and Soden, op.cit. (as note 130), 1, 39, col.2, for 'ram'; for turahu, 'ibex', see Meissner and Soden, op.cit., 3, 1372, col.2.

- (135) Myhrman, op.cit., 172-173 (2.2, 5), 174-175 (2.2, 9-12), for the 'dog-images'; for ET, see CAD 8, 94, col.1, under kalu B, 'a mineral of a yellow colour'. For eperu, 'dust', see CAD 4, 184, col.2ff; this also means 'earth', see CAD 4, 186, col.1; for babu, 'opening, doorway', see CAD 2, 14, col.2ff.; for bitu, 'house', see CAD 2, 282, col.1ff; for amilu, 'man' see CAD 1, Part 2, 48, col.2ff; for gassu, 'gypsum, whitewash', see CAD 5, 54, col.1-55, col.2; and for uniqu, 'female kid', see Meissner and Soden, op.cit.,



3, 1420, cols.2-3. For the following passages, see Myhrman, *op.cit.*, 174-175 (2.2, 33-36) and 176-177 (2.2, 43-50). For abullu, 'city gate, entrance gate', see CAD 1, Part 1, 82, col.2ff; for nērebu, 'entrance', see CAD 11, Part 2, 175, col.1; and for mīrānu (mūrānu), 'young dog, puppy', see CAD 10, Part 2, 105, col.2, and 106, col.1 (ET of 2.2, 49-50).

- (136) Myhrman, *op.cit.*, 176-177 (2.2, 54-62), 178-179 (2.3, 10 & 2.3, 15), and 180-181 (2.3, 29-42). For zappu, 'bristle', see CAD 21, 49, col.2-50, cols.1-2; for imēru, 'donkey', see above, note 133 (ref.); for atānu, 'she-ass, donkey-mare', see CAD 1, Part 2, 481, col.2ff; and for bakkarū, plural of bakru, 'donkey-foal', see CAD 2, 35, col.2, where there is the ET:

'a bristle from the mane (or tail) of donkey foals.' (2.2, 54-55).

For <sup>v</sup>samru, 'violent, furious, wild', see Meissner and Soden, *op.cit.*, 3, 1158, cols.1-2; for barbaru, 'wolf', see above, note 132; for kibsu, 'tracks, steps', see CAD 8, 336, cols.1-2; for alpu, 'ox', see CAD 1, Part 1, 364, col.2ff.; and for <sup>v</sup>qadistu, 'a woman of special status', see CAD 13, 48, col.1. She served as a wet-nurse, but 'there is no evidence of her being a prostitute'; see 50, col.1. A function of childbirth seems rather odd for such a destructive demoness as Lamashtu. Therefore Myhrman's translation 'whore' may well be correct, as a negative epithet. Lamashtu kills babies. See Myhrman, *op.cit.*, 181.

- (137) Myhrman, *op.cit.*, 184-185 (Obv.5, 6 & 10); 186-187 (26-27), 188-189 (50-53), 190-191 (Obv.60 & Rev.10), 192-193 (Rev.17 & 20-30), and 194-195 (34-38). For the translation (Rev.26-30), see also Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.* (as note 128), 185. For the utukku demon, see above, p.343.

- (138) Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.*, 166-167 (text) and 170-171 (transl.). For the Akk. vocabulary, see above, notes 134 and 136; for barbartu, 'she-wolf', see CAD 2, 108, col.1. Thureau-Dangin translates this noun as 'leopard', which he admits is conjectural. See Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.*, 170, note 5.

The 'suckling motif' of Lamashtu is very interesting (AO 6473). If this motif is symbolic of malevolence, it is reminiscent of the child-killing ogress



Pūtana (Stinking) of Indian mythology, who was slain by the baby Kṛṣṇa:

'Then the horrible one, taking him on her lap, gave the baby her breast, which had been smeared with a virulent poison. But the lord, pressing her breast hard with his hands, angrily drank out her life's breath with the milk.'

See O'Flaherty, *op.cit.* (as note 100), 215. Kṛṣṇa was able to kill Pūtana because he was 'the very soul of all that moves', who knew her true nature, although she was disguised as a beautiful woman (p.215). We suspect that the malevolent Lamashtu may have had the same intention in desiring to suckle the baby girls. In Lamashtu's case, the 'poison' may be disease. It is not known if there is any historical connection between Lamashtu and Pūtana.

- (139) Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.*, 196 (text), 195 (Plaque 18) and 182-183 (descr.). For the demons alu and asakku, see above, pp.341-342. See Soden W.von, 'Eine altbabylonische Beschwörung gegen die Dämonin Lamastum', *Orientalia* 23 (1954), 338 (text) and 339 (transl.). For the ET of line 7, see *CAD* 16, 137, col.2, under ṣerru, 'door-pivot'; and for ET of line 9, see *CAD* 4, 153, col.2, under emsu, 'seizure'.
- (140) For description of the plaques, see Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.*, 172-174 (no.1, R.1-4), 175 (no.2, R.1-4), 176-177 (no.3, R.1-3 & Rev.), 177 (no.4, R.1-2), 178 (no.5, R.1-2), 178-179 (nos.6-8), 180-181 (Dangin's nos.9-14 = our nos.9-12), and 182-183 (Dangin's nos.15-18 = our nos.13-15). See also Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.*, Pl.1 (Frontispiece), for the illustrations of nos.3, 4 and 6 (between 160 & 161); see 195 for the illustration of no.18; for the inscription, see 196.
- (141) Thureau-Dangin, *op.cit.*, 183. For utukku, see above, note 137 (ref.).
- (142) For Gula, see *CAD* 8, 71, col.1 (f), and Pritchard J.B., *ANET* (3rd Ed.), 310, col.1 (prayer), 538, col.2-539, col.1 (no.52, a curse), 180, col.1 (curse) and 180, col.1, note 160 (comment on Isin).
- (143) Buren E.D.van, 'Mesopotamian fauna in the light of the monuments', *AfO* 11 (1936-1937), 12-15, for all examples in order.

- (144) Of course, we cannot prove this mythological evolution. For Lamashtu and dogs, see above, p.325.
- (145) For lamassu, see CAD 9, 60, col.2ff; for the quotations, see 62, col.1 (1a), 63, col.1 (1b), 63, col.2 (1c), and 65, col.1 (2b); for lamassatu, see 60, col.1 (quots.).
- (146) For the evil omens of dogs and pigs, see CAD 8, 70, cols.1-2, under kalbu, 'dog', see 68ff.; for the clay dog, see 71, col.2. For dog images of Lamashtu, see above, p.328. For the pigs, see Buren, op.cit. (as note 143), 25.
- (147) Langdon S., 'An incantation for expelling demons from a house', ZA 36 (1925), 209-211 (text) and 213-214 (ET). For an alternative ET of line 4, see CAD 10, Part 2, 234, col.2, under musatu 2, 'lavatory'; for the figurines and demon of the lavatory, see CAD as above. For an alternative ET of line 8, see CAD 6, 252, col.2, under hurru, 'hole'; for nigiššu, 'crevice', see CAD 11, Part 2, 214, col.1. For enzu, 'she-goat, goat', see CAD 4, 180, col.2ff.
- (148) For the various demons, see CAD as follows: alu; CAD 1, Part 1, 376, cols.1-2 (a & c); ardat lili, CAD 1, Part 2, 241, col.2-242, col.1; asakku, CAD 1, Part 2, 325, col.2-326, col.2; for ardatu, 'young woman', see CAD 1, Part 2, 242, col.1ff.; labasu, CAD 9, 16, cols.2-3; lilû (fem. lilitu), CAD 9, 190, col.2; namtaru, CAD 11, Part 1, 248, cols.1-2; and for utukku, see CAD 11, Part 2, 195, col.2 (nesu).
- (149) For eperu, 'dust, earth', see CAD 4, 185, col.2-186, col.1 (all b). For Lamashtu and pigs, see above, p.325; for dogs, see note 146 (ref.).
- (150) Lambert W.G., 'An incantation of the Maqlû type', AfO 18 (1957-1958), 288 (quot.).
- (151) For CBS.334, see Lambert, op.cit., 289-294 (text) and 294-296 (notes); for CBS.1203, see 296-297 (text and notes); and for Bu.91-5-9, see 298-299 (text). We use Lambert's orthography throughout. For Lamashtu, dogs and pigs, see above, notes 148 and 149 (refs.); for disease, see above, p.324.
- (152) Finkel I.L., 'Necromancy in ancient Mesopotamia', AfO 29-30 (1983-1984), 1-17; for our text 5 (BM 36703, Obv.Col.ii), see 9, col.2 (ET) and 5, col.1



- (comment). For etemmu, 'ghost', see CAD 4, 397, col.1.
- (153) For our text 6 (BM 36703ii, 14ff.), see Finkel, op.cit. (as note 152), 10, cols.1-2 (ET) and 5, col.2 (comment). For a bristle (zappu) and Lamashtu, see above, p.329; for zappu, 'bristle', see above, note 136 (ref.).
- (154) For our text 7 (K 2779, 10ff.), see Finkel, op.cit., 11, col.2 and 12, col.2 (ET); for comment, see 5, col.2 and 7, cols.1-2. For zabbu, 'ecstatic', see 12, note 51; see also CAD 21, 7, col.2. For Lamashtu and black dogs, see above, p.325.
- (155) Nougayrol J., 'Textes Suméro-Accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit IIb: textes religieux', Ugaritica 5 (1968); for text RS 17.155, see 29-33 (text) and 33-34 (transl.). For Lamashtu and other demons, see Nougayrol, op.cit., 31 (text) and 33 (transl.).
- (156) Nougayrol J., 'La Lamastu à Ugarit', Ugaritica 6 (1969), 393-403, for all texts. For our text 2 (RS 25.456 & ff.), see 394-395 (I & II), 396-397 (II & III), 398-399 (III), 400-401 (IV-VI) and 402-403 (VI). For text 3 (RS 25.513), see 403; and for text 4 (RS 25.427), see 404. For the scribal error bir-bir-ri, see Nougayrol, op.cit., 402, note 70. For gasru, 'strong', see CAD 5, 56, col.2. Lamashtu may 'meet' a lioness in the Lamashtu text; see above, p.326. For the Mesopotamian motifs, see our text as follows; p.331 (suckling children), p.332 (entering the house), p.328 (lion), p.326 (cannibalism), p.327 (receiving rations), p.329 (puppies), p.328 (furious), and p.329 (cattle killing).
- (157) Nougayrol J., 'La Lamastu à Byblos', RA 65 (1971), 173 (text) and 174 (plaque). For labasu, see above, p.342. For ahhazu, the demon of jaundice, see CAD 1, Part 1, 185, col.1.
- (158) Nougayrol, op.cit. (as note 156), 406-407 (amulet D), 407, note 98 (skeleton), 407 (first quot.) and 407-408 (second quot.).
- (159) Avishur Y., 'The ghost-expelling incantation from Ugarit', UF 13 (1981), 15 (text and ET of Strophe A), 16 (text and ET of Strophe B), 17 (comment on UDUG), 18 (comment on smoke, snakes and lions), 22-23 (comment on the



- three Ug. nouns), and 22 (quot.). Ug. kšpm<sup>v</sup> is cognate with Heb. כַּשְׂפָּן, 'sorcerer'; see Mitchell E.C., Student's Hebrew lexicon. A compendious and complete Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon (2nd Ed.), 309b, and Brown F., A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament, 506, col.2; Ug. hbrm may be cognate with Heb. חֲבֵר, pl. חֲבָרִים, 'conjurer'; see Mitchell, op.cit., 193b, and Brown, op.cit., 287, col.2ff., where there is חֲבֵר, 'tie a magic knot or spell, charm'; Ug. d<sup>c</sup>tm may be cognate with Heb. דַּעְתָּי, 'a knowing one, hence a wizard'; see Mitchell, op.cit., 254a, and Brown, op.cit., 396, col.1, for 'familiar spirit, intimate acquaintance of soothsayer'.
- (160) Moor J.C. de and Spronk K., 'More on demons in Ugarit', UF 16 (1984), 242 (text and ET of line 12) and 244-245 (text and ET of lines 18-24). For Heb. פְּלֵג, 'brook, stream', see Mitchell, op.cit., 510, col.1; see also Brown F, op.cit., 811, col.1, where there is the entry פְּלֵג, '(cleft), channel, (artif.) canal'.
- (161) Moor and Spronk, op.cit. (as note 160), 245 (lines 25-26), 246 (lines 27-33), and 249 (lines 40-42). For Lamashtu and the house, see above, note 156 (ref.), and for lilû, see above, p.343.
- (162) Pardee D., 'Will the dragon never be muzzled?', UF 16 (1984), 252 (text) and 253 (ET); see also Lete G. del Olmo, Mitos y leyendas de Canaan, 185 (KTU 1.3 III, 45-46). For Akk. kalbatu, 'bitch, female dog', see CAD 8, 67, col.2-68, col.1, where there is an interesting quotation from a Maqlu ritual (Maqlu VIII, 87f.):
- 'You give (the two loaves with a figure of the sorcerer and the sorceress inside) to a male and a female dog.' (68, col.1)
- For the feeding of images to dogs, see above, p.348; for Lamashtu and fire, see p.325; for the 'face of a bitch', see above, p.332, and CAD 8, 68, col.1, under kalbatu.
- (163) For Section A, see above, pp.255-289; for Section B, pp.290-323; and

for Section C, pp.324-371.

- (164) For Hesiod, see above, p.255; for other genealogies of Hekate, see p.264. and for Lamashtu, see p.326 and p.330. For Anu as a sky-god, see Eliade M., The encyclopaedia of religion, Vol.1, 246-247; see also CAD 1, Part 2, 146, col.2. The PIE form of Zeus is diēus, 'sky'; see Mann S.E., An Indo-European comparative dictionary, 150. See Marquardt, op.cit., 245 (as note 20).
- (165) For torches and Hekate, see p.258, p.266, p.269 and p.284; for Lamashtu, see p.325, and for Hekate and fire (PGM), see p.281.
- (166) For Hekate, see p.264, p.279 and p.282; for Lamashtu, see p.332.
- (167) For Hekate and swords, see p.285; for Lamashtu, see p.325.
- (168) For Hekate's demons, see pp.267-268; for the chthonian Hekate, see p.267; and for Lamashtu, see p.324. The above text (no.10, p.329) suggests the symbolism of abortion, since Lamashtu tears the child out of the womb.
- (169) For Hekate and dogs, see pp.276-277 and p.280; for Lamashtu, p.332 and p.328.
- (170) For Hekate, see p.275, p.276, p.279, p.266, p.280 and pp.286-287; for Lamashtu, p.328 and p.329.
- (171) For Hekate, see p.275; for Gula, pp.336-338. It is possible that she has a late descendant. There is a relief of an enthroned goddess from the Nebo-temple at Palmyra (c.100 A.D.). She has a dog at her feet. See Drijvers H.J.W., The religion of Palmyra, 32 and Pl.LI (back); see also Will E., 'La déesse au chien de Palmyre', Syria 62 (1985), 50 (Figs.1 & 2) and 53 (comment on Gula).
- (172) For Hekate, see p.278 and p.282; for Lamashtu, see p.326, p.329, p.328, p.331, pp.333-335, p.353 and p.355.
- (173) For Hekate, see p.277, p.279, p.279, p.280, p.282 and p.285; for Lamashtu, see p.329, p.331 and p.333ff.
- (174) For Hekate, see p.267; for Lamashtu, see p.333.
- (175) For Hekate, see p.256, p.269, p.278, p.281 and p.282; for Lamashtu, see p.329 and p.331. For Hekate and untimely death, see



- Marquardt, op.cit. (as note 6), 256.
- (176) For Hekate, see p.277, p.278, p.281 and p.282; for Lamashtu, p.327, p.330, p.354 and p.333ff.
- (177) For Hekate, see p.280 and p.281; for Lamashtu, p.329 and p.331.
- (178) For Hekate, see p.273; for Lamashtu, p.327.
- (179) For Hekate, see p.266, p.283 and p.287; for Lamashtu, p.326 and p.353.
- (180) For Hekate, see pp.272-274; for Lamashtu, p.327, p.330, p.354, p.346 and p.347.
- (181) For Lamashtu, see p.349, p.325, p.326 and p.327; for the street in Sippar, see above (as note 127). For Hekate Enodia in Thessaly, see above, pp.312-320.
- (182) For Hekate, see above, p.274; for Lamashtu, p.326.
- (183) For Hekate, see pp.274-275; for Lamashtu, p.328, p.332 and p.353.
- (184) For Hekate, see pp.264-265, p.257 and p.272 (Artemis and Hekate); for Lamashtu, see p.331 and 353.
- (185) For Hekate, see pp.274-275; for Lamassu and Lamassatu, p.339; for the Theogony, p.256; and for IE functions, p.303.
- (186) For Lamashtu, see p.326, p.328, p.331, p.332 and p.354. See Marquardt, op.cit. (as note 6), 258-259. For Artemis, see Chap. Two, pp.78-83.
- (187) Of course, this cannot be proved. See pp.363-365.
- (188) For the Gorgon, see Chap. Three, pp.192-193. For the lioness and Hekate, see p.278.
- (189) Myhrman, op.cit. (as note 128), 152.
- (190) See Murray, op.cit. (as note 23), I, 2-5 (II.1.14 & 21) and 122-123 (II.15.231); Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 2, 39.72; for <sup>ε</sup>/εκητι, 'by the will of', see LS I, op.cit., 506, col.2; Murray, op.cit. (as above), 6-7 (II.1.43); and Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 501, note a. For another example



of the epithet <sup>ε</sup>εκατηβόλος, see Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1), 332-333 (The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, 134).

(191) For <sup>ε</sup>εκάς, 'afar, far off', see LS I, op.cit., 499, col.2. See Bury J.B., (notes), CR 3 (1889), 416-417.

(192) See Clay, op.cit. (as note 14), 36-37; for bibliography concerning the etymology of Hekate, see Clay, op.cit., 34-35, note 32. Clay is only concerned with 'Hesiod's interpretation' of the name Hekate, not with 'the scientific etymology'; see Clay's note 32. For <sup>ε</sup>ἐκητι, 'by the will of', see above, note 190. See Murray, op.cit. (as note 109), II, 276-277 (Od.20.42).

(193) See Bury, op.cit. (as note 191), 417, col.1 (quot.); Lehmann W.P., A Gothic etymological dictionary, 194, col.2-195, col.1 (hunda & hunds), with evidence from the other Teutonic languages. For Kerberos, see above, note 31; for discussion of Artemis and the moon, see Farnell, op.cit. (as note 27), 457-460. As for Hekate, Farnell is not convinced that she is originally 'clearly or solely' lunar (p.460). See also Eliade, op.cit. (as note 164), Vol.6, 251-252:

'...Hekate is inevitably sometimes spoken of as a moon goddess, although this is not part of the original conception.'

(194) See Mann, op.cit. (as note 164), 631 (k̂m̂tóm) and 653 (k̂yō, k̂uyōn); Lehmann, op.cit. (as note 193), 195, col.1 (hunda); and Vince J.H., 'Hecate', CR 4 (1890), 47, cols.1-2.

(195) Gardiner A., Egyptian grammar being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs (3rd Ed.); for hf3w, 'snake', and hf3t, 'female serpent', see 581, col.1 (Egyptian - English vocabulary), and for hk3, 'magic', see 583, col.1. Note also sn, 'brother', and snt, 'sister', see 590, col.2. The singular fem. is at; see 47, sec.48. See Oldfather C.H., Diodorus of Sicily I (Loeb), 330-331 (1.96.9).

(196) See Rogers, op.cit. (as note 45), I, 506-507; II, 70-71; Dübner and Dindorf,

- op.cit. (as note 29), 158, col.2, lines 30-37 (Wasps 1035), and 194, col.2, lines 12-34 (Peace 758), for the scholia. See also Fontenrose J., Python. A study of delphic myth and its origins, 100-104, for discussion of Lamia. Belos seems to be the Greek form of the W-S Ba'al; see Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit., 194, col.2, line 15, and Astour M.C., HS, 83.
- (197) Dindorf W., Aristides Ex recensione, Vol.III, 42, lines 9-16 (scholia on Panathenaicus 102, 5). For the Striges (στρίγλος), see p.394.
- (198) See Geer R.M., Diodorus of Sicily X (Loeb), 250-255 (41.1-6); for the quotation, see 254-255 (ET). See Papathomopoulos M., Antoninus Liberalis Les Metamorphoses, 14-15 (Myth VIII).
- (199) Conybeare F.C., The life of Apollonius of Tyana I (Loeb), 402-409 (4.25); see 402-405 (Par.1), 405-407 (Par.2) and 406-409 (Par.3); for the quotation, see 408-409 (ET).
- (200) See Gaisford, op.cit. (as note 43), 555.50-58; Adler, op.cit. (as note 33), Vol.III, 232.85; Peck A.L., Aristotle II (Loeb), 106-107 (HA 5.4-5); for λάμια, 'fierce shark', see LS II, op.cit. (as note 4), 1027, col.1. See also Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), IV, 430-431 (Paus.10.12.2).
- (201) For λαίμωξ, 'throat', see LS II, op.cit., 1024, col.2; for Lamashtu as a 'snatcher demon', see above, p.324, for Lamashtu as a cannibal, see p.326, for her leonine motif, see p.328, and for her wolfish motif, see p.331. There is one other possible connection between Lamashtu and Lamia. Lamashtu may be a whore; see above, p.430, note 136. The Lamia of Corinth pretended that she wanted to make love to Menippus; see above, pp.375-376 (text 7). Demons that preyed upon beautiful humans were known in Mesopotamia. See Lambert W.G., 'An address of Marduk to the demons', AfO 17 (1954-1956), 317:

11. Or who seek the attractive young man and attractive young woman in the street. (D)



- (202) See Rogers, op.cit. (as note 45), III, 344-345 (Eccl.1037-1056); Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 29), 321, col.2, lines 31-32 (scholion); Rogers, op.cit., II, 322-323 (Frogs 285ff.-296); and Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit., 238, col.2, lines 17-25. For ET, see Rutherford, op.cit. (as note 32), Vol.1, 313. See Gaisford, op.cit. (as note 43), 336, lines 38-45; Adler, op.cit. (as note 33), Pars II, 263.1049; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 2, 81.18. For  $\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , 'fetter', see LS I, op.cit., 546, col.2.
- (203) See Conybeare, op.cit. (as note 199), II, 518-519 (Chap.13); Bidez J. and Parmentier L., The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius with the scholia, 216-217 (text); Stephanus H., Thesaurus Graecae linguae, Vol.2, 255, col.1 (same text); and Walford E., A history of the church, from A.D. 322 to the death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, 445 (ET) and 445, note 1 (Empousa a witch). For the date of the Emperor Mauricius, see Bidez and Parmentier, op.cit., list. For comment on this text, see Allen P., Evagrius Scholasticus The church historian, 236.
- (204) See Bidez J. and Hansen G.C., Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte, 358 (8.6, 16-18), for the text; for ET, see Walford E., The ecclesiastical history of Sozomen, comprising a history of the church from A.D. 324 to A.D. 440, 371 (1855 Ed.).
- (205) For the Hekate motifs, see above, notes 170, 175, 176, 165 and 168 (refs.).
- (206) For  $\epsilon\mu\pi\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , 'suppurate', see LS I, 549, col.1.
- (207) See Rogers, op.cit. (as note 202), I, 190-191 (Equites 691ff.); Allantopoles is speaking to Paphlagon. See Rogers, op.cit., I, 56-57 (Acharnians 574-582); Dübner and Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 29), 17, col.2, 24-25 (scholion on 582); Rogers, op.cit., III, 166-167 (Thesm.414-417); and Jones, op.cit. (as note 92), I, 68-69 (Str.1.2.8).
- (208) Harmon, op.cit. (as note 36), III, 324-325 (Sec.2); for the Eucrates text, see 354-355 (Sec.23).
- (209) See Edmonds, op.cit. (as note 32), 182-183 (Theocritus 15.40); for the



scholion, see Dübner, op.cit. (as note 27), 89, col.2, lines 40-44; for 'terror', see above, lines 40-41.

- (210) See Dindorf, op.cit. (as note 197), 42, lines 9-35. The scholiast adds that Mormo has a 'donkey-leg' (ῥονοσκελίς), see line 30. This reminds us of Empousa; see above, p.379. See Brownson C.L., Xenophon Hellenica I-V (Loeb), 320-321 (4.4.17); Fowler, op.cit. (as note 32), 270-271 (Phaedo 77D-E); Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 3, 120.63-69; Gaisford, op.cit. (as note 43), 590.51-58; Adler, op.cit. (as note 33), Pars III, 411.1250.

- (211) For the Hekate motifs, see above, notes 176, 170, 177 and 168 (refs.).

- (212) See Murray, op.cit. (as note 109), I, 438-439 (Od.12.80-100) and 450-451 (Od.12.251-256); Dindorf W., Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam II, 536, line 19-537, lines 1-14 (scholia on Od.12.85), 537, line 16 (scholion on Od.12.86) and 538, line 10 (scholion on Od.12.89). See also Dindorf, op.cit., 541, lines 18-21 (scholion on 12.124), where the scholiast states:

'Krataiis (Κραταίις) is called the mother of Skylla. And wizards (μάγοι) call her Hekate. Semos says that Krataiis (is the daughter of) Hekate and Triton, and Skylla of Krataiis and Demos. And Stesichorus says that Lamia is the mother of Hekate.'

Thus Hekate, Lamia and Skylla are all connected in genealogy. See Seaton, op.cit. (as note 32), 350-351 (Arg.4.827-831); Frazer, op.cit. (as note 87), 292-293 (Epitome 7.20-22). Frazer thinks that Trienos may be Triton; see Frazer, op.cit., 293, note 4.

- (213) Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1), 262-263 (no.13, Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, Arg.4.828). For Lamia as a man-eater, see above, pp.374-375 (text 6).
- (214) Mair, op.cit. (as note 32), 498-499 (Alex.44-47); for Herakles, see 499, note g. For the motifs of Hekate, see above, notes 175 and 172 (refs.).

- (215) See Miller F.J., Ovid Metamorphoses II (Loeb), 280-281 (13.732-734), 300-301 (14.1ff.), 302-303 (14.37ff.) and 304-305 (14.55-74); and Rose H.I., Hygini fabulae, 141 (Myth 199).
- (216) See Gaisford, op.cit. (as note 43), 720, lines 14-15; Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 4, 52.69; for Σκύλλα, and for σκύλλω, 'maltreat, molest, trouble, annoy', see LS II, op.cit., 1617, col.1. For σκύλαξ, 'puppy', see LS II, op.cit., 1616, col.2.
- (217) For the Hekate and Lamashtu motifs, see above, notes 170, 175, 172, 173, 166 and 169 (refs.). For Hekate and caves, see above, p.258; for Lamia, see above, pp.373-375 (texts 5 & 6). For Skylla's 'sea-dogs' (κύνας), see Murray, op.cit. (as note 212), I, 438-439 (Od.12.96). The 'sea-dogs' may be the dolphins (δελφίνες) or similar creatures.
- (218) See Evelyn-White, op.cit. (as note 1), 98-99 (Theog.270) and 100-101 (Theog.287-305), for text and ET. See West, op.cit. (as note 1), 244 (genealogical table) and 249 (comment on Theog.295). West thinks that Keto is a more probable parent of Echidna than Kallirhoe.
- (219) See Frazer, op.cit. (as note 87), I, 130-131 (Apollo.2.1.2); for ἀρπάζω, 'snatch up', see LS I, op.cit., 246, col.1; Oldfather, op.cit. (as note 195), II, 26-27 (2.43.3); for γηγενής, 'earth-born', see LS I, op.cit., 347, col.2. This ET is preferable to that of Frazer, op.cit., 131 (carry off), and Oldfather, op.cit., 27 (sprung from earth). See also Jones, op.cit. (as note 29), III, 430-431 (Paus.8.18.6). For Delphyne, see Frazer, op.cit., I, 48-49 (Apollo.1.6.3); Seaton, op.cit. (as note 32), 150-151 (Arg.2.705-706). For ἑχιδνα, 'viper', see LS I, op.cit., 748, col.2.
- (220) For Echidna and Delphyne generally, see above, pp.390-392 (texts 1-5); for Skylla's motifs, see above, p.390.
- (221) See Frazer J.G., Ovid's Fasti (Loeb), 326-327 (131ff.), 328-329 (132-160)



and 330-331 (161-168). For the ET of lines 135-143, see 329; see also Riley H.T., The Fasti, Tristia, Pontic Epistles, Ibis and Haleuticon of Ovid, 216:

'Whether it is that these birds are produced by nature, or that they are created by the agency of charms, and the magic song of the Marsi transforms hags into birds; they came to the chambers of Procas.'

Our ET is based on that of Frazer and Riley. For the ET of lines 159-162, see Frazer, op.cit., 329 and 331.

- (222) For stridere (Fasti 6.140), see Frazer, op.cit. (as note 221), 328-329; see also Lewis C.T. and Short C., A Latin dictionary (1966 Ed.), 1766, col.1. For striga 2, 'a woman that brings harm to children, a hag, witch', see Lewis and Short, op.cit., 1766, col.2. For strix, 'screech-owl', see 1766, col.2. See Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 4, 85.2004.
- (223) For the Lamashtu plaque, see p.335 (no.15); for the Lamashtu motifs, see above, notes 201, 179 and 178 (refs.); for Lamia, see p.377.
- (224) See Edmonds J.M., Lyra Graeca I, 252-253 (no.95, Zenobius, Paroem.1.58); Alleg., op.cit. (as note 33), Pars I, 512.112 (Γελλούς); Albert and Schmidt, op.cit. (as note 29), 421.308-309. For Empousa, see above, note 205 (ref.).
- (225) See Stephanus, op.cit. (as note 203), Vol.2, 255, col.1 (3rd Gk. quot.); Meineke, op.cit. (as note 87), 201-202 (Γελωνός); Scholfield A.F., Aelian On the characteristics of animals I (Loeb), 114-115 (2.16). For τάρανδος, 'reindeer, elk', see LS II, op.cit., 1757, col.2.
- (226) For γέλως, 'laughter', see LS I, op.cit., 342, col.1. In Gk. there is the expression Σαρδάνιος γέλως, 'Sardonic/bitter laughter'. According to the Suida, this is a proverb for those destroyed by their own laughter (τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν γελῶντων). Thus in Sardis the inhabitants used to sacrifice the most beautiful/handsome (καλλίστους) prisoners to Kronos laughing (γελῶντας).



For this expression, see LS II, op.cit., 1584, col.1, and Adler, op.cit. (as note 33), Pars IV, 327.124. It is possible that the Gk. form Γελλῶ has been influenced by γέλως, 'laughter'. Thus Gello may have 'laughed bitterly' when she snatched the babies, since she died untimely. This is only a possibility.

Frank C., 'Zu Babylonischen Beschwörungstexten', ZA 24 (1910), 161-165 (Γελλῶ & gallu); see 163 (comment) and 164 (CT 16.19). For utukku, see above, note 137 (ref.).

- (227) For gallu, see CAD 5, 19, col.1 (quots.). Note also 19, col.2, where there is:  
'the spawn of murder, likeness of the evil g.-demon.'

For alu, see above, pp.341-342.

- (228) See our discussion above (note 226). For Leto, see above, note 3 (ref.).

- (229) For the Lamashtu motifs, see above, notes 201, 168 and 184 (refs.). For comment on the ambiguous Greek tradition, see Frank, op.cit. (as note 226).

- (230) Gaulmin G., Michaelis Pselli de operatione daemonum dialogus, 114-115 (Gk. with Latin transl.), 116-117, 122-123, 124-125 and 118-119. For 118-119 (text 3), see also Stephanus, op.cit. (as note 203), Vol.2, 255, col.1 (bottom). For Semitic 'lusty demons', see above, note 201.

- (231) For the Lamashtu and Hekate motifs, see above, notes 172 and 169 (refs.).

- (232) Rohde E., Psyche. The cult of souls and belief in immortality among the Greeks (Appendix VI), 591, 592 and 593 (quots.). See above, p.384 (scholiast on Theocritus).

- (233) Dietrich, op.cit. (as note 91), Appendix III, 341 (quot. & Carian goddess). For Hekate and Artemis, see above, notes 41 and 105 (refs.).

- (234) Dietrich, op.cit., 342 (quot.).

- (235) Fontenrose, op.cit. (as note 196), 116-117, with the quotation on 117.

- (236) See Langdon, op.cit. (as note 147), and above, p.341; for the 'bitch of Il', see above, p.359.

## CONCLUSION.

We may now make some concluding remarks on the connections between the Greek and Semitic worlds, which we have discussed in the preceding chapters.

In Chapter One we demonstrated that the Mycenaeans traded with the east. Mycenaean artefacts have been discovered in Palestine, Egypt and Cyprus (Sec.A, i). There was probably also some Mycenaean settlement in the Levant (Sec.A, iii). As for oriental trade with the west, we noted the extensive Egyptian contact with Crete (Sec.B, i). The presence of Egyptians and Semites in Crete, the Aegean and the mainland of Greece is demonstrated by such artefacts as 'smiting god' figurines (Sec.B, ii). The evidence of shipwrecks also makes some contact impossible to refute (Sec.B, iii). The LB names (Sec.B, iv) and the Semitic toponyms in the west (Sec.B, v & vi) also make a good case for contact, but many examples must remain tentative. The evidence of LA words is also interesting (Sec.B, vii). Finally, we discussed the possible transference of mythology across the Greek Dark Age, a theme of great importance for the presence of Bronze Age motifs in classical Greek mythology (Sec.C). Archaeology provides conclusive evidence for the contact between the Greeks and the Semites during the Bronze Age, laying the foundations for our discussion of mythology.

The animal goddesses discussed in Chapter Two provide various themes of great interest. The Semitic origin of the iconography of Artemis is especially convincing, involving single motifs such as wings and lions (Sec.A, ii). The fish-goddess of Phigalia also seems to have an oriental origin (Sec.A, iii). The leonine motif of the goddess Rhea suggests both Anatolian and Semitic connections (Sec.B, ii), while the Britomartis complex of mythology (Sec.C) displays striking etymological evidence. As for the goddess Leto (Sec.D), the Semitic etymology of her name is the most convincing (v). The connections of the mare-goddess Demeter Melaina (Sec.E) are IE (ii), but her iconography seems to be derived from Ugarit (iii). Both iconography and etymology support these examples of mythological transference.



In Chapter Three, we observed the strong Semitic influence upon the iconography of Athena. We discussed the owl (Sec.A, ii-iv), snake (v-viii), aegis (ix) and Gorgon (x-xiv). The Gorgon provides a particularly demonic connection with the Orient. Epithets of Athena that are inexplicable in Greek also demonstrate her Semitic connections (Sec.B), while our discussion of the Sirens as demonesses (Sec.C) leads us into Chapter Four.

Here we have an entire complex of mythology derived from the Semitic world. We focused upon Hekate (Sec.A), related mythological figures relevant to her origin (Sec.B), Lamashtu and other Semitic daemons (Sec.C), and finally Greek monsters (Sec.D). The huge number and variety of corresponding themes make our portrait of this mythological evolution very convincing.

It is clear that only some elements of Semitic mythology were borrowed by the Greeks. We must never assume too much. Sometimes an infusion of iconography enriches the character of a particular goddess, and sometimes a Semitic epithet does so, but the goddess in question is a distinctly Greek evolute. This is especially the case with Artemis and Athena. However, other goddesses such as Britomartis and Hekate are Semitic in essence.

It is interesting that so much demonic mythology has been directly borrowed. This process may have been helped by the popular, superstitious nature of the themes in question, so different from the exalted state cults of such goddesses as Athena. Thus Hekate was especially honoured by the superstitious witches and peasants of Thessaly. Mesopotamian religion displays an amazing obsession with the dangers of evil demons, so perhaps superstitious Semites transferred these daemons to the equally superstitious Greek peasants.

Whether or not this is so, it is clear that our most profound examples of mythological transference remain the evil daemons and monsters. Scattered motifs seem to have been borrowed for other goddesses in an appropriate context. Beautiful maidens (Britomartis/Aphaia) seem to reflect another theme of great popularity.

It is clear that we cannot fully understand Greek goddesses without the Semitic dimension.





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## APPENDIX ONE.

### LIST OF GREEK VASES WITH THEIR MUSEUM CATALOGUE NOS.

It is not possible to trace the catalogue nos. of all the Greek vases mentioned in our text. Here is a list of the available nos. and museum locations with their sources. For details of sources, see the bibliography and notes.

<u>Description and p. (our text)</u>	<u>No. and source.</u>
Black-figured Etruscan <u>hydria</u> (p.166).	Berlin no.2157 (Cook, <u>Zeus</u> III, 836, note 3).
Athenian <u>aryballos</u> (p.167).	Athens no.1942 (Cook, <u>Zeus</u> III, 770, note 2).
Red-figured <u>kylix</u> (p.154).	Hoppin, no.19 <u>bis</u> , Villa Giulia (Cook, <u>Zeus</u> III, 799, note 1).
Corinthian <u>aryballos</u> (p.154).	Karlsruhe no.81 (Cook, <u>Zeus</u> III, 801, note 1).
Attic black-figured bowl (p.155).	Museo Etrusco Faina, Orvieto, no.150 (Cook, <u>Zeus</u> III, 807, note 7).
Black-figured vase ( <u>amphora</u> ) (p.207).	Berlin no.1686 (Harrison, <u>Mythology and monuments</u> , 457).

**Description and p. (our text)****No. and source.****Chigi oinochoe****(p.184).****Rome, Villa Giulia (no. not given)****(Payne, Necrocorinthia, 272, col.1).****Vulci alabastron****(p.184).****Philadelphia (no. not given)****(Payne, Fig.24B, & 286, col.1).****Corinthian cup****(p.184).****Brussels (no. not given)****(Payne, Fig.25A, & 311, col.2).****Corinthian cup****(p.184).****Copenhagen (no. not given)****(Payne, Fig.25B, & 311, col.2).****Corinthian krater****(p.184).****Louvre no.E638 bis****(Payne, Fig.25C, & 318, col.2).****Corinthian krater****(p.184).****Hague, from Rhodes (no. not given)****(Payne, Fig.25D, & 318, col.1).****Corinthian krater****(p.184).****Louvre no.E629****(Payne, Fig.25E, & 318, col.1).****Vase with Gorgoneion (Corinthian)****(p.185).****Louvre no.E636****(Payne, Fig.27A, & 329, col.1).****Krater with Gorgoneion (Corinthian)****(p.185).****Vatican no.126****(Payne, Fig.27C, & 328, col.1).**

<b><u>Description and p. (our text)</u></b>	<b><u>No. and source.</u></b>
<u>Oinochoe</u> with winged Gorgon (Corinthian) (p.185).	Florence no.3755 (Payne, Fig.27D, & 325, col.2).
<u>Krater</u> with running Gorgons (Corinthian) (p.185).	Berlin no.1655 (Payne, Fig.27E, & 329, col.2).
Black-figured Corinthian <u>aryballos</u> , with Sirens (p.224).	Boston no.01.8100 (Pollard, <u>AJA</u> 53, for 1949, 357, note 1).
Athenian geometric fibula (p.225).	Athens no.8199 (Pollard, <u>AJA</u> 53, for 1949, 359, note 26).
Red-figured <u>stamnos</u> , with Sirens (p.226).	<u>BM Cat.</u> , no.E440 (Harrison, <u>Prolegomena</u> , 201, note 4).
Black-figured <u>lekythos</u> , with Sirens (p.226).	<u>BM Cat.</u> , no.B651 (Harrison, <u>op.cit.</u> , 204, note 1).
Black-figured <u>kylix</u> (p.227).	Louvre no.E667 (Roscher, <u>Lexikon</u> , IV, 611, Fig.4, cols.1-2).
Spherical Corinthian <u>aryballos</u> (p.227).	München (no. not given) (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 610, cols.1-2, Fig.2).



<u>Description and p. (our text)</u>	<u>No. and source.</u>
Amphora (p.228).	Louvre no.F486 (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 614, col.1, Fig.7).
Rhodian geometric pot (p.228).	<u>BM Cat.</u> , no.A34 (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 623, cols.1-2, Fig.16).
Spherical Corinthian <u>aryballos</u> (p.228).	Athens (no. not given) (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 625, col.1, Fig.18).
<u>Hydria</u> , with 'Eye-Siren' (p.228).	<u>BM Cat.</u> , no.B342 (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 627, col.1, Fig.21).
Corinthian bowl, with Sirens (p.228).	Berlin no.957 (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 630, cols.1-2, Fig.23).
Etruscan <u>amphora</u> , with Sirens (p.229).	München no.1077 (Roscher, <u>op.cit.</u> , 638, col.2, Fig.32).
Vase (death of Prokris) (p.232).	<u>BM Cat.</u> , no.E826 (Harrison, <u>Mythology and monuments</u> , lxix, & Fig.14).

**Description and p. (our text)****No. and source.****Kalpis (Sending of Triptolemos)****BM Cat., no.E229**

(p.284).

(Harrison, op.cit., lii, & Fig.9).**Black-figured lekythos (Hekate)****Athens no.19765**

(pp.286-287).

(Karouzou, JHS 92, for 1972,

Pl.XVIII).

**Red-figured lekythos (woman with puppy)****Athens no.1695**

(p.287).

(Deubner, Attische Feste, Pl.2).

## **APPENDIX TWO.**

### **LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (79 PLS.).**

Every plate is listed as follows. The no. (e.g., Pl.44, a) is followed by a brief description of the artefact, the no. of the page or pages in the chapter where it is discussed, the page and note no. at the end of the chapter where the source reference may be found, and the name of the source author with his Fig. no. in brackets (e.g., Fig.1). If the illustration is not discussed in the text, the source is clearly indicated in the list.

- Pl.1, a.      Jug of reddish clay, imitation of Cretan type; see Chap. One, p.2 and p.58, note 4.  
Schaeffer (Fig.51).
- Pl.1, b.      Jug of greenish-grey clay, imitation of Aegean type. Not in our text; for reference, see Chap. One, p.58, note 1;  
Schaeffer, Ugaritica 1, 63 (Fig.52).
- Pl.1, c.      Big jar of Aegean type painted with white spirals, see Chap. One, p.3, and p.58, note 7.  
Schaeffer (Fig.68).
- Pl.2.          Painted petal pottery of latest MM II phase from Kahun and Cretan sites; see Chap. One, p.3, and p.58, note 8.  
Evans (Fig.198).
- Pl.3.          Goddess of ivory pyxis lid from tomb III (Minet-el-Beida); see Chap. One, p.4, and p.59, note 12.  
Schaeffer (Frontispiece).



- Pl.4. The Minet-el-Beida carving (J) and comparative Aegean material; see Chap. One, p.5, and p.59, note 13.  
Kantor (Pl.XXII); for reference to individual artefacts, see Kantor, *op.cit.*, 14.
- Pl.5, a. Mycenaean idols from Ras Shamra; see Chap. One, p.8, and p.59, note 20.  
Schaeffer (Fig.94).
- Pl.5, b. Mycenaean plate from Ras Shamra with geometric design. Not in our text; for reference, see Chap. One, p.58, note 1;  
Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 1, 106 (Fig.98).
- Pl.6. Pottery from Tell Atchana; see Chap. One, p.9, and p.59, note 24.  
Evans (Pl.VI).
- Pl.7. Pottery from Tell Atchana; see Chap. One (as above).  
Evans (Pl.VII).
- Pl.8, a. Middle Kingdom type of alabastron. Not in our text; for reference, see Chap. One, p.58, note 8;  
Evans, *PM* I, 419 (Fig.304a).
- Pl.8, b. Alabastron lid inscribed with name and titles of Hyksos King Khyan; see Chap. One, p.13, and p.60, note 42.  
Evans (Fig.304b).
- Pl.8, c. Jar with double-axe plants from Pachyammos; see Chap. One, p.9, and p.59, note 24.  
Evans (Fig.448).
- Pl.9. Stirrup vases from Sarepta; see Chap. One, p.10, and p.60, note 26.  
Baramki (Pl.XIV); for reference to individual vases, see Baramki, 131-134.
- Pl.10. Various vessels from Sarepta; see Chap. One, p.10, and p.60, note 27.  
Baramki (Pl.XV); for reference to individual vessels, see Baramki, 136-138.

- Pl.11. Various Egyptian and Cretan vessels; see Chap. One, p.12, and p.60, note 33.  
Evans (Figs.29, 31 & 32). For Figs.33-36 (not mentioned in our text), see Evans, PM 1, 67.
- Pl.12. Two double-spouted Egyptian vessels, and a double-spouted Cretan jug from Gournià; see Chap. One, p.12, and p.60, note 35.  
Evans (Figs.49 & 50).
- Pl.13. A comparison of an Egyptian diorite bowl with two restored Cretan bowls; see Chap. One, p.12, and p.60, note 36.  
Evans (Figs.54 & 55a-c).
- Pl.14, a. 'Marbled' vessel from Mochlos, and 6th Dynasty Egyptian vases; see Chap. One, p.13, and p.60, note 37.  
Evans (Figs.60 & 61).
- Pl.14, b. Cretan pendant of necklace in form of head with possible negroid features; see Chap. One, p.13, and p.60, note 41.  
Evans (Fig.231).
- Pl.14, c. Old Babylonian cylinder from Platanos; see Chap. One, p.15, and p.61, note 45.  
For this illustration, see Porada, 25 (Fig.e).
- Pl.15. Diorite Egyptian statue from Knossos; see Chap. One, p.14, and p.60, note 42.  
Evans (Fig.220).
- Pl.16, a. Early cylinder of lapis lazuli from Knossos.
- Pl.16, b. Cylinder of Cypro-Minoan style from Astrakous. For these, see Chap. One, p.16, and p.61, note 45.  
Evans (Figs.350 & 351).
- Pl.17, a. Cornelian bead-seal from Phaestos and chalcedony lentoid.
- P.17, b. Ta-urt (Thoueris). For these, see Chap. One, p.18, and p.61, note 54.  
Evans (Fig.358a & b); Budge (Pl. opp.30).
- Pl.18, a. Syrian merchant ships from tomb 162 at Thebes (left).

- Pl.18, b. Syrian merchant ships from tomb 162 at Thebes (right); for these, see Chap. One, p.23, and p.63, note 73.  
Davis and Faulkner (Pl.VII).
- Pl.19, a. Glass plaque from Dendra-Midea, depicting woman riding bull; see Chap. One, p.56, and p.75, note 273.  
Persson (Fig.24); see also Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean religion, 36 (Fig.2).
- Pl.19, b. Cypro-Minoan krater from Enkomi; see Chap. One, p.56, and p.75, note 274.  
Evans (Fig.646).
- Pl.20, a. Syrian cylinder seals, depicting winged and armed goddesses; see Chap. Two, p.80, and p.136, note 19.  
Barrelet (Fig.10a-d).
- Pl.20, b. Winged warrior goddesses from Yazilikaya and Malatya; see Chap. Two, p.80 (Malatya only), and p.136, note 21.  
Barrelet (Fig.21a & b).
- Pl.20, c. Nude winged goddess from Nimrud; see Chap. Two and note 21, as above.  
Barrelet (Fig.25).
- Pl.20, d. Ivory plaque from Sparta, depicting Artemis grasping birds; see Chap. Two, pp.79-80, and p.135, note 13.  
Thompson (Fig.1).
- Pl.20, e. Ivory plaque from Sparta, depicting Artemis grasping bird and feline; see Chap. Two and note 13, as above.  
Thompson (Fig.2).
- Pl.21, a. Ivory plaque from Sparta, depicting Artemis with bird and snake (photograph & drawing); see Chap. Two, p.81, and p.136, note 24.  
Dawkins (PL.XCIII, 1-2).
- Pl.21, b. Ivory plaque from Sparta, depicting Artemis with four birds; see Chap. Two, p.80, and p.136, note 23.  
Thompson (Fig.4).



- Pl.21, c. Various lead figurines from Sparta; see Chap. Two, p.79, and p.135, note 14.  
Thompson (Fig.9).
- Pl.22, a. Pendant with nude goddess on lion, from Minet-el-Beida, bas-relief from Carchemish depicting nude winged goddess, and Assyrian cylinder depicting archer goddess on lion; see Chap. Two, pp.96-97, and p.141, note 74; p.80, and p.136, note 21.  
Barrelet (Figs.18, 22 & 23).
- Pl.22, b. Nude winged goddesses from Syrian cylinders; see Chap. Two, p.80, and p.136, note 19.  
Barrelet (Fig.11a-d).
- Pl.22, c. Theban cylinder seal, including winged goddess; see Chap. Two, p.82 (nos.3 & 4), and p.137, note 32.  
For this example, see Porada, 28 (no.11).
- Pl.23, a. Lead figurine from Sparta, depicting Artemis with lions.
- Pl.23, b. Lead figurine from Sparta, depicting Artemis with a lion. For these, see Chap. Two, p.81, and p.136, note 23.  
Thompson (Figs.10 & 11).
- Pl.24, a. Winged goddesses lifting animals and men, from Shaushattar; see Chap. Two, p.80, and p.136, note 20.  
Barrelet (Fig.16).
- Pl.24, b. Theban cylinder seal, including winged goddess; see Chap. Two and note 32 (as Pl.22, c).  
For this example, see Porada, 15 (no.3).
- Pl.25, a. Three examples of Minoan goddesses with beasts; one broken seal with goddess and lion on left, seal with goddess on mountain-top, with lions, another complete seal depicting goddess and lions (?). See Chap. Two, p.82, and p.137, note 29; p.92, and p.140, note 63.  
Evans (Fig.597a, c & e).

- Pl.25, b. Drawing of Theban cylinder seal, including goddess holding beasts; for references, see above (Pl.22, c).  
For this example, see Porada, 9 (no.1).
- Pl.26. Photograph of the same Theban seal.  
Porada, 10 (no.1).
- Pl.27, a. Goddess with beasts on vases from Khafaje and Larsa; see Chap. Two, p.82, and p.137, note 29; p.84, and p.137, note 38.  
Barrelet (Fig.19a & b).
- Pl.27, b. Goddess with lion and lioness on amygdaloid gem from Mycenae; see Chap. Two, p.82, and p.137, note 30.  
Evans (Fig.44).
- Pl.27, c. Seated goddess between lions on lentoid ring-stone. Not in our text; for reference, see Chap. Two, note 30, as above.  
Evans, *op.cit.*, 165 (Fig.45).
- Pl.28, a. <sup>✓</sup>Āstart depicted on the north wall of the cella of the temple of Hibis; see Chap. Two, p.89, and p.139, note 54.  
Leclant (Fig.27).
- Pl.28, b. Egyptian ostrakon, depicting nude goddess on horseback; see Chap. Two, p.89, and p.139, note 54.  
Leclant (Pl.IIIa).
- Pl.29, a. Relief from Smyrna (?), depicting Cybele with lion; see Chap. Two, p.96, and p.141, note 71.  
Vermaseren (PL.17).
- Pl.29, b. Akkadian tablet from Ras Shamra, depicting goddess between two lions; see Chap. Two, note 71 (as above).  
Dhorme (Figs.1 & 2).
- Pl.30, a. Theban cylinder seal, including winged goddess with beasts (photograph & drawing); for references, see above (Pl.22, c).  
For this example, see Porada, 17 (no.4).

- Pl.30, b. Ugaritic cylinder, depicting goddess sitting on bull, holding lion by leash; see Chap. Two, p.96, and p.141, note 73.  
Barrelet (Fig.17).
- Pl.31. Carving from the Egyptian temple of Edfu, depicting lion-headed <sup>✓</sup> Astart standing in chariot. See Chap. Two, p.97, and p.141 note 75.  
Leclant (Pl.IVa-b).
- Pl.32, a. Theban cylinder seal, including winged goddess standing on lion (drawing & photograph); for reference, see above (Pl.22, c).  
For this example, see Porada, 42 (no.23).
- Pl.32, b. Two Minoan archer goddesses; see Chap. Two, p.113, and p.146, note 124.  
Evans (Figs.560 & 561).
- Pl.33, a. Athenian bronze plate, depicting owl between two olive sprays; see Chap. Three, p.152, and p.236, note 8.  
Cook (Fig.581).
- Pl.33, b. Broken kylix, depicting owl between two olive sprays; see Chap. Three, p.153, and p.236, note 9.  
Cook (Fig.583).
- Pl.34, a. Black-figured vase, depicting Athena with spear; see Chap. Three, p.207, and p.249, note 150.  
Farnell (Pl.XIII, a).
- Pl.34, b. Gemstone, depicting Athena, Kerberos and Hades; see Chap. Three, p.166, and p.240, note 50.  
Farnell (Pl.XIII, b).
- Pl.34, c. Black-figured amphora, depicting owl on altar; see Chap. Three, p.153, and p.236, note 10.  
Douglas = Buren (Fig.1).
- Pl.35, a. Terracotta pendant in the form of an owl, from Tarentum (both sides); Corinthian aryballos, depicting Herakles and the Hydra. See Chap. Three, pp.153-154, and pp.236-237, notes 11 and 12.



Cook (Figs.595, 596 & 597).

- Pl.35, b. EM breccia vase in the form of an owl; ivory seal in the form of an owl, both from Mesarà; see Chap. Three, p.160, and p.239, note 27.

Evans (Figs.410 & 410 bis).

- Pl.36, a. Red-figured kylix, depicting Athena with owl and human-headed bird; see Chap. Three, p.154, and p.237, note 14.

Cook (Fig.600).

- Pl.36, b. Silver-plated bronze cult standard from Hazor, with a relief of a snake-goddess; see Chap. Three, p.173, and p.242, note 69.

Avi-Yonah (II, 477).

- Pl.37. Roman bronze statuette, depicting Athena with an owl on top of her helmet; see Chap. Three, p.160, and p.239, note 28.

Cook (Fig.635).

- Pl.38. The Burney Relief, front view and lower half; see Chap. Three, pp.160-161, and p.239, note 29.

Frankfort (Figs.1 & 3).

- Pl.39, a. The Burney Relief, side view; head of a god from Ur; bronze statuette of the Larsa period, from Ur. See Chap. Three, p.161, and p.239, note 31.

Frankfort (Figs.2, 4 & 5). For comment on Fig.2 and Fig.4 (not mentioned in our text), see Frankfort, 129.

- Pl.39, b. The Burney Relief; see Chap. Three and note 29 (as Pl.38).

Kraeling (photograph on 17).

- Pl.40. Relief of Ishtar standing on lions; relief of a nude goddess standing on ibexes; relief depicting the lower half of a female figure, from Babylon; duplicate of this fragment; haematite figurine of owl, from the Sumerian period.

Buren (Figs.2-6).

See Chap. Three, pp.161-162, and p.239, notes 33 and 34. For Fig.5 (not in our text), see Buren, 354.

- Pl.41, a. Red-figured pyxis, depicting Athena in chariot drawn by snakes; Athenian aryballos, depicting Athena with spear and snake. See Chap. Three, p.167, and p.240, note 51.  
Cook (Figs.566 & 567).
- Pl.41, b. Boeotian kylix, depicting Athena with her snake, and a bird; see Chap. Three, p.167, and p.241, note 52.  
Cook (Fig.577).
- Pl.42. Faience figurine of snake goddess, from Knossos; see Chap. Three, p.169, and p.241, note 59.  
Evans, PM 1 (Frontispiece).
- Pl.43. Minoan limestone statuette of snake goddess, profile and front view; see Chap. Three, p.169, and p.241, note 59.  
Evans (Figs.149 & 150).
- Pl.44, a. Temple cult object from Hazor with birds and serpents; see Chap. Three, p.173, and p.242, note 69.  
Avi-Yonah (I, 217).
- Pl.44, b. Cylindrical vessel from Knossos with cups; see Chap. Three, p.170, and p.242, note 62.  
Evans (Fig.111).
- Pl.44, c. 'Snake-tube' from the temple of Ashtoreth, Beth-Shan; see Chap. Three, p.171, and p.242, note 63.  
Evans (Fig.129).
- Pl.45. The aegis of the Varvakeion statuette, of the Cassel statue, of the Athena of Herculaneum, and of the Albani Athena; see Chap. Three, p.178, and p.243, note 80.  
Cook (Figs.650-653).
- Pl.46. Various plaques, depicting the oriental 'aegis'; two reliefs, depicting head-gear. See Chap. Three, pp.179-180, and p.243, notes 83, 84 and 85.  
Barrelet (Figs.1-7).

- Pl.47, a. Gorgoneion from the Athenian Acropolis; see Chap. Three, p.183, and p.244, note 92.  
Roscher (I<sup>2</sup>, 1716, col.2).
- Pl.47, b. Gorgoneion from Sparta; see Chap. Three, p.193, and p.246, note 126.  
Roscher (as above).
- Pl.47, c. Two Minoan seals from Zakro, possibly depicting prototypes of the Gorgon; see Chap. Three, p.182, and p.244, note 90.  
Hogarth (Figs.20 & 22).
- Pl.48. Various examples of Greek gorgoneia - terracotta antefix from the Athenian Acropolis; terracotta antefix from Olympia; red-figured hydria, depicting Perseus and Medusa; the Medusa Rondanini. See Chap. Three, p.183, and p.244, note 92.  
Cook (Figs.662-665). For Cook's Fig.662, see also Roscher (above, Pl.47, a).
- Pl.49, a. Three examples of gorgoneia - a Roman onyx cameo; a Hellenistic amethyst cameo; a Graeco-Roman chalcedony. See Chap. Three, p.183, and p.244, note 92.  
Cook (Figs.666-668).
- Pl.49, b. Black-figured Etruscan hydria, depicting a monster with a Gorgon's head; see Chap. Three, p.166, and p.240, note 48.  
Cook (Fig.649).
- Pl.50. Various coins depicting gorgoneia; see Chap. Three, pp.183-184, and p.244, note 92.  
Cook (Figs.672-682). The individual coins are as follows:  
Fig.672. A tetradrachm of Athens, 510-507 B.C.  
Fig.673. A bronze coin of Olbia, probably cast during the 6th to 5th centuries B.C.  
Fig.674. A bronze hemilitron of Kamarina, c.413-405 B.C.  
Fig.675. A billon stater of Lesbos, c.550-440 B.C.



Fig.676. A silver stater of Neapolis in Macedonia, c.500-411 B.C.

Fig.677. A silver hemidrachm of Neapolis in Macedonia, c.411-350 B.C.

Fig.678. A silver drachm of Abydos, c.480-450 B.C.

Fig.679. A silver drachm of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Mysia, c.450-c.330 B.C.

Fig.680. A silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia, c.400-300 B.C., or later.

Fig.681. A silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia, c.400-300 B.C., or later.

Fig.682. A silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia, c.400-300 B.C., or later.

For the above information, see Cook A.B., Zeus Vol.III, Part 1, 853 (note 5) and 856.

Pl.51. Various coins depicting gorgoneia; see Chap. Three, and note 92 (as Pl.50).

Cook (Figs.683-693). The individual coins are as follows:

Fig.683. A silver piece of ten units from Populonia in Etruria, c.450-350 B.C.

Fig.684. A silver piece of twenty units from Populonia in Etruria, c.350-280 B.C.

Fig.685. A Roman denarius struck by L. Plautius Plancus, c.47 B.C.

Fig.686. A Roman denarius (as above).

Fig.687. A bronze coin of Seleukos I Nikator (312-280 B.C.).

Fig.688. A bronze coin of Amphipolis issued in imperial times.

Fig.689. A bronze coin of Chabakta in Pontus issued in the time of Mithradates Eupator (120-63 B.C.).

Fig.690. A Roman denarius struck by L.Cossutius Sabula, c.54 B.C.

Fig.691. A silver drachm of Rhodes, c.304-166 B.C.

Fig.692. A silver drachm of Rhodes, c.304-166 B.C.

Fig.693. A silver drachm (?) of Rhodes, c.87-84 B.C.

For the above information, see Cook, op.cit., 856. The final three coins, depicting the 'assimilation of Helios to the Gorgon' (Figs.691-693), are not mentioned in our text. See Cook, op.cit., 854-855.

Pl.52, a. A 'Gorgon-bird' from Syracuse; see Chap. Three, p.231, and p.253, note 197.

Payne (Fig.12).

Pl.52, b. Five examples of Greek gorgoneia, from Corinth, Thermon and Syracuse; see Chap. Three, p.184, and p.244, note 93.

Payne (Fig.23A-E); see Payne's Catalogue for complete lists of vases. See also our Appendix One.

Pl.53. Three examples of Gorgons, dating from the Early Corinthian Period; see Chap. Three, p.184, and p.244, note 93.

Payne (Fig.24A-C).

Pl.54. Five examples of Gorgons from the Middle Corinthian Period; see Chap. Three, p.184, and p.244, note 94.

Payne (Fig.25A-E).

Pl.55, a. Limestone Gorgon from Corfu; see Chap. Three, p.185, and p.244, note 95.

Payne (Fig.26).

Pl.55, b. Five examples of Gorgons from the Late Corinthian Period; see Chap. Three, p.185, and p.244, note 95.

Payne (Figs.27A-E).

Pl.56, a. The demon Humbaba; see Chap. Three, p.187, and p.245, note 101.

Payne (Pl.58A).

Pl.56, b. Magic plaque, possibly representing Humbaba; see Chap. Three, p.187, and p.245, note 102.

Thureau-Dangin (AO.6778).

- Pl.57. Female terracotta votive masks from Sparta; see Chap. Three, p.187, and p.245, note 104.  
Dawkins (PL.XLVII, 1-3).
- Pl.58. Two Lamashtu plaques, from Karkamis and Zencirli; see Chap. Three, p.192, and p.246, note 120.  
Goldman (Pl.IV, 1-2).
- Pl.59. Assyrian lion-head buckler from Nimrud; Etruscan shield on chariot front from Monteleone; see Chap. Three, p.194, and p.246, note 128.  
Goldman (Pl.VI, 2-3).
- Pl.60. Bronze Etruscan disc from Cervetri; Bronze archaic Greek Gorgon; see Chap. Three, p.192, and p.246, note 122.  
Goldman (Pl.VIII, 1-2). The Etruscan disc is not mentioned in our text; see Goldman, 21.
- Pl.61, a. 'Gorgon-Artemis' on Rhodian plate; see Chap. Three, p.195, and p.247, note 129.  
Goldman (Pl.IX, 1).
- Pl.61, b. Bronze relief of a Gorgon from an Etruscan chariot; see Chap. Three, p.192, and p.246, note 122.  
Goldman (Pl.IX, 2).
- Pl.62. Fragment of a vase from Praesos, depicting a possible 'Siren'; female terracotta head from Sparta. See Chap. Three, p.224, and p.252, note 182.  
Levi (Figs.11 & 13a-b).



- Pl.63, a. Black-figured Corinthian aryballos (the Boston Siren aryballos), depicting Odysseus, Sirens and birds; see Chap. Three, p.224, and p.253, note 184.  
Pollard (Fig.1).
- Pl.63, b. Geometric vase painting, depicting a ship with two birds; see Chap. Three, p.225, and p.253, note 185.  
Pollard (Fig.4).
- Pl.63, c. Red-figured stamnos, depicting Odysseus and Sirens; see Chap. Three, p.226, and p.253, note 187.  
Roscher (Fig.1).
- Pl.64, a. Hellenistic relief, depicting a nude bird-woman; see Chap. Three, p.226, and p.253, note 189.  
For this illustration, see Cook, op.cit. (as Pl.50), 835 (Fig.648).
- Pl.64, b. Black-figured kylix, depicting bird-women at a drinking-party; see Chap. Three, p.227, and p.253, note 190.  
Roscher (Fig.4).
- Pl.65, a. Black-figured lekythos, depicting a Siren playing a lyre on top of a grave stele; see Chap. Three, pp.226-227, and note 190 (as above).  
Harrison (Fig.40).
- Pl.65, b. Tombstone from Chios, depicting four nude, female Sirens; see Chap. Three, pp.227-228, and p.253, note 191.  
Roscher (Fig.6).
- Pl.66. Various Sirens or bird-women; depicted on a spherical Corinthian aryballos, a Corinthian pinax, a geometric pot from Rhodes, and a Corinthian bowl. See Chap. Three, pp.227-228, and note 191 (as above).  
Roscher (Figs.2, 3, 16 & 23).
- Pl.67. Various Sirens; depicted on a spherical Corinthian aryballos, another of the same, a sarcophagus from Clazomenae, a hydria and an Etruscan amphora. See Chap. Three, pp.228-229, and note 191 (as above).

Roscher (Figs.18, 19, 20, 21 & 32).

- Pl.68. Egyptian soul-birds, depicted on a vignette incorrectly termed Spell 16, and on part of Spell 17; see Chap. Three, pp.232-233, and p.254, note 202.

Faulkner (as above).

- Pl.69. a. Vase-painting, depicting the death of Prokris; see Chap. Three, p.232, and p.254, note 199.

Harrison (Fig.14).

- Pl.69, b. Spell 89 (Ani's winged soul); see Chap. Three, p.233, and note 202 (as Pl.68).

Faulkner (as above).

- Pl.70. Spell 91 (Ani's winged soul); see Chap. Three and note 202 (as Pl.68).

Faulkner (as above).

- Pl.71. Spell 92 (Ani's winged soul); see Chap. Three and note 202 (as Pl.68).

Faulkner (as above).

- Pl.72. Hekate, depicted on a krater by the 'Peleus painter'; see Chap. Four, p.284, and p.419, note 68.

Alfieri and Arias (Pl.90).

- Pl.73. Hekate, depicted on a krater by the 'Niobid painter' (lower frieze); see Chap. Four and note 68 (as above).

Alfieri and Arias (Pl.35).

- Pl.74, a. Triple-bodied Hekate, depicted on a relief from Aegina; see Chap. Four, p.284, and p.419, note 69.

For this illustration, see Roscher (I<sup>2</sup>, 1903).

- Pl.74, b. Prague Hekataion, depicting Charites with Hekate; see Chap. Four, p.286, and p.420, note 70.

Harrison (Fig.16).

- Pl.74, c. Painting on kalpis, depicting the 'Sending of Triptolemos'; see Chap. Four, p.284, and p.419, note 68.

For this illustration, see Roscher (I<sup>2</sup>, 1902).

- Pl.75. Thasos relief, depicting Hekate; badly damaged Hekataion; Aegina relief; Hermannstadt Hekataion; see Chap. Four, pp.284-286, and pp.419-420, notes 69, 70 and 71.  
Farnell (Pl.XXXIXa-d).
- Pl.76, a. Hermannstadt Hekataion; see Chap. Four, pp.285-286, and p.419, note 70.  
Harrison (Fig.17).
- Pl.76, b. Two gemstones, depicting Hekate, the one on the right only is mentioned in our text; see Chap. Four, p.285, and p.419, note 69.  
Roscher (I<sup>2</sup>, 1909), for both gemstones.
- Pl.77. The Pergamene Frieze, depicting Hekate; see Chap. Four, pp.284-285, and note 69 (as above).  
For the upper illustration, see Farnell (Pl.XL); for the lower, see Roscher (I<sup>2</sup>, 1907-1908).
- Pl.78. Athenian black-figured lekythos, depicting Hekate or Skylla; see Chap. Four, pp.286-287, and p.420, note 72.  
Karouzou (Pl.XVIIIa-b).
- Pl.79. Red-figured lekythos, depicting young woman sacrificing puppy; see Chap. Four, p.287, and p.420, note 74.  
Deubner (Pl.2).



## **APPENDIX THREE.**

### **SELECTED ILLUSTRATIONS** **(79 PLS. IN THE SUPPLEMENT).**

The illustrations in the supplement are necessarily selective. Nearly all are discussed in the text. A few extra illustrations from the same sources have been included, which are of interest in the context of the subjects discussed.



a



Fig. 51. — Cruche en terre rougeâtre, imitation de type crétois (p. 63).

b



Fig. 52. — Cruche en terre gris-verdâtre, imitation d'un type égéen (p. 63).  
Fig. 51 et 52 de Ras Shamra, tombe LVII.



Fig. 68. — Grande jarre de type égéen peinte de spirales blanches, Ras Shamra (p. 72).



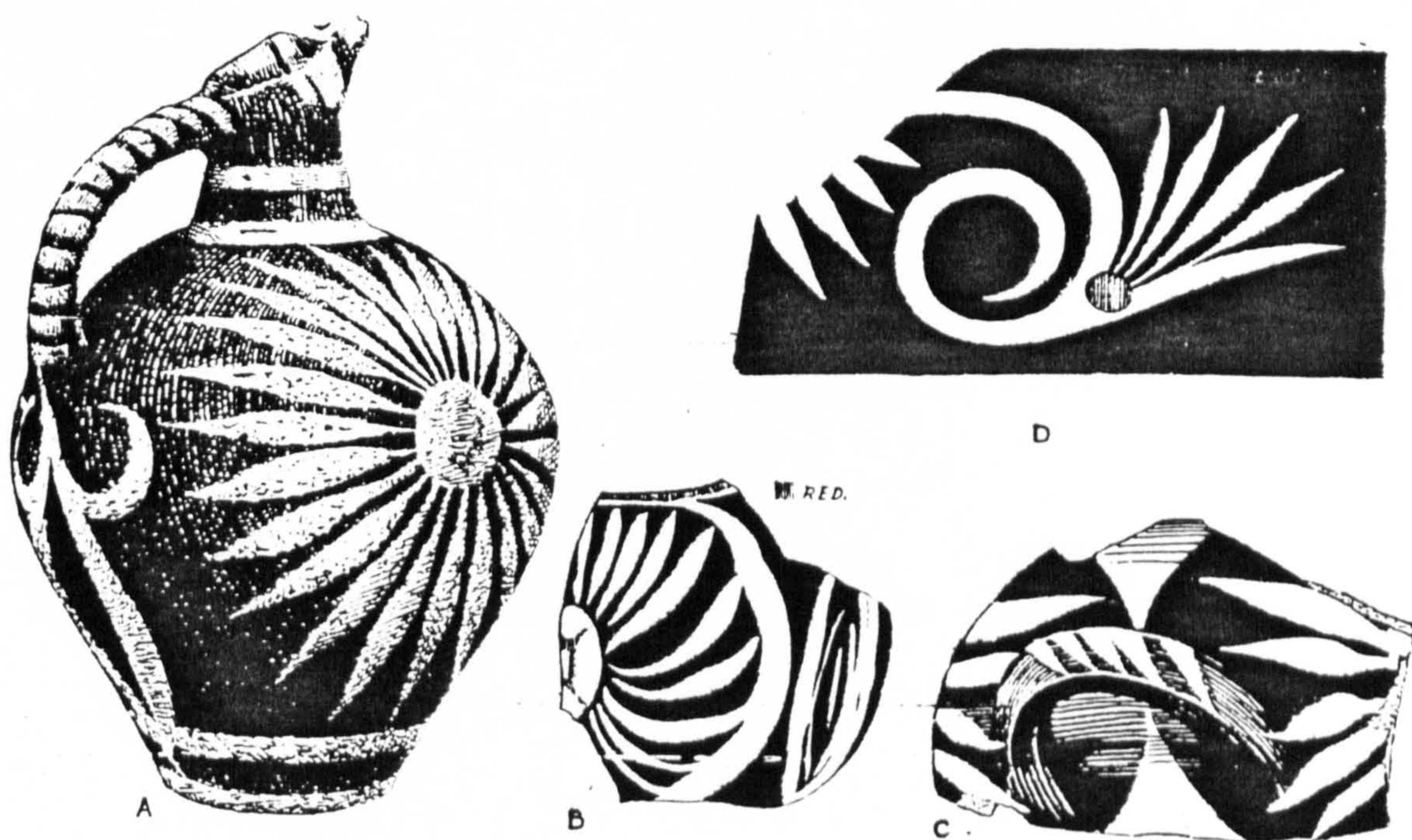


FIG. 198. POTTERY SHOWING POINTED PETALS OF LATEST M. M. II PHASE FROM KAHUN (C) AND CRETAN SITES (A, B, D).

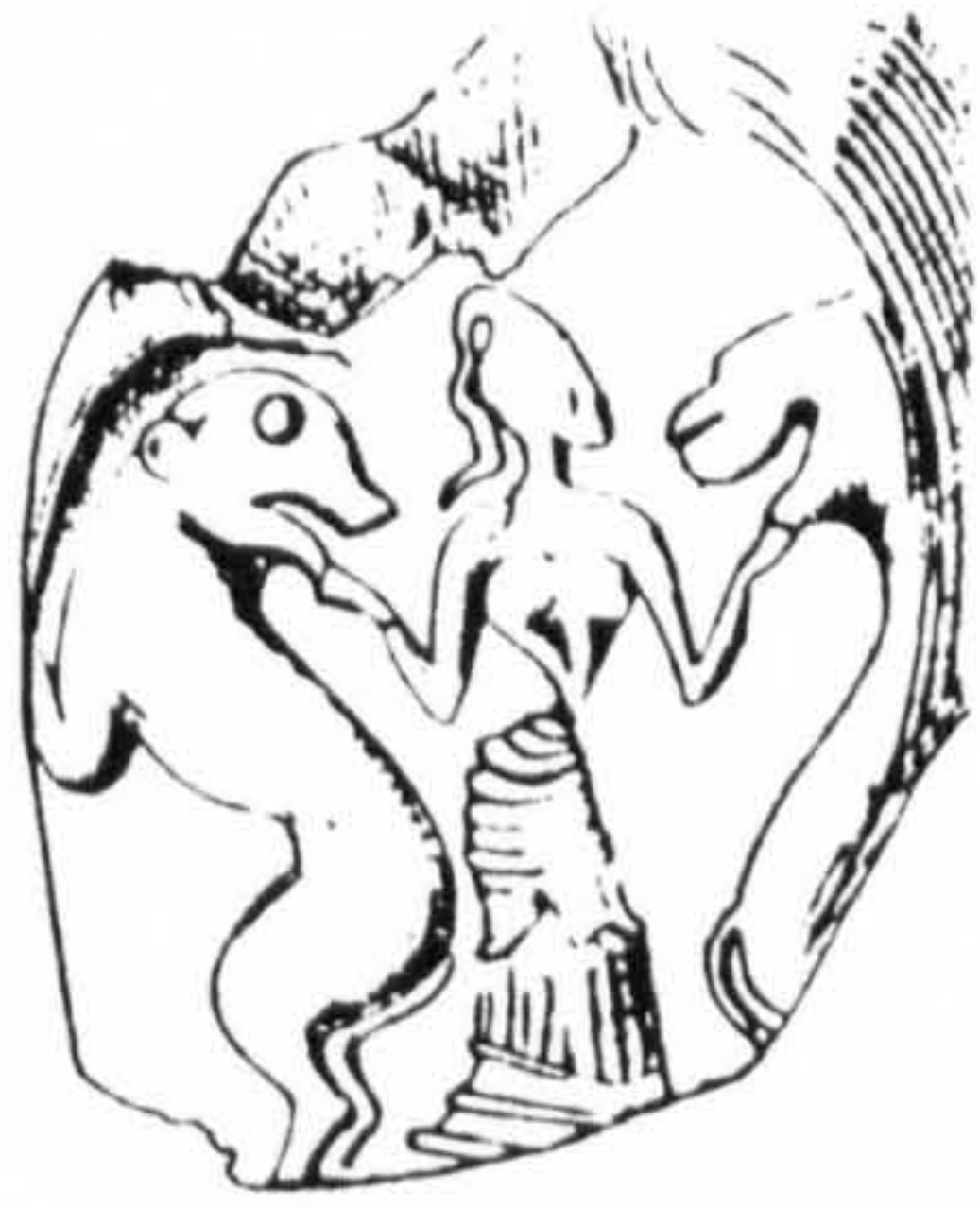








A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I



J

THE MINET EL BEIDA CARVING (J) AND COMPARATIVE AEGEAN MATERIAL.



a

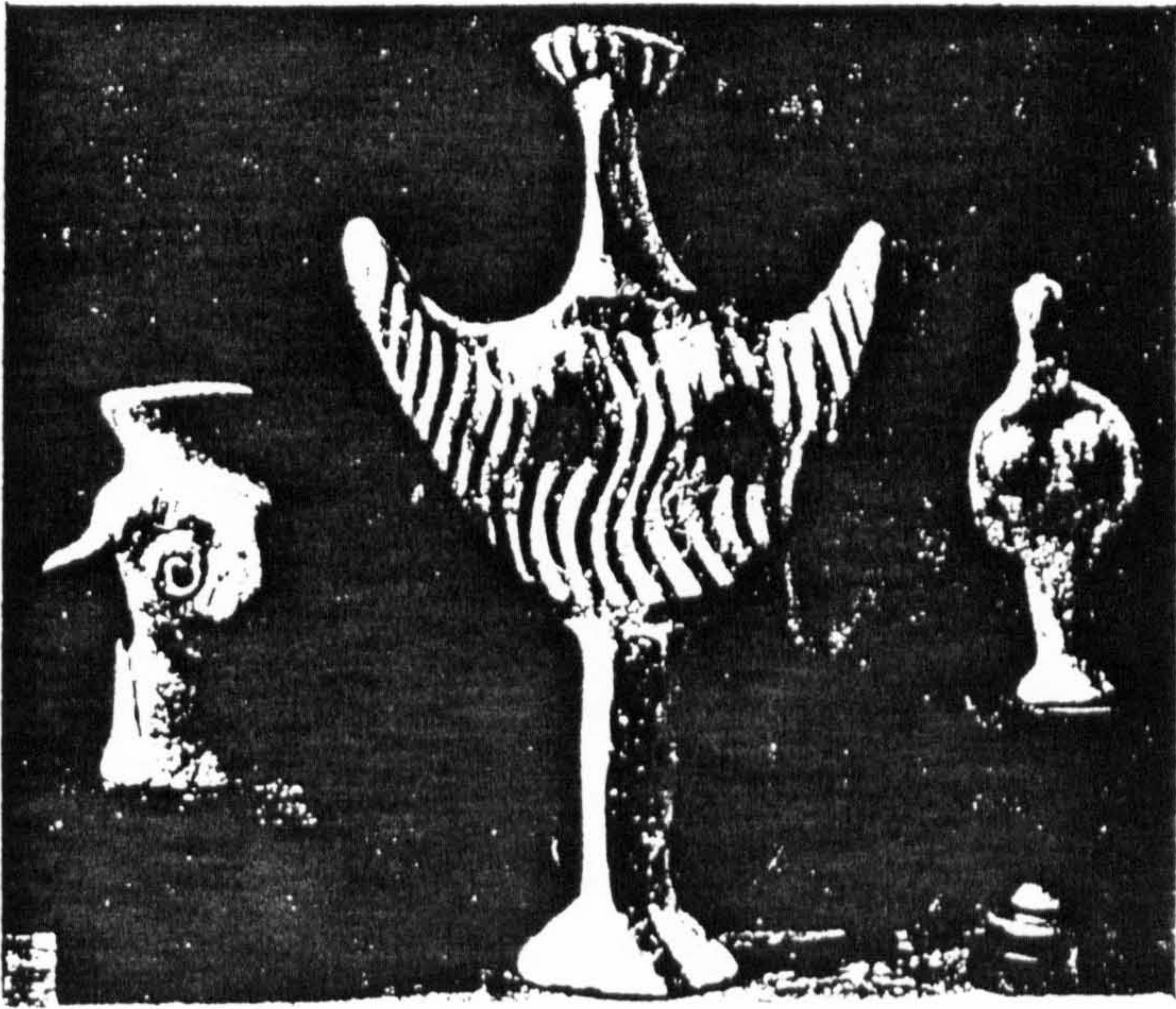


Fig. 94. — Idoles mycéniennes (p. 99)

b

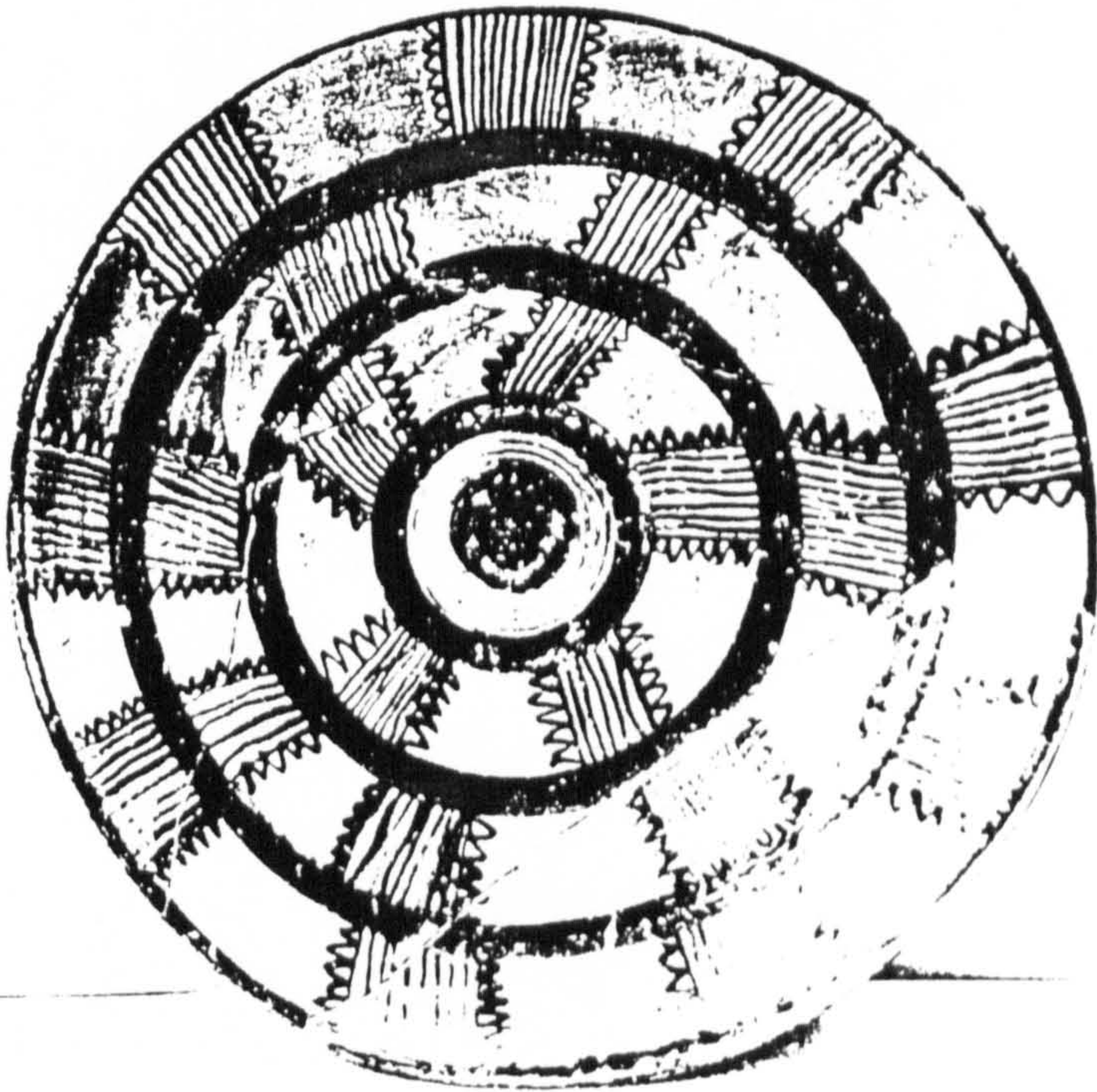
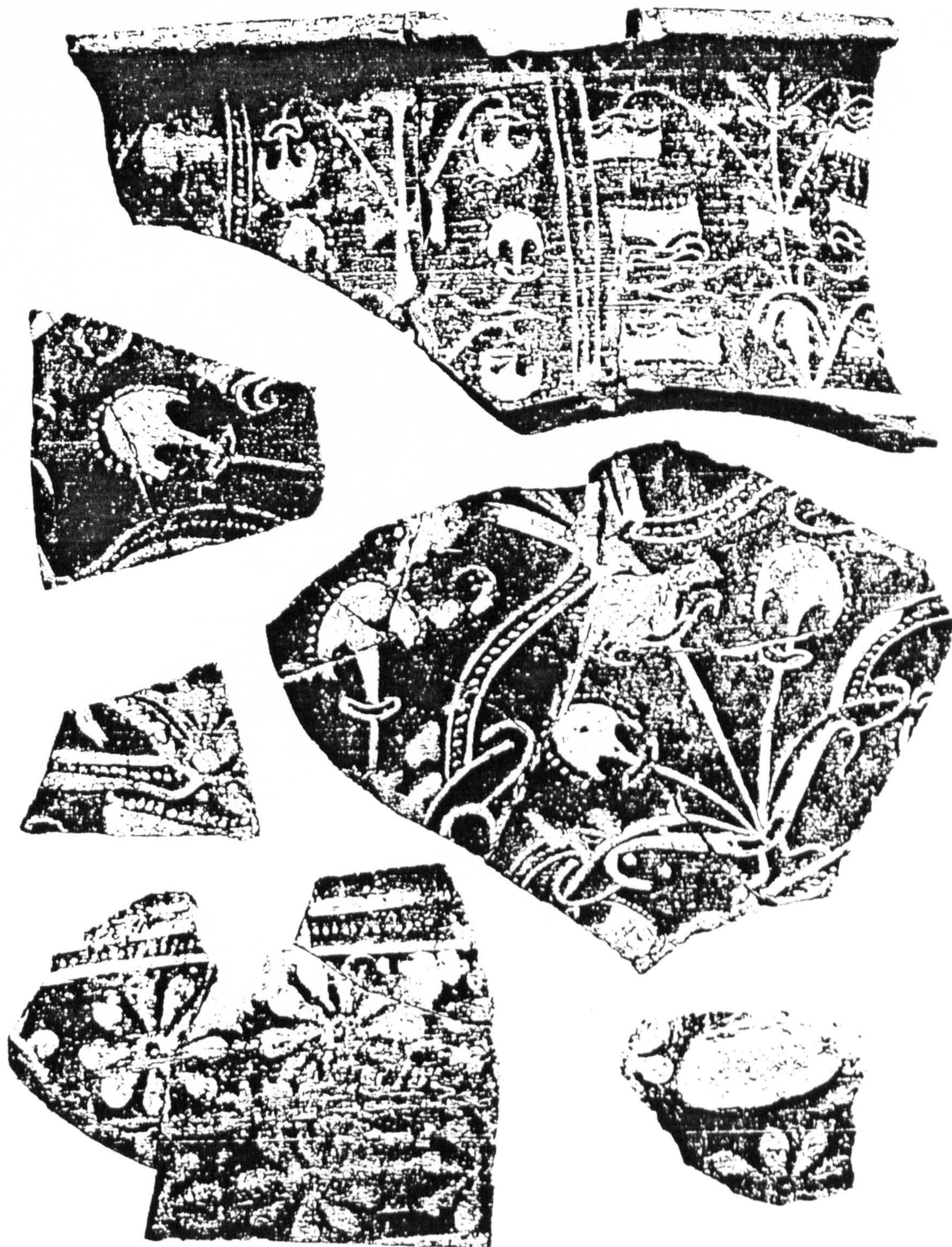


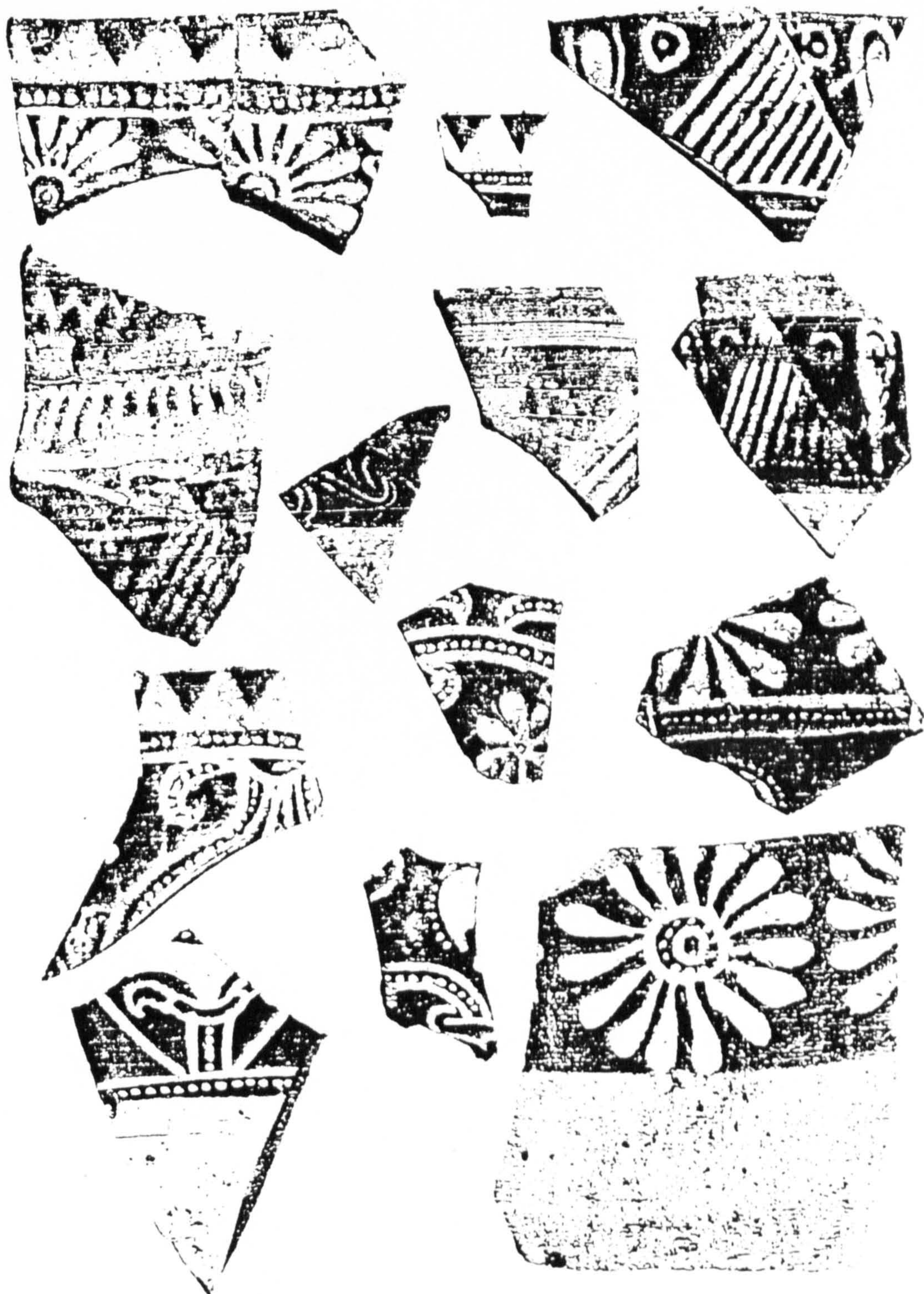
Fig. 98. — Plat mycénien à décor géométrique (p. 105).





POTTERY FROM TAL ATCHANA





POTTERY FROM TAL ATCHANA.



a



FIG. 304 a. TRADITIONAL MIDEI KINGDOM TYLE OF ALABASTION.

b

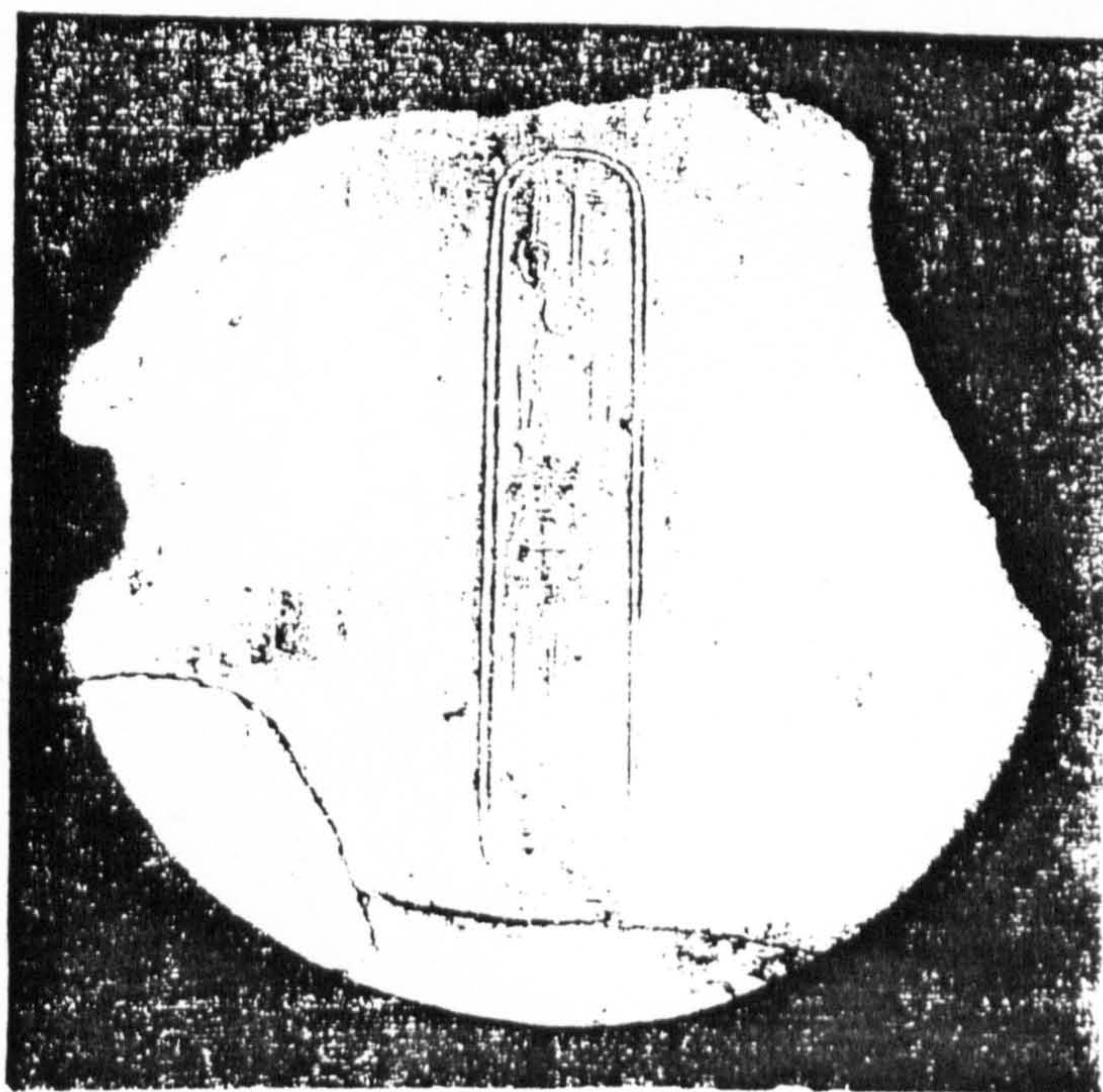


FIG. 304 b. ALABASTION LID INSCRIBED WITH NAME AND TITLES OF HARSOS KING, KHYAN ( $\frac{3}{4}$  c).

c

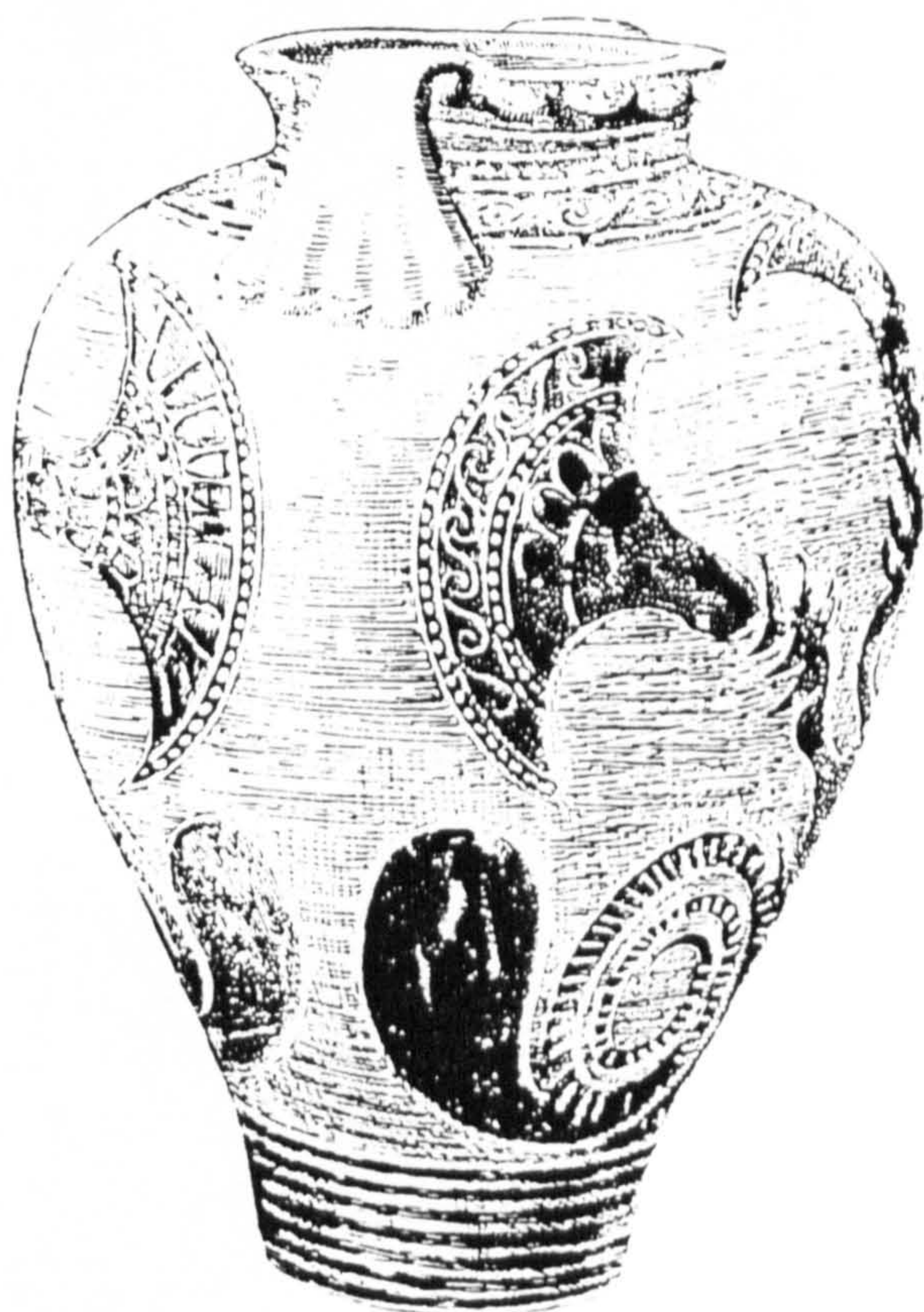
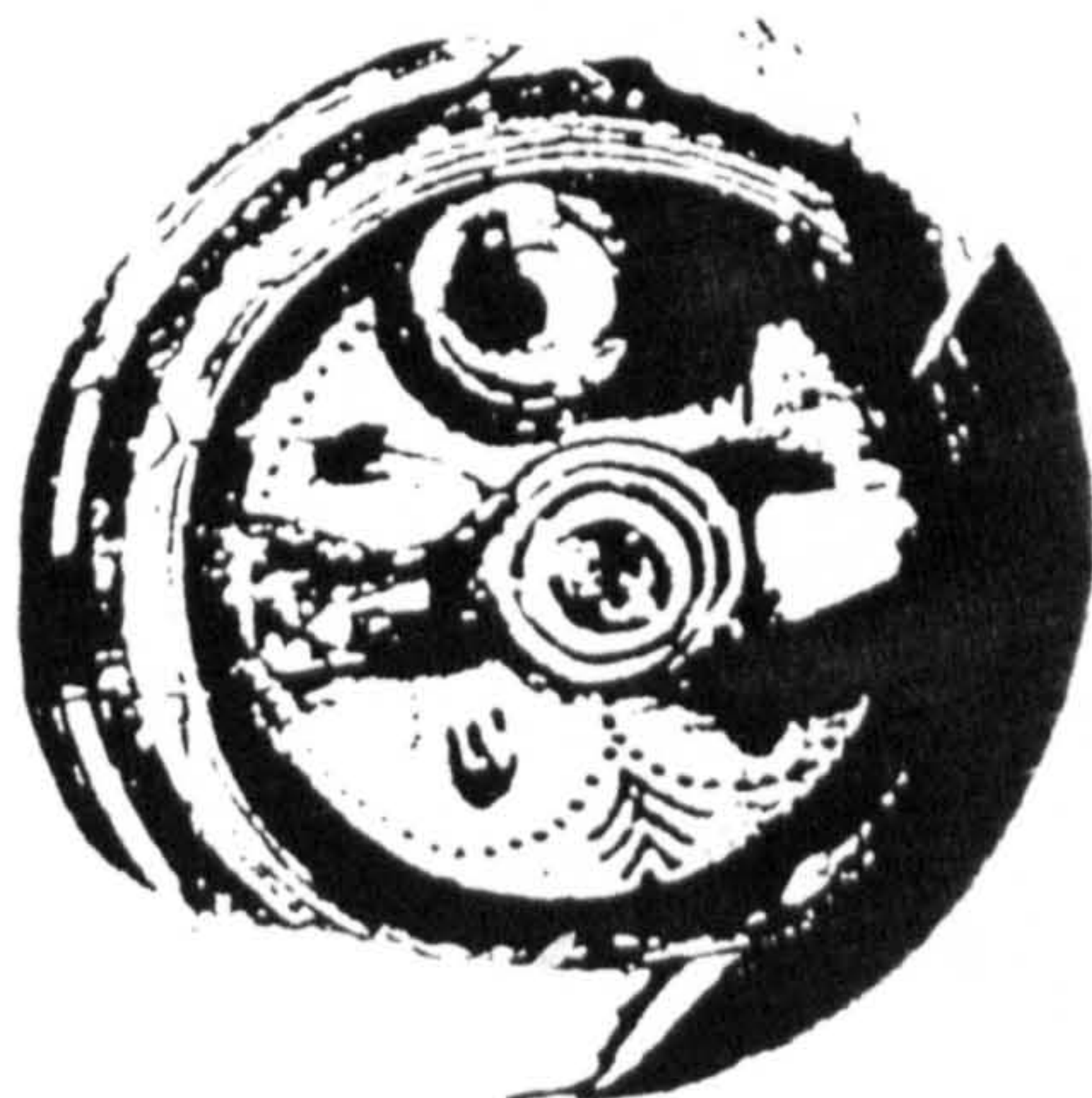
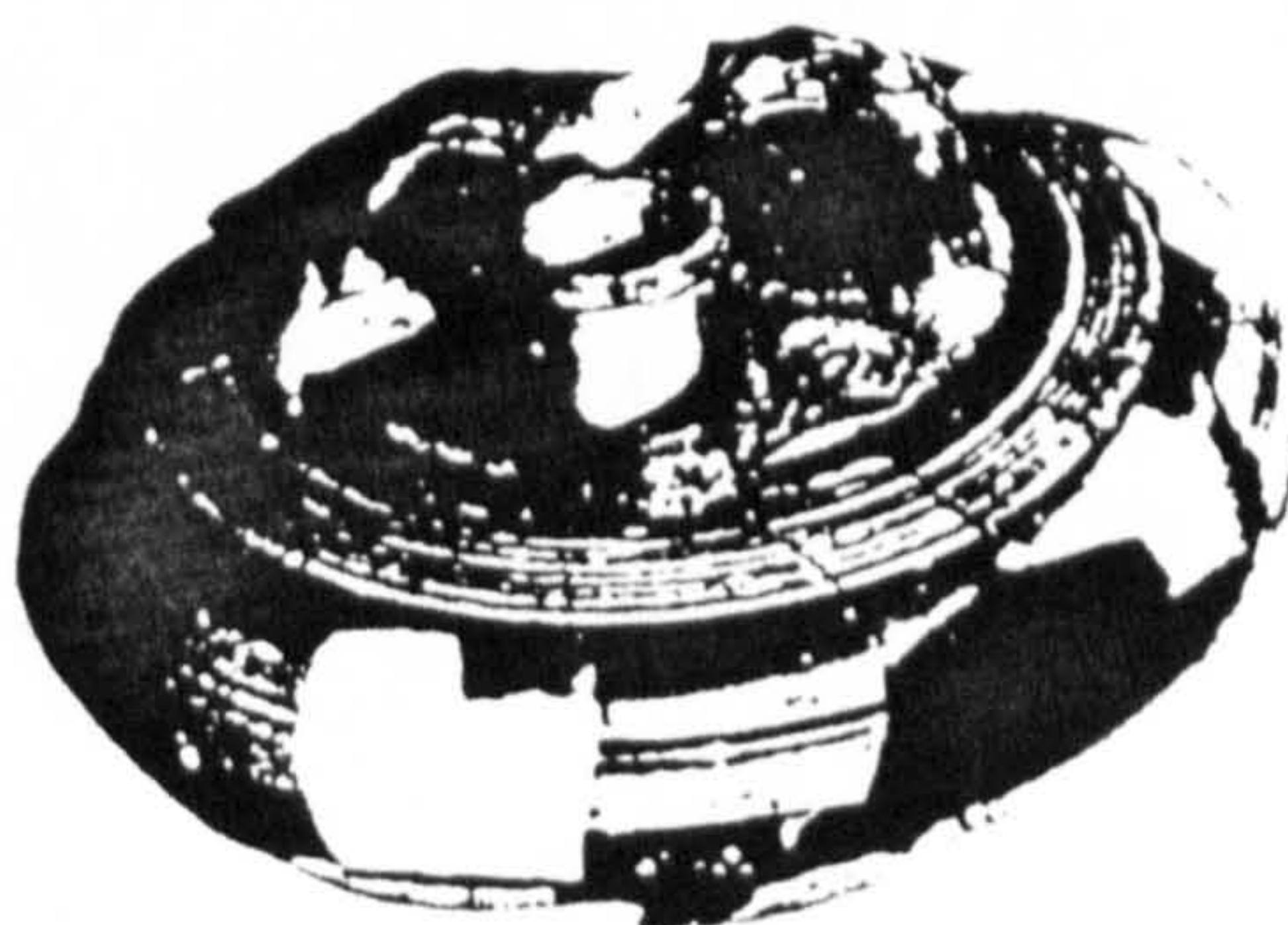


FIG. 418. JAR WITH SCALLOPED HANDLES AND DOUBLE ANT PLANT, PACHYAMMOS.



Bovius, XII, 1050.



Sarepta - Stirrup vases



*Boytus, XII, 1050.*

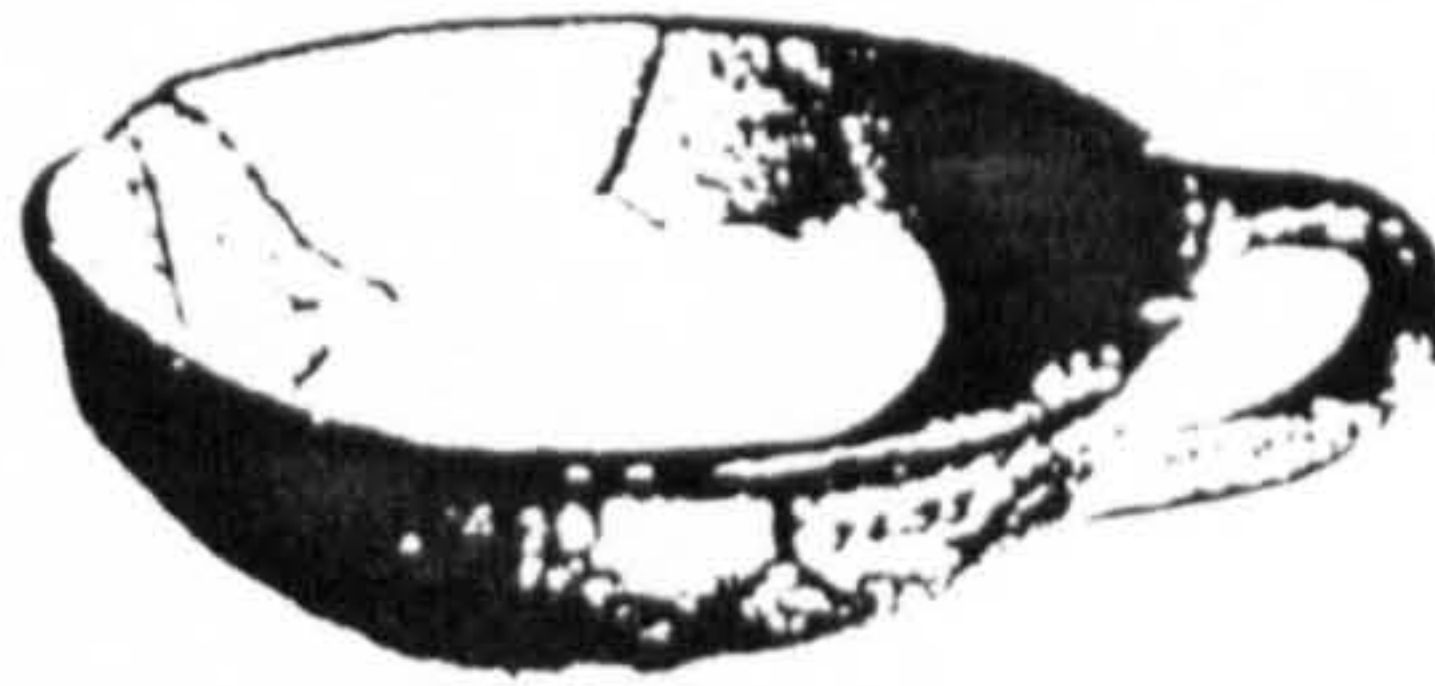
*Pl. XVI.*



26 A



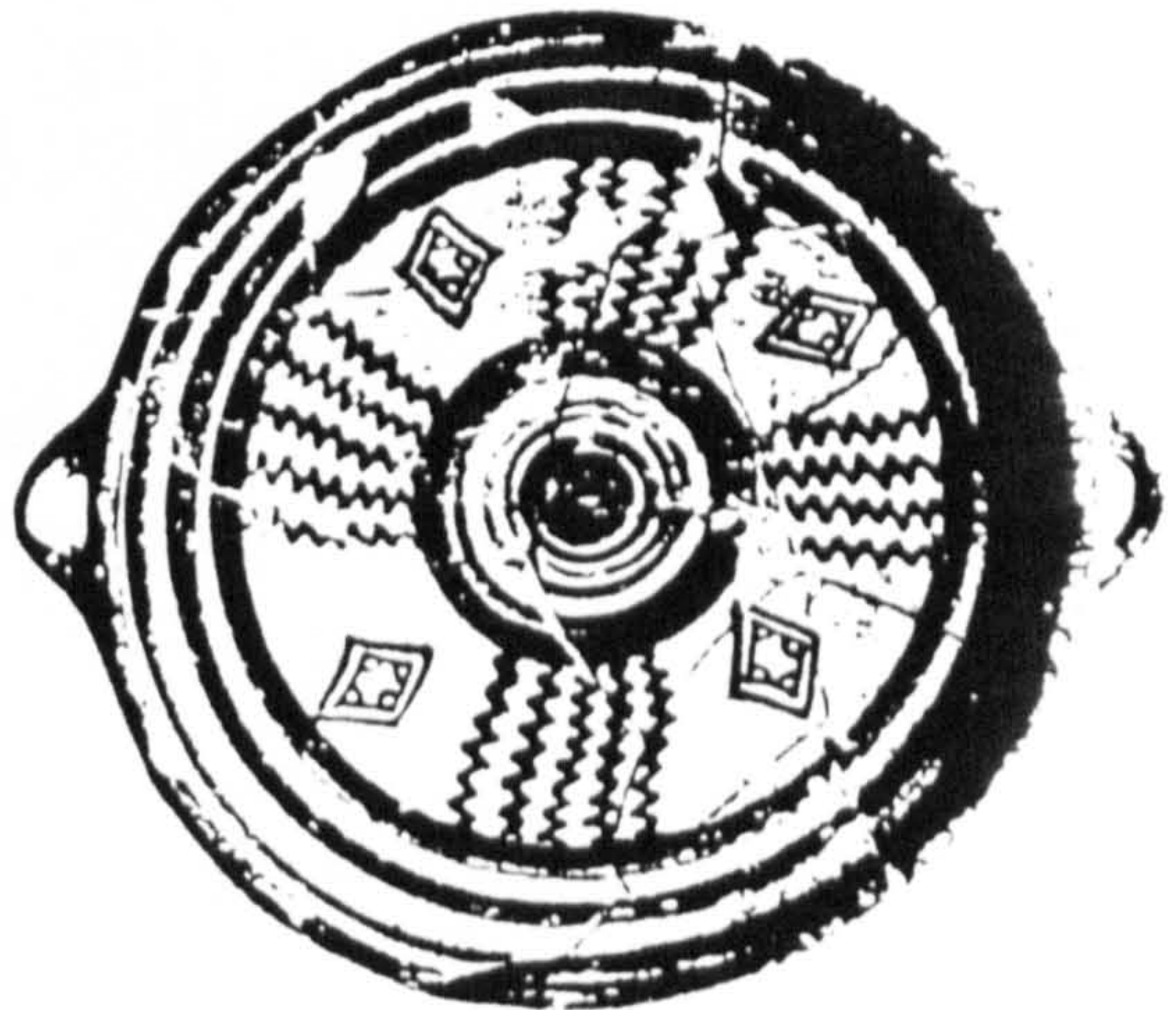
26 B



39



38



42



44



45

Sarepta: Pilgrim Bottle (26), Cypriote Bowls (42, 44, and 45), Cup (39), and Kylix (38)



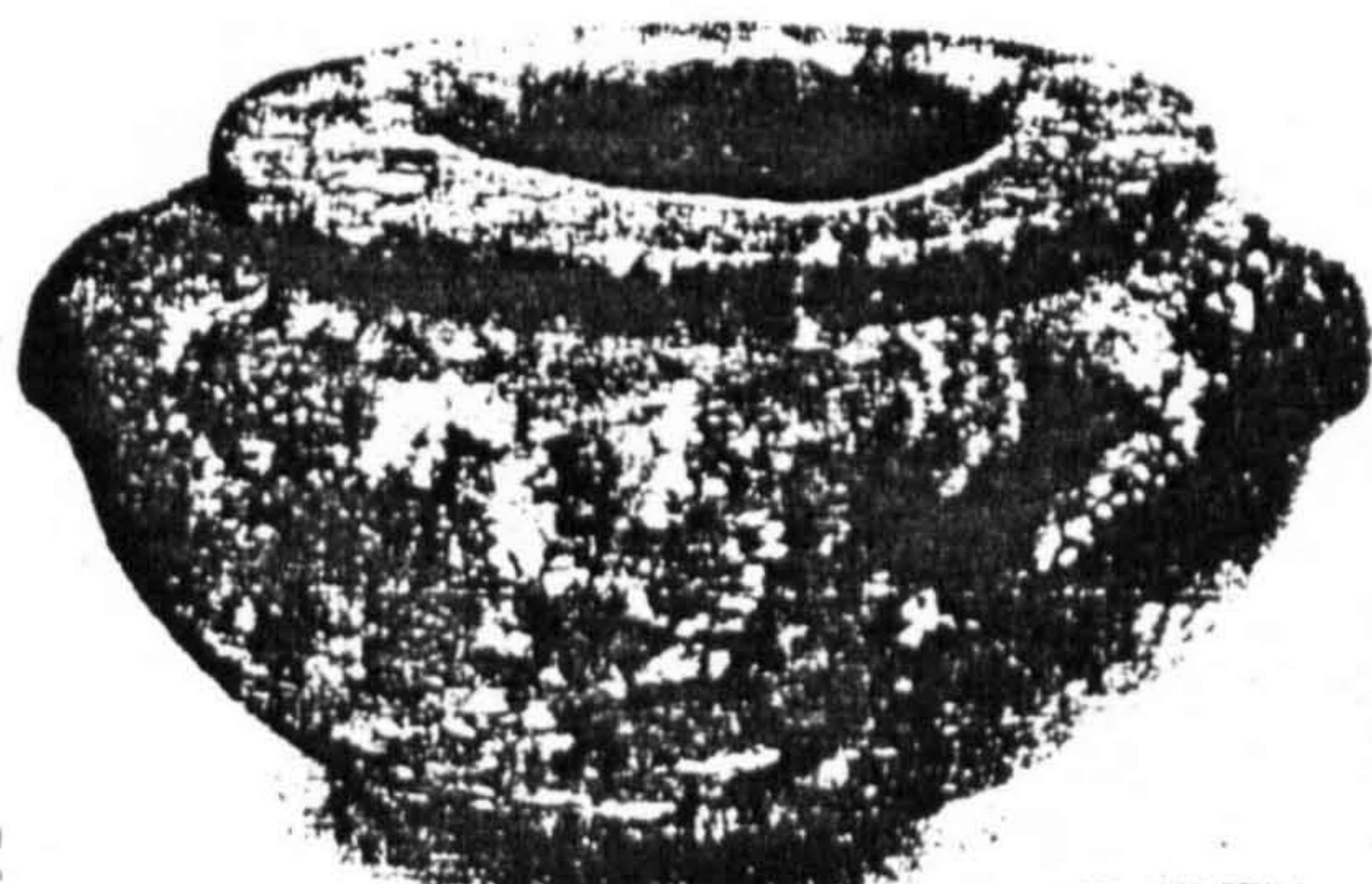


FIG. 29 ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.).  
PRE-DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN VASES OF PORPHYRY; FOUND IN EGYPT.



FIG. 30 ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.).



FIG. 31. PRE-DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN  
SYENITE BOWL FROM KNOSSOS ( $\frac{2}{3}$  c.).

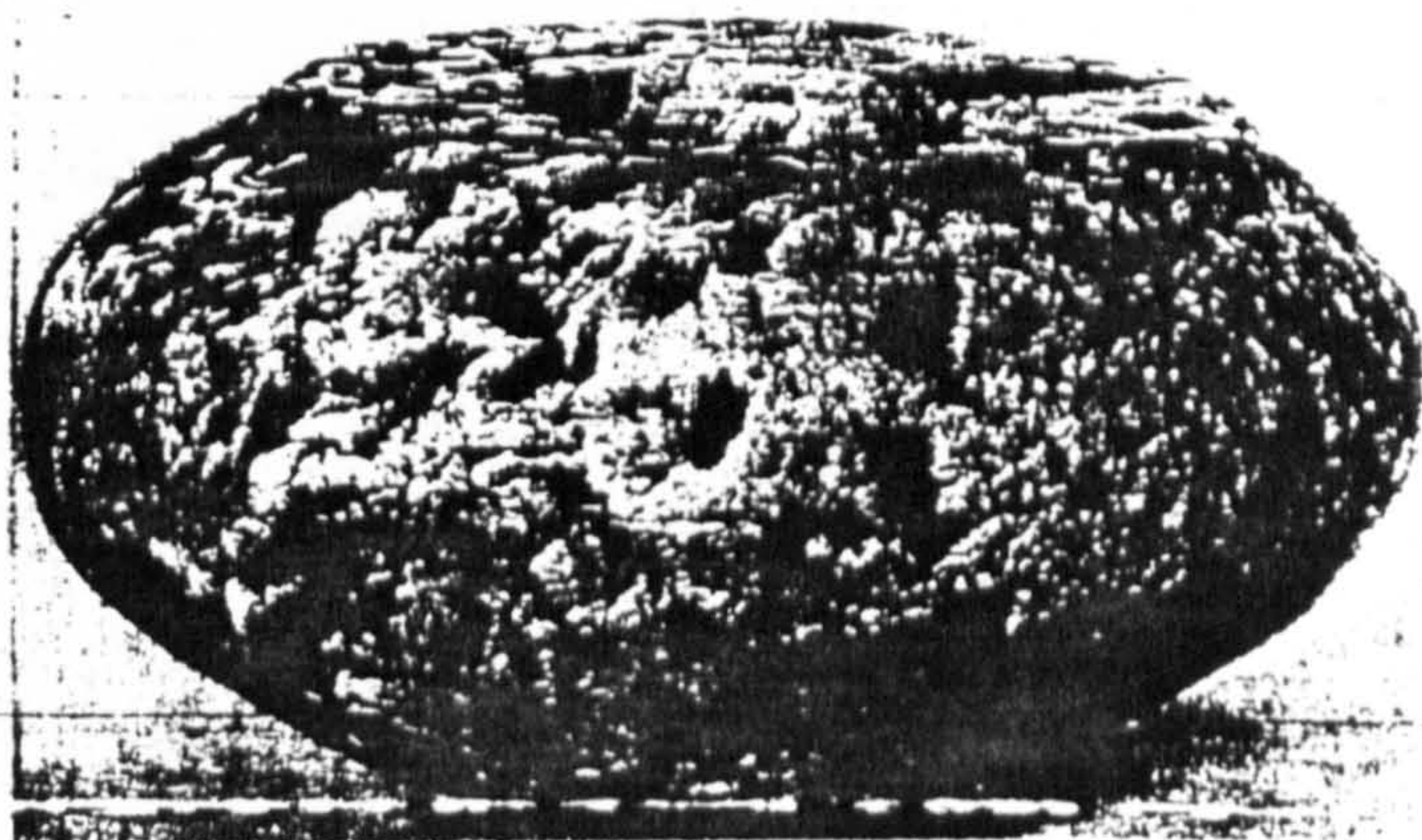


FIG. 32. HORNBLENDE AND PORPHYRY BOWL  
(SECOND DYN. EGYPTIAN) FROM KNOSSOS ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).



FIG. 33. CRETAN VESSEL, SERPENTINE: ELUNDA ( $\frac{2}{3}$  c.).



FIG. 34. CRETAN STONE VESSEL, MOCHLOS ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.).



FIG. 35. PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN,  
HIERAKONPOLIS ( $\frac{2}{3}$  c.).



FIG. 36. E. M. II,  
MOCHLOS ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.).



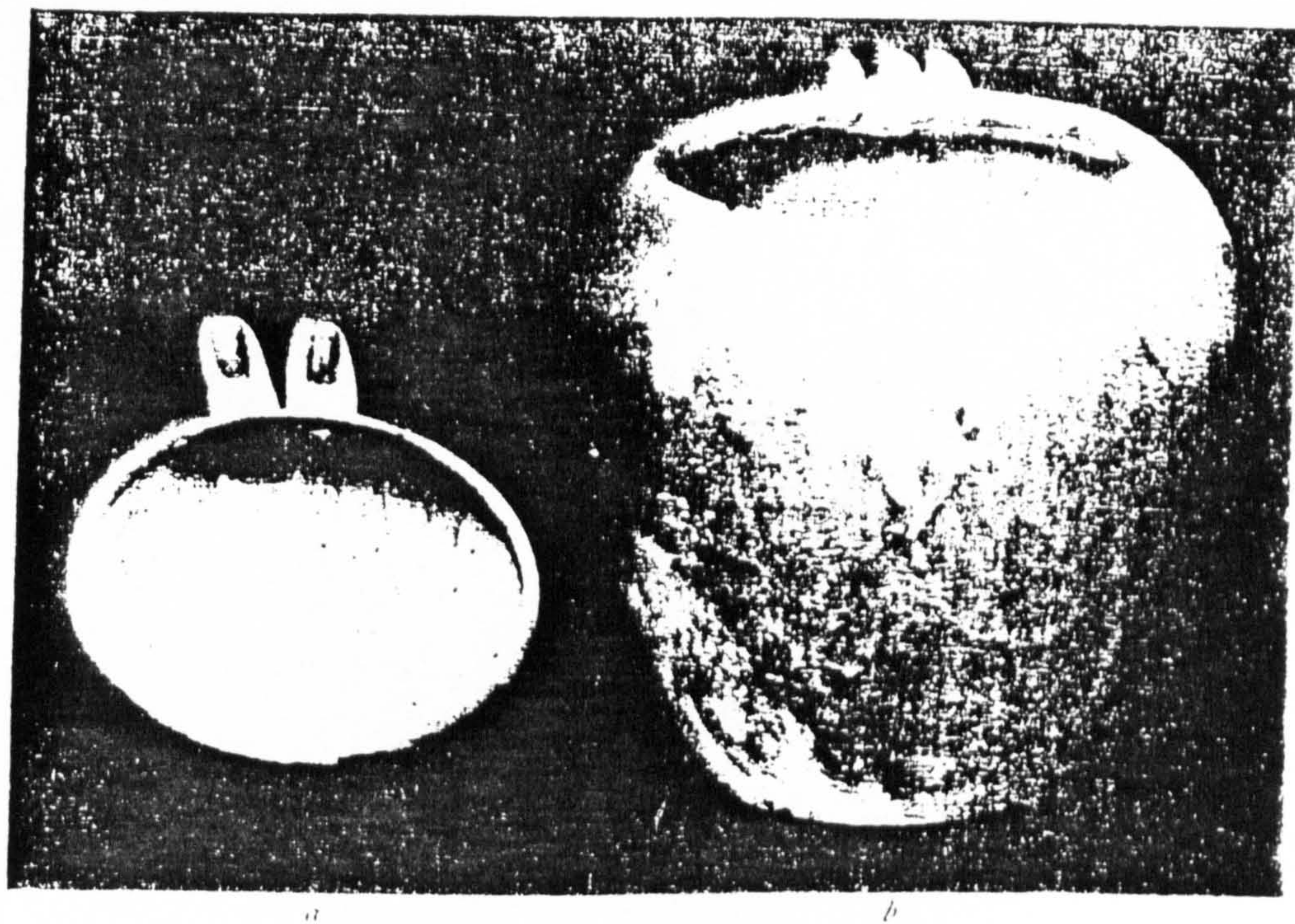


FIG. 49. DOUBLE SPOUTED EGYPTIAN VESSELS: *a*. PRE-DYNASTIC (LIMESTONE) *b*. FOURTH DYNASTY (ALABASTER) ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.)



FIG. 50. DOUBLE SPOUTED CILTAN JUG (SILATHI) FROM GOURNIA ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.)



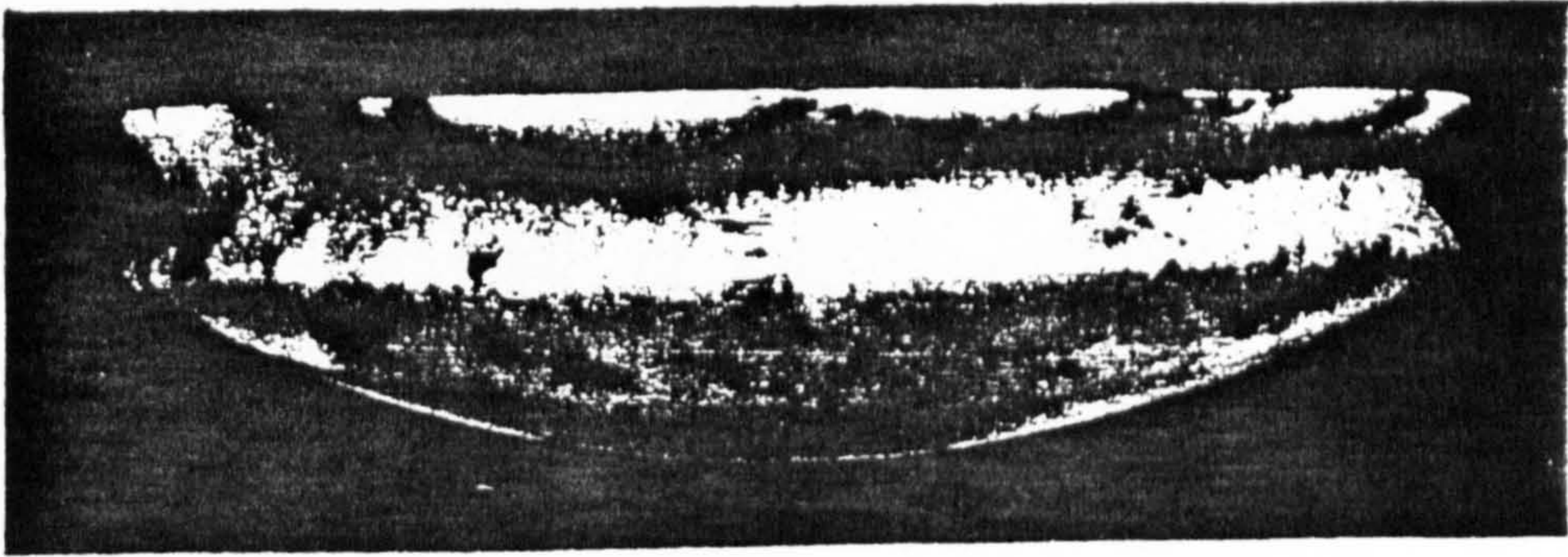
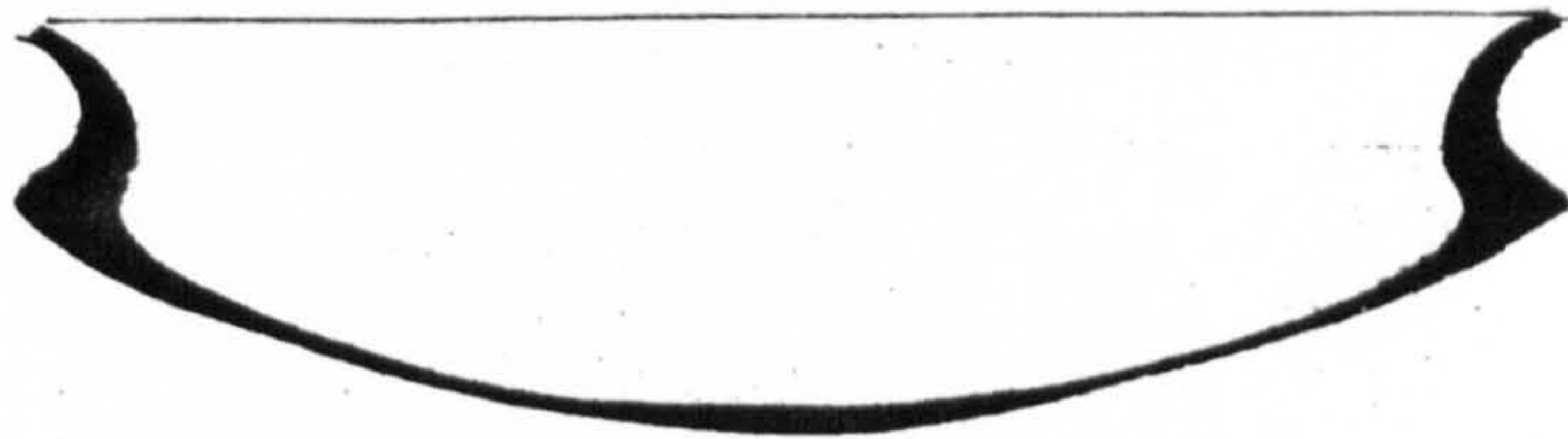
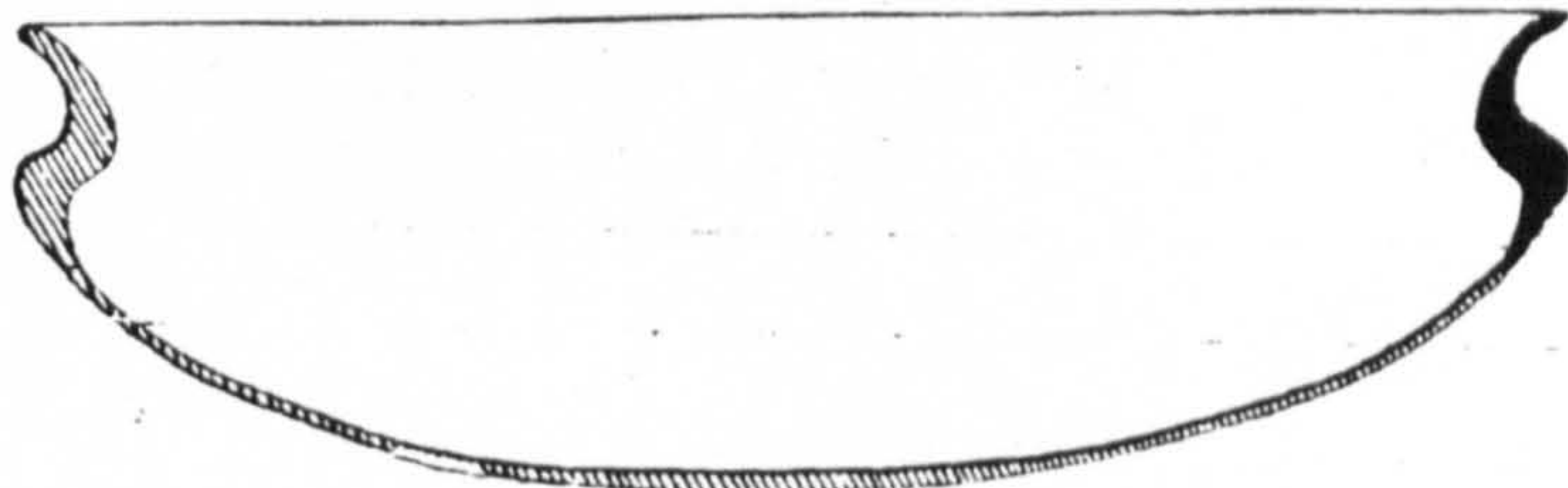


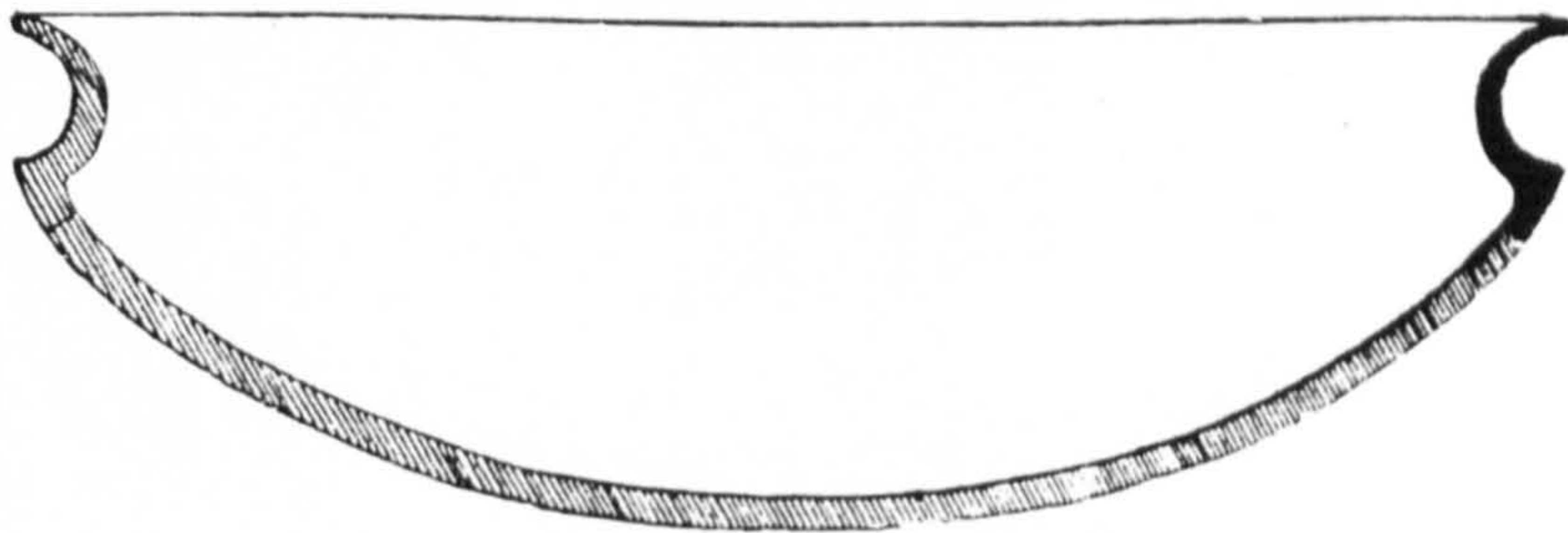
FIG. 54. DIORITE BOWL FROM TOMB OF KING SNEFERU (FOURTH DYN.) ( $\frac{2}{3}$  c.)



a. SECTION OF DIORITE BOWL FROM TOMB OF KING SNEFERU (FOURTH DYN.)



b. RESTORED SECTION DIORITE BOWL. KNOSSOS.



c. RESTORED SECTION LIPARITE BOWL, KNOSSOS.

FIG. 55.





FIG. 60. 'MARBLE' VESSEL,  
MOCHLOS ( $\frac{4}{5}$ ).

a

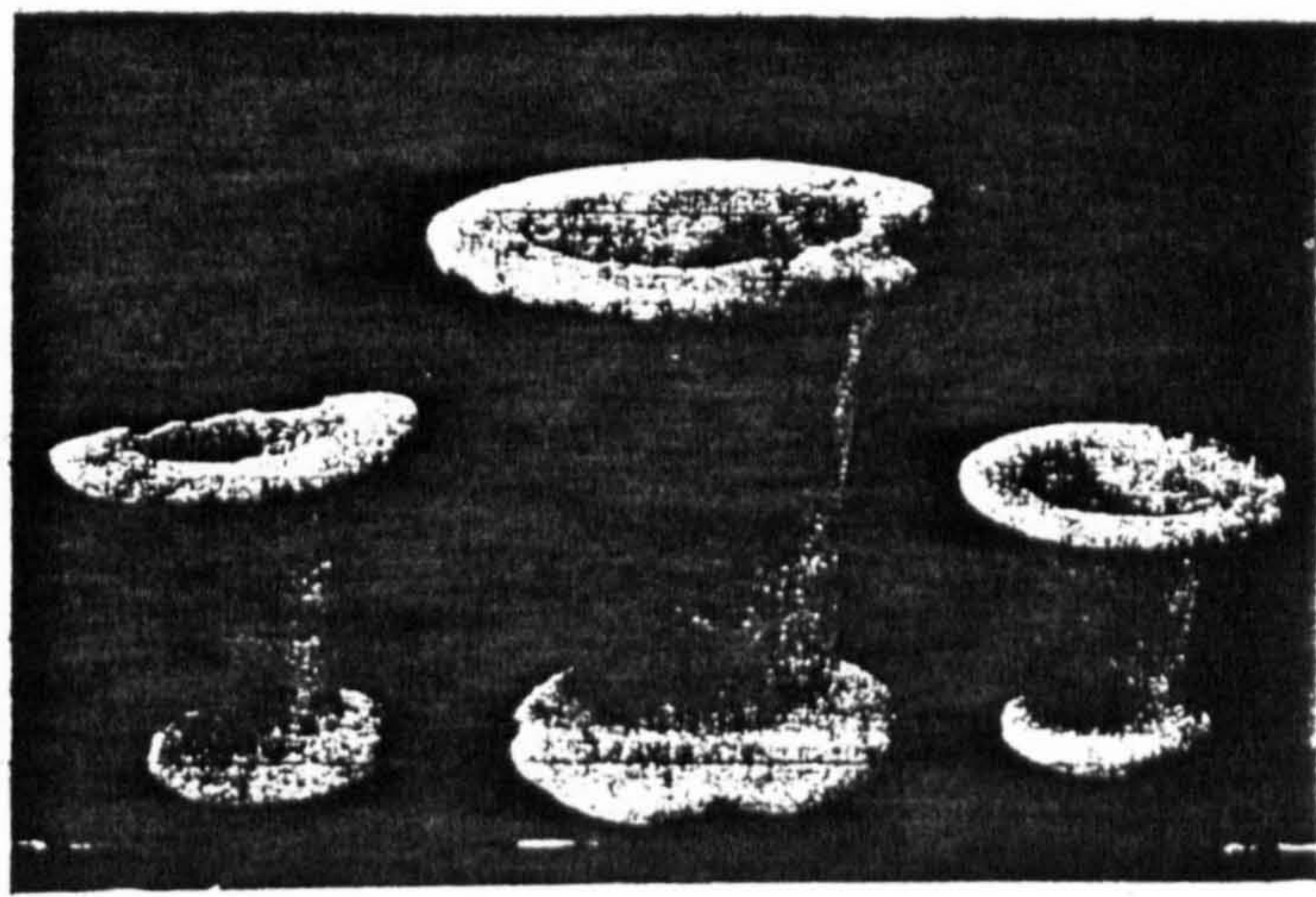


FIG. 61. SIXTH DYNASTY EGYPTIAN VASES ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.).



YELLOW  
RED  
BLACK

FIG. 231. PENDANT OF NECKLACE  
IN FORM OF HEAD WITH NEGROID  
FEATURES ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ).

b

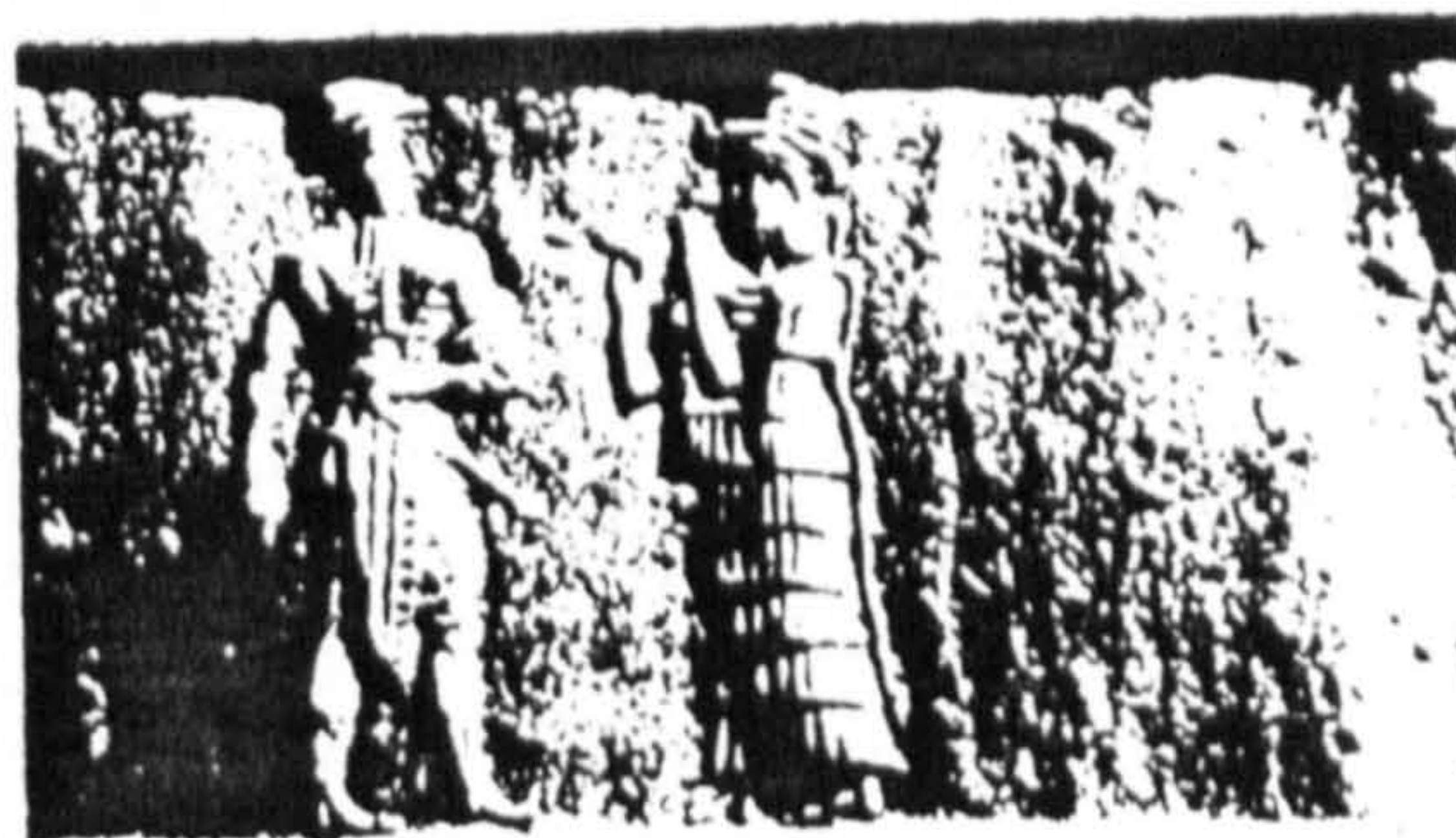


Fig. c. Old Babylonian cylinder from the Tholos  
at Platanos; Museum of Heraklion, Crete

c



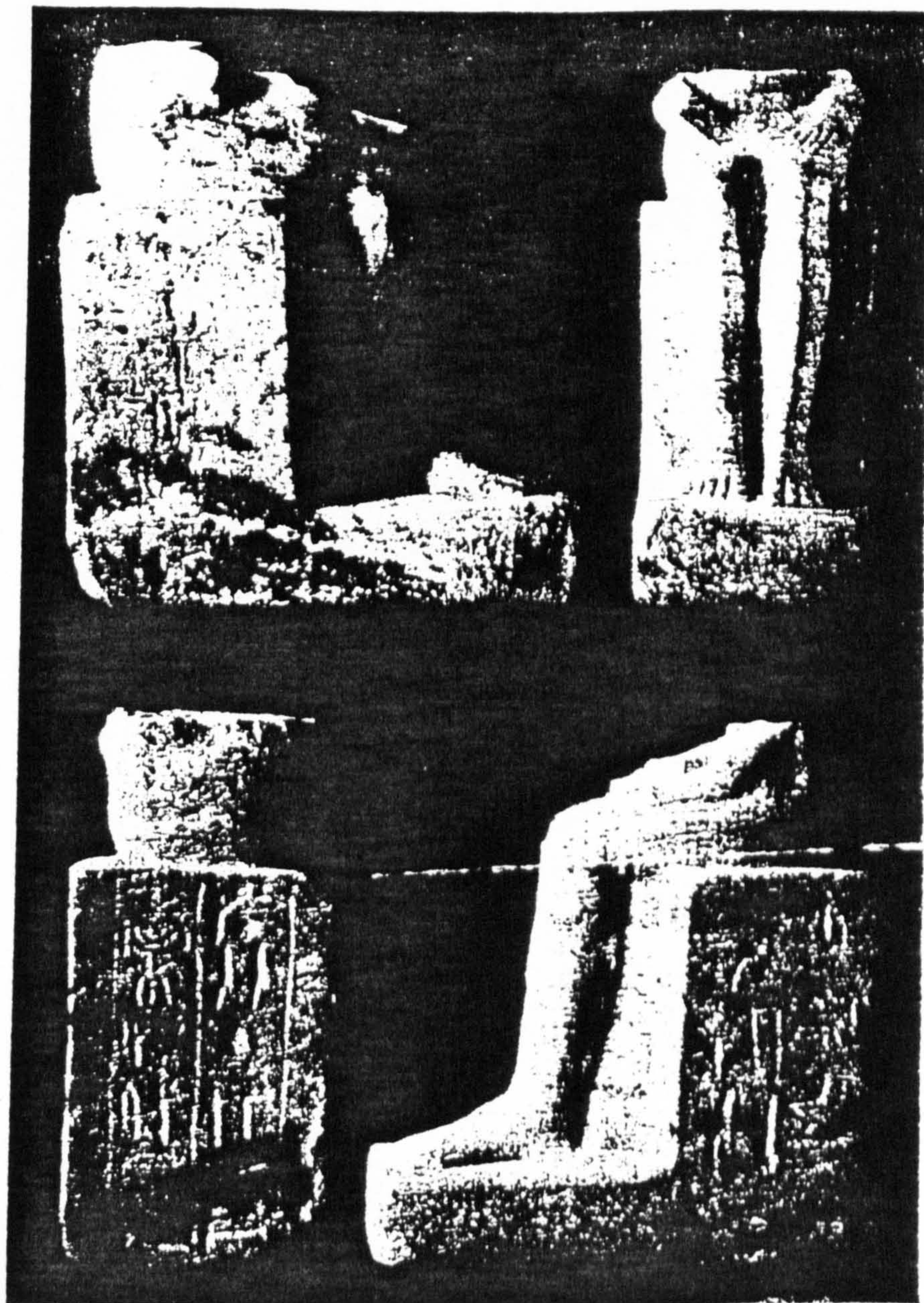


FIG. 220. DIORITE MONUMENT OF AB-NUB-MES-WAZET-USER FOUND IN M. M. II b  
STRATUM OF CENTRAL COURT, KNOSSOS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  c.)





FIG. 350. EARLY CYLINDER OF LAPIS-LAZULI: DEVELOPMENT OF DESIGNS.

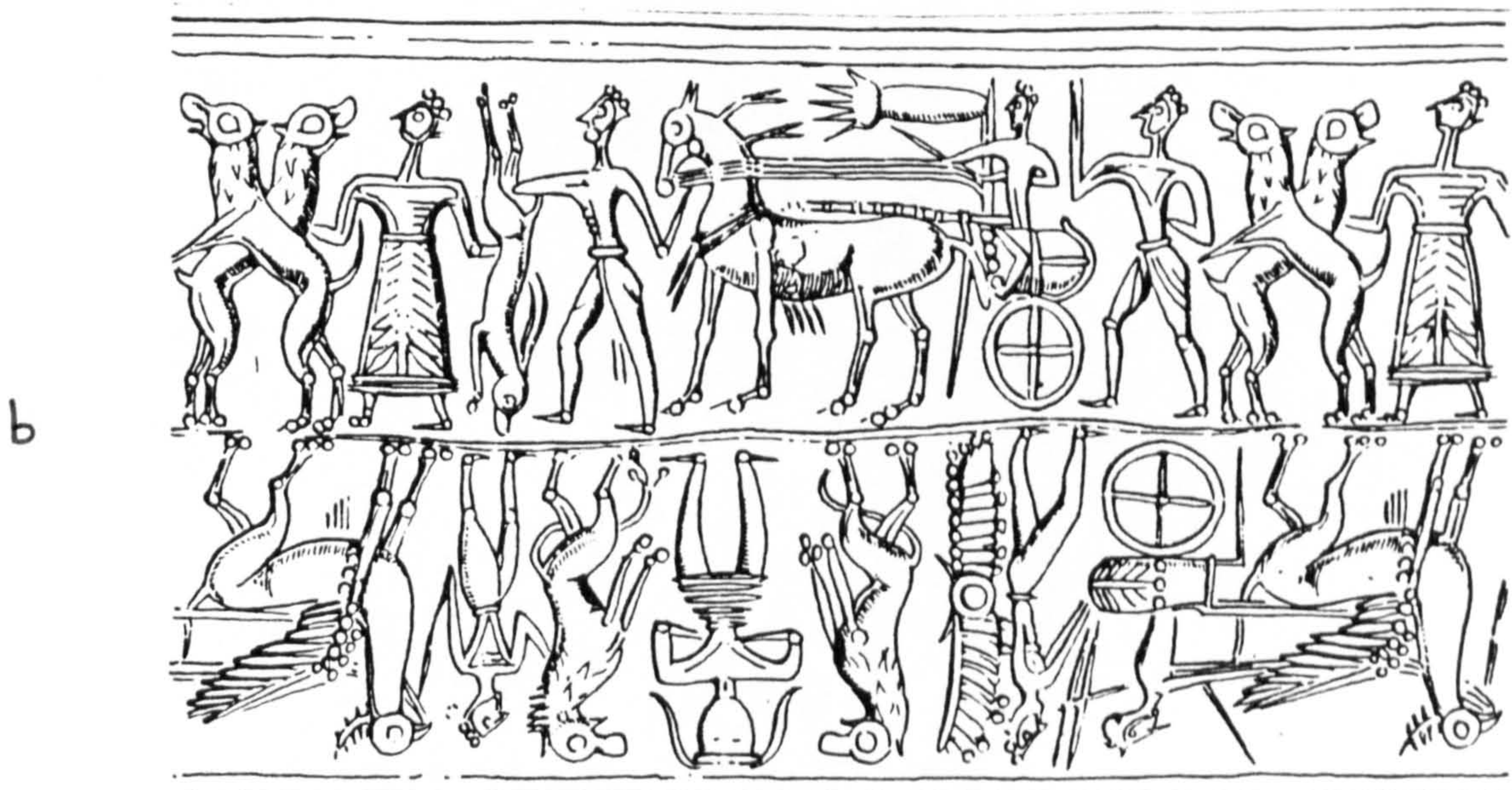


FIG. 351. CYLINDER OF CYPRO-MINOAN STYLE FROM ASTRAKOUS, EAST OF KNOSSOS.



a



FIG. 358, a. CORNELIAN BEAD-SEAL, PHAESTOS.



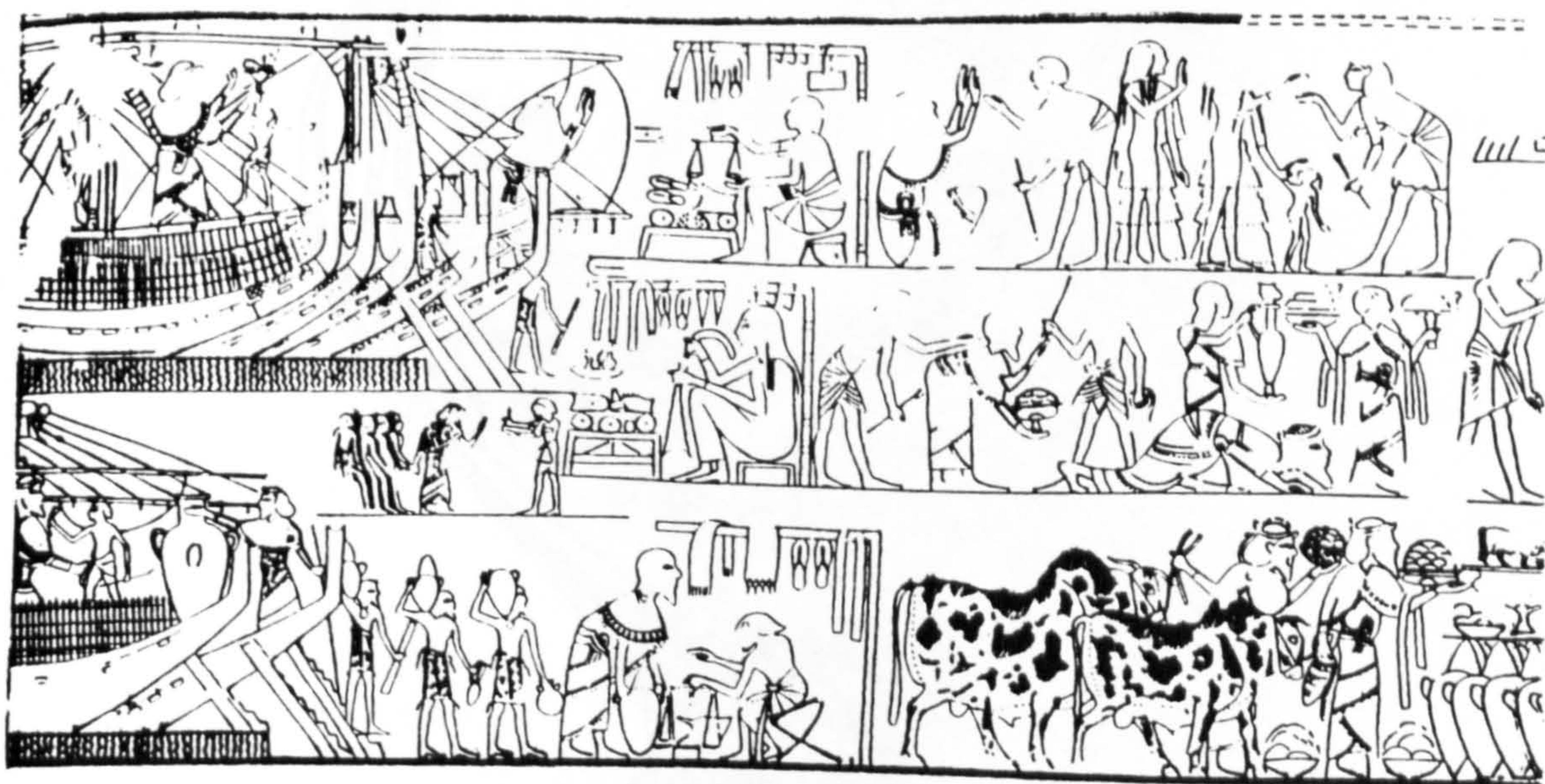
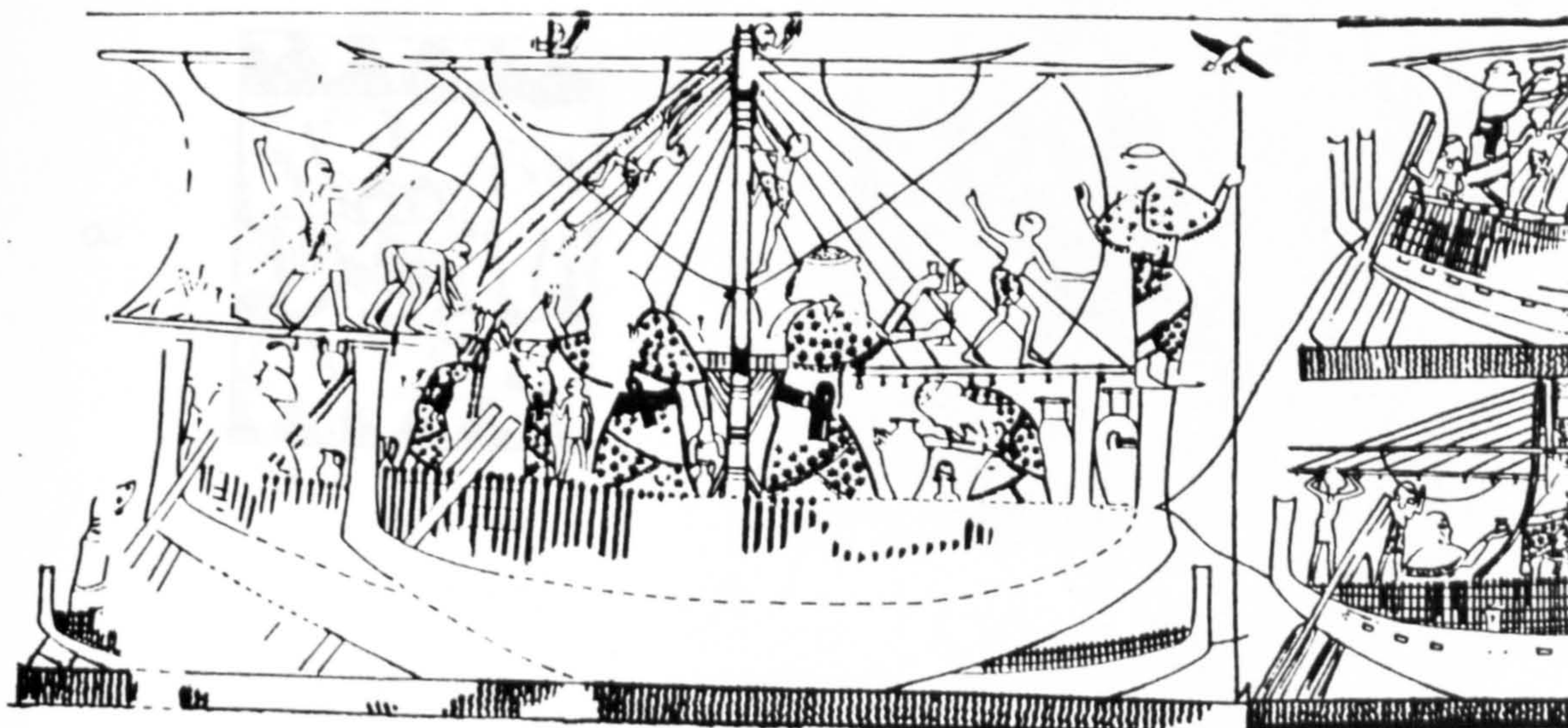
FIG. 358, b. CHALCEDONY LENTOID.

b



TA-URT (THOUEIRIS), THE ASSOCIATE OF HATHOR.







a



Fig. 24.



FIG. 2. GLASS PLAQUE FROM MIDEA.

b



FIG. 646. CYPRO-MINOAN 'KRATER' FROM ENKOMI SWEDISH EXCAVATIONS.



a



FIG. 10. — La déesse armée et ailée (détails de cylindres « syriens »).



FIG. 21. — La déesse guerrière ailée  
(Détails d'un bas-relief rupestre de Yazilikaya et d'un bas-relief de Malatya).

b



FIG. 25. — Déesse nue ailée (Nimrud).

c

d



FIG. 1.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA (B.S.A. xiii. p. 78).

e

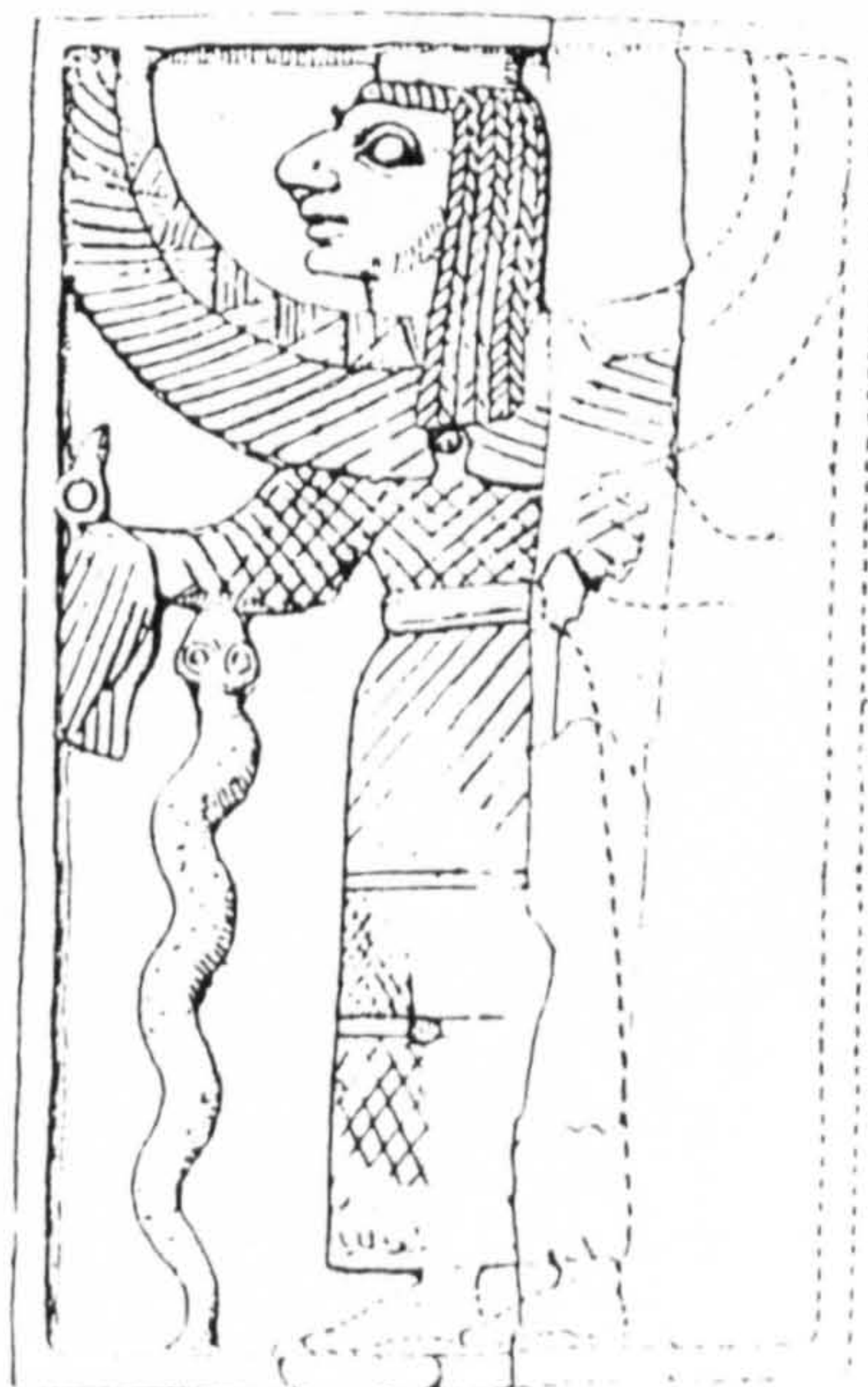


FIG. 2.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA.





2



a



FIG. 4.—IVORY PLAQUE FROM SPARTA *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 80).

b



FIG. 9.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM SPARTA.

c



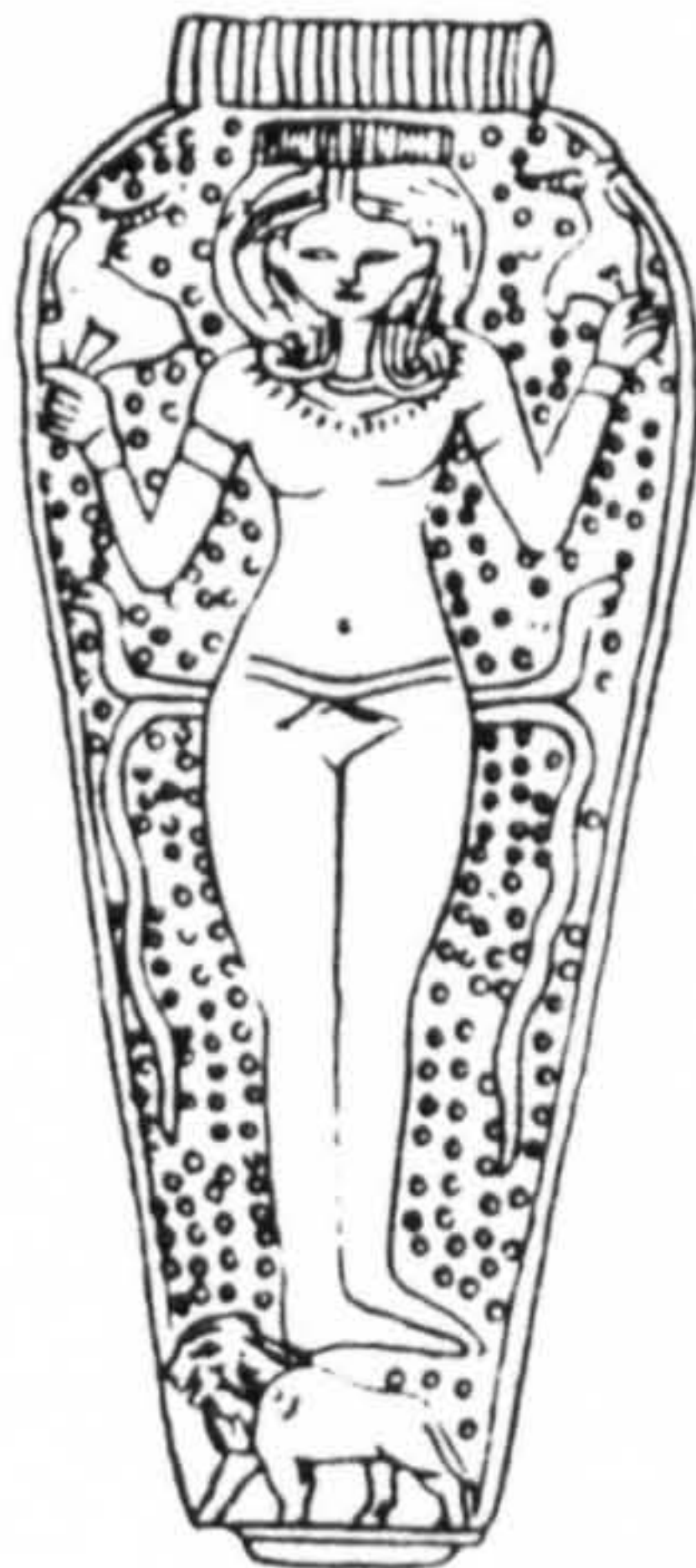


FIG. 18.  
Pendentif en or  
(Minet-el-Beida).



FIG. 22. — La déesse nue ailée.  
(Bas-relief, Carchemish.)



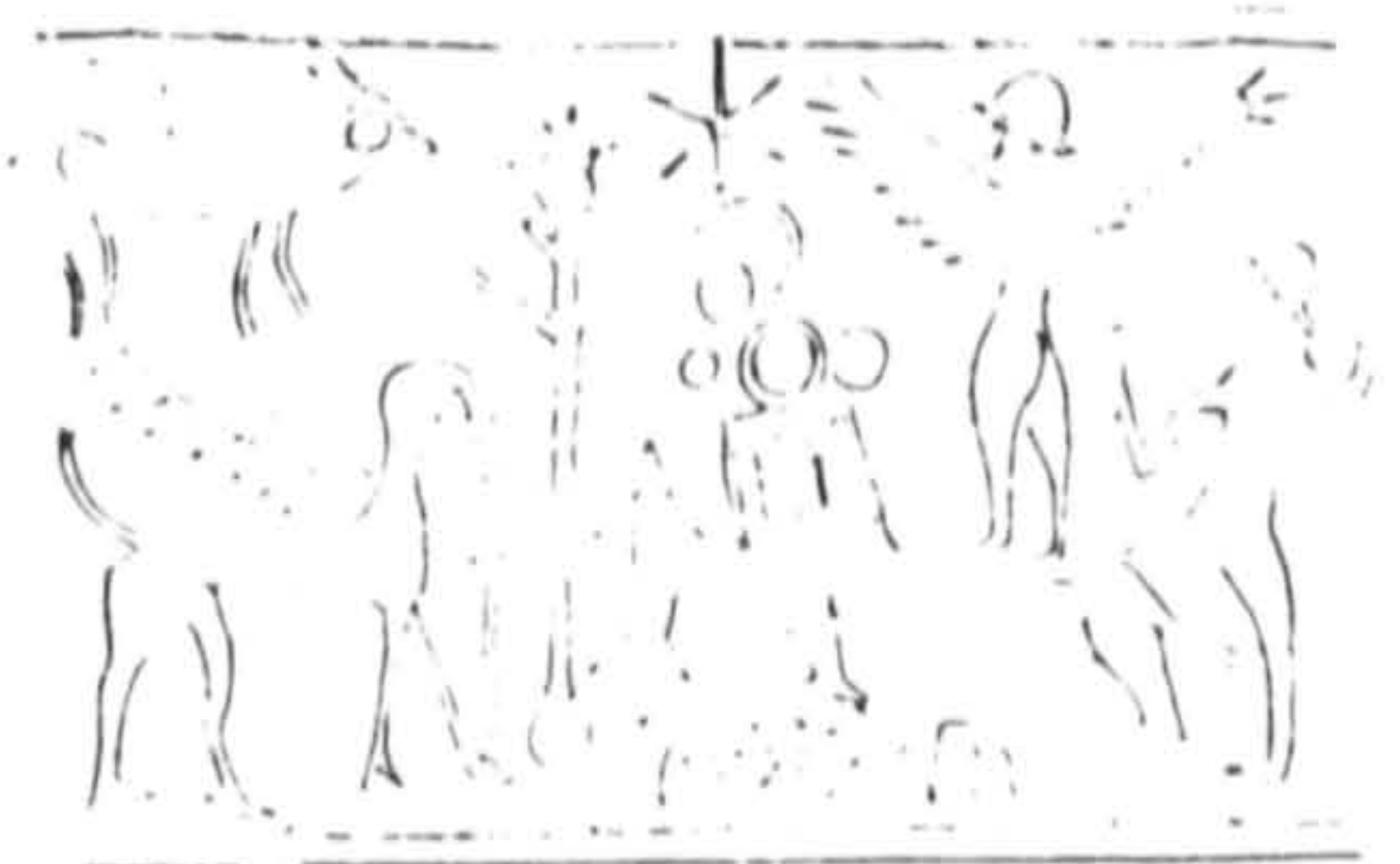
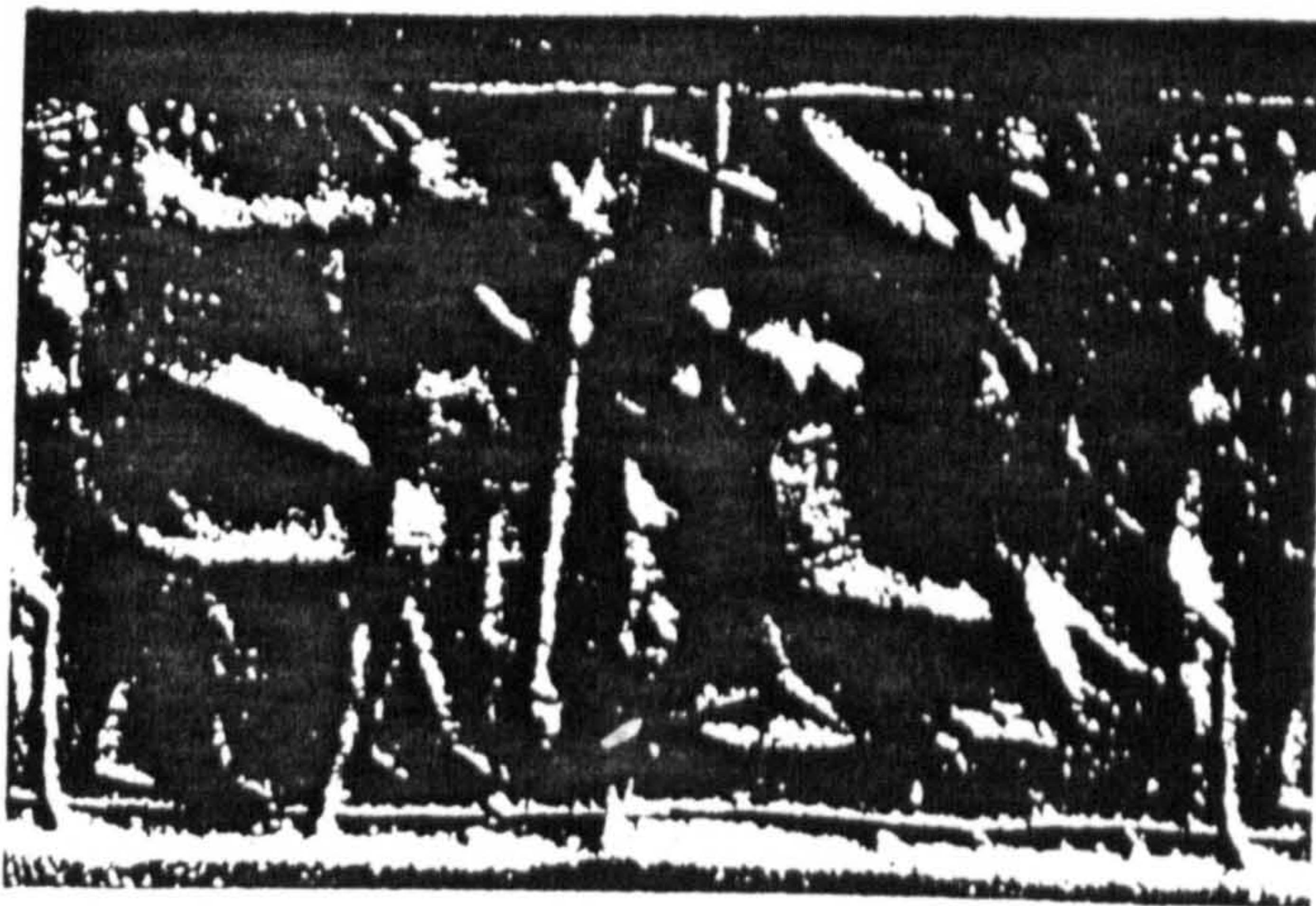
FIG. 23. — Détail d'un cylindre assyrien

a



FIG. 11. — La déesse nue et ailée (détails de cylindres « syriens »).

b



c



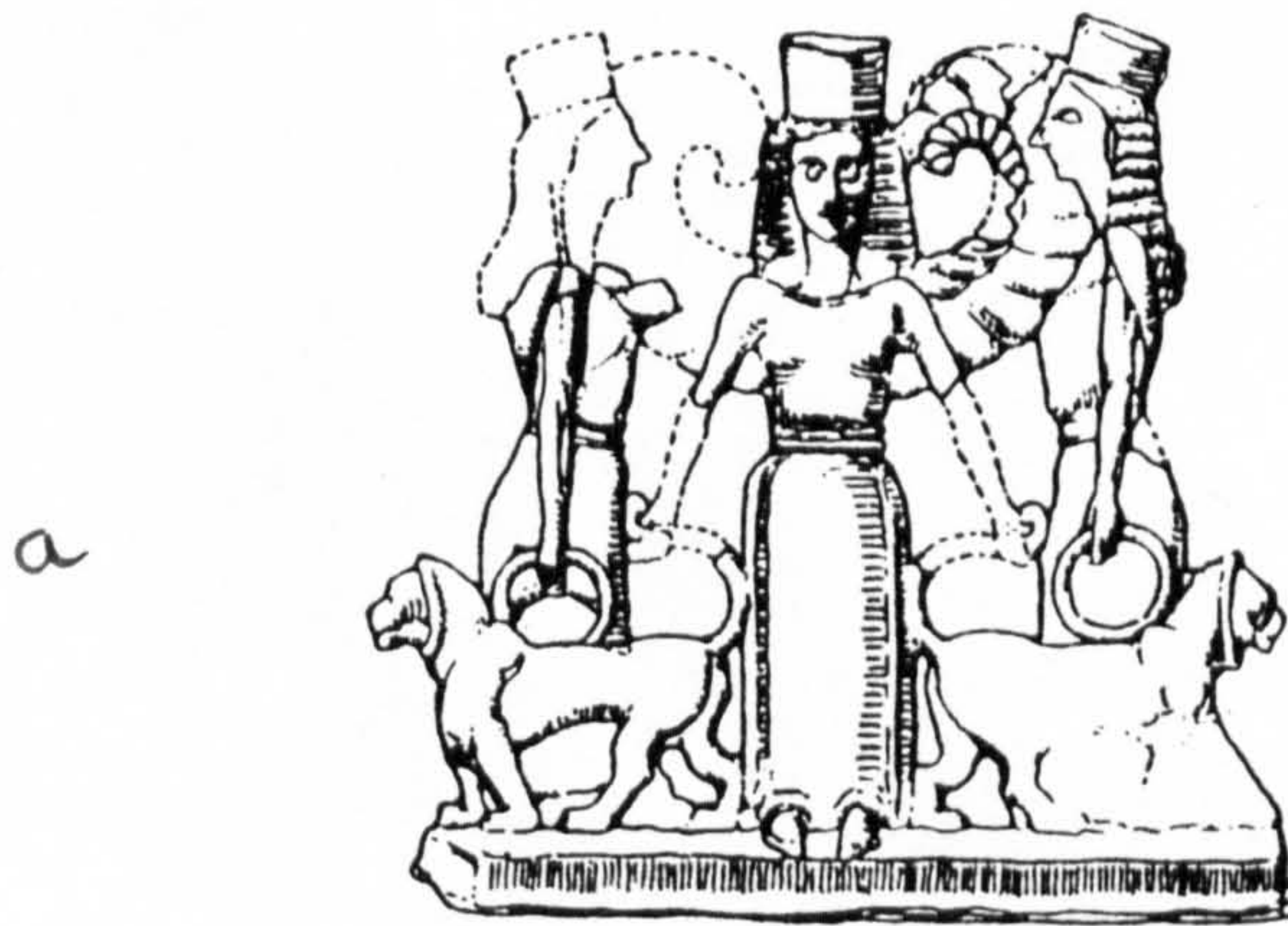


FIG. 11.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM SPARTA.

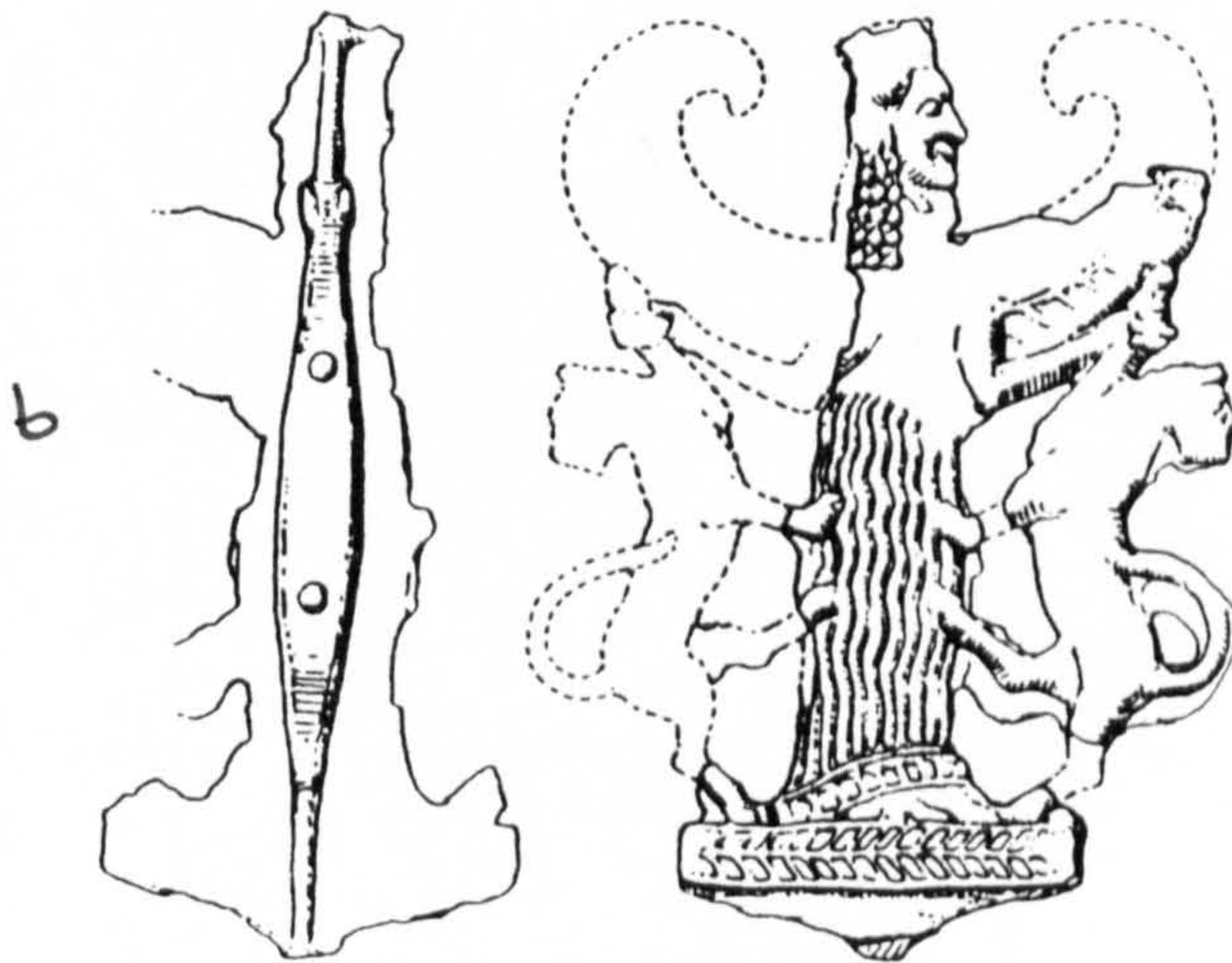


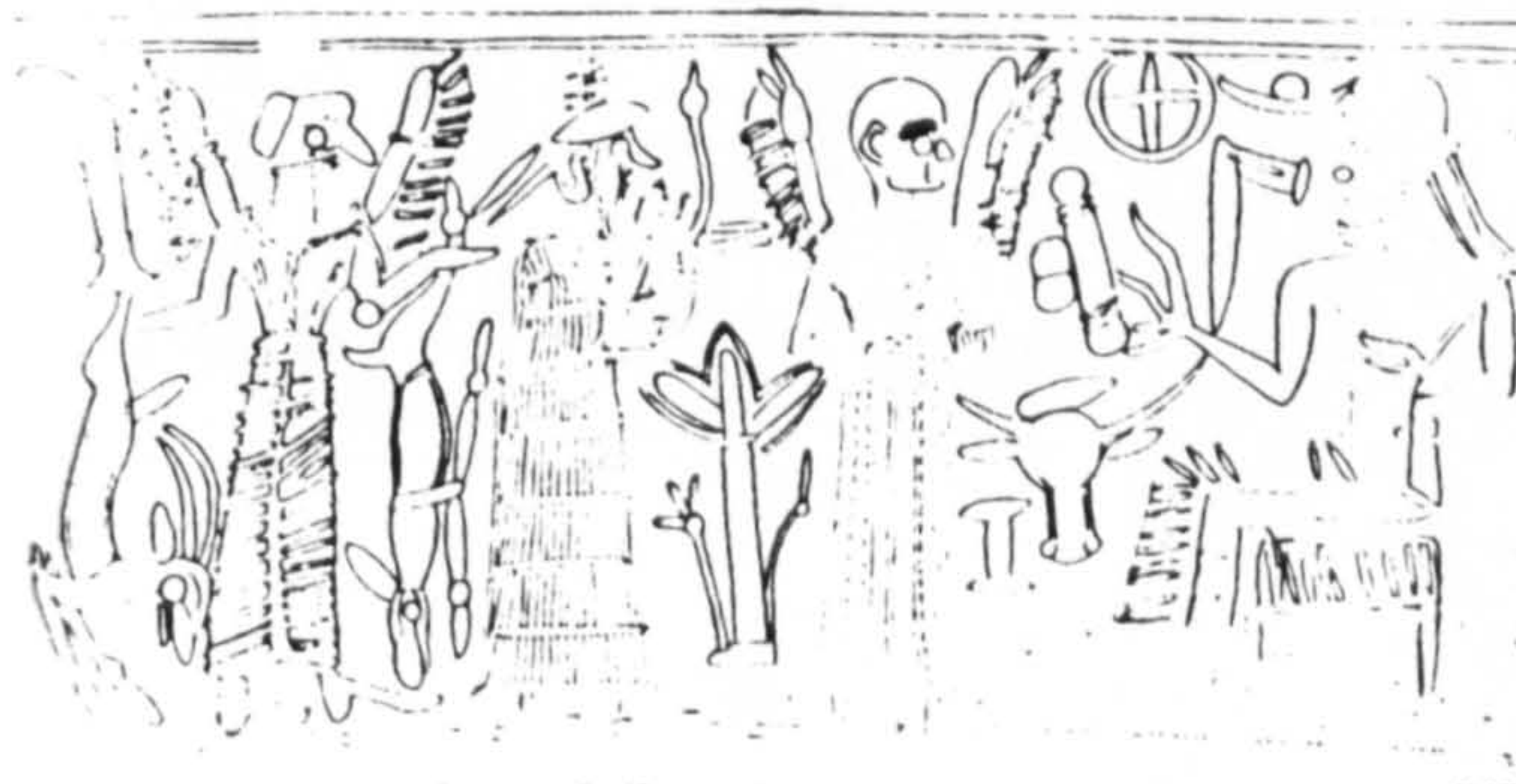
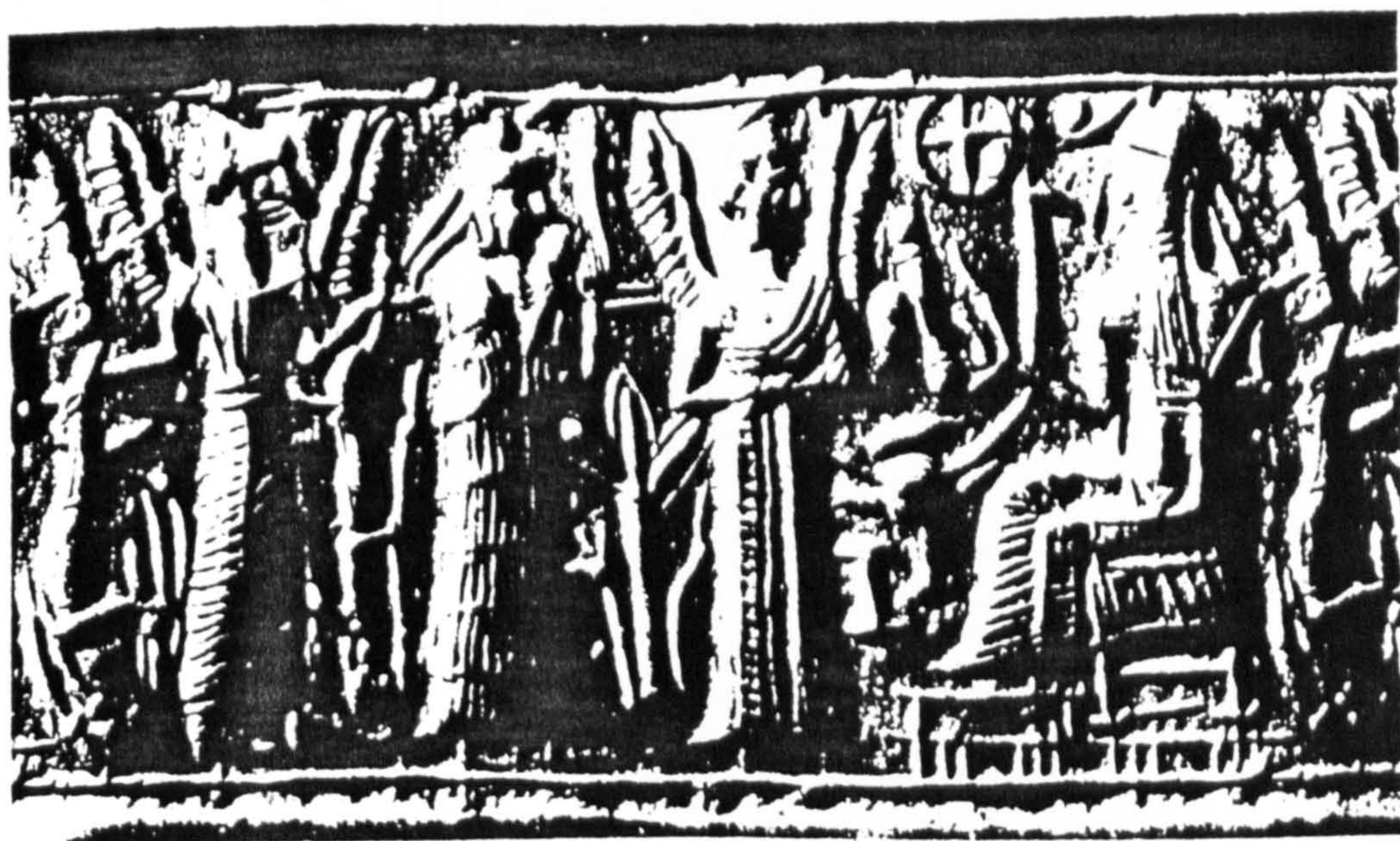
FIG. 10.—LEAD FIGURINES FROM SPARTA.





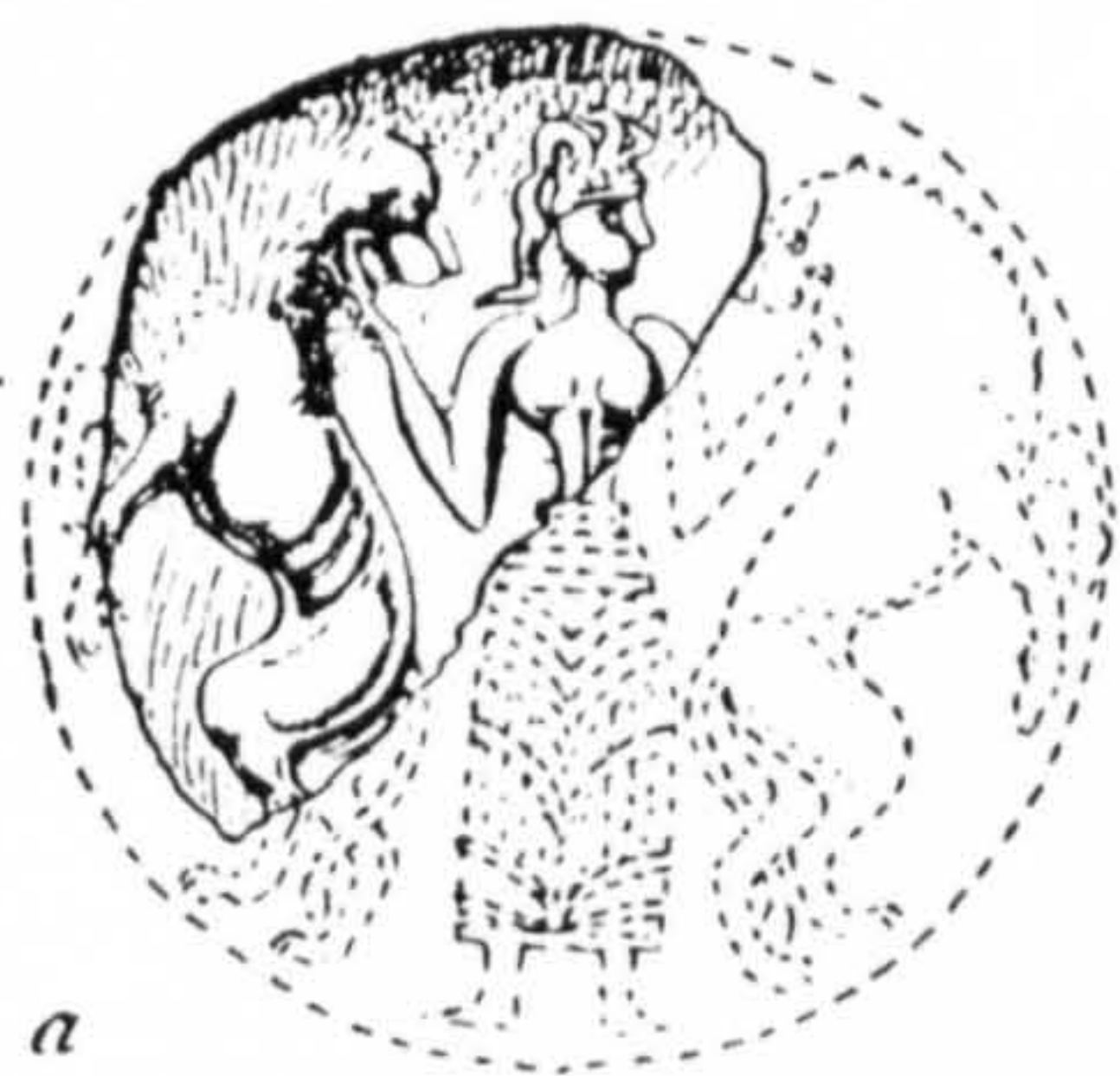
FIG. 16. La déesse ailée soulevant des animaux et des hommes.  
Emprunte de Shanshattar (détails).

a

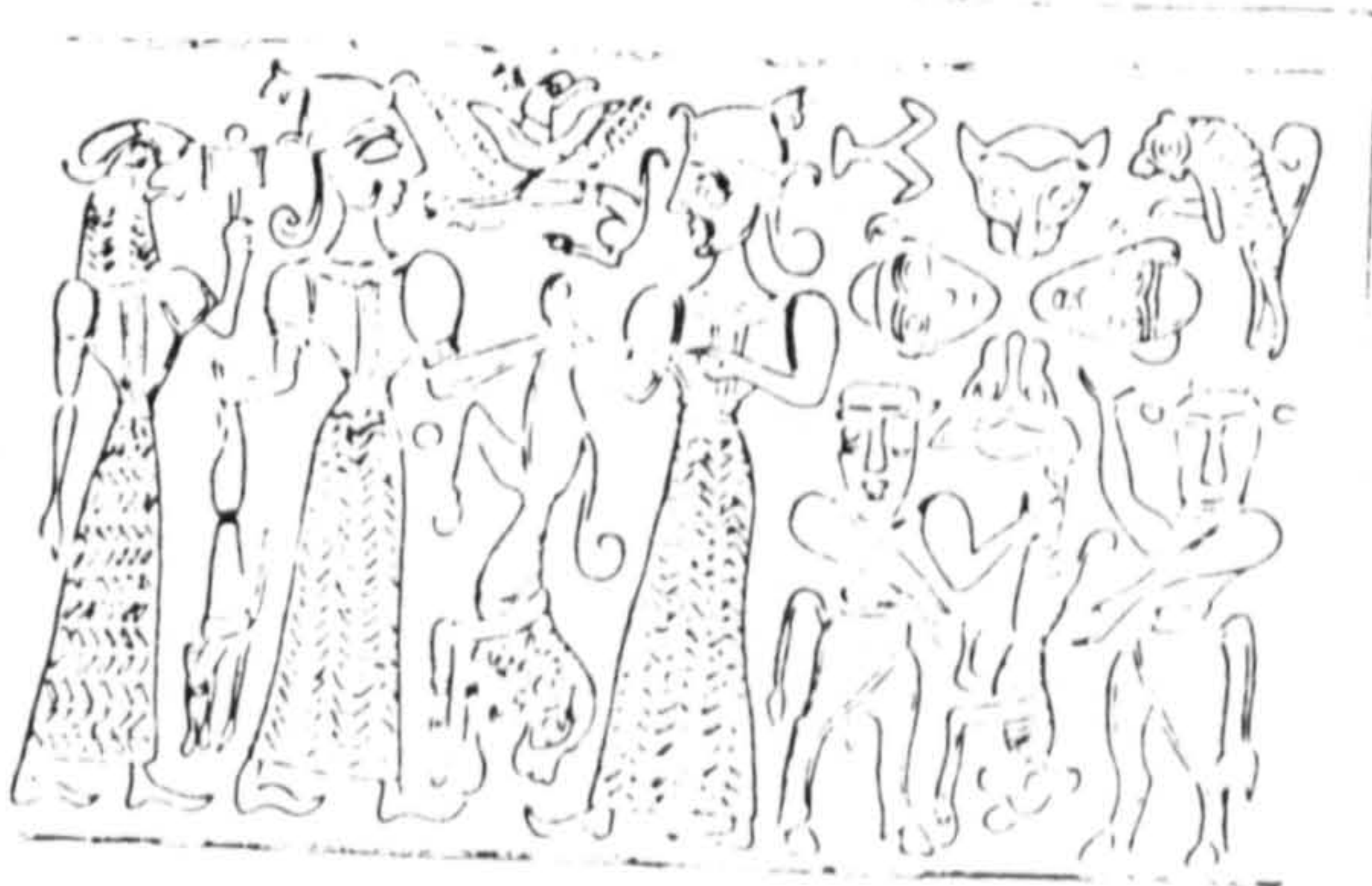


b



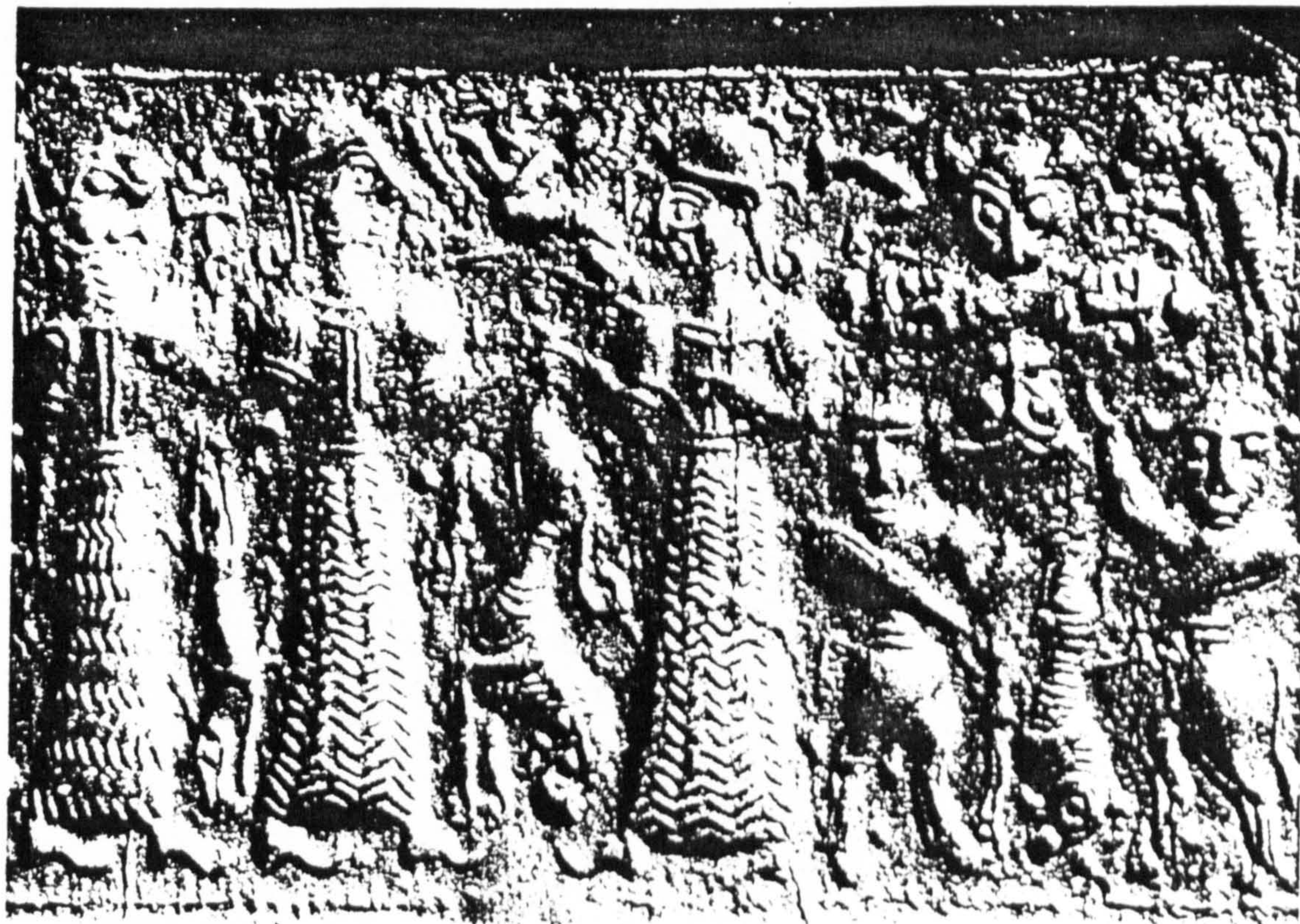


a



b











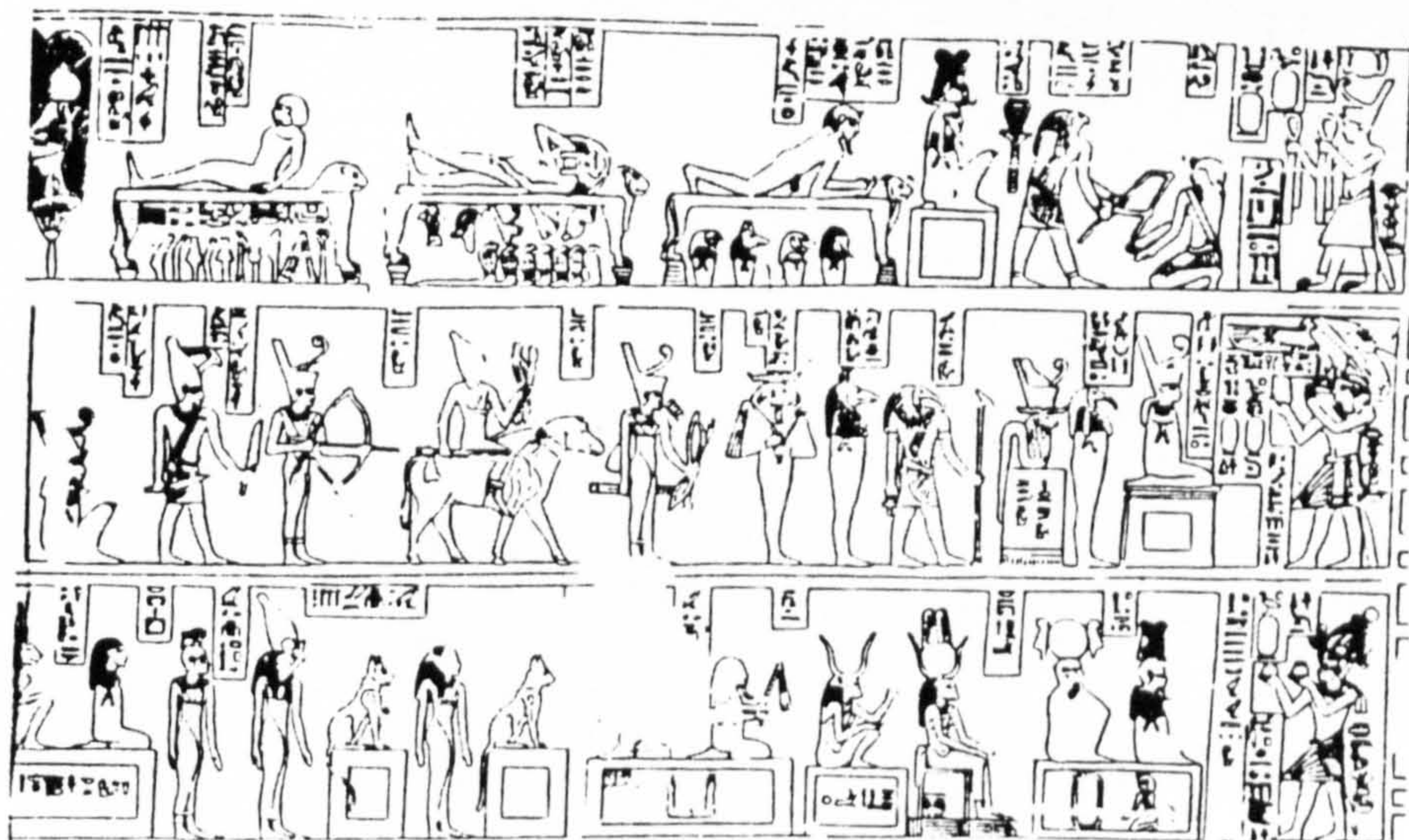


FIG. 27. — Doc. 9. Dessin des représentations du mur Nord de la cella du temple de Hibis.  
(D'après *The Temple of Hibis*, III (1953), pl. 3.)

a

SYRIA, XXXVII (1960), 1-2

Pl. III



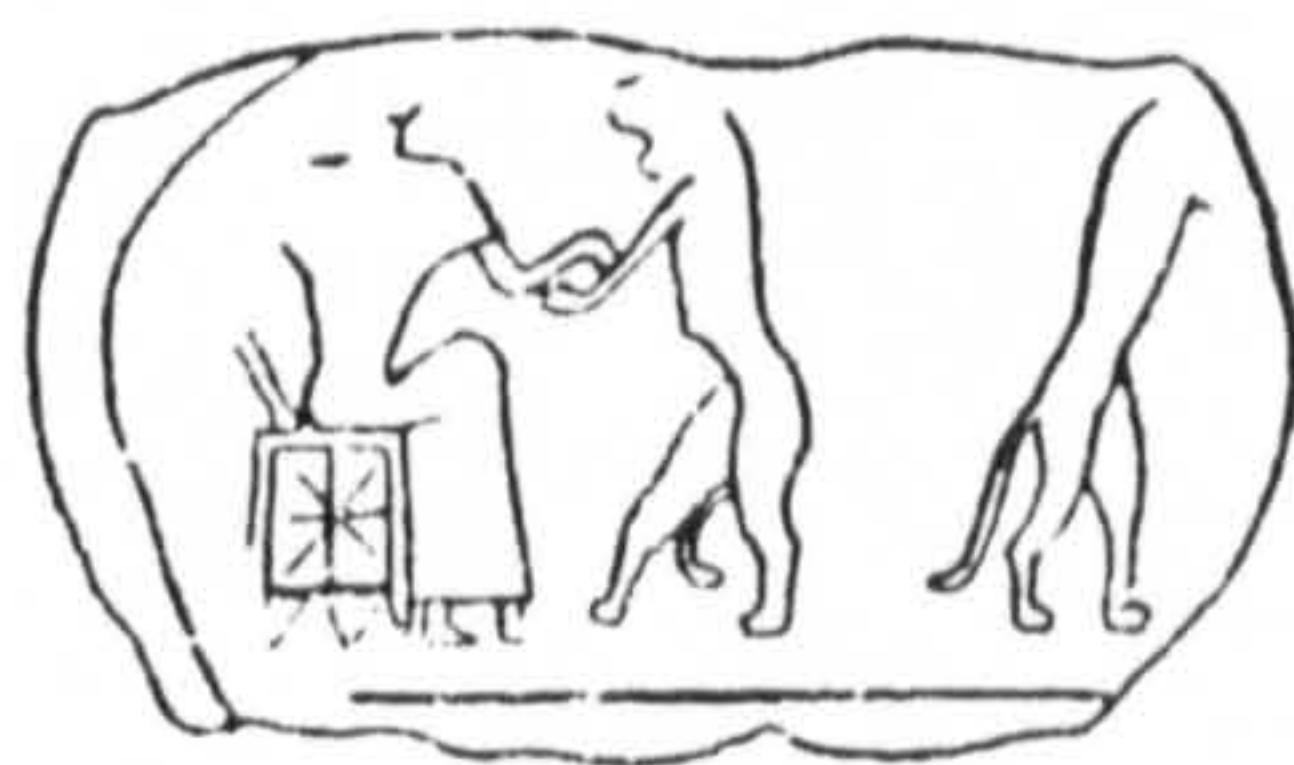
A) Doc. 7a. Ostrakon, Berlin 21826.

b





a



1. Empreinte, grandeur nature.



2. Restitution de la scène.

b





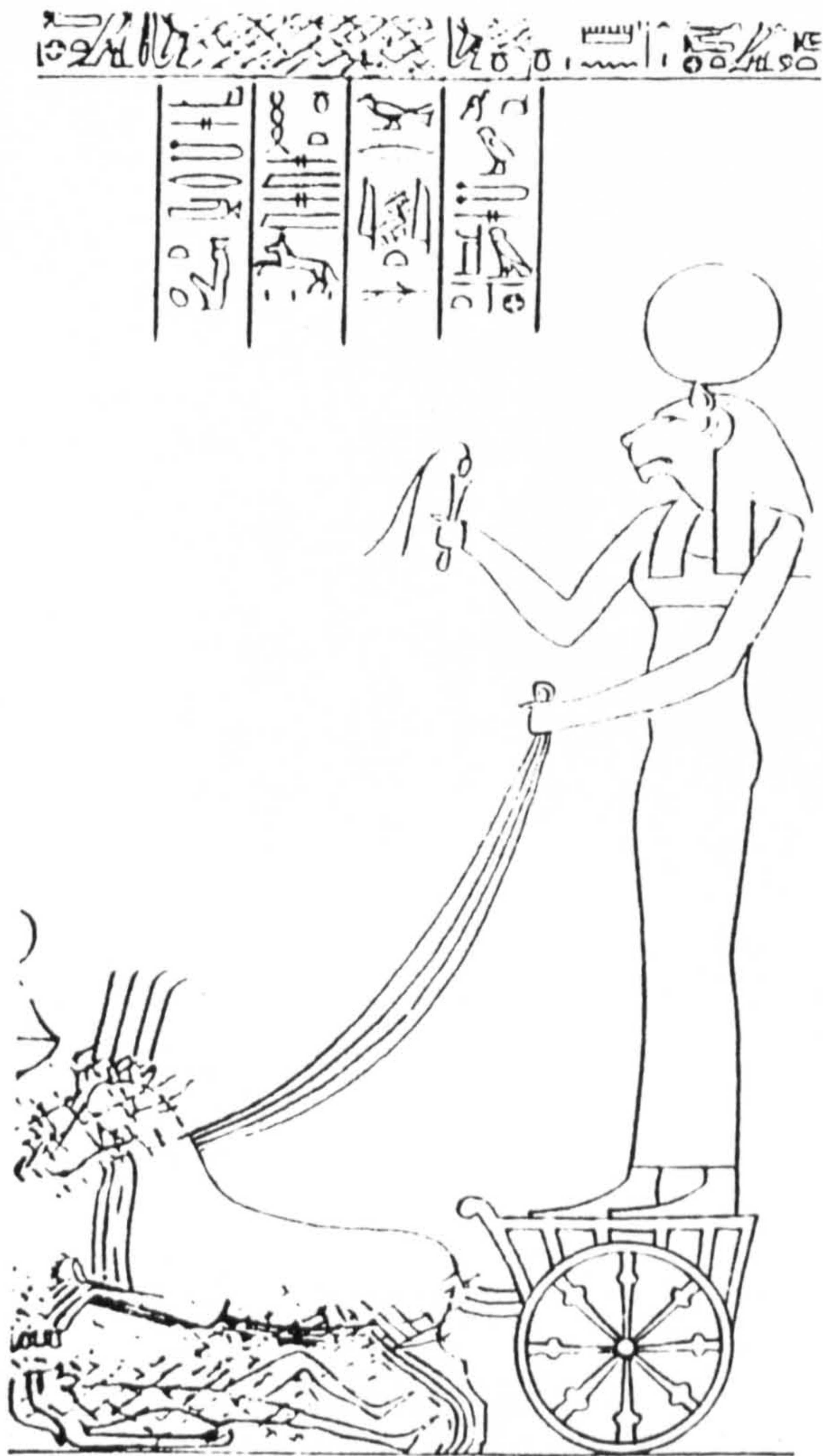
a



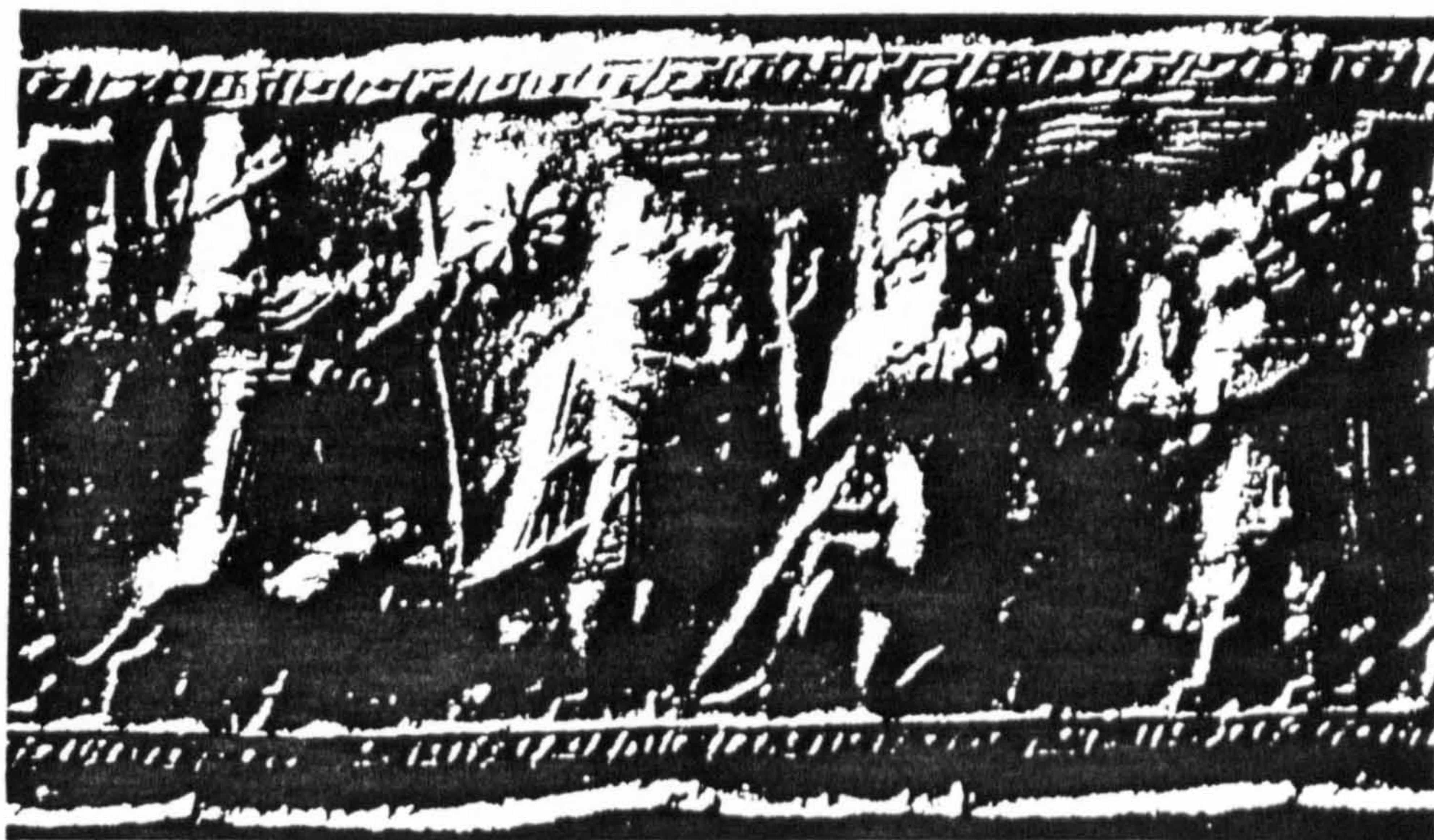
FIG. 17. — Cylindre d'Ugarit.

b









a



FIG. 560. CRETAN GODDESS AS ARTEMIS (DIKTYNNA) DRAWING BOW.



FIG. 561. GODDESS AS DIKTYNNA SHOOTING STAG WITH BOW OF ASIATIC TYPE. GOLD BEAD-SEAL: THISBÉ.

b



a

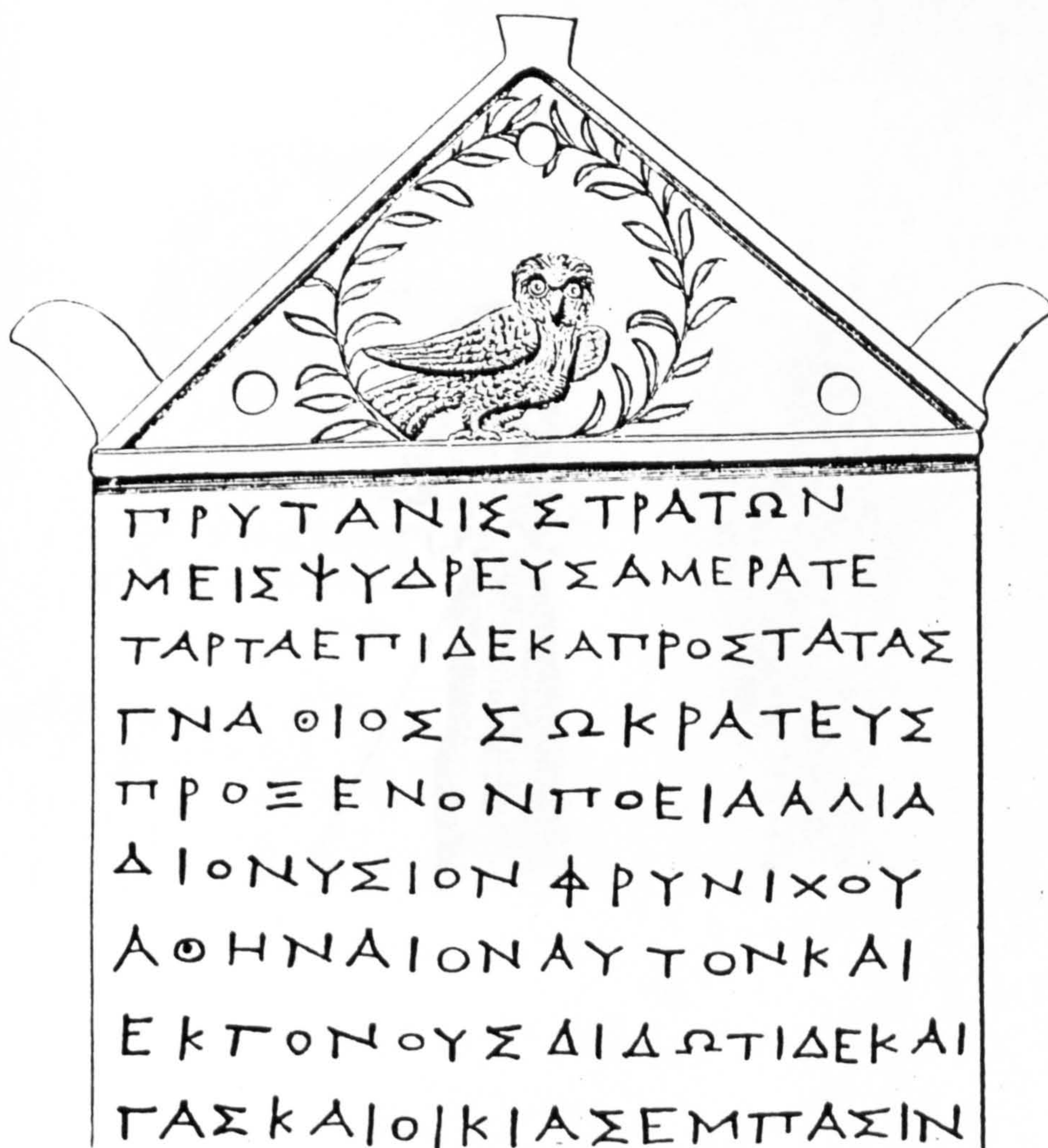


Fig. 581.

b



Fig. 583.



PLATE XIII

a



a

b



b



c

FIG. 1.—VASE IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEMINAR, UTSATA.



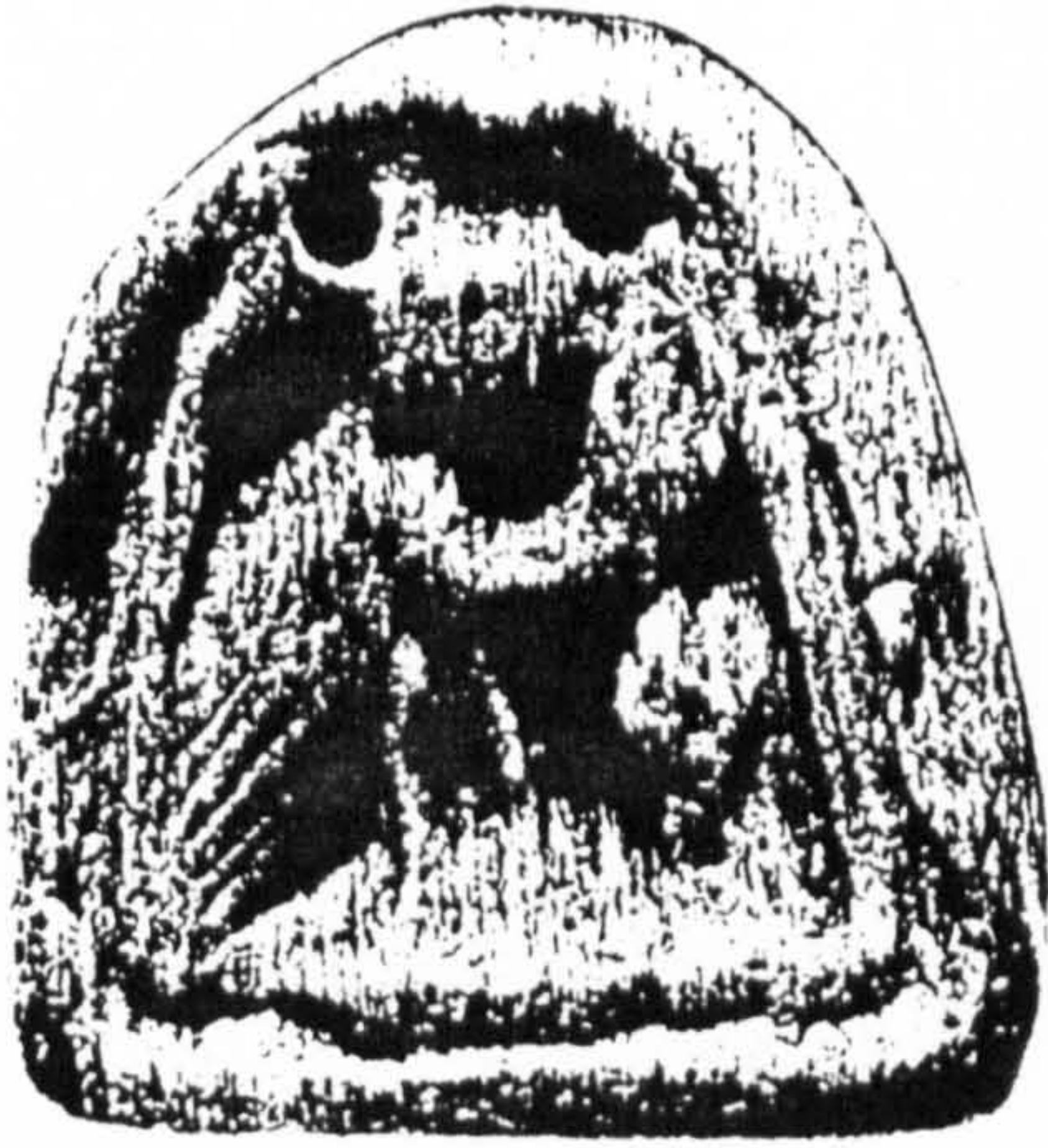


Fig. 595.



Fig. 596.

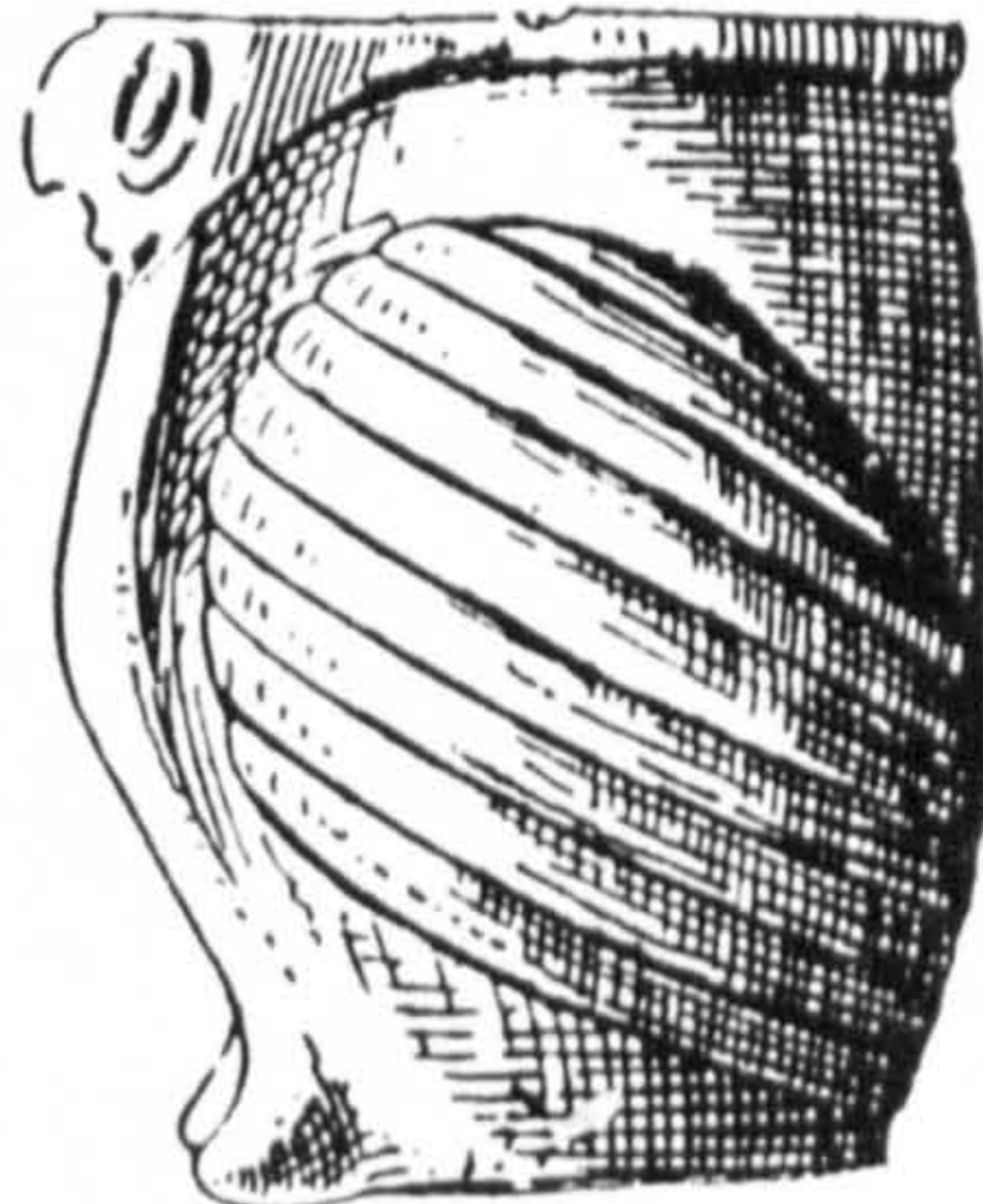


Fig. 597.

a



a



b

FIG. 410. BRECCIA VASE. EARLY MINOAN:  
MESARÀ, CRETE.



a



c



b



d

FIG. 410 bis. IVORY SEAL IN  
FORM OF OWL. MESARÀ.

b



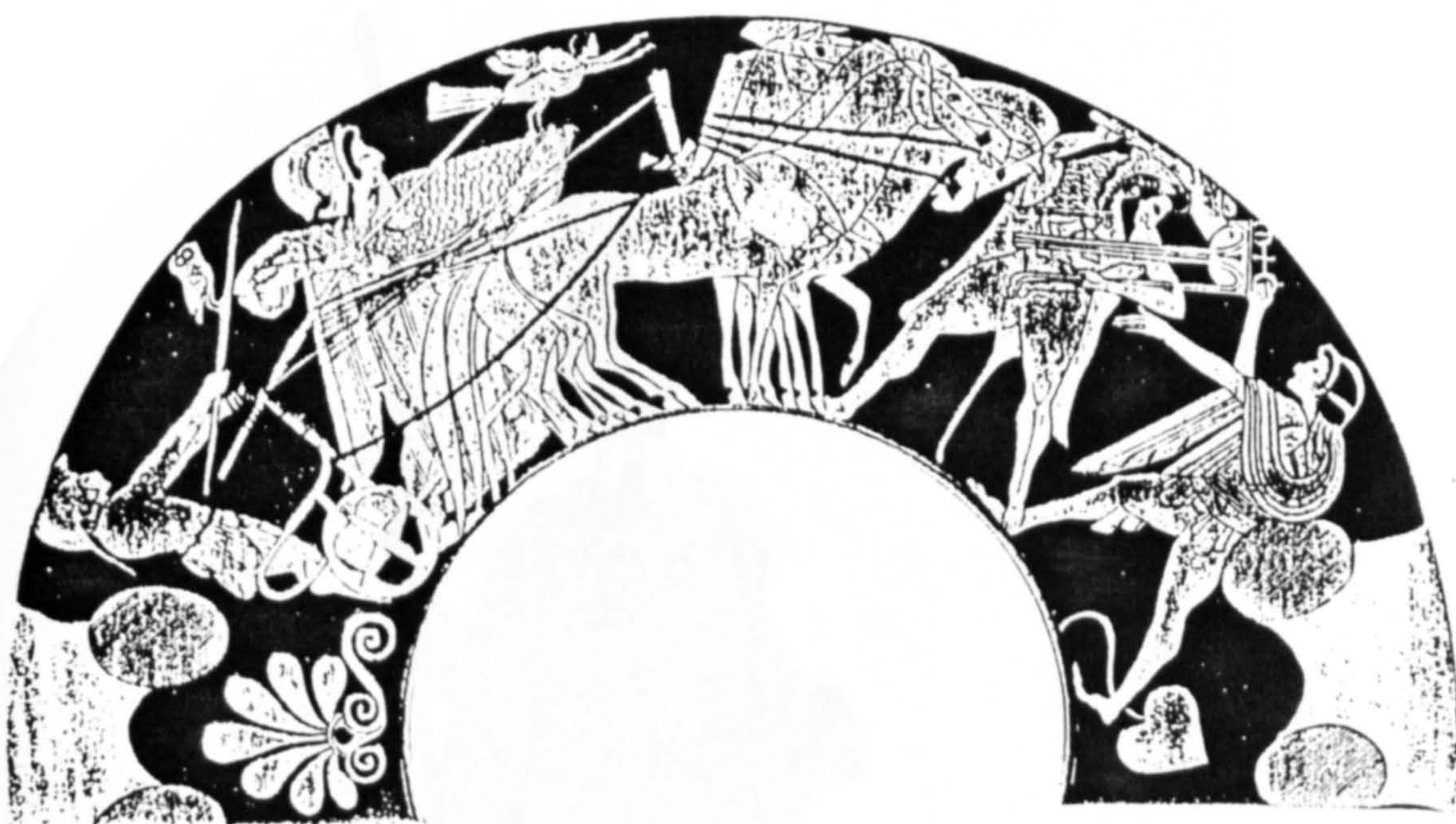


Fig. 600

a



b





Fig. 635.



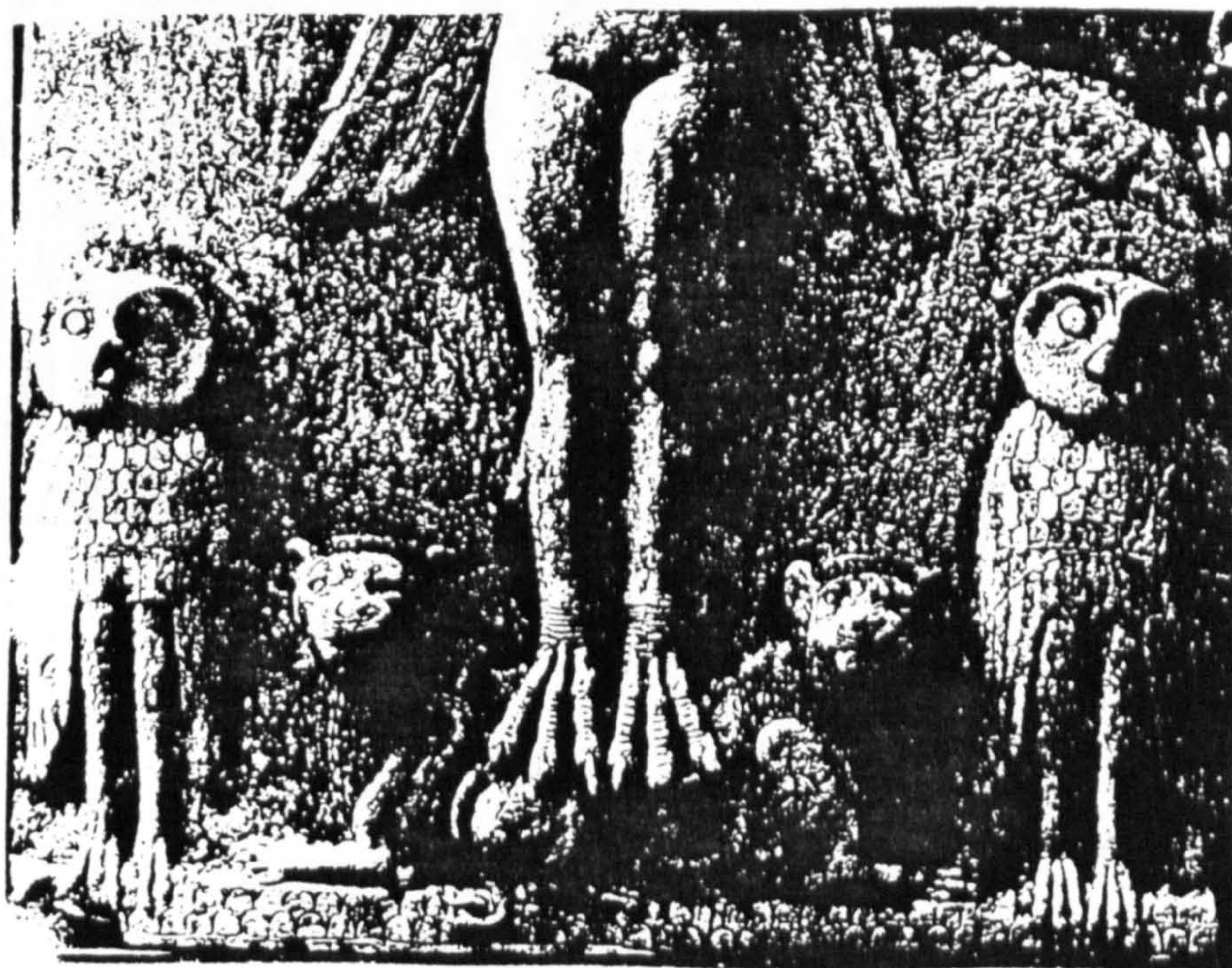


Fig. 3.





Fig. 2.

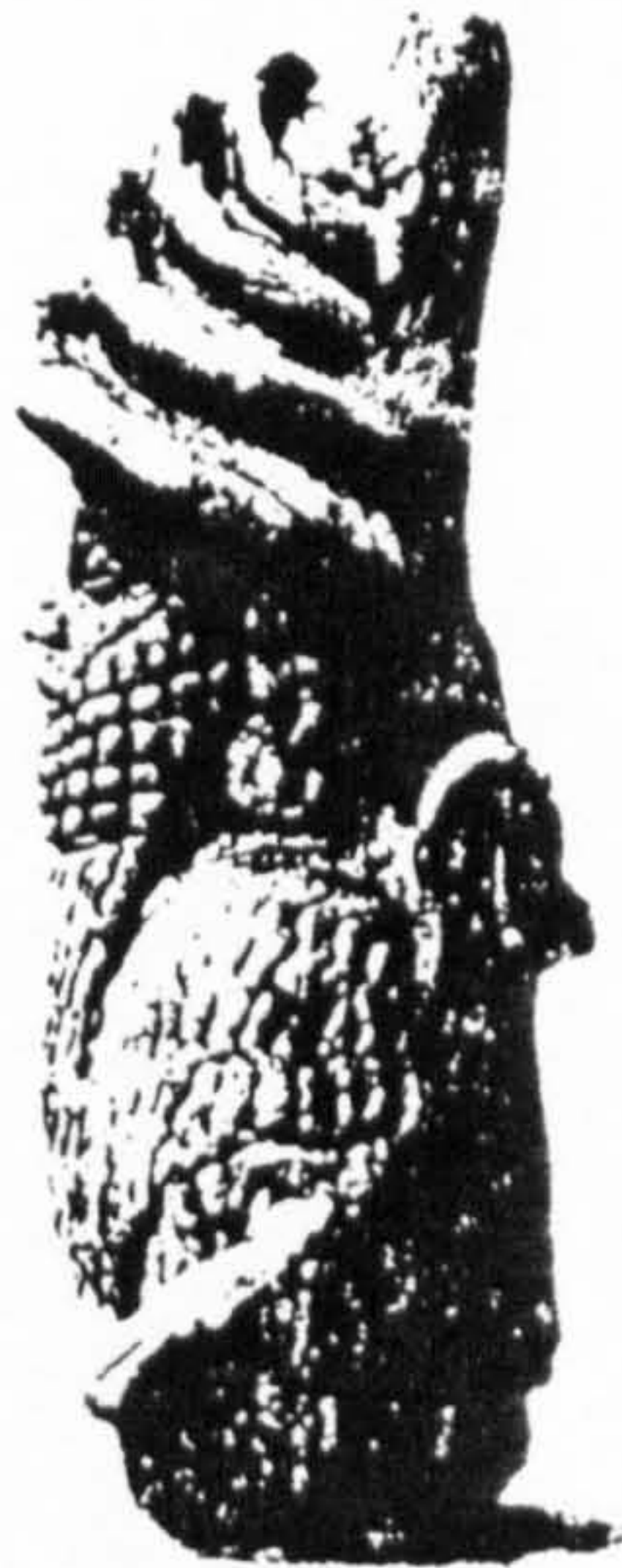


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5

a



Babylonian terracotta representing Lilith as a goddess, from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (from the *Illustrated London News* by permission of the editor and of the owner, Mr. Sidney Burney).

b





Fig. 2. Yale Babylonian Collection,  
New Haven, No. 10.003.

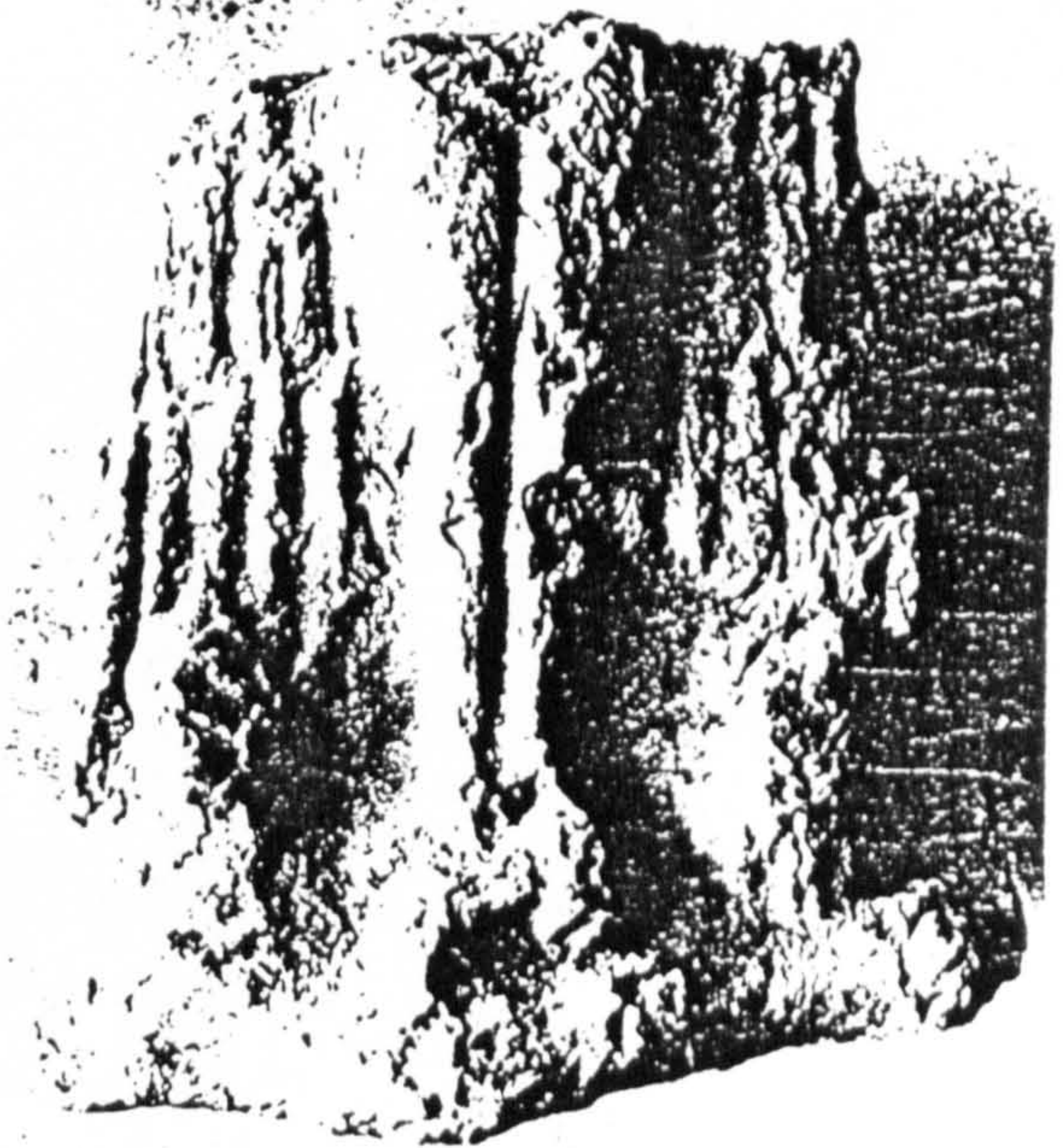


Fig. 4. V.A. Bab. 828.



Archives Photographiques  
Fig. 3. Musée du Louvre, AO 6501



Fig. 5.  
Bab. 3118.



Fig. 6. Haematite figurine  
in the Collection of Frau  
Dr. Frida Hahn (Berlin).





Fig. 566.



Fig. 567.

a



Fig. 577.

b



## FRONTISPIECE



FAÏENCE FIGURE OF SNAKE GODDESS









a

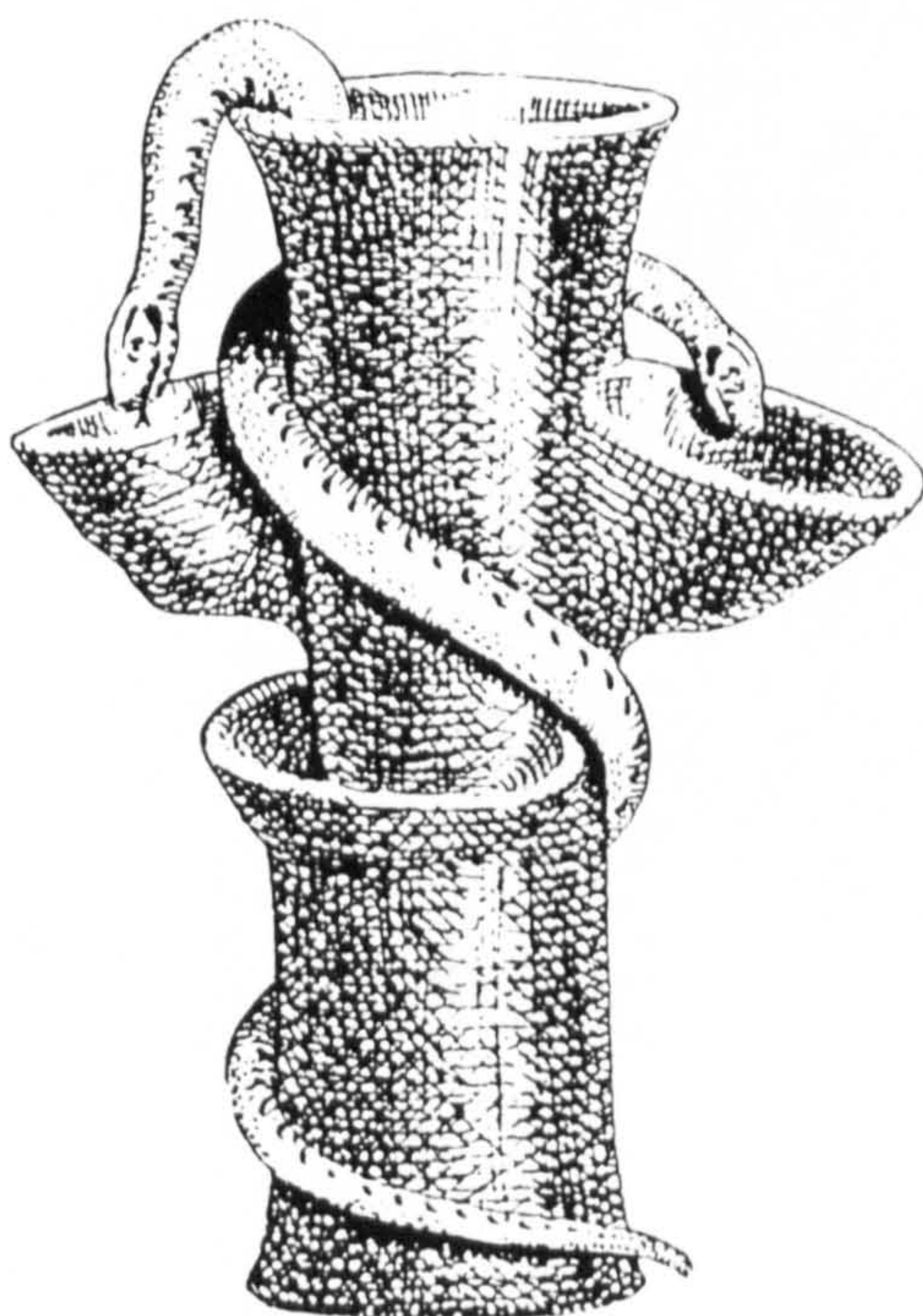


FIG. 111. 'CYLINDRICAL SNAKE VESSEL',  
KNOSSOS. (28 CM. HIGH.)

b

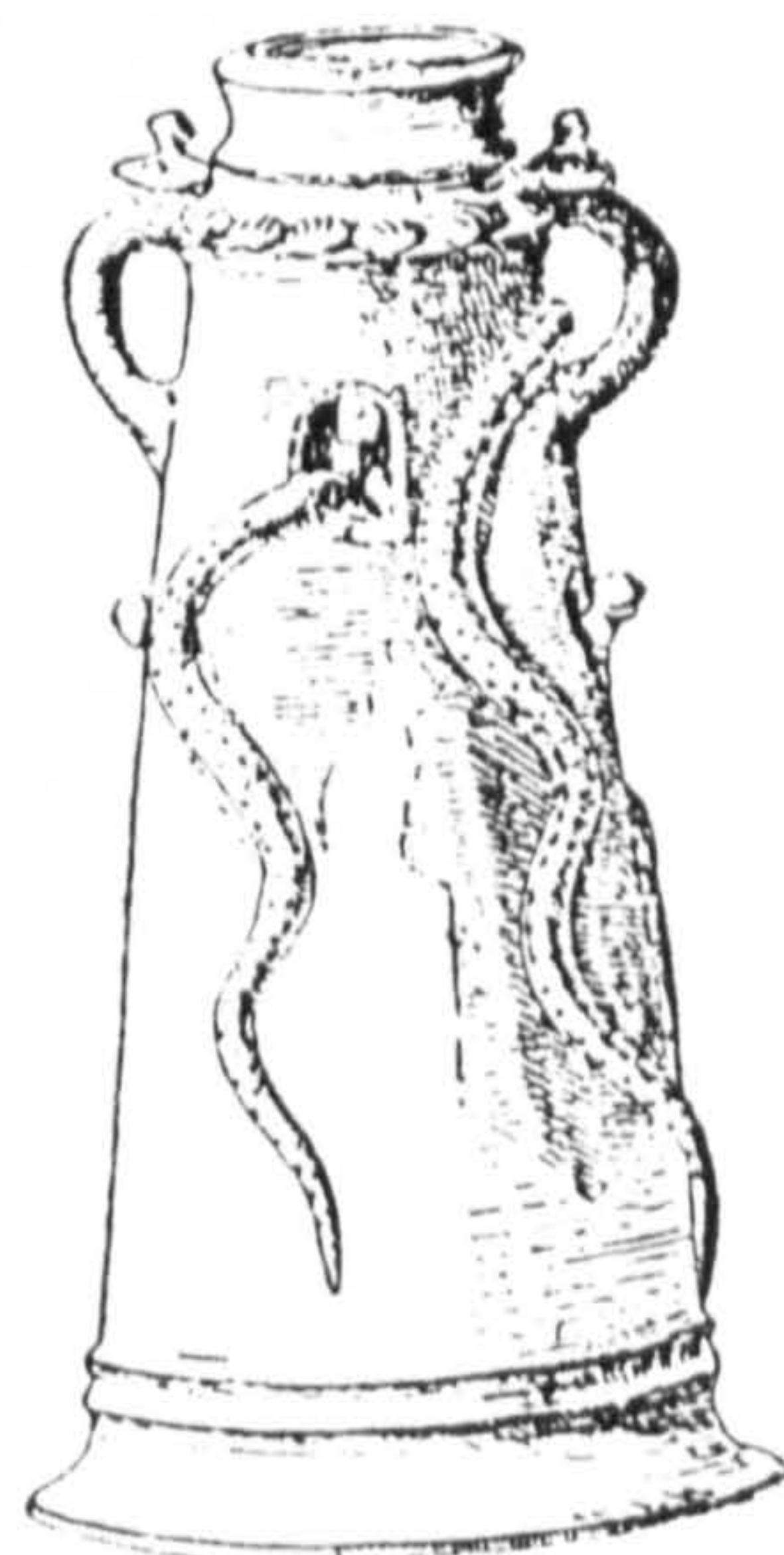


FIG. 129. 'SNAKE TUBE'  
FROM 'HOUSE OF ASHTO-  
RETH', BETH-SHAN.

c



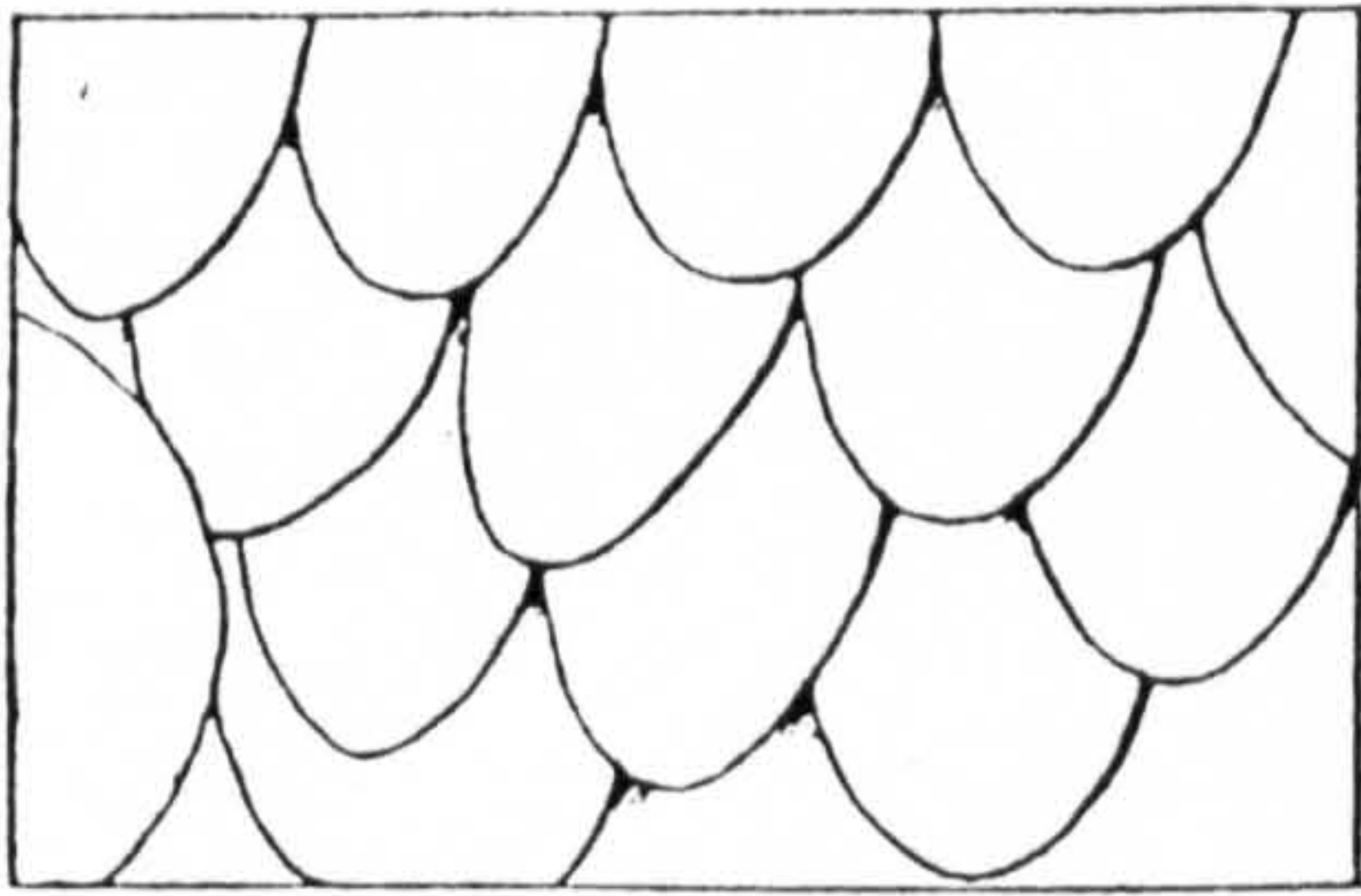


Fig. 650.

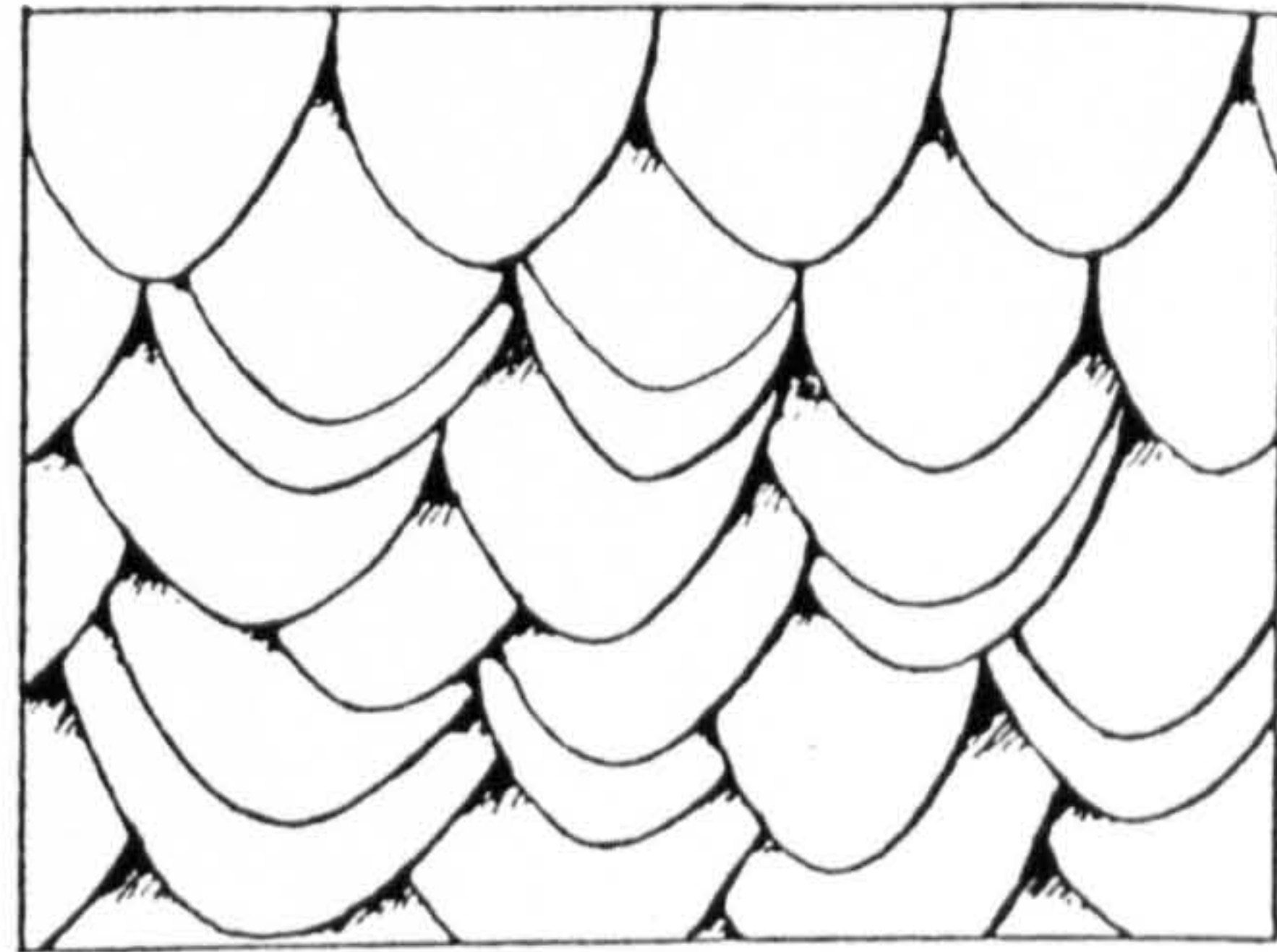


Fig. 651.

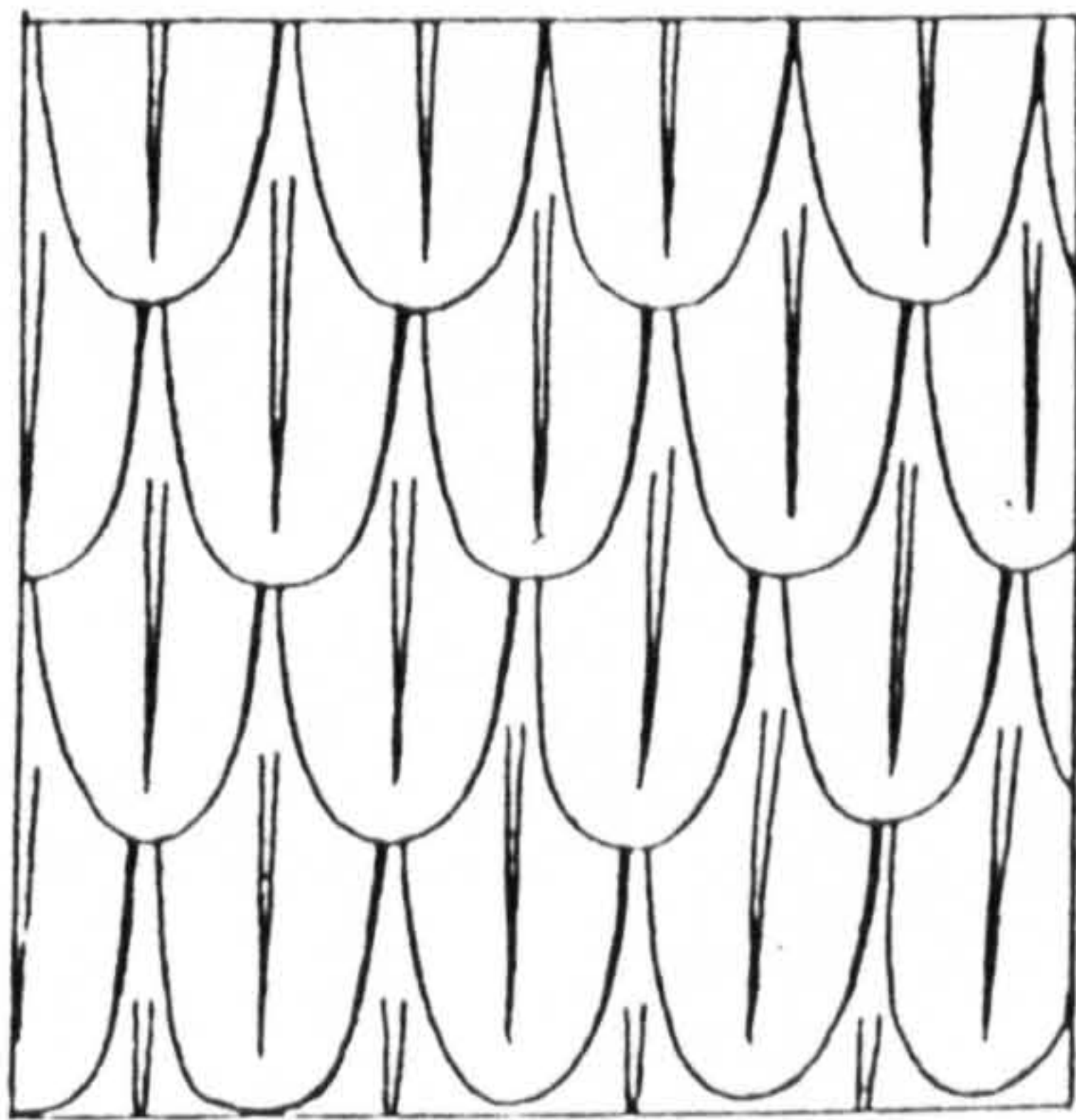


Fig. 652.

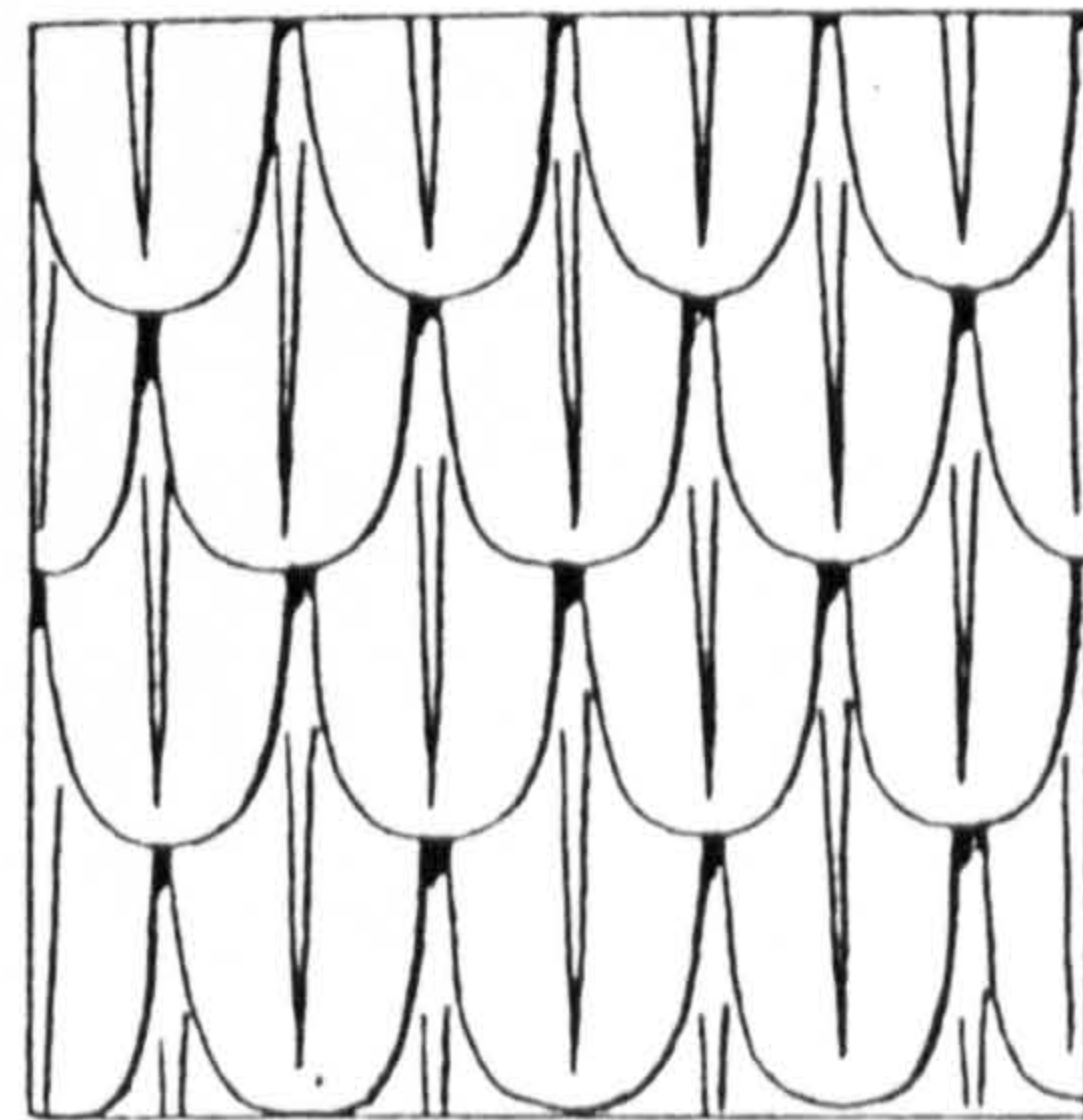


Fig. 653.





FIG. 1. — Plaque de coquille Mari. (Agrandissement photographique un peu plus de deux fois l'original.)



FIG. 2. — Relief de Nippur (détail).



FIG. 3. — Relief de Tello (détail).



FIG. 4. — Plaque de Nippur.



FIG. 5. — Plaque de Kish.



FIG. 6. — Plaque d'Uruk.



FIG. 7. — Plaque de Nuzi.





Archaischer Stirnziegel von d. Akropolis in Athen  
(nach Ross, Arch. Aufs. 1, 5).

a



Gorgonelson als Marmorakroterion v. Sparta  
(nach Arch. Ztg. 1881, Taf. 17).

b



FIG. 20 (No. 76).



FIG. 22 (No. 78).

c





Fig. 662.



Fig. 663.



Fig. 664.



Fig. 665.





Fig. 666.



Fig. 667.



Fig. 668.

a



Fig. 649.

b



Archaic Type, without snakes.



Fig. 672.



Fig. 673.



Fig. 674.



Fig. 675.



Fig. 676.



Fig. 677.

Archaic Type, with snakes.



Fig. 678.



Fig. 679.

Transition to Middle Type.



Fig. 680.



Fig. 681.



Fig. 682.



Middle Type.



Fig. 683.



Fig. 684.



Fig. 685.



Fig. 686.

Beautiful Type.



Fig. 687.



Fig. 688.



Fig. 689.



Fig. 690.

Assimilation of Helios to the Gorgon.



Fig. 691.



Fig. 692.



Fig. 693.







FIG. 12. From no. 440.

a



A



B



C



D



E

FIG. 23. A, from the plastic vase fig. 71; B, from the aryballos pl. 1, 7; C, from no. 39; D, metope from Thermon restored: see notes on illustrations; E, clay relief from Syracuse: see notes on illustrations.

b





A



B



C

FIG. 24. A-B, from no. 440 and no. 457; C, from no. 600.





A



B



C



D



E

FIG. 25. A-B, from nos. 986, 992; C-E from nos. 1196, 1188, 1186.





FIG. 26. Limestone gorgon from Corfu.

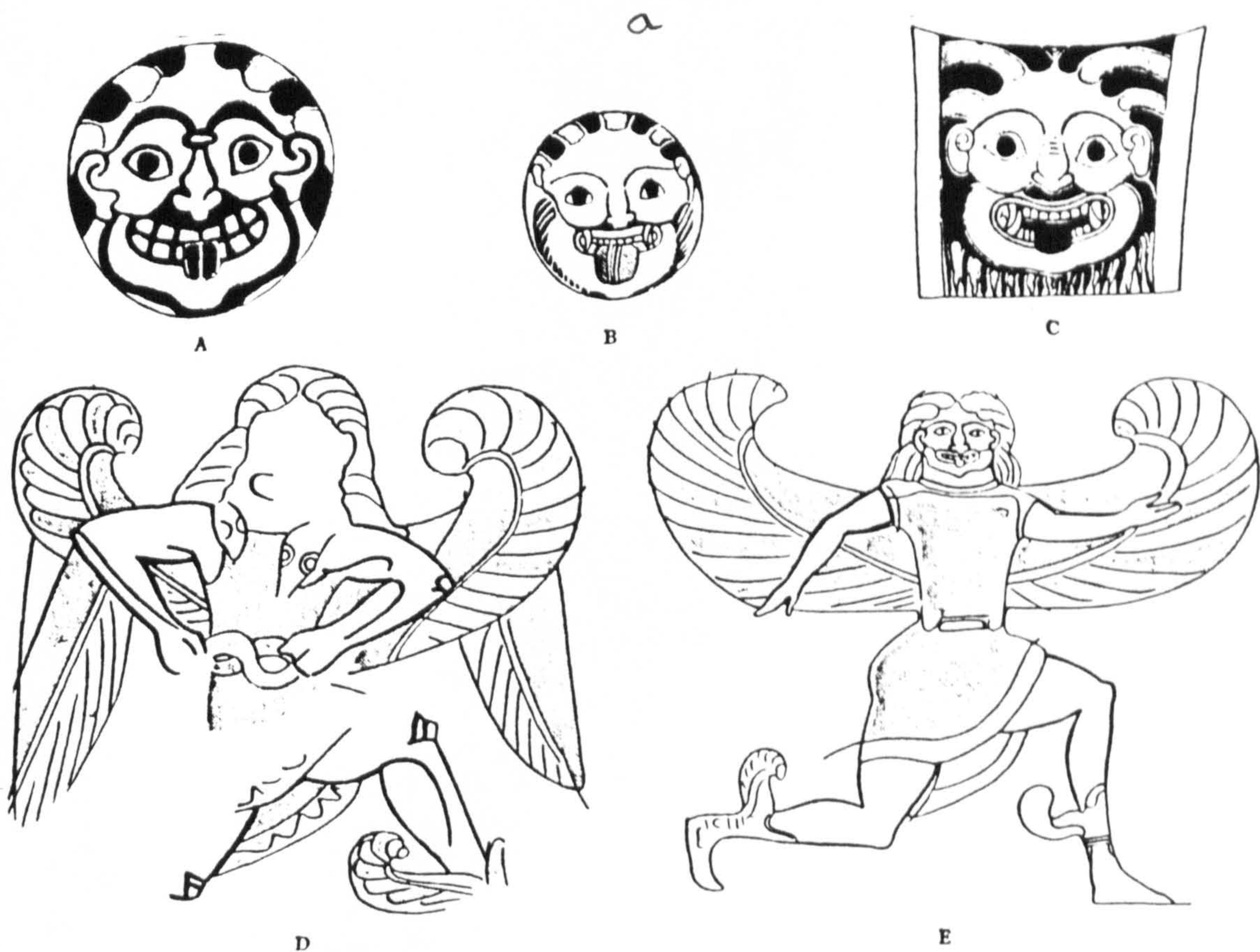


FIG. 27. A-B, from nos. 1456, 1410; C, from no. 1452; D, from no. 1389; E, from no. 1471.





(A) The demon Humbaba

a



AO. 6778 (réduction de moitié)

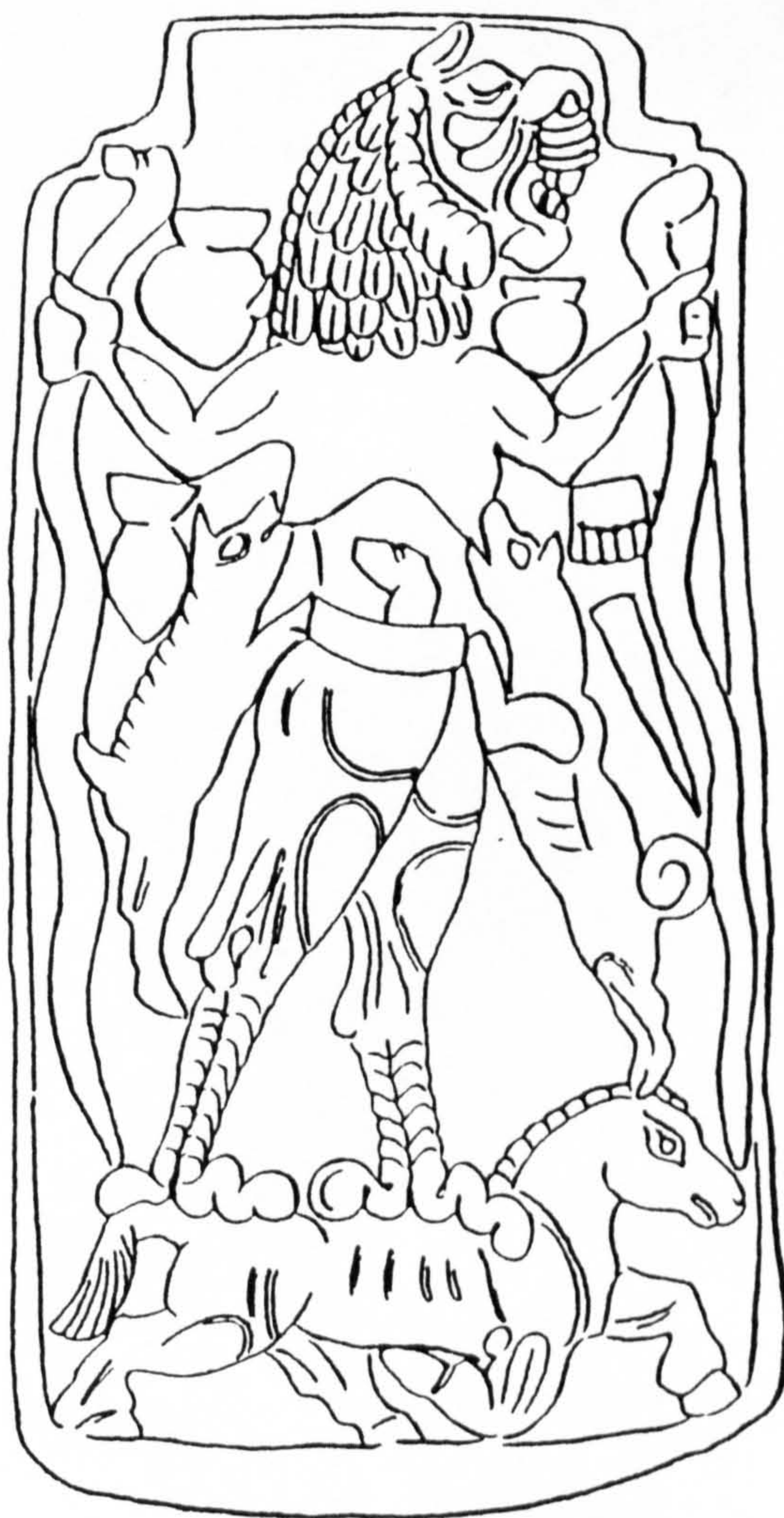
b





Terracotta Votive Masks.  
Probably Female.  
Type A. i. Scale 2 : 5.  
(see pp. 166, 179).



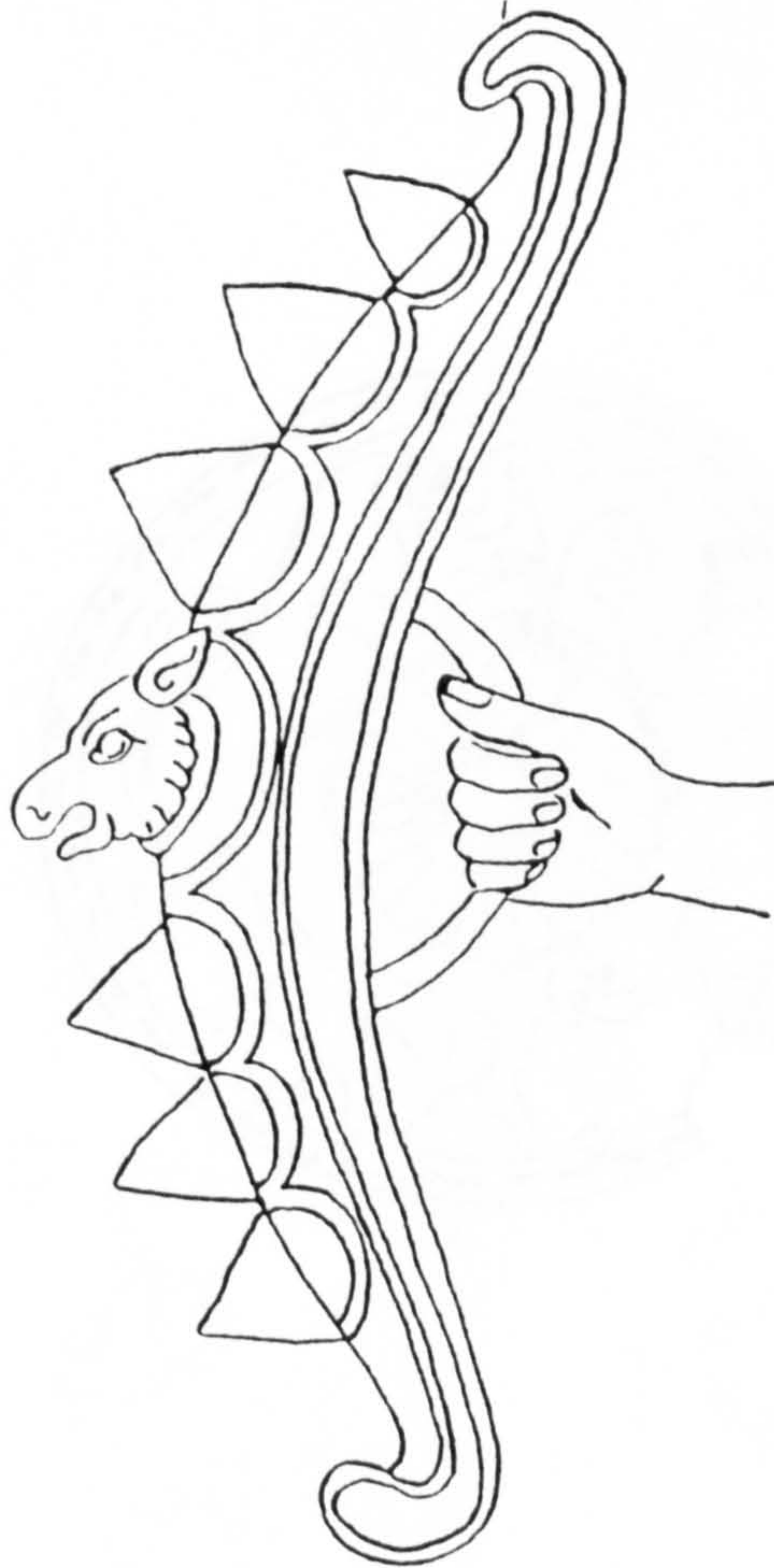


1



2





2  
1



3





1



2

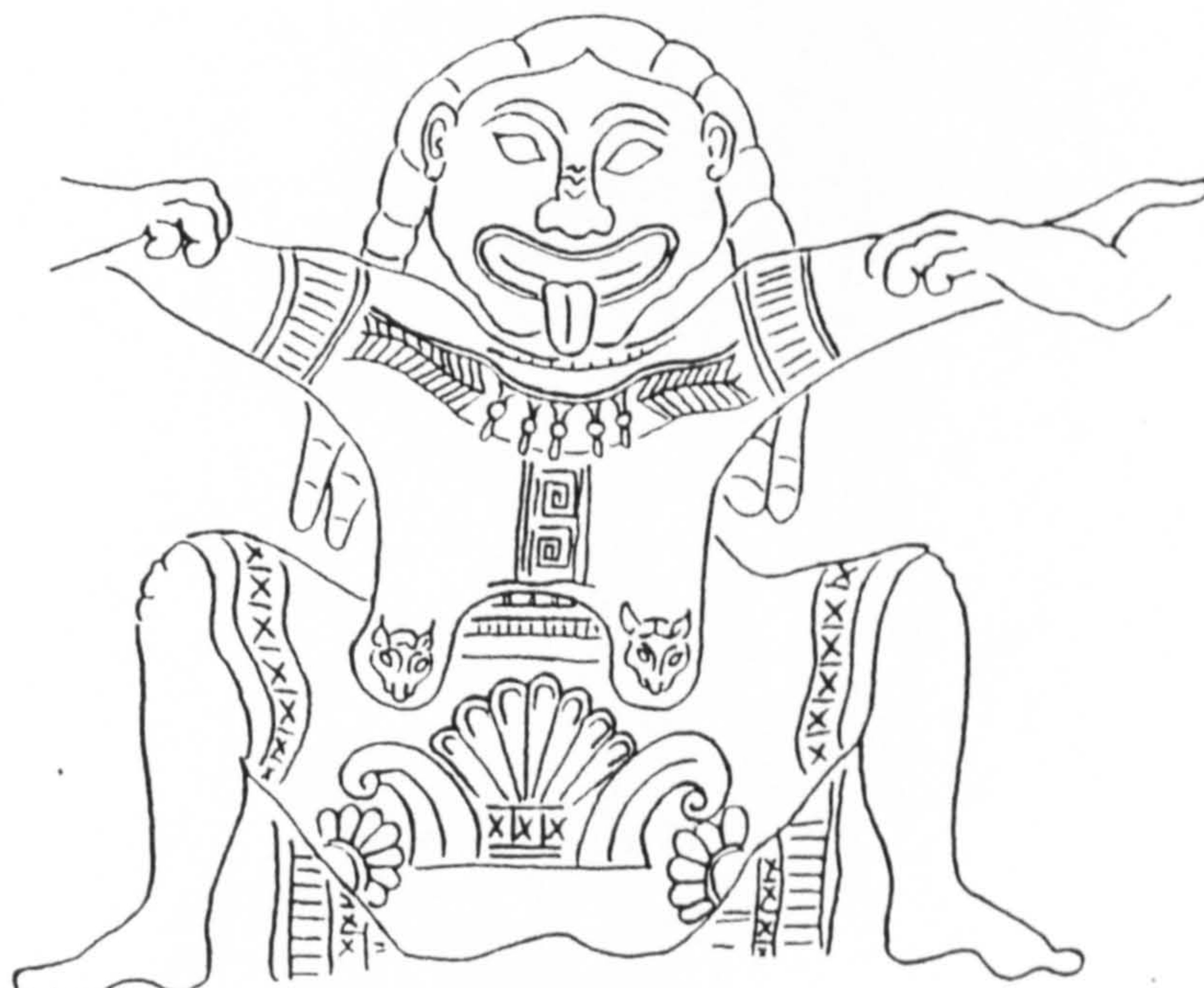


a



1

b



2



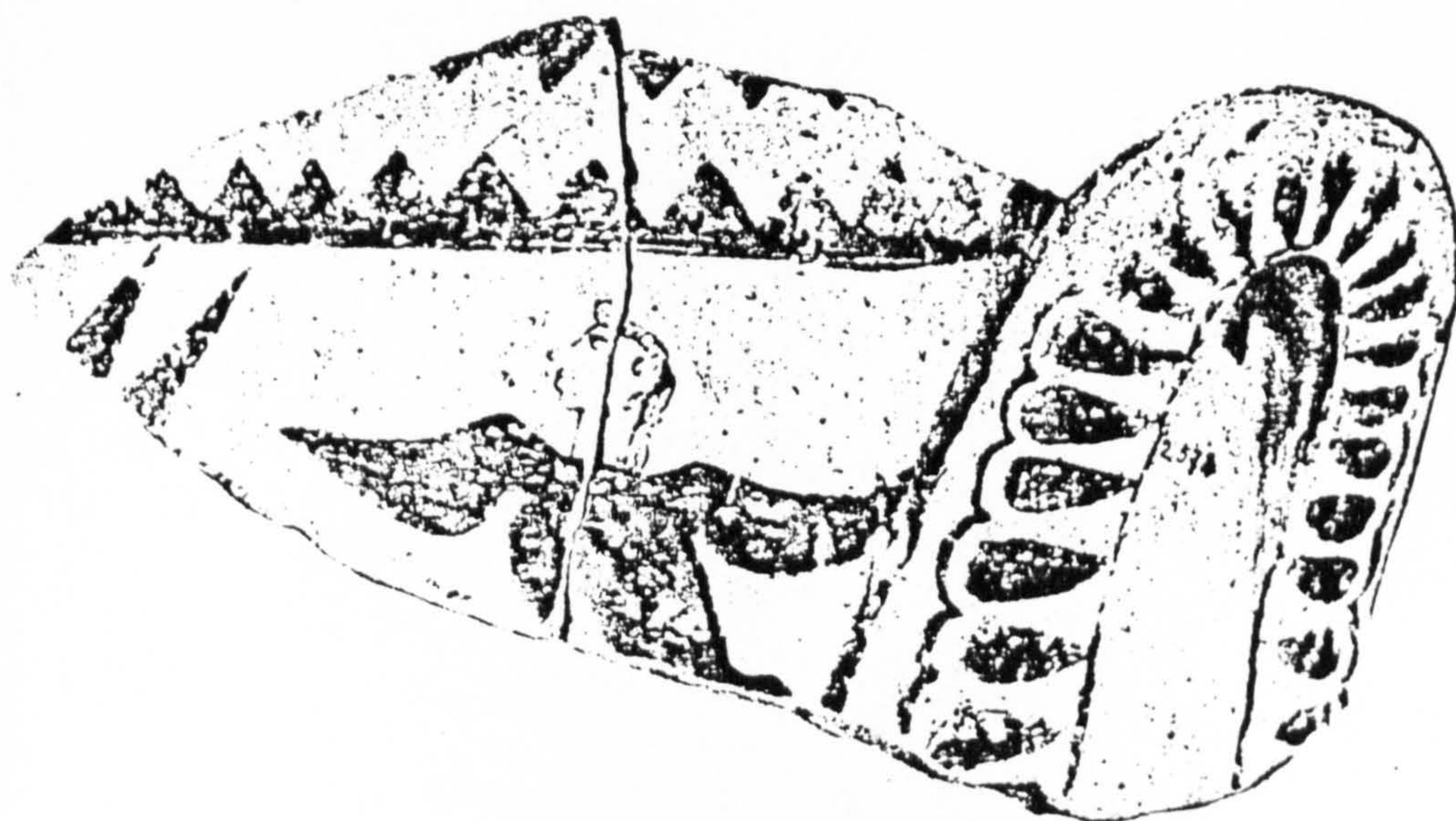


FIG. 11. — FRAGMENT OF VASE FROM PRAISOS  
(A.M. lvii, 1932, Beil. xxxii)



FIG. 13. — TERRACOTTA HEAD FROM SPARTA  
(BS.I. xxix, 1927-28, pl. I, a-b)





FIG. 1

a

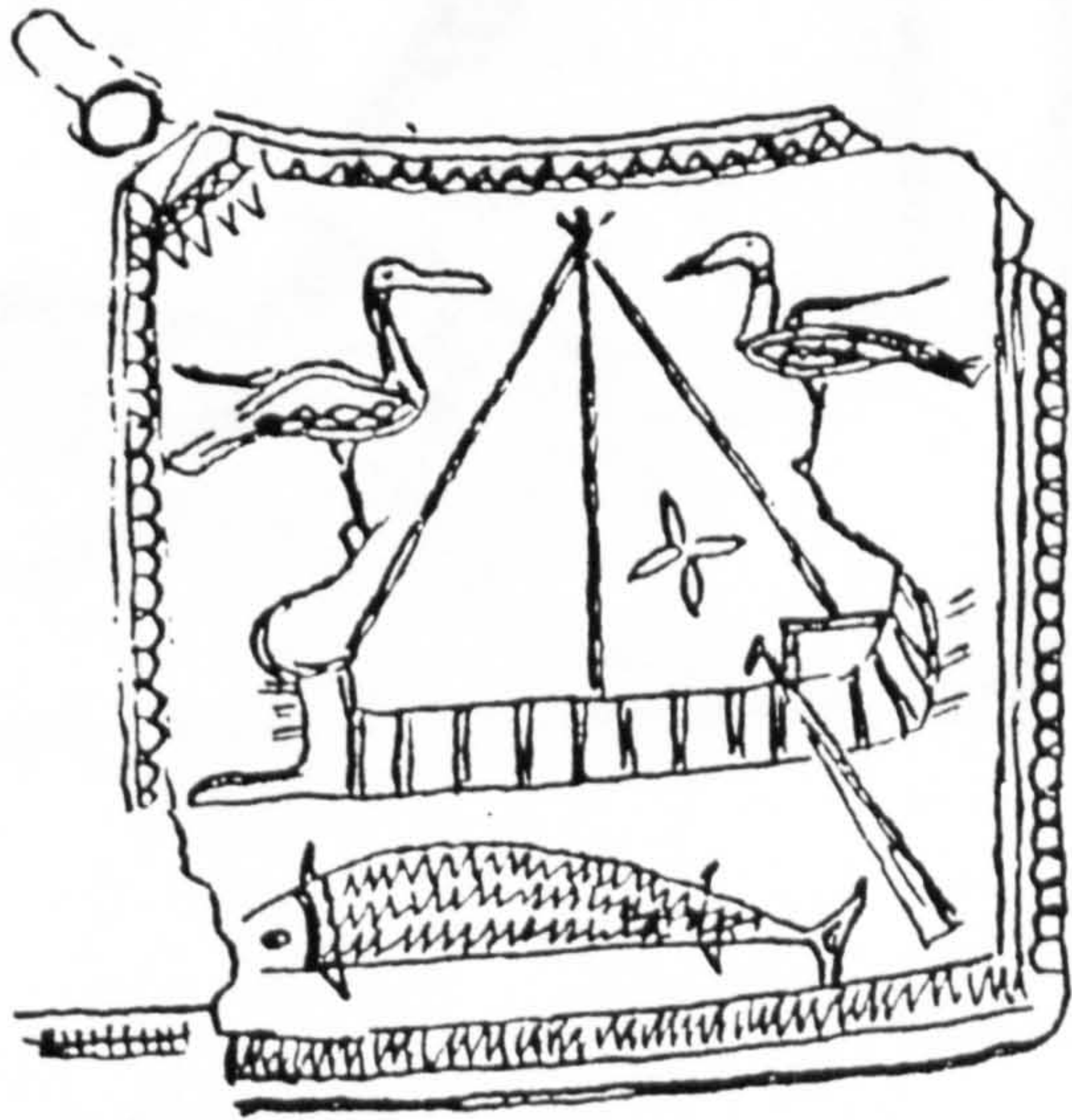
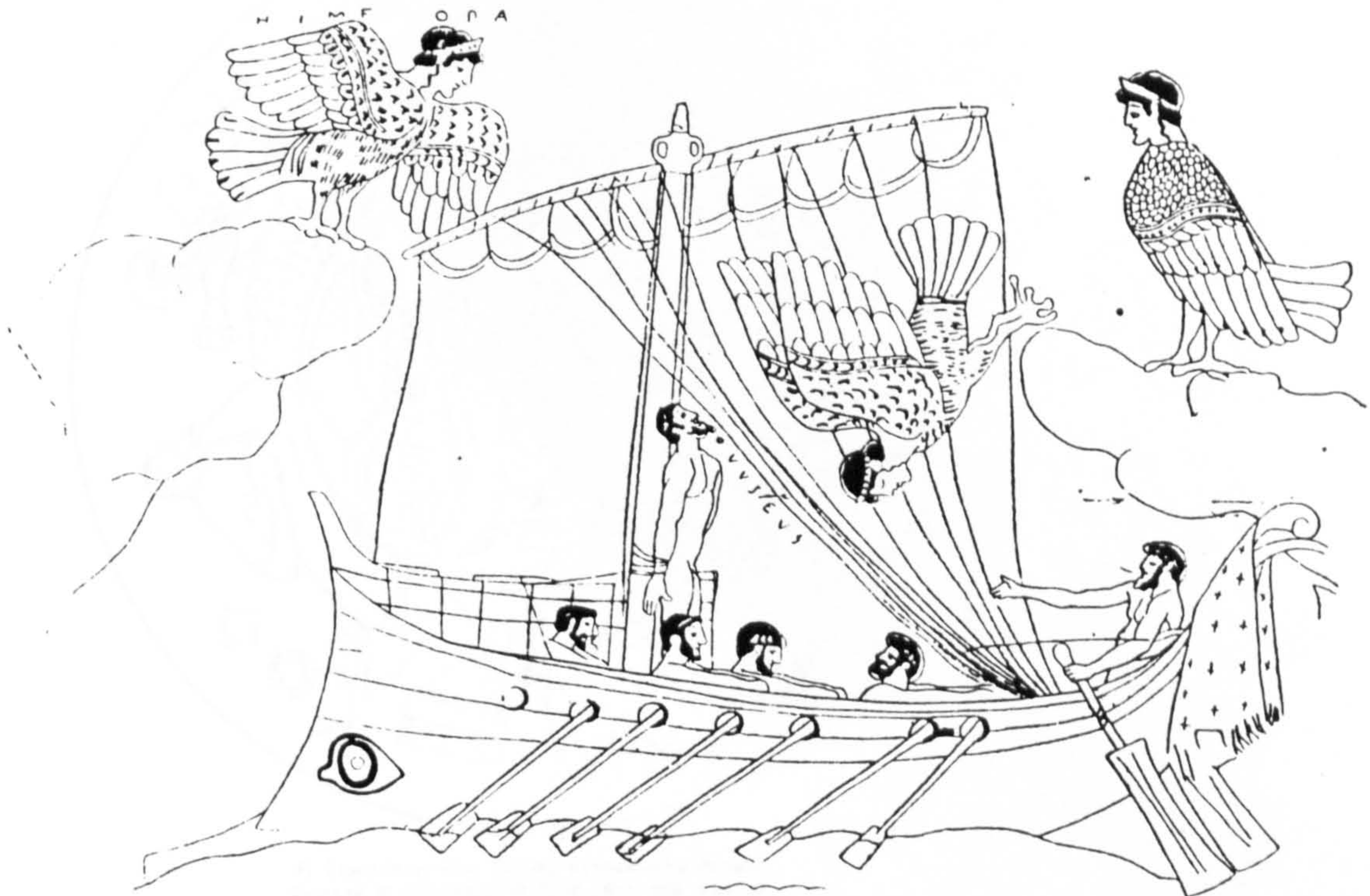


FIG. 4

b



1) Tod der Sirenen, rfg. Amphora Brit. Mus. E 440 (nach Monum. dell' Inst. 1, 8).

c





Fig. 648.

a



1) *Συμπόσιον τῶν ἁγίων*, kyrenäische Schale.  
 Louvre E 667 (nach B. C. H. 1893, 338 Abb. 6).

b



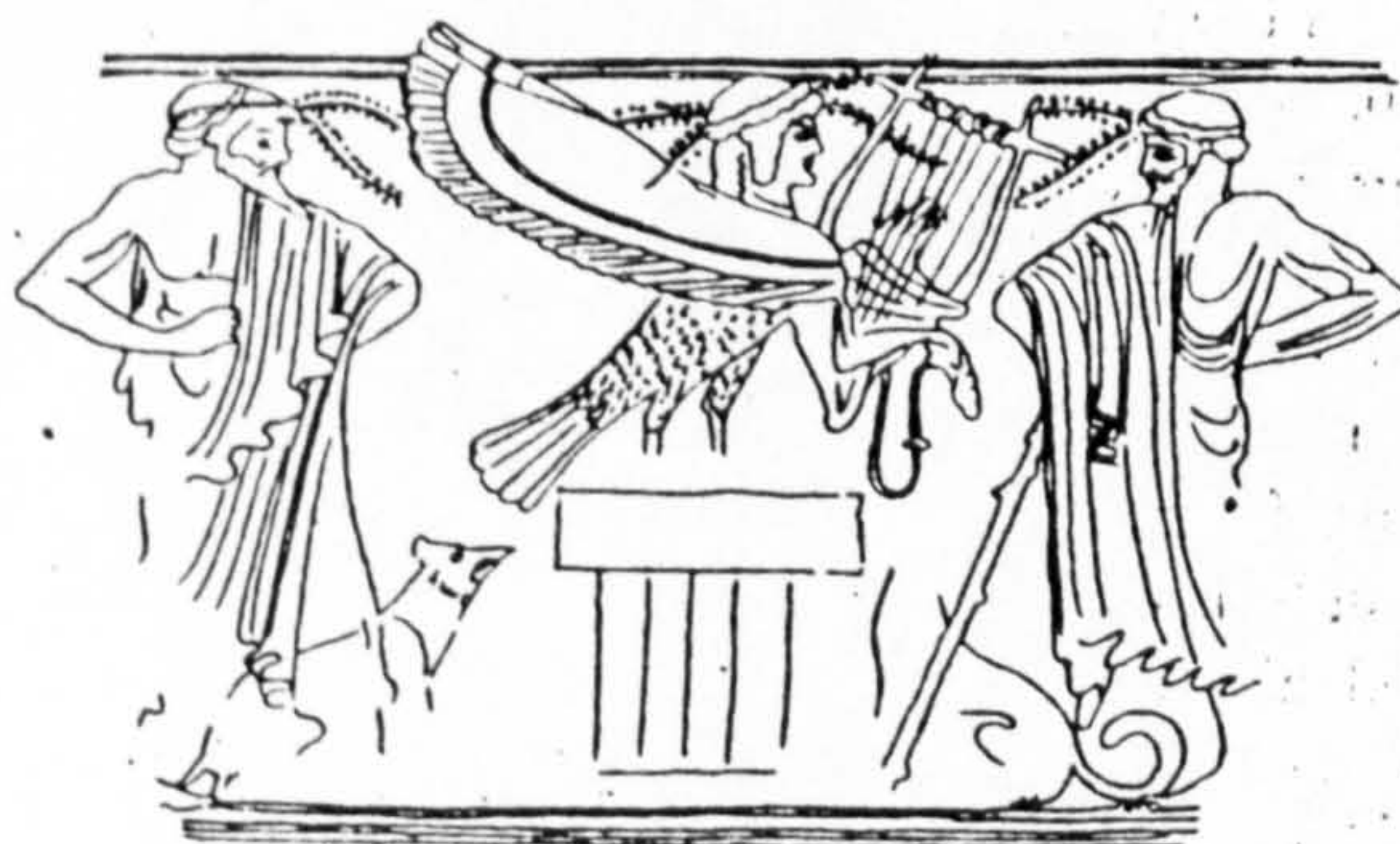


FIG. 40.

a



6) Tanzende und musizierende S. vom Grabstein des Metrodor aus Ohios, Berlin 766 A (nach *AtL. Mitt.* 13, 1888, Taf. 3).

b

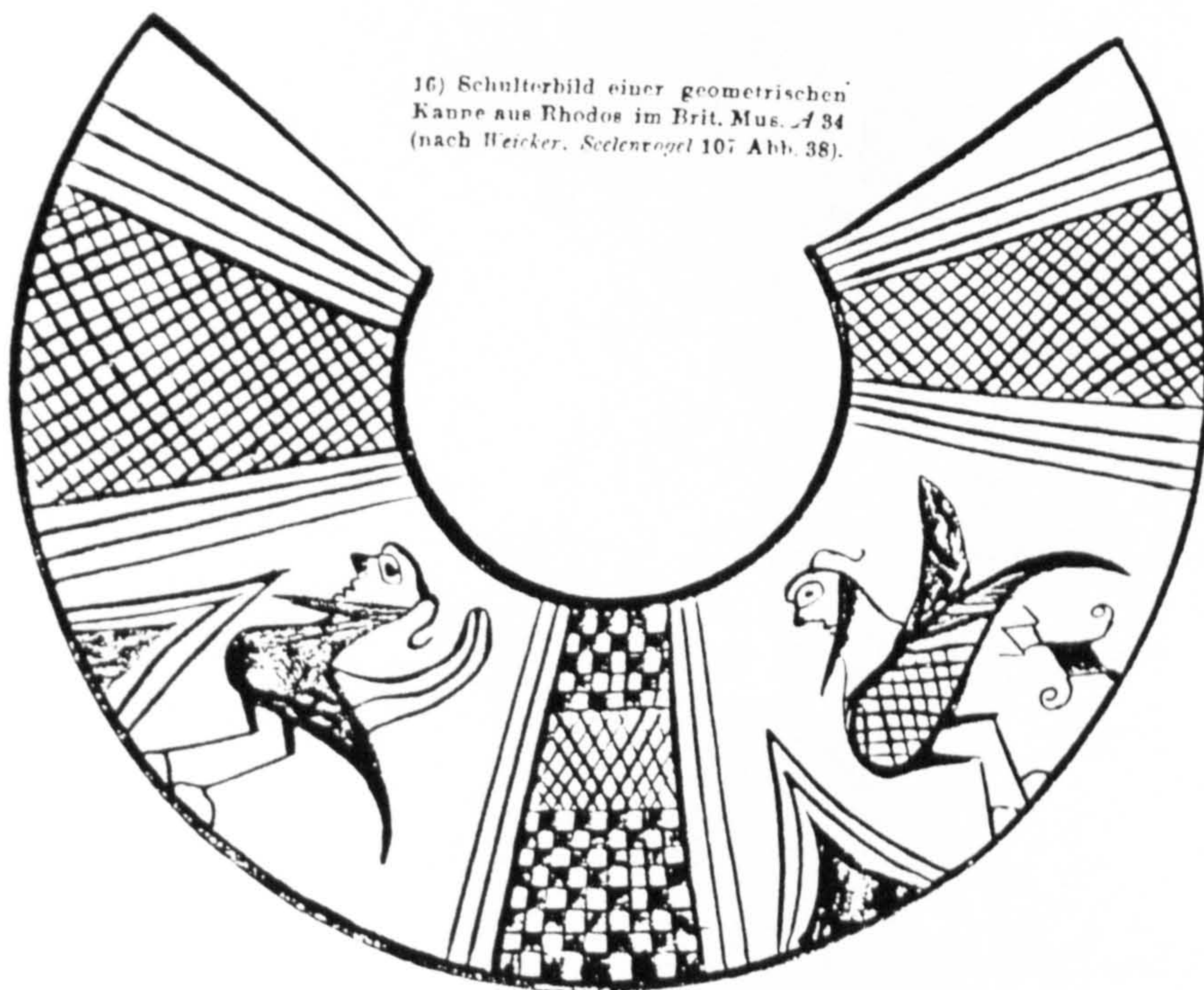




2) Korinthischer Kugelaryballos in München  
(nach *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 1909, 205).



3) Korinthischer Pinax, Berlin 831  
(nach *Ant. Denkmäler* 1, 8, 3).

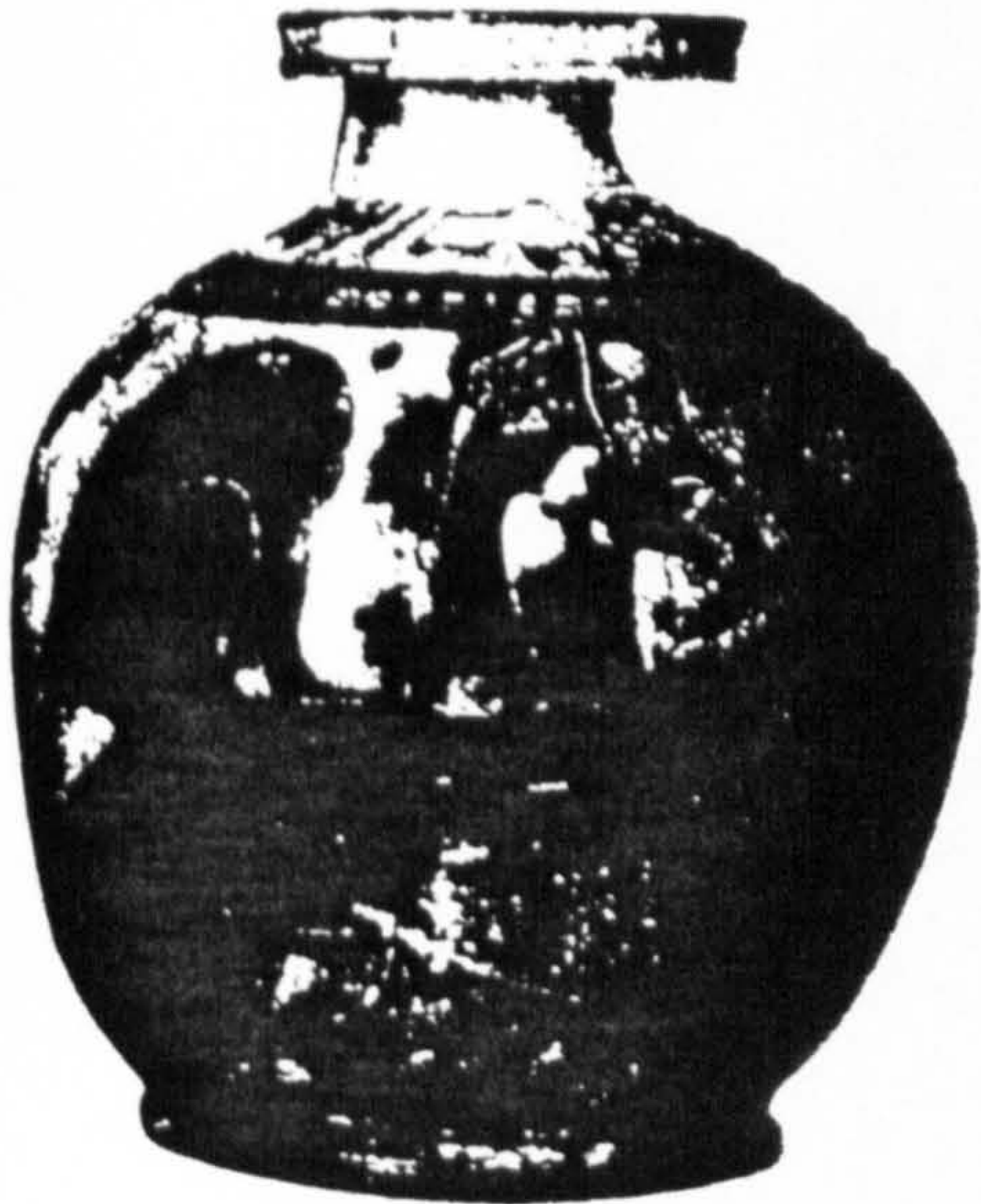


16) Schulterbild einer geometrischen  
Kanne aus Rhodos im Brit. Mus. A 34  
(nach *Weicker, Seelenregel* 107 Abb. 38).



23) S. von einem korinthischen Napf, Berlin 957  
(nach *Wiltsch, Aithonthische Tonindustrie* Taf. 3, 38).

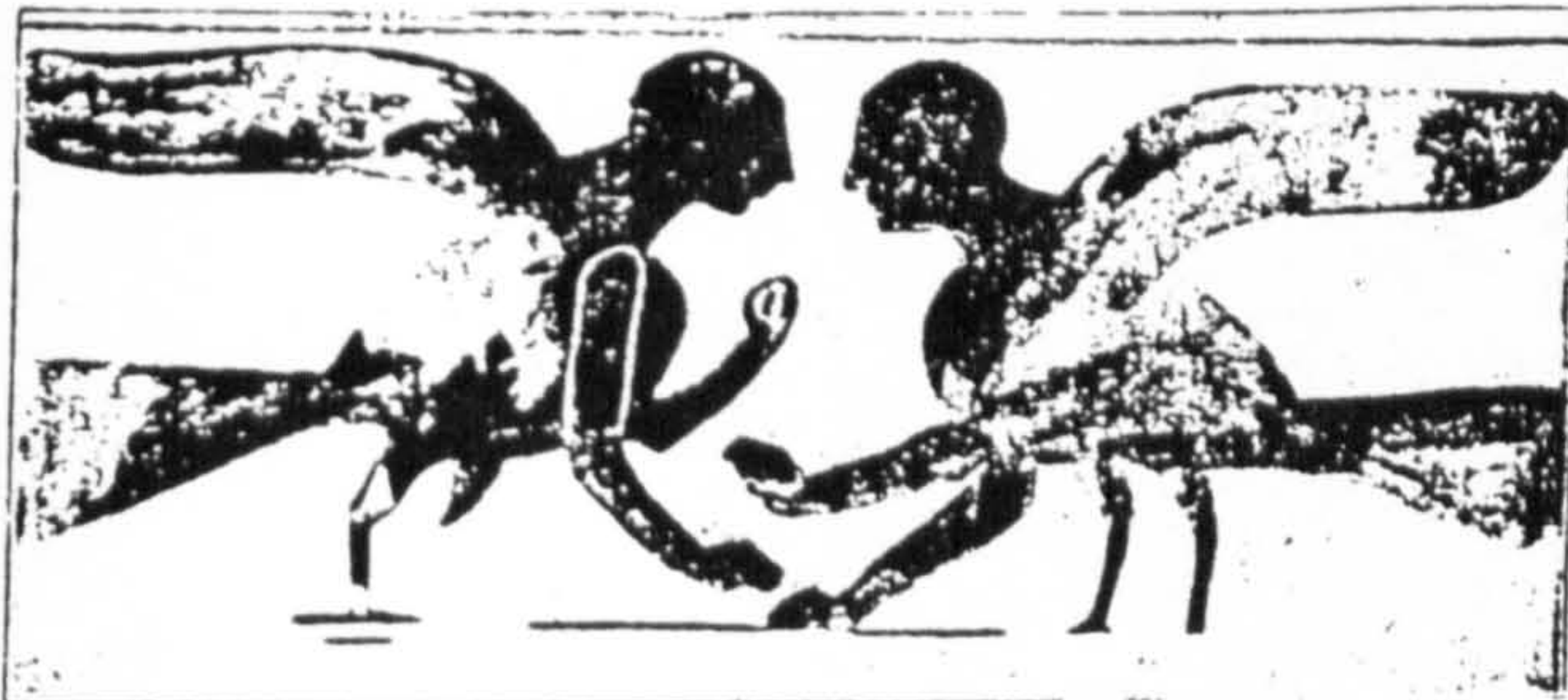




18) S. mit männlichem und weiblichem Kopf, korinthischer Kugelaryballos in Athen (unpubl., nach Photograph.).



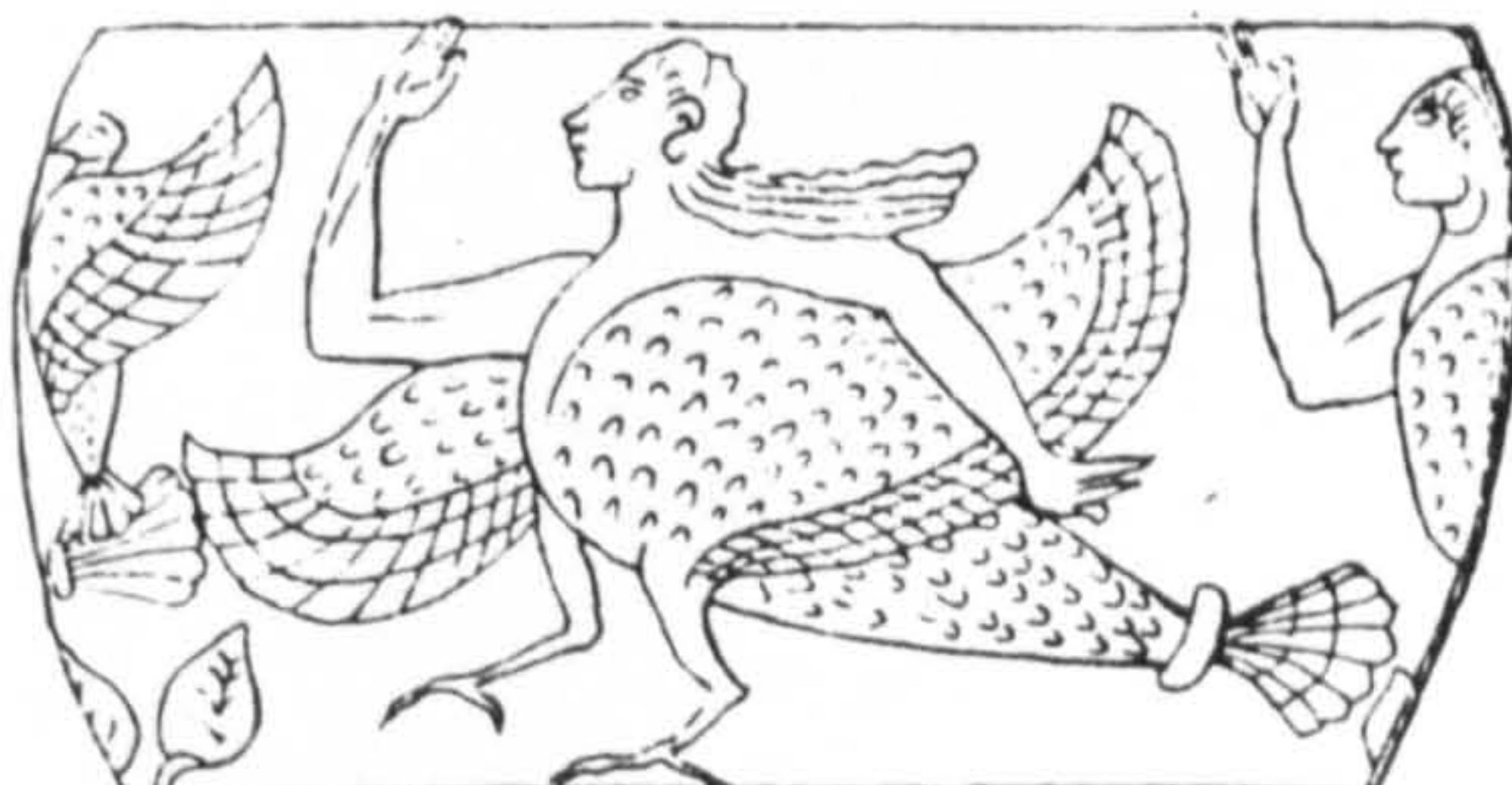
19) S. mit Löwenbeinen von einem korinthischen Kugelaryballos (nach *Mon. ant.* 16, 635 Abb. 451).



20) S. mit Löwentatzen statt der Hände, an einem klazom. Sarkophag im Brit. Mus. (nach *Weicker, Seelenopfer* 128 Abb. 54).



21) Augenseirene der sfg. Hydria im Brit. Mus. B 242 (nach Photographie Mansell).



22) S. von der etruskischen Amphora München 1077 (nach *Micali, Monumenti inediti* Taf. 43, 3).





*Vignette incorrectly termed Spell 16. The sun-god is depicted as a falcon wearing a sun-disc. He stands on the emblem of the West, and is protected by winged udjat-eyes which carry ostrich-feather fans and adored by rows of deities. Beneath dancing baboons Isis and Nephthys kneel in adoration, and below them the human-headed soul of Anhai, shown twice, stands with arms raised in praise on a plinth set in the slopes of the eastern mountain. 10472/1*



*Part of Spell 17. Hunefer sits in a booth playing senet, while his human-headed soul stands on a shrine-shaped plinth with arms raised in praise. On the right Hunefer kneels in adoration of the two lions of the horizon over whose backs the sun rises daily. 9901/5*





FIG. 14.—VASE: DEATH OF PROKRIS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

a



Below: *Spell 89* Am's human-headed soul carrying a shen, symbolic of eternity, hovers protectively over his mummy, which wears a mummy mask and lies on a lion-form bed between two tall stands containing flames. 10470/17

b





*Spell 91 Ani's human-headed soul stands before the door of his tomb. 10470/17*





*Spell 92 Ani opens up his tomb and is then depicted walking from it, while his human-headed soul carrying a shen, symbolic of eternity, flies protectively above him. 10470/18*





90 Pelop. Maler um 430-420 v. Chr. Kalkis-Krater in Lat. 89. Gespann des Pelops; davor Hermes, dahinter Hekate und Apollon





40. Kylix aus Athen, um 470-460 v. Chr. (Kleinfries: Aeneas, Oberer Fries: Trojaner, Unterer Fries: Aeneas, Aussendung des Triptolemos).





Dreigestaltige Hekate, Relief aus Aigina  
(nach Arch.-epigr. Mitt. aus Österr. 4 Taf. 3 = Baumeister, Denkm. S. 632).

a



FIG. 16.—CHARITES AND HEKATE  
(PRAGUE).

b



Vasenbild (nach Müller-Wieseler 2 Taf. 9, Fig. 110).

c



PLATE XXXIX

a



b



c



d







FIG. 17.—DESIGNS FROM ROBE ON FIGURE IN HECATEION (HERMANNSTADT)

a



Gemma  
(nach Arch. Ztg. 1857  
Taf. 99).



Gemma  
(nach Arch. Ztg. 1857 Taf. 99).

b



## PLATE XL



Die Hekate des pergamen. Gigantenfrieses (nach Overbeck, *Plastik 2*, Fig. 132 C).





(b)

Athens NM inv. no. 19765

AN UNDERWORLD SCENE ON A BLACK-FIGURED LEKYTHOS



(a)



