§ 3. Zeus Lýkaios.

(a) Wolf-god or Light-god?

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


2 P. Weinsiecker in Roescher Lex. Myth. ii. 327.


5 Infra pp. 70 ff., 77 ff.


Others with more circumspection abandon the slippery path of symbolism. W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkulte ii. 236 ff. explains the Ἀβαῖος as a solstice-festival involving a procession of 'Harvest-wolves' (cp. the Hirti Swami). W. Robertson Smith in The Encyclopedia Britannica (Edinburgh 1886 xi. 136 s. v. 'Sacrifice,' Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 365 n. 5 regards Zeus Ἀβαῖος as the god
be derived from οἰκείος: it must be an adjective formed from a substantive οἰκή. But there is in Greek no such word as *οἰκή, 'wolf'; and, if there were, it would mean 'a she-wolf', whereas the myths of Mount Lykaon mention none but he-wolves. Far more probable is the theory of those who understand Λύκαιος as 'god of Light'. The word οἰκή is quoted by Macrobius as an old Greek word for 'day-break'; and its compound ἀμφί-οἰκή is used in the Ιηλίαν of 'twilight'. They belong to a well-known family of words with

of a totemic Wolf-clan. L. R. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* 11, i. 41 is disposed to accept his theory. J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 36. 7 (iv. 386) says: 'The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god.' C. W. Volckhov *De Oedipi mythologia* Berolini 1901 pp. 5-36 holds that the ritual of Zeus Akauros and the myth of Akauros presuppose the Arcadian cult of a sacred wolf, to which his human victims were offered.

1 Adjectives in *-os* naturally derive from *-os*. The only exceptions are words like δαίμον, ἐνίας, ἡμέρας, which have been formed on the analogy of ἀφιδρός, etc. and so go back to locatives in -ai (cf. K. Bruggm. *Griechische Grammatik* München 1900 p. 181: see also F. Bischof in Collitz-Bischof *Gr. Dialekt.-Inschrift.* iii. 2. 507 no. 5395 and O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen Göttungen* 1966 p. 173f.). But Akauros, even if we write it as Λυκαιόν, can hardly be thus explained as a locational formation.

2 'A she-wolf' is regularly οἰκής (cp. παραμείνει), never *οἰκάρη. See W. Pape *Eposlogisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, zur Überlehen der Wörterstellung nach dem Ende (Berlin 1853 p. 36. Λυκ. 46: ἀπόκλονος, ἀπόκινος, ἀποκάλονος) is criticized as a gross blunder by Textor ad loc. (φασάς cp. φασάς, καλλιεργουμένος για ἄρειον οἰκήσιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λυκαιόνος, ἀλλὰ οἰκήσιον των Λυκαιόνων γιατί κατά τῷ φασάς).


On the very top of Mount Ὅλικαῖον was a mound of earth, known as the altar of Zeus Ὅλικαῖος, from which the greater part of the Peloponnese was visible: before the altar stood two columns bearing gilded eagles and facing the sun's rise. Finally, Pausanias says: 'Of the wonderful things to be seen on Mount Ὅλικαῖον the most wonderful is this. There is a precinct of Zeus Ὅλικαῖος on the mountain, and no man is allowed to enter it. Should any one disregard the rule and enter, he cannot possibly live longer than a year. It was said too that within the precinct all things, both beasts and men, alike cast no shadow. Consequently, when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not break in along with it, but waits outside and looking at the beast sees no shadow cast by it. Now at Syene on the frontier of Aithiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor by animals; but in the precinct on Mount Ὅλικαῖον there is the same lack of shadows at all times and seasons.' This marvel, which is attested by other grave and respectable authors, though sceptics were not wanting, probably hangs together with the Pythagorean belief that 'the souls of the dead cast no shadow and do not wink.' The shadowless creature would on this showing be the man or beast already devoted to death. Dr Frazer, commenting on the passage quoted above from Pausanias, writes: 'Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year—obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the building.' Trespassers on the precinct of Zeus Ὅλικαῖος not only lost their shadows, but were actually put to death. Plutarch states that such persons were called 'deer' (ἄλφαρχος), that if they entered the precinct voluntarily they were stoned to death, and that if they entered it through ignorance they were sent away to Eleutherai. But, if the ultimate explanation of the shadowless precinct on Mount Ὅλικαῖον lies in the connexion once thought to exist between shadow and soul, it by no means follows that this was the explanation given by Greeks of the classical period. They may well have forgotten the real meaning of a belief to which they still clung and have attributed it to some irrelevant cause. That is what in point of fact they did. Polybios the historian, who as a native of Megalopolis would take a personal interest in matters Arcadian, writes as follows anent certain Carian superstitions: 'It appears to me that such tales are only fit to amuse children, when they transgress not merely the limits of probability but those of possibility as well. For instance, to assert that some bodies when placed in light cast no shadow argues a state of extreme obtuseness. Yet Theopompus has done this; for he declares that those who enter the holy precinct of Zeus in Arcadia cast no shadow, which is on a par with the statements that I mentioned just now.' Theopompus, then, the historian of Chios, explained the miracle of Mount Ὅλικαῖον by saying that beasts and men on the summit cast no shadow because they were there 'placed in light.' This can only mean that a divine light encircled the mountain-top and made all shadows impossible. Mount Ὅλικαῖον, in fact, resembled

---

1 J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 6 (iv. 384), citing B. Schmidt Das Volkslied der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 196 f. See also infra ch. i § 6 (g) vi. The way for this explanation was prepared by Plout. loc. cit., F. G. Weleker Klein Schriften Bonn 1830 ii. 161, E. L. Rohchitz Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der hethitischen Vervorই Berlin 1867 i. 119, H. D. Müller Mythologie der einheimischen Völker Göttingen 1859 ii. 96 f. On the identification of soul with shadow see further E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 i. 430 f., esp. 85 f., W. Wandt Völkerrheologie Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 f., 84 ff.

2 Paus. 8. 38. 6.


5 Plout. quaest. Gr. 39.

6 Polyb. 16. 12. 7.
Wolf-god or Light-god?

Olympos as described in the *Odyssey*¹, and was itself called Olympos. Pausanias says: 'They speak of it also as Olympos, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak!' This Olympic glory, though not, as Theopompos presumably held and as Roscher² certainly holds, the true explanation of the shadowless precinct, would be in thorough keeping with the character of Zeus *Lýkaios* as a god of light.

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

It is almost certainly Zeus *Lýkaios* whose figure appears on the federal silver coinage of Arkadia throughout the greater part of the fifth century B.C.³ These coins bear on their reverse side the legend *Arkadikhn*, more or less abbreviated, and appear to have been struck by the Heraeans as presidents of the national Arcadian games held on Mount *Lýkaion*. Early specimens show Zeus seated on a throne with a *himation* wrapped about his waist; he holds a sceptre in one hand, and over the other flies an eagle (figs. 39, 40)⁴. On later specimens the back of the throne terminates in a swan's neck (figs. 41, 42)⁵, and the eagle occasionally flies towards Zeus (fig. 43)⁶. Sometimes a thunderbolt is held on the lap of the god (figs. 43, 44)⁷. Sometimes, but rarely, he is represented as standing with *himation*, sceptre and eagle (fig. 45)⁸. After the victory of Epaminondas at Leuktra in 371 B.C. the Arcadian League was reconstituted and issued coins with the types of Zeus *Lýkaios* and Pan *Lýkaios*.⁹ The obverse design of the silver *statér* (fig. 45) is a magnificent head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath: the reverse (figs. 47, 48) is Pan seated on a rock, over which he has spread his cloak; he is human except for his horns and holds in his right hand a throwing-stick (*lagobolon*), while a pipe (*syrinx*) lies at his feet. The rock is inscribed *Olym- (OAY) or Olym- (OAYM)*, and in one die (fig. 49) *Charis- (XAPI)*. There can be no doubt that the laureate head is that of Zeus *Lýkaios*. It used to

---

¹ *Od. 6. 41 ff.* Eustath. in *Od. p. 1550, 63* *φυλάκων* *γάρ τά έκεί και μεσή αίσθησι και* *φυλάκων έστιν*.
⁵ This was first shown by Imhoof-Blumer *Mun. gr.* p. 156.
⁷ *Fig. 41* is from a specimen in the British Museum, fig. 42 from another in my collection.
⁹ *Babelon Mun. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 845 ff. pl. 38, 13 describes a specimen in the Laynes collection on which Zeus holds corn-ears (fig. 44). I take the object in his right hand to be a thunderbolt, as did F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 290 pl. 7, 2. **Fig. 49.**
Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus Lýkaios be commonly supposed that the rock inscribed Oly- or Olym- was the Arcadian Olympos, i.e. Mount Lýkaion. Prof. Brunn alone maintained that the inscription was the signature of the die-engraver. Since the publication of the specimens reading Chari-Brunn's view has met with almost universal acceptance. Recently, however, Dr Head has suggested that Olym- and Chari- may be abbreviated names of festivals for which the coins were issued. Still, the old view is not definitely disproved. It remains possible that the name of the mountain, placed on the coin for purposes of identification, was afterwards replaced by the name of a self-satisfied engraver.

(c) Human sacrifice to Zeus Lýkaios.

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

---

1 H. Bruun Geschichte der griechischen Künstler Stuttgart 1869 ii. 437.
2 E.g. F. Imhoof-Blumer loc. cit., Head Hist. min. p. 372.
3 Head Hist. num. p. 448 cp. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΝ on coins of Elis, and suggests the 10th Olympiad celebrated by the Arcadians in 364 B.C. He interprets ΧΑΡΙΩΝ as the Charisias or Chariteia, festivals of the Charisias, and notes that Charisias was the founder of Charisias in Arkadia (Pas. 8. 3. 4).
4 Cp. ΠΕΙΝΙΑΝ on a coin of Ephesos figured infra ch. i. § 8 (b). It should also be noticed that the reverse type of a unique tetradrachm of Messana, now at Berlin, shows a similar figure of Pan, with his λαβαδία and a hare (symbol of the city): the god is seated on a rock, over which he has thrown his fawn-skin, and by him is the inscription ΠΑΝ (G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 130f. pl. 8. 15). If ΠΑΝ describes Pan, presumably ΟΛΥΜ may describe Olympos.
6 Plat. Min. 315 C.
7 Theophr. ap. Porphyry, de abst. 2. 27 and Euseb. prep. ev. 4. 16. 10. But see infra p. 76 n. 3.

---

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

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

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

PLINY

nat. hist. 8. 81-82.

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

SAINT AUGUSTINE

de civ. Del 18. 17.

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

Pausanias

6. 8. 2.

1 Pass. 8. 38. 7 tran. J. G. Frazer.
2 From Plin. nat. hist. 8. 83 Seepas qui Olympianicas scriptum narrat; Damaenetus Parrhasius in sacrificio, quod Arcades Iovi Lyceaeo humani etiam hostia faciebant, immolati puern exa degustasse etc. (infra p. 72 n. 3) E. Meyer Forschungen zur alt Gs. Halle 1893 i. 53 n. 1 infers that the human sacrifice, still kept up in the days of Demainetos, had been already abandoned when the Olympianicae was written.
Human sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios

Pliny

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

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

In conclusion he has actually mentioned by name a certain Damainetos, a Parrhasian of Arkadia by race, I was not prepared to believe—with the exception of his story told by Sundry Braggarts. For they say that he changed from a man into a wolf at the sacrifice of Zeus Lykaios, and that in the tenth year after- wards he became a man again.  

As to a certain boxer named Damarchos, a Parrhasian of Arkadia by race, I was not prepared to believe—with the exception of his story told by Sundry Braggarts. For they say that he changed from a man into a wolf at the sacrifice of Zeus Lykaios, and that in the tenth year afterwards he became a man again.

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

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

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

Be that as it may, Euanthes has preserved various details of primitive import. He tells us that those who thus cast lots among themselves (and therefore, presumably, those who at an earlier date gathered about the banquet of human flesh) belonged to a clan descended from a certain Anthos. Now H. W. Stoll and J. Töpffer have pointed out that the names Anthos, Anthias, Anthos, Antheseus were given in sundry parts of the Greek world to mythical figures of a common type—the handsome youth who comes early to a cruel death just because he personifies the short-lived vegetation of the year. One of these 'Flower'-heroes, Anthas or Damarchos from Euanthias of Ellis, whose "OlympiasEuropus he just mentioned (Paus. 6. 8. 4). Müller further conjectures that in Plin. nat. hist. 8. 89 we should read staev Euanthias Euanthias or Olympians Euromii scripti (MSS. testimonia etc. of stoic stoia copia, whence Icn. z). Scopas, Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 396 Harpocrates, Gelenius Agrigus). But again see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 849, and cp. Linn. nat. hist. index to 8 Euanthias apoqexa apoqexa (so MSS.: Scopas Jan. Agrigus Gelenius, Agrigus vulg.) qui OlympiasEuropus. Immn. Kult. Myth. Arkad. p. 135 f. presses Müller's speculation one stage further and proposes to identify Euanthes with Euanthias, whom he calls Euanthias-Europos-Euanthes Agrigus.

1 Paus. 6. 8. 4. Both Δαλαυλερος (Collitz-Rechel 96. cit. i. 382 no. 1721 B 165. 38. C 47 and Δαλαυλερος (ib. i. 340 no. 1185 A minor il. 355. no. 1245 D 4 are Arcadian names.

2 H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 360.

3 J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 253.

4 Thus Anthos, son of Hippodameia and Agygemos the ruler of a neglected and therefore barren land, was attacked and eaten by his father's horses, which he had driven off the scanty pasture: he was transformed by Zeus and Apollo into the bird Arōs, and as such still retains his hostility to horses (Ant. Lib. 7; see also D'Arcy W.
Human sacrifice to Zeus Λύκαιος

Anthes, the son of Poseidon, was driven out of Troizen and founded Halikarnassos. His descendants the Antheadai formed a priestly clan which, as we happen to know from an inscription found at Halikarnassos, managed the cult of Poseidon in that city for over five hundred years. Poseidon was worshipped at the mother-city Troizen as Poseidon Πυθάλμαιος, so that the functions of the Antheadai were almost certainly concerned with the propagation of vegetable life. Arguing from analogy, I conclude that in Arkadia likewise the descendants of Anthos were a priestly clan charged with the upkeep of vegetation in connexion with the cult of Zeus Λύκαιος.

That the 'Flower'-hero might be associated with Zeus no less than with Poseidon we see from an inscription of Roman date found at Athens. It is a list of persons combining to build a gymnasium 'for Zeus Κεραίας and Anthas.' Mr J. G. C. Anderson, who published this inscription with a careful commentary, remarked that many of the contributing members bore Boeotian names. He therefore proposed to identify Zeus Κεραίας with Zeus Αμμόν of Thebes and to regard Anthas either as a separate personage, the eponym of Anthedon in Boiotia, or more probably as a cult-title of Zeus comparable with that of Zeus Ανθανετικός, who is mentioned in a sacrificial calendar from the Epakria district. The cult would thus be one of a Zeus presiding over animal and vegetable fertility, a god presumably worshipped by a guild of farmers. Mr Anderson's conclusion is sound, though his premises are shaky. I doubt whether Zeus Κεραίας is a mere synonym of Zeus Αμμόν. His 'horns' may be those of a bull, not a ram. In that case he resembled Zeus Ολίβος, a god of fertility who in northern Greece had bovine horns, or Zeus Ξενίκος (ο) of Kypros, to whom the horned Κεραίας were wont to sacrifice strangers till Aphrodite, offended at their savagery, changed them all into bullocks. Again, O. Höfer objects that, if Anthas had been merely a cult-epithet, we should have expected a repetition of the name Zeus before it. But this objection only brings into clearer light the indisputable fact that in Attike the hero Anthas stood in intimate relation to Zeus. Anthos occupied a like position on Mount Lykaion.

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

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

\[1\] He is called Anthos (Paus. 9. 22. 5, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αρνθών); Anthos (schol. II. 2. 509, Eastath in II. 271, 13 ff.), Anthedon (Steph. Byz. and Eastath loco citato), and Anthus (Herakleid. Pont. ap. Plut. de musca 3); for all these local heroes are obviously one and the same.


\[3\] Infra ch. ii § 9 (b) ii (f).

\[4\] Ov. met. x. 120 ff., Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 10. 6, infra loc. cit.

\[5\] O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1491.

\[6\] Supra p. 73 n. 4.

\[7\] Apollod. 3. 5. 1, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 317 ff. Other examples of men done to death by horses with a like intent are cited in the Class. Rev. 1894 xvii. 81, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 338 n. 92. See farther S. Reimach 'Hippolyte' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1907 x. 47–60 = Cullum, Myths et Religions Paris 1908 liii. 54–67.

\[8\] Infra p. 85.

\[9\] J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 2 (iv. 382).
drought Zeus _Lykaios_ was placated with the sacrifice of a boy. Theophrastos indeed is reported to have said that this took place 'at the Lykaia'—an expression which, strictly taken, denotes the regular festival celebrated probably at the beginning of May. But the context of that very passage implies that human sacrifice, at least as exemplified by the cults of the Arcadian Zeus and the Carthaginian Kronos, was not a rite recurring at stated intervals but the last resort of a starving populace, practised only when crops failed and famine was imminent. Even then the responsible clansman devolved its blood-guiltiness upon a single man, who expiated his crime by disappearing from the neighbourhood. He hung his clothes upon a certain oak, swam across an adjoining pool, and was lost to sight in the wilderness beyond. What happened to him there nobody knew. It was whispered that he became a were-wolf.

The same combination of drought, oak-tree, and water occurs again in Pausanias' account of rain-magic on Mount Lykaion. It appears that, when the ground was parched and the trees blasted by the heat, the priest of Zeus _Lykaios_ took the branch of an oak-tree, stirred with it the water of the spring Hagnos, and so caused the long-desired shower to fall. It can hardly be doubted that the oak-tree and the pool of the one case are the oak-tree and the spring of the other. If so, we have every right to say that an oak-tree sacred to Zeus _Lykaios_ grew beside the spring Hagnos. The primitive cults of Greece, as of other lands, constantly associated a holy tree with a holy well.

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

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

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

A rite so unusual and impressive as the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion had of course its explanatory myth. I quote again the garrulous but profoundly interesting Pausanias. From Pelasgos, introducer of the acorn-diet, he slips on to Pelasgos' son Lykaon, who gave to Zeus the surname _Lykaios_ and founded the Lycaean games. 'In my opinion,' he continues, 'Lycaon was contemporary with Cercops, king of Athens, but the two were not equally sage in the matter of religion. For Cercops was the first who gave to Zeus the surname of Supreme, and he refused to sacrifice anything that had life; but he burned on the altar the
national cakes which the Athenians to this day call πίλαμπρι. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaen Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale: it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time....But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. In the long course of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a superstructure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaen Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever.

The myth of Lycaon has come down to us through various channels with a corresponding variety of detail. A useful conspectus is drawn up by O. Gruppe, from which it appears that the sacrifice was offered either by Lykaon himself (this was the common tale) or by his sons (a variant meant to save the face of Lykaon). The victim is described occasionally as a guest of Lykaon, or a Molossian hostage, more often as a child of the neighbourhood, more often still as Lykaon's son Nyktimos or grandson Arkeas. The child was according to one account sacrificed on the altar of Zeus, but according to the usual version dished up for his consumption at table. Punishment for this impious act fell on Lycaon, who was transformed into a wolf, or struck by lightning, or had his house struck by lightning while he himself became a wolf. Some said that his sons suffered with him, all alike being killed by lightning, or that they were killed by lightning and he changed into a wolf; some even said that the sons were punished as guilty and not the father. Many added that the flood followed in consequence of the crime.

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

1 Apollod. 3. 8. 1 έξαλλον τόν ζυγών πόλεων, Ττατσ. in Lyk. Al. 481 έξαλλον πόλεων, pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit. τήν έξαλλον πόλεων.
3 Clem. Al. protv. 1. 35. 5 p. 277, 19 ff. Stahlin, Nonn. Dion. 18. 20 ff., schol. Lyk. Al. 481.
5 Paus. 8. 7. 3.
6 Zeux had come in the guise of a working-man (Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Ttts. in Lyk. Al. 481, pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit.) or stranger (Nikol. Dam. and Soud. loc. cit.).
7 Paus. 8. 7. 3, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 1. 17. 2. 60.
8 Interp. Serv. in Verg. 6. 41.
10 Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Ttts. in Lyk. Al. 481. The youngest, Nyktimos, escaped, for he held up her hands, clasped the right hand of Zeus, and assuaged his anger.

11 Hyg. fab. 176.
12 Nikol. Dam. and Soud. loc. cit., schol. Lyk. Al. 481. A second version given by schol. Lyk. ib. states that Zeus destroyed the sons of Lykaon with lightning till he stretched forth her hand and interceded for them, and that he turned some of them into wolves (cp. pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit.).
13 Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Ttts. in Lyk. Al. 481, interp. Serv. in Verg. 6. 41, Myth. Vat. 1. 189.
14 Ptolemy Golden Book 1. 154 ff., 2 The Magic Art i. 396 ff.
15 Id. 1. 2. 158 ff., 2 The Magic Art i. 352 ff.
16 Id. 2. 115 ff., 2 The Dying God p. 160 ff. See also Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 392 ff.
sacrifice his son, or grandson, or the son of one of his subjects, or even, by a further relaxation, a stranger from afar in lieu of his own life. He thus discharged his original debt; but only to incur another of equal magnitude. For by slaying his son or grandson or subject he would render himself liable to the early law of bloodshed. If a man slew a member of an alien tribe or city, he must either be slain himself in return or else pay a sufficient blood-price. But if he slew a member of his own tribe or city, no blood-price was allowed: he must be put to death, or—it was the only possible alternative—flee into perpetual exile. The king, therefore, taken in this dilemma, sought to escape by the expiency of the common feast, which enabled him to share his guilt with others. The feasters in turn transferred it to a single member of the 'Flower'-clan. And he had forthwith to pay the penalty otherwise incumbent on the king; he had, that is, either to die the death or to flee the country.

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

1 H. E. Seebohm On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed'). Moreover, the sanctity of the stranger-host, as early as Homer and probably much earlier was placed under the protection of Zeus, as almost as great as the sanctity of the kinship's life, and to say him was a religious sin, for which, according to one legend, Heracles was sold into slavery to Omphale (Farnell Cults of Gr. States, i, 73 with note d).
2 Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 385 f., 1905 xvi. 324 f.
3 See the facts collected by Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 918 n. 7.
4 Note also that, according to Macrit De culto Hadraunnat Bonn 1886 p. 19 f. (quoted by W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 88, R. Campbell Thompson Semitic Magic London 1908 p. 57 n. 1), the She'er in Hadraunnat can change to were-wolves in time of drought.
5 Recent monographs on the subject are S. Baring-Gould The Book of Were-Wolves.

(d) The Precinct of Zeus Lykaios.

In 1903 Mr K. Kourouniotis trenched the altar and laid bare the precinct of Zeus Lykaios. I will here summarise the results of the excavation.

The top of Mount Lykaion (fig. 50) has three crests—Stephanion, the highest point (about 4615 ft. above sea-level); Ae Lids, somewhat lower (about 4550 ft.); and Diaphorion, on which is a ruined tower, probably Turkish in origin. It is on its south-west edge of a small space adjoining the crest on its south side. The level is known locally as Taberna, a shop, from which once stood necessary for the saint's festival.


1 J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 249. On the were-wolf in modern Greece generally consult N. G. Polites 'Hemoperiados in the journal Πανίκης 1896 xi. 453 f., Μαρτυρία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Νεαρών Ἐκλευσθέντων Athens 1871 i. 67 ff., and Παραδοσία Athens 1904 ii. 1140 ff., where a full bibliography is given.
2 E. S. Baring-Gould op. cit. pp. 58 (Ireland: seven years), 59 ('Osmanli' six; seven years), P. Sébillot Le Folk-Lore de France Paris 1906 iii. 55 (Normandy: seven years, sometimes three).
3 K. Kourouniotis in the Εφ. Αρχ. 1904 pp. 183-214. See also F. H. Marshall in the Class. Rev. 1903 xix. 280 ff. Kourouniotis has further excavated the hippodrome etc. on Mt Lykaion (Ib. Εφ. Αρχ. 1905 pp. 185-200 with figs., cp. Am. Journ. Arch. 1911 xv. 417). From a photograph kindly sent to me by Mr Kourouniotis, through whose generosity I am enabled also to make use of the unpublished photograph (pl. viii) and the illustrations in the Εφ. Αρχ. loc. cit.
4 'Ἀγ Λίας = Αγίας Ηλιας.'
The altar of Zeus forms the apex of Ἀε Λιάσ. It is circular in shape and flat like a threshing-floor, measuring 97 ft 6 ins. across. It is composed mainly of the remains of sacrifices, the rock being covered to a depth of 5 ft with a layer of ashes etc. In this layer are numerous bones, mostly those of small animals, but also of oxen and pigs: no human bones were recognised. All the bones had been burnt. Among the débris are large charred stones at irregular intervals, lying singly or gathered together in small heaps. These served to prevent the ashes from being blown away from the exposed and wind-swept height\(^1\). Small fragments of φθιάλαι and σκύφοι dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found in the sacrificial stratum, also two small κοτύλισκοι, sundry portions of lamps, chips of roof-tiles—one inscribed \(\text{OE}1\) in lettering of the

---

\(^1\) Cp. Plin. \textit{nat. hist.} 2. 240 in Laciniae Iunonis am sub dia sita cinerem immobilem esse perflantibus undique procellis (quoted by Kourouniotis) and the evidence collected \textit{infra} p. 103 nn. 1—4, with regard to the summits of Olympus, Kyllene, and Athos.

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

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

The precinct, which occupies the level called Taberna, is approximately 180 ft broad by 400 ft long. It is marked out by a line of unworked stones, a boundary that men or beasts could easily cross. The earth here is blackish, but has no bones in it. Kourouniotes believes that the discoloration is due to the blood of animals slain as it were on the prothesis before they were burnt on the altar. Perhaps a geologist or an analytical chemist could supply a less gruesome explanation. In the soil of the precinct were found fragments of roof-tiles, part of an iron chain, a large key, a grave decorated with swans and serpents in relief and inscribed ΠΔΑΣΑΝΗ ... ΔΑΙΑΣΑΝΗ, a bronze statuette-base, and two bronze statuettes. One of these was a bearded Hermes (c. 490—470 B.C.) in chitoniskos, chlamys, pholos, and winged boots; the other a later figure, probably of the same god, with chlamys and petases.

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

1 *Eph. Arch. 1904 p. 159 fig. 1.
2 Kourouniotes restores [E 나는]άλλας αὐτῷ βραχίων τῆς Λυκαίας Δί καὶ τῇ Ἀθήναι.
4 Supra p. 66 n. 1.
5 *Eph. Arch. 1904 p. 173 fig. 7, cp. pl. 8, 1.
6 Paus. 8. 38. 7 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βιοῦ κόινος δύο οἱ ἐπὶ ἀνίσχωτα ἐπιπέδων ἦσαν, ἀποτελοῦσα ἐν' αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέδων τὰ γε ἕτερα ἕτερον τῷ παλαιότερον ἤπειρον.
7 Paus. 8. 50. 2 περιβάλλομεν δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς ταύτης λίθου καὶ λαθοῦν Λυκαίαν Δίος, τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἐντὸς οὗ εἶναι τὰ γέφυρα ἐφ' ἕνα ἐντὸς τῆς δή περιπέτεια, μικρὸν τὸ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τραπέζας δύο καὶ ἄνωτοι καὶ πρωτέως λου. 
The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*

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

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

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

---

1 In addition to the bronzes here described there were found two figures of Hermes, showing traces of Polykleitos' style ('*Eph.* 1904 p. 200 ff. figs. 10—11), another in the attitude of a runner (ib. p. 106 fig. 24), a coiled snake with two heads (ib. p. 211 fig. 27), and a votive *árrèha* (ib. p. 112 fig. 28). The fact that at least three, probably four, statuettes of Hermes were found in or near the precinct requires explanation. Was there a cult of Hermes on the spot? For the dedication of one deity in the temple of another see the careful collection of facts in W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 391 ff. Bat, as Miss Harrison has pointed out to me, T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1906* viii. 321 ff., ix. 25 ff. shows that the Hermes of the Hermetic cosmogony came to Kyrene from Arkadia. The remaining finds included ten engraved rings, one of bronze, the rest of iron.

2 'Eph. *APX* 1904 p. 183 figs. 8—10.

3 *M. M. 183* fig. 11.
The Precinct of Zeus Líkaios

exemplify a type current about 480 B.C., have been found at Olympia (fig. 53) and at Dodona (fig. 54).

Thirdly (fig. 55) we have Zeus seated squarely on a throne, which is now lost. His hair is long and falls over his back; his beard is pointed, and his lips are drawn up in the usual archaic expression. He wears a chiton with short sleeves, and a himation draped under his right arm and over his left shoulder. His feet, which are bare, rest on a footstool. Both arms are bent at the elbow, and both hands hold attributes. In the left is the lower half of a thunderbolt; in the right—not, as we should have expected, a sceptre—but a short rod with a knob at the bottom and a crook at the top closely resembling the Roman lituus, the direct ancestor of the pastoral staff still borne by our ecclesiastical hierarchy.

2 Olympia iv. 18 f. nos. 43—45 pl. 7, 43; 45, pl. 8, 44. See infra ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (A).
5 On the derivation of the pastoral staff from the lituus see the Rev. H. T. Armfield in Smith-Cleetham Dict. Chr. Ant. ii. 156 ff.

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

1 Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 839 ff.
2 E. Saglio in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 639 ff. A black-figured amphora shows Zeus enthroned with a crooked stick as sceptre (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii pl. 48, 2, 2 b).
3 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 187 lituus, id est regnum beaumen, in quo potestas esset dispensantium litus.
4 H. Thédenat in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1277 f. L. Siret in L'Anthropologie 1910 xxi. 222 was to connect it with neolithic axe-handles: he sees in its form and theirs the arm of a cuttle-fish.
6 Walde Lat. Aequ. Worterb. p. 345 derives lituus, Gothic lipur, Old High German lit, 'limb,' from a root *lit-t-, 'to crook, bend,' which with another determinative gives the Old Icelandic límr, 'limb,' him, 'branch,' and the Anglo-Saxon lim, 'limb, branch.'

On the royal sceptre as a conventionalised tree see Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 370 ff.
7 Supra p. 65; infra ch. ii § 9 (e) iii.
8 Supra p. 68. Specimens were found by Kourouniotes on Mt Lykaion.
9 The lituus is not elsewhere known as an attribute of Zeus. A bronze statuette found at Olympia shows him holding in his left hand a broken object, which ends below in a stem or knob. This Furtwängler Olympia iv. 17 pl. 7, 40, 40 a to be the handle of a sword: Kourouniotes would restore it as a lituus (see also Stais Marbes et Bronze: Athênes 2 p. 289 f. no. 6163).
A fourth figure, more clumsy in style, gives us Zeus standing on a square base. He is clothed in a long himation. In his clenched right hand he holds the remains of a thunderbolt; in his clenched left, no attribute at all (fig. 56).

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

The Cult of Zeus Lýkaioi at Kyrene.

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

1 Hdt. 4. 161 (Demonax of Mantinea, shortly after 550 B.C.), Polyb. 10. 22. 2 l. and Pout. v. Philop. 1 (Ekdomos and Demophanes, of Megalopolis, in the third century B.C.). See also Archiv. f. Kt. 1906 t. 42 n. 1.
Herodotus relates that the Persian army, on its return from the capture of Barke (512 B.C.), encamped upon the 'hill of Zeus Lýkaios' near Kyrene. This certainly implies a Cyrenaic cult of that deity. Moreover, Ludwig Müller pointed out that the figure of Zeus Lýkaios on the early silver coins of Arkadia (fig. 43) is reproduced on a gold staðer of Kyrene (fig. 58). Here too we see the god enthroned towards the left with a sceptre in his right hand, while an eagle flies directly towards him. Other specimens of the Cyrenaic staðer vary, as did the Arcadian coins, only with more freedom, the position of the eagle, which sometimes flies before Zeus with a snake in its talons, sometimes rests on the right hand of the god, sometimes perches behind him on a stem or branch curved like a litus (figs. 59, 60), and sometimes is absent altogether. The remarkable adjunct of the eagle on a litus-shaped branch cannot, so far as I know, be precisely paralleled.

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

1 Herodotus 4.103.
2 Cp. supra p. 68 f.
3 L. Müller Numismatiche der Ancienne Afrique Copenhagen 1860 i. 48 no. 184 fig. 184, ib. p. 67.
4 Id. ib. i. 49 no. 188, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 568 (cp. ib. pl. 91, i).
5 L. Müller op. cit. i. 190, Supplément p. 9 pl. 1, 190, Bondurant Sale Catalogue 1896 ii. 95 no. 717, Montagu Sale Catalogue 1896 i. 104 no. 801 pl. 10.
6 L. Müller op. cit. i. 49 nos. 185—187 fig. 185 (my fig. 59). Fig. 60 is from a specimen in the British Museum.

In the Montagu Sale Catalogue 1896 i. 104 no. 799 pl. 10 the bird appears to be seated on a rock. Cp. O'Hagan Sale Catalogue 1904 pl. 19 no. 786 (i).
7 L. Müller op. cit. i. 49 no. 189 fig. 189.
8 Lit. 63, b.
pose of Zeus in the Parthenon frieze (fig. 64). It is, therefore, highly probable that the cult-statue of Zeus Lykaios existing at Kyrene in the period to which the gold coins belong was the work, if not of Pheidias himself, at least of some sculptor much under his influence. If further evidence be required, one may point to the fact that in a temple of Helios and Selene at Byzantion there was preserved as late as the eleventh century a white marble statue of Zeus ascribed to Pheidias, of which we are told that it 'seemed to be seated on a sofa.' Whether the product of Pheidian art or not, Zeus at Kyrene reclined on his throne in an attitude of unusual repose. This, if I am not mistaken, earned for him the curious sobriquet of Elinymenos, Zeus 'Taking his Siesta.'

(f) Zeus Lykaios on a Spartan ('Cyrenaic') Kylix.

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

---

2 Kedren. hist. comp. 321 c (i. 567 Bekker) ἄτεχεν τ' ἐπὶ τὸς γῆς ἄνδρα Ἀθηναίων ἵππου· Ἣκος τ' ἐν ὄνομα ἡμίπεδα ἄρειαν. Cp. Montfaucon Antiquités Expliquées trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 19 pl. 10 no. 6 after Bartoli-Belloni Adm. Rom. ant. pl. 27. L. Müller op. cit. i. 67 f. regards the lituus-shaped branch of the Cyrenaic coins as a vine-shoot, and conjectures that Zeus Δίας κατῴκησει not only 'le dieu qui repose' but also the god 'of the Vine-shoot.' (cf. mag. p. 339, 39 f. ἀρέαν...τὸν κάδον τῷ πτερύγιῳ). But the epithet is obviously a participle.

The subject cannot here be discussed in detail. But we must bear in mind that Sparta, as the mother of Thera, was the grandmother of Kyrene. It would not therefore be surprising to find that a ware originating in Sparta was made at Kyrene also. And this seems on the whole to be the simplest assumption in the case of the Arkadian-kýlix (De Rudder Cat. Vases de la Biblioth. Nat. i. 98 ff. no. 189). See J. R. Wheeler A Handbook of Greek Archaeology New York etc. 1909 p. 458 f. 1.

---

Another 'Cyrenaic' kýlix, now in the Royal Museum at Cassel, shows a male figure enthroned in conversation with Hermes (fig. 66). It is at first sight tempting to regard this too as a representation of Zeus Lykaios, in whose precinct sanctuaries of Hermes were
Zeus Lykaios on a Spartan Kylix

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

1 Sagra p. 83.
2 fabbr. etc. loc. cit.
3 Jahn Vasenamml. München p. 229 l. no. 737; Arch. Zeit. 1881 xxxii pl. 13. 5; F. Studniczka op. cit. p. 8 fig. 3.

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

The animal supporting the throne has been variously interpreted as a hare (O. Jahn loc. cit.) or a dog (A. Dumont—E. Pottier Les céramiques de la Grèce proche Paris 1884 i. 301; Reinach Rép. Vas. i. 134).

4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vas. i. 51 no. B 6 (Apollo? and Kyrene), Studniczka op. cit. p. 73 fig. 18 (Apolon or Aristaios? or Battos?? and Kyrene) and in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1729 (Battos and Kyrene).

Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb

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

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

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

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

---

Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb

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

3 Id. ib. p. 181.
4 Caes. de bel. Gall. 6. 18.
5 Drawn from a cast of the bronze found in Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme) and now in the Museum at Avignon (Reinach op. cit. p. 141 no. 146, Rép. Stat. ii. 21 no. 8). Another fine specimen from Vienne (Isère) is in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 142 no. 788, Gr. Arch. 1887 xili. 178 pl. 16).
7 G. Conesabile Picturae murariae e suppeditatibus eiusmodi scoperte presso Orvieto nel 1863 da Donn. Gobetti Firenze 1866 pl. 11, Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1867 f.
9 W. H. Roscher in the Ath. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 44 ff., 60 f. compares Lykas the hero of Temesa, who was 'horribly black' and wore a wolf-skin (Paus. 6. 6. 11) and Lykos the hero of Athens, who had the form of a wolf (Eratosth. op. Harpocr. s.v. δειμνων, alib.), arguing that in Greece as elsewhere 'die Todengeister Wolfs-geist annehmen.' A gold pendant seal of the sixth century B.C. from Kypros shows a male figure with the head and tail of a wolf thrusting a sword through a panther or lion (Brit. Mus. Cat. jewellery p. 167 no. 1599 fig. 49 pl. 16). Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. p. 80 n. 1 recognises as Thanatos a winged youth with a wolf-skin or dog-skin cap, who carries off a girl on an Attic statuette-vase belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C. (Ath. Mitth. 1881 vii. 381 ff. pl. 11). A beardless head wearing a wolf-skin occurs on a copper coin of Sinope (H. Dressel in the Zeit. für Num. 1898 xii. 218 pl. 5. 6, Waddington-Elbel-Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Mon. ii. 190 pl. 26. 13); but this, to judge from a copper coin of Amisos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc. xvi. 20 pl. 4. 3, Head Hist. num. p. 497 (Amazons Lykastis?): Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 45 pl. 3. 20), is probably female. Furtwängler loc. cit. interprets