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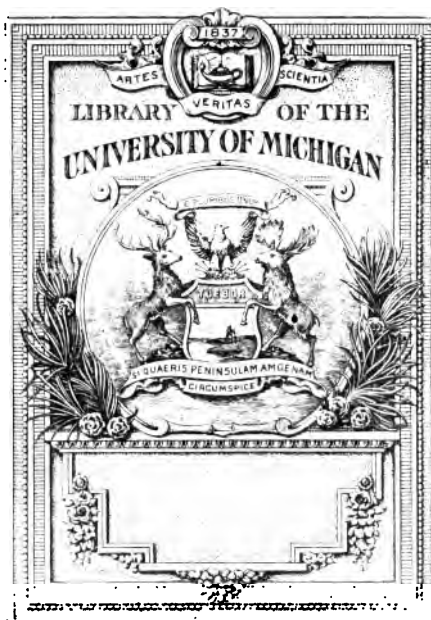
Cretan Elements in the Cults and
Ritual of Apollo

BY

MARY HAMILTON SWINDLER

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, March, 1913

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Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo

A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

MARY HAMILTON SWINDLER

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations have been used:

- A. J. A.—American Journal of Archæology.
- A. J. P.—American Journal of Philology.
- Arch. Anz.—Archäologischer Anzeiger.
- Arch. f. Rel.—Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
- Ath. Mitth.—Athenische Mittheilungen.
- B. C. H.—Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
- B. P. W.—Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.
- B. S. A.—Annual of the British School at Athens.
- C. B.—Collitz-Bechtel, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
- C. I. G.—Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
- C. R.—Classical Review.
- I. G.—Inscriptiones Græcæ.
- J. H. S.—Journal of Hellenic Studies.
- Mon. Ant.—Monumenti Antichi.
- M. T. and P. C.—Evans, Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult.
- P. W.—Pauly-Wissowa.
- Phil.—Philologus.
- Rh. M.—Rheinisches Museum.

I. INTRODUCTION.

Recent excavations in Crete have placed in the forefront of Hellenic study the problem of determining what influences survived from the old Aegean religion in Hellenic worship. This debt which Greece owed to Crete is one that the ancients themselves recognized. Although the writers who mention this point did not have as an aid the monumental evidence which we possess, their testimony proves that myths and traditions survived in their time which recalled Cretan influence in religion no less than in institutions, laws, and art. Diodorus Siculus records the boast of the Cretans that most of the gods worshipped among men went from Crete to other lands, citing in particular, Zeus, Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis and Apollo¹; he notes also the claim that the mysteries had their origin among them and were communicated to Greece through their agency.² The Cretans undoubtedly overstated the case, even where the Greek gods are concerned. It is, however, undeniable that a certain element of truth lurks behind many of these traditions.

In the first place, it can be shown that Crete contributed to Greece the worship of certain deities and the use of certain rites

¹ Diod. Sic. V, 64, 2 καὶ τῶν θεῶν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους μυθολογοῦσι [οἱ τὴν Κρήτην κατοικοῦντες] παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τοὺς διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας τυχόντας ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. V, 77, 4. τῶν γὰρ θεῶν φασὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ὀρμηθέντας ἐπιέναι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, εὐεργετοῦντας τὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων. . . . Δῆμητραν . . . ὁμοίως δ' Ἀφροδίτην . . . ὥσαύτως δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα πλείστον χρόνον φανῆναι περὶ Δήλον καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Δελφοῦς, τὴν δ' Ἄρτεμιν περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον καὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐτι δὲ τὴν Περσίδα καὶ τὴν Κρήτην. διόπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἢ πράξεων τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις συντελεσθεισῶν τὸν μὲν Δῆλον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ Πύθιον ὀνομάζεσθαι, τὴν δ' Ἐφεσίαν καὶ Κρησίαν ἐτι δὲ Ταυροπόλον καὶ Περσίαν, ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Κρήτῃ γεγεννημένων.

² Diod. Sic. V, 77, 3 τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελετὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδοῦσθαι, λέγοντες, τοῦτο φέρουσιν, ὡς οἴονται μέγιστον τεκμήριον τὴν τε γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἑλενσίῳ γινομένην τελετὴν, . . . καὶ τὴν ἐν θράκῃ . . . μυστικῶς παραδίδοσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσὶ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερώς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παραδιδόμενα, παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲνα κρύπτειν τῶν βουλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. Strabo, 481 ff.

which seem to have been Cretan in character or to have reached their full development in Crete. Closely associated with the ritual and worship of other deities and sometimes inextricably woven with them, are elements which point to Egypt or Phrygia and reveal Crete as the medium through which Southern and Eastern influence was passed on to Greece. In this connection, it may be said that Crete doubtless received and transmitted elements from the Hittites in Asia Minor, but the full extent of this influence cannot as yet be determined.³ Crete was thus the "stepping stone" to Greece, from Egypt and the mainland, for religion as well as for civilisation in general. In yet another sense Crete may be regarded as the cradle of Greek religion, in that Greece grafted many Greek gods and rites on the Aegean religion. A noteworthy example of this practice is the god Zeus, whom the Northerners represented in their myth and ritual as born of the Cretan mother-goddess in her cave.⁴

However, in the handling of material concerned with primitive worship and religious rites, a certain care must be exercised not to attribute to one origin, elements which were common to many early peoples. For example, we must reckon with the view that goddess-worship was an aboriginal Aryan heritage and that many goddesses with fixed character may have accompanied the Hellenic migrations from the North. Crete, therefore, was not necessarily the home of the Hellenic earth-goddesses of later times. On the other hand, it is very probable that there is much that is Cretan in the religion of later times to which we cannot definitely give the name Cretan. In the renaissance of civilisation which resulted after the migra-

³ D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, 1909, 30, 36, 68, 101; Aly, Phil. 1912, 462, warns that Phrygian evidence in Crete must be used circumspectly.

⁴ The reconciliation of the older stratum of religion with the Olympic is mirrored in many myths:

1. Birth of Zeus in Crete.
2. Contest between Titans and Olympians.
3. Apollo's complaint of Chthonian powers (Eur., *I. T.* 1270).
4. *Ἰερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera (Diod. Sic. V, 72).

tions, from the contact of aboriginals with alien peoples, much that was latent and pre-Hellenic came to the surface and determined in no small measure the religious and political ideas of Greece.⁵

It must further be borne in mind that by Cretan elements we understand those Minoan and Mycenaean cults and ritualistic accompaniments of cult which had their origin or development among the Aegean peoples. These peoples settled in Crete and on the mainland before the coming of the Greeks; we shall have occasion later to notice who they were.

The greatest contribution from Crete to Greece was the worship of the great mother-goddess. Whether we are inclined to regard her, with Evans, as the aboriginal deity worshipped in the Aegean and all later Hellenic goddesses as mere variant forms of her, or hold with Farnell that she was "but the prototype of the Hellenic Mother of the Gods,"⁶ her influence on the cults of Greece must be considered vital in its significance. Her worship seems to have been orgiastic in character and concerned with the mysteries of life and death. The religion of Orpheus appears to have been another important contribution from Crete. Orpheus is said to have learned his ritual in Egypt⁷ and unquestionably his followers were open to Egyptian influence from an early date and might borrow elements from Egypt if they chose.⁸ The Orphic Mysteries however, probably reached their full development in Crete in connection with the orgiastic worship of the mother-goddess and her son.⁹ Thence they passed to Greece by the island route. They contained certain elements essentially Cretan, for example, the *Omophagia*, or feast of raw flesh, through which communion with the deity was brought about. It has also been

⁵ Hogarth, *op. c.*, 39.

⁶ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III (1907), 297. Cf. Radet, *Cybèbé*, Bordeaux, 1909, on the identification of these earth-goddesses.

⁷ Diod. Sic. IV, 25.

⁸ Farnell, *op. c.*, V (1909), 171.

⁹ Farnell, *op. c.*, V (1909), 117; Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, 1908, 459, 567.

pointed out that Demeter and her Mystic Marriage probably came from Crete.¹⁰

Early intercourse between Phrygia and Crete brought from Asia Minor in prehistoric, pre-Hellenic times the worship of the Thrako-Phrygian Dionysos, and this fact probably accounts for the prominent position of the "Son" beside the Earth-Mother.¹¹ The legend and rites of Zagreus (the mystery form of Dionysos) were considered essentially Cretan,¹² but both Phrygian and Egyptian influence may be traced in his cult. In many respects Zagreus recalls Osiris; like him he is torn limb from limb, his heart is hid in the mystic chest and he is later brought to life again. That Osiris and Isis came into Crete and Attica in the prehistoric era and were assimilated with Dionysos and Demeter is the plausible conclusion of an investigation by Foucart.¹³ Excavations at Eleusis¹⁴ appear to strengthen the theory that the Eleusinia were an Egyptian importation reaching Greece through Crete, the half-way station.

Mention has already been made of the grafting of the worship of Zeus on that of the Minoan earth-goddess. Another Olympian who early appropriated Cretan cults and elements to his worship, was Apollo. Research in Crete has not yet shown how the change from Minoan to Hellenic civilisation affected the cults of the island, or how the Apolline worship was grafted on that of the Minoan divinities. Until the Cretan script has been deciphered, our knowledge of Minoan religion must necessarily be incomplete. In the present state of our evidence, absolute proof of a Cretan origin for certain of these elements cannot always be given, but the trend of the evidence can be indicated. The various cults and ritualistic elements

¹⁰ Harrison, *op. c.*, 564, *Homeric Hymn ad Cer.* 123; *Odyss.* V, 125; Hes., *Theog.* 969; Theocr., *Id.* III, 50.

¹¹ Farnell, *op. c.*, V, 116-17.

¹² Diod. Sic. V, 75, 4.

¹³ P. Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, Mém. Acad. des Inscr. XXXVII (1904); Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, 1911, 77 (Tr.).

¹⁴ *Ep. 'Apχ.* (1898), 108, 120, Pl. VI

taken over from Crete and fused into the worship of Apollo may, however, be traced with some assurance. The purpose of this investigation is to indicate the important part played by Crete in the early development of the worship of Apollo—a god whose name is woven into a great number of Cretan myths and whose Cretan associations are more numerous than those of any other Olympian, Zeus excepted.

The origin of Apollo worship is still a mooted question and one that cannot well be solved according to any existing evidence. Diodorus mentions the fact that the Cretans claimed the god.¹⁶ In Homer he bears the epithet *Λυκηγενής*¹⁷ which was interpreted, "Lycian born." Modern scholars for the most part argue in favor of a Greek origin, inasmuch as he was common to all Greek stocks. Several authorities of note, however, oppose this view. Wilamowitz explains his cult and name as belonging to Asia Minor (Lycia).¹⁸ He observes that in Homer, Apollo is throughout hostile to the Greeks, greatly as they honor him; that the name of his mother Leto, is connected with the Lycian "*lada*," 'woman,' and he himself is addressed as *Λητοῖδης*, following the Lycian custom of calling the children by the mother's name.¹⁹ Apollo thus becomes a pre-Hellenic god of Asia Minor and the islands, whose acquaintance the Greeks made in Asia Minor, whom they adopted under his non-Greek name and whose cult they developed through centuries at Delphi. From Delphi, his worship was spread by the Dorians. Wilamowitz's theory is accepted by Nilsson, who remarks that the great religions came to Greece from without and that the religion of Apollo was no exception. He would derive the god ultimately from Babylon as a luni-solar divinity, making Asia Minor a stage in the journey to

¹⁶ Diod. V, 77. 8.

¹⁷ Hom., *Il.* IV, 101, 119.

¹⁸ Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 575. and *Greek Historical Writing and Apollo*, Oxford, 1908; *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen, Kultur der Gegenwart*, II, IV, 1, 33; Hommel, *Grundr. der Geogr. u. Gesch. der alten Orient*; M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1906, 104-5; Arch. f. Rel. (1911), 423; "*Die Älteste Gr. Zeitrechnung, Apollo u. der Orient*."

¹⁹ Hdt. I, 173. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895, 94.

Greece. More recently, A. L. Frothingham¹⁹ has stated that the origin of the cult was to be found in Crete, but it is difficult to understand from the passage in question where he would localize it. Starting with Wilamowitz's conclusion that Apollo had his origin in Lycia, Aly²⁰ develops the hypothesis that if Apollo was born in Lycia, he must have passed *via* Crete to Greece because of the proximity and early relations of the island with Greece. He concludes that Crete has nothing connected with Apollo which is really of great antiquity, but received its worship mainly from Delphi. The Eastern origin of the cult is thus left in great doubt, in his opinion. Eduard Meyer²¹ takes issue with Wilamowitz on the foreign origin of the name Apollo and considers the god a Greek deity common to all stocks. Even in the cult-formulas of Homer he is one of the principal Greek gods; he is a tribal god of the Dorians who were least influenced by Asia Minor. So close, in fact, are relations between the Dorian race and Apollo, that K. O. Müller²² declared him a god of the Dorians and gave the migrations of the Greek tribes before the Dorians no part in the spread of his worship. As evidence, the fact is cited that Arcadia, which was undisturbed by the Dorians, is practically lacking in independent Apollo cults. According to Farnell,²³ Apollo is 'Aryan' in origin, but his name is inexplicable. He came into Greece with invaders from the North. His cult may have emerged when the Greeks were in Thrace or may have belonged equally to Thracians and Greeks. According to Tomaschek's²⁴ theory, Thrace was his original home. This view was formerly accepted by Jane Harrison,²⁵ but has

¹⁹ A. L. Frothingham, *A. J. A.* XV (1911), 349 ff., "*Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother*."

²⁰ Wolf Aly, *Der Kretische Apollonkult*, Leipzig, 1908.

²¹ Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Berlin, I², 2 (1909), 639 ff.

²² K. O. Müller, *Die Dorianer*, 1830 (Tr.), I, 228. Against the view that Apollo was originally a Dorian god, cf. Wilamowitz, *Eur., Her.* I, 265.

²³ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 99 ff. (Apollo).

²⁴ Tomaschek, *Die Alten Thraker*, Wien, 1893, Sitzber. Phil. Hist. Kl.

²⁵ Harrison, *Proleg.* 1906, 463; cf. the same author in *Themis*, 1912, 436, "Tradition pointed on the one hand to the coming of Apollo from Crete, on the other from Delos."

apparently been abandoned by her in her latest discussion of the subject. Gilbert Murray²⁶ considers the god characteristically Northern, and although he has acquired many aboriginal characteristics, he remains "one of the two clearest gods of the Northerners." That the name of the god is Ionic, but that the original meaning of the name and the original character of the god are uncertain, is the conclusion reached by Gruppe.²⁷ Croiset emphasizes the difference between the Ionian religion of Apollo at Delos and the Dorian at Delphi, after stating that the religion of Apollo, whatever its origin, seems to have penetrated Greece from the North and East at once.²⁸ The different features of cult to be noted in the religion of the two centers has also been developed by Verrall.²⁹ Finally, one scholar, Schöne, has identified the god with Horus.³⁰

The theories in regard to the name³¹ of the god are as numerous as those concerned with his origin but none can be said to give us definite light on his original character.

An attempt to name the tribe in which the Apollo cult had its beginning can scarcely meet with success. The reasons for this are apparent. Although Apollo is a comparatively late comer into Greece, he stands out in Homer, almost in his full development, with a cosmopolitan character. He is essentially a migratory god,³² which seems to be one source of his great popularity. While he sojourned in the various lands to which he was "invited," he took over into his cult the local gods and oracles, and acquired new epithets. He is at home in Dorian Pytho and Ionian Delos; he has his place in almost all of the oracles

²⁶ Gilbert Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, 1911, 88; for a later view, cf. *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912, 69.

²⁷ O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, II (1906), 1224.

²⁸ M. Croiset, *Histoire de la Litt. Grec.* I (1896), 60.

²⁹ A. W. Verrall, *J. H. S.* XIV (1894), 1-24, "The Hymn to Apollo."

³⁰ J. Schöne: *Gr. Personennamen als Religionsgesch. Quelle*, Düsseldorf, 1906.

³¹ Enumerated by Gruppe, *op. c.*, II, 1224-5; cf. especially Usener, *Götternamen*, 304 ff., 'Ἀπο-πέλλος (vgl. Lat. *pellere*) > Ἀ(π)πέλλος > Ἀπίλλων, i. e. the 'Averter.'

³² Cf. his ἀποδημία in Lycia, among the Hypoboreans, etc.

on the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, and is especially bound to Lycia. The islands know him and northern Greece in particular bears witness to his worship. It is this pandemic character of Apollo and this tendency to appropriate foreign elements to his cult which render difficult the problem of determining his original character. The origin of his cult and the earliest elements contributed to it must for this reason remain problematic. Leaving aside the much discussed question of his home and the problem whether he was a god of flocks²³ or of seafaring²⁴ when he made his appearance in Greece, we shall pass to the various Cretan cults which he fused into his worship, considering later the cathartic and musical elements.

²³ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 123.

²⁴ Gruppe, *op. c.*, II, 1225.

II. CULTS FROM CRETE.

PYTHIOS.

It has been generally accepted that the Pythian cults in various parts of the Greek world had their origin in Delphi and that the Cretan worships belong to the prehistoric period of Hellenic migration.¹ If we adopt the view of Wilamowitz,² the Dorians must have transplanted the god to Crete immediately after their arrival in Delphi. The theory has recently been advanced, however, that the prevalence of the Cretan worship was "simply a case of return wave in historic times;" that the primitive Apollo-cult of pre-Delphic ages centered in Knossos, and that the Cretan worship was not derived from the Delphic.³ However that may be, there are several important points to be noted in connection with the cult of Apollo Pythios at Delphi. In the first place, the god was an invader at Pytho; the oracle was originally the possession of Gaia, the earth-goddess.⁴ The Python which guarded the shrine and was slain by Apollo, was her chthonian symbol. The method of divination was ecstatic, a type which may have belonged to Apollo, but seems less suited to his sober character than other methods found in Homer. The organ of prophecy was always a woman who performed in preparation for her task, certain rites which consisted of chewing leaves of laurel and drinking from an underground spring. Farnell, who has touched on the points mentioned, has suggested that it was especially alien to the character of Apollo to draw inspiration from an under-

¹ P. W. IV, 2527, *s. v. Delphoi* (H. von Gärtringen), on the name Πυθιος, from Πυθώ 'place of enquiry'; Meister, *Dorier u. Achäer*, 79 (*Abh. d. Sächs. Ges., Phil. Hist. Kl.*, 1906),—Πύριος in Crete; K. O. Müller, *Dorier* (Tr.) I, Ch. 2, § 1 and 2, seems to consider the name aboriginal; Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 218, 223.

² Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, Berlin, 1895, I, 14-16; *Hermes*, XXXVIII (1903), 580.

³ A. L. Frothingham, *A. J. A.* XV, 349 ff.

⁴ Aesch., *Eum.*, 1 ff; Paus. X, 5, 5; Eur., *I. T.* 1259; Apollod., *Bibl.* I, 4; Suidas, *s. v. Πυθώ*; Paus. X, 24, 7; Plut., *De Pyth. Or.*, 397 A.

world source and that this practice had been inherited from the older system which he found at Delphi. For various reasons it appears that the divination was also chthonian and belonged to the older stratum of religion. The chthonian character of Pytho in general is very striking and is peculiarly foreign to the worship of Apollo. If, then, we accept the tradition of antiquity concerning the possession of the oracle, several points remain to be noted in connection with the original owner.

The suggestion has already been made that the Ge of Delphi and the Cretan earth-goddess are closely related.⁵ Very early relations between Delphi and Crete are confirmed by traces of a Minoan settlement at Pytho.⁶ If the Minoans were present there, they must have taken their deities with them, and the excavations in fact reveal the presence of Minoan religious emblems.⁷ It is of interest to note that the legends connected with the founding of the oracle seem to bear a Minoan stamp. It is said that goats pasturing on the hillside at Delphi were overcome by fumes issuing from a chasm nearby and began to skip about and utter strange sounds. The shepherd, noticing their behaviour, approached the spot. He also was overcome and in his enthusiasm began to utter prophecies.⁸ According

⁵ Hawes, *Gournia*, 53, "The Cretan goddess is undoubtedly the same as the Ge who was the earliest divinity at Delphi" (Williams); Farnell, *op. c.*, III, 8.

⁶ M. Perdrizet, "*Fouilles de Delphes*," Paris, V (1906), 3 ff.; Karo, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1911, 249-70. The stone lion's snout from Delphi attests a Knossian founding for the Delphic shrine, in this writer's opinion. Cf. Evans, *J. H. S.* 1912, 285.

⁷ Cf. double axe, *B. P. W.* 1896, 1086; *B. C. H.* XVIII (1894), 195; Perdrizet, *N. J.* XXI (1908), 22-33, *Die Hauptergebnisse der ausgrabungen in Delphi*.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XVI, 26 λέγεται γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν αἶγας εὐρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον. οὐ χάριν αἰεὶ μάλιστα χρηστηρίζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί . . . οὗτος χάσματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ, καθ' ὃν ἐστὶ νῦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἄδντον, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο γενομένων αἰγῶν διὰ τὸ μήπω κατοικεῖσθαι τοὺς Δελφοὺς, αἰεὶ τῷ χάσματι τὴν προσεῖσαν καὶ προσβλέψασαν αὐτῷ σκιρτᾶν θαυμαστῶς καὶ προιεσθαι φωνὴν διάφορον ἢ πρότερον εἰδῆναι φθέγγεσθαι. τὸν δ' ἐπιστατούντα ταῖς αἰεὶ θαυμάσαι τὸ παράδοξον, καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ χάσματι καὶ κατιδόντα οἰόνπερ ἦν ταῦτ' παθεῖν ταῖς αἰετίν. ἐκείνας τε γὰρ δυοῖα ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐνθουσιάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι . . . διὰ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον πάντων, ἀποπειρωμένων, τοὺς αἰεὶ πλησιάζοντας ἐνθουσιάζειν. δὲ' ἂς αἰτίας θαυμασθῆναι τε τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ νομισθῆναι τῆς Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον.

to Plutarch, the name of the shepherd was Koretas.⁹ This name has been connected etymologically with the Cretan Kuretes and has been used as an argument in favour of the Cretan origin of the Delphic oracle.¹⁰ Further, there appears to be an analogy between certain mantic rites at Pytho and Aegean cult ritual as depicted on rings and seals. We have evidence from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo¹¹ and from various other sources that a laurel tree grew within the *temenos* at Delphi, and Aristophanes in the *Plutus* mentions the shaking of this tree when the priestess gave forth the oracle.¹² Consonant with this is the legend that Daphnis was appointed first prophetess of the oracle which belonged to Ge.¹³ The laurel at Delphi, like the oak at Dodona, was probably once a prophetic tree. The statement of Pausanias allows us to infer this and the writer of the Homeric Hymn strongly suggests it.¹⁴ Now the important part which the sacred tree played in Minoan worship is well known.¹⁵ In a great number of instances where cult-scenes are represented, a sacred tree is seen growing from or beside the shrine, and in several cases it appears to be shaken in the performance of some orgiastic rite, sometimes by a male attendant. We have evidence that Crete was considered an important seat of divination in early times, but we cannot be certain that the scene depicted on the seals mentioned is concerned with divination. We know that the moon-goddess

⁹ Plut., *De Def. Or.* 42; 46 D.

¹⁰ Frazer, Paus. X, 5, 6, 7 n.

¹¹ *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.* 396 *χρεῖων ἐκ δάφνης γνάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο*; Callim., *Hymn ad Del.* 94, *ἀλλ' ἐμπης ἐρέω τι τωρότερον ἢ ἀπὸ δάφνης*; Eur., *I. T.* 1246; Hes., *Theog.* 499.

¹² Ar., *Plut.* 212 *ἐχω τιν' ἀγαθὴν ἐλπιδ' ἐξ ὧν εἰπέ μοι.*

ὁ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην.

Schol. *ib.* *φασὶν ὡς πλησίον τοῦ τρίποδος δάφνη ἵστατο ἣν ἡ Πυθία, ἥνικα ἐχρησμάδει, ἐσεισεν.* Cf. Aristonoos, *Paean*, 10 ff. *χλωρότομον δάφναν σείων*, "where the adjective implies that a cut branch was shaken."

¹³ Paus. X, 5, 5.

¹⁴ *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.* 396; Pap. Anast. 5, XLVII, Br. Mus.: *δάφνη μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος.*

¹⁵ A. J. Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *J. H. S.* 1901, 99, *passim.*

Pasiphæe, who was a Cretan divinity, had important oracles,¹⁶ and Aristotle hands down the tradition that Onomakritos the Locrian, the teacher of Thaletas, visited in Crete, *κατὰ τέχνην μαντικὴν*. Many connecting links in the analogy are lacking and the similarity cannot be pressed. The part played by the sacred tree is nevertheless strongly suggestive of a connection between the two religious centers. Savignoni suggests that the scene on a ring from Phaistos, described below, may be concerned with divination, and mentions Dodona in connection with the representation of the dove.¹⁷ Further evidence may be hoped for to support the theory that the Ge worshipped at Delphi, the shadowy Dione of Dodona and the Cretan earth goddess are deities akin and worshipped by a kindred people. That there were enthusiastic rites both at Crete and Delphi in the worship of the earth goddess, is apparent. Diodorus expressly states that the oracle at Delphi was considered to be a possession of Ge because of the enthusiastic prophecy of those who came near the chasm. We have evidence that the worship of Zeus in Crete began *μετ' ὀργιασμοῦ*,¹⁸ and the seals frequently depict orgiastic scenes; we learn from inscriptions that in their ecstasy the votaries of the Magna Mater at Phaistos might prophesy. Most of the oracles of Apollo in which divination

¹⁶ Plut., *Agis*. καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα, Πασίφειαν προσαγορεύεσθαι. (In Sparta, Tertullian, *De. An.* 46; Cic., *De. Div.* I, 43. Plut., *Cleom.*). On prophecy in the service of the Great Mother at Phaistos, Crete, Farnell, *op. c.*, III, 297. Cf. Photius, *Κρητικά*. μαντεῖς ἀπὸ Κρήτης. Aristotle, *Polit.* 1274 a, 25 ff.

¹⁷ *Mon. Ant.* XIV (1905), 577 ff., fig. 50. At the r. of the scene, a nude woman shakes a sacred tree; in the center, a man kneels before a baetyl stone; at the l. is an altar and a dove flying to the r. (Ring from Phaistos). Cf., also, Evans, *M. T. and P. C.* 176, fig. 52; 177, fig. 53 (Rings from Vaphio and Mycenae, resp.). Evans interprets the scene as a representation of the partaking of the fruit of the sacred tree, which constituted an act of divine communion (cf. the chewing of the laurel by the priestess at Delphi. (Luc. Bis. Acc. I). Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.*, l. c., 585. Cf. Karo, *Arch. f. Rel.* 1904, 134, citing Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, Paris, 1878, 100, 4. It is not chance that in Dodona Zeus Νάιος is designated by a double axe, Dione by the dove, just as the deities in Knossos. The two centers were closely connected and their gods may be intimately associated. Farnell, *op. c.*, I, 39.

¹⁸ Strabo, 468.

was accompanied by ecstatic inspiration, were in some way connected with an earth goddess.¹⁹ Finally, the goats which discovered the oracle at Delphi were not Apollo's, but designate a chthonian power. They were peculiarly sacred, and were mentioned by Diodorus as the favorite victim used in his time when the oracle was consulted. They were never in a special sense the animal attribute of Apollo as was the wolf, for example, in the cult Lykeios. In Naxos, the god was worshipped as *Τράγιος* but the cult may easily have been a local worship taken over by him.²⁰ Nor does it appear that his office of goat-herd or god of shepherds would have necessarily caused this animal to become closely associated with the Delphic oracle.²¹ So important a part did the goat play in the ritual at Delphi that the priestess did not descend into the cavern unless the omen derived from its action was favorable. The priestess was accustomed to pour cold water on the animal's head and if it shook in every limb it was possessed by the deity, and the omen permitted her to perform her task. We have noted above the part played by goats in the legends concerned with the foundation of the oracle. The goat gave its name to the Delphic Omphalos, which was called the *Ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος*.²² The nurse of the Python at Delphi was known as *Αἴξ*.²³ Further, there was a river and a plain near Delphi both of which bore

¹⁹ Cf. Euseb., *Praep. Ev.* V, 16 (Porphyry, *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*).
 μύρια μὲν γαίης μαντήια θέσκελα νύτῳ
 ἐβλύσθη, πηγαί τε καὶ ὄσθια ματα δινθέντα
 μόνιν δ' ἡελίῳ φαεσιμβρότῳ εἰσέτ' ἔασιν
 ἐν Δινδύμων γνάλοις Μυκαλήϊον ἔνθεον ὕδωρ,
 Πύθωνος τ' ἀνὰ πέζαν ὑπαὶ Παρνάσιον αἶπος,
 καὶ κραναή Κλαρίη, τρηχὺ στόμα φοιβάδος ὁμφῆς.

At Argos, *B. C. H.* 1903, 271.

²⁰ Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Τραγία*.

²¹ Diod. XVI, 26, cited above. On Apollo's relation to goats, Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1869, 100; Farnell, *op. c.*, I, 96 ff.

²² Hesych. *s. v.* *Ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγός*. *ζητεῖται πῶς τὴν Πυθῶ, ὀμφαλὸν Αἰγαῖον. τινὲς δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγαίων γῆς*. Cf. *B. C. H.* XXIV (1900), 254, where Jane Harrison sets forth the theory that the Omphalos was covered with a goat-skin. The goat-skin was worn by soothsayers.

²³ Plut., *Quaest. Gr.*, 12.

the name Aigaion.²⁴ The offering of a goat sent by Eleusis to Delphi probably preserves an ancient tradition.²⁵ The people of Kleonai are known to have sent a bronze goat as a mark of gratitude for their deliverance from a plague.²⁶ The coinage of Delphi in later times doubtless contained a reminiscence of the important part played by this animal in the early history of the oracle, as the goat's head appears on coins in combination with a dolphin.²⁷

Comparing the evidence at Delphi with what we find in Crete, we discover many points of contact. Rhea concealed Zeus at his birth on Mt. Aigaion,²⁸ where he was nurtured by the goat Amaltheia, a goddess of fertility belonging to Crete,²⁹ represented under both the likeness of a goddess and that of an animal. In return for his nurture, Zeus assigned special honors to Amaltheia and took from her the epithet *αἰγίοχος*. From her, he received his ægis and from the same source Apollo probably received his, although he has lost this attribute of Epic times after the Homeric age. Lastly, the people of Elyros in Crete sent to Delphi a statue of a bronze goat suckling the two children of Apollo by the Cretan nymph Akakallis.³⁰ In fact, the importance which this animal had in Minoan cults is to be seen from the numerous seals on which a priestess is represented holding a goat by the neck.³¹ The goat also appears on the coinage of Crete.

When to this we add the fact that there was a Korycian hill in

²⁴ Steph. Byz. s. v. Αἰγά. ἔστι καὶ Αἰγαῖον πεδῖον συνάπττον τῇ Κίρρῃ ὡς Ἡσιόδοτος (Fr. 42) λέγεται παρὰ Αἰγῶν ποταμὸν φερόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πύθιον ὄρους ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον Αἰγαῖον. Eustath. on Dionys. Per. 132.

²⁵ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, 99, ἐβδόμη ἱσταμένην Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ αἰξ.

²⁶ Paus. X, 11, 5.

²⁷ Head, *H. N.* 1911, 340-2; Svoronos, *B. C. H.* XX (1896), 8, Pl. XXV-XXX.

²⁸ Hes., *Theog.* 484.

²⁹ E. Neustadt, *De Jove Cretico*, 1906; Diod. V, 70; *Il.* XV, 229; Schol., *Il.* XXI, 194. (The goddess is a sibyl in later times.)

³⁰ Paus. X, 16, 5.

³¹ Reichel, *V. G.* 1897, 59. Figg. 20, 22, 3 (gems from Vaphio). Seals with goats were found in large numbers in Dikte and at Zakro. Hogarth, *B. S. A.* VI, 112; *J. H. S.* 1902, Pl. VI-IX; Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, 1890.

Crete, and a cave of that name at Delphi on Mt. Parnassus, that there was a Knossian "plain of the Omphalos" which can scarcely be separated from the Delphic Omphalos, it is evident that these associations in their entirety form a very strong bond between the two centers.²² We have left out of account minor associations, such as the fact that the stone which Kronos swallowed in place of Zeus was later set up in Delphi,²³ thus connecting the Cretan legend of the birth of Zeus directly with Delphi. Further the Omphalos itself is thought to be an imitation of a Cretan cult form.²⁴ The building of the second temple at Delphi was assigned to Pteras, the eponymous hero of Cretan Aptera²⁵ and it was also said that the Cretans set up in Delphi a statue of aniconic type which was the work of the Cretan Daedalus.²⁶ It was to Crete that Apollo repaired for purification after slaying the snake which guarded Pytho. To Crete, the legends of the Hypoborean Agyieus point.²⁷

This wealth of cross references connecting Crete with Delphi is not without significance. Several conclusions may be drawn from the evidence cited above. The first is that the laurel and goats were connected with the oracle before Apollo assumed the ownership of this religious center.²⁸ Both were possessions of the earth goddess, and were connected with her chthonian oracle. From her also, the Pythian priestess drew her ecstatic inspiration. It will thus be seen that Apollo at his advent into Delphi, already a god of divination,²⁹ appropriated to his worship a chthonian oracle, Cretan in origin, or influenced by Cretans at a remote date. We shall notice later that the cathartic

²² Steph. Byz. s. v. Κωρίκιον, 402, 8; Callim., *Hymn in Iov.* 45; Diod. V, 70.

²³ Paus. X, 24, 6; Hes., *Theog.* 499.

²⁴ Gruppe. *op. c.*, I, 103.

²⁵ Paus. X, 5, 10.

²⁶ Pind., *Pyth.* V, 39 ff.

²⁷ Paus. X, 7, 2; X, 5, 8-11.

²⁸ M. B. Ogle, *A. J. P.* XXXI (1910), 287 ff. "Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folk Lore."

²⁹ Cf. Korope in Thessaly; *χρηστήριος*, in Aeolis, *Ath. Mitth.* X, 273; *B. C. H.* X (1886), 293; Strabo, 622.

elements which entered into the Delphic cult may be traced to Crete, and that the cult of Apollo Delphinios at Krisa was derived from this island. The Pythian cult was thus enmeshed in Cretan traditions, which, far from being accidental legends, or inventions of Greek authors, prove that the oracle in its essence was derived from Crete. The fact that Apollo brought from Crete⁴⁰ the priests who interpreted his oracle supplies another link in the chain of evidence.

⁴⁰ *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.* 388.

DELPHINIOS.

Since the etymological derivation of the word Delphinios is a disputed question, it should be stated at the outset that we accept the etymological explanation of the word which connects it with the root *Δελφ-* meaning "hollow," or "cavity," and ultimately with *Δελφ-ίς* "belly-fish" (cf. *Ἐλεύσις*—*Ἐλευσίνιος*), and reject the suggestion of Aly¹ that it is a patronymic form from Delphos, a shadowy eponymous ancestor of the *Δελφοί*. According to the etymological interpretation which we accept, the cult is that of the dolphin god; the name Delphi which superseded Homeric Pytho, is derived from Delphinios by a process of shortening.²

The origin of the cult of Apollo Delphinios has been disputed. Mommsen considered it Chalcidian,³ a view held

¹ Aly, *op. c.*, 18 ff. (cf. *Δελφίδιος* in Crete and Sparta).

² Kretschmer, *Gesch. d. Gr. Spr.* 421. Cf. Curtius, *Etym.*, 479; Prellwitz³, 110; L. Meyer I, 128; III, 256 (Meister, *Gr. Dial.* I, 118. Place named from *βελφοί*). The name of Delphi itself is comparatively late but it is not necessary for this reason to consider the introduction of the dolphin god post-Homeric.

³ Mommsen, *Heortologie*, 1864, 1.

originally by Wilamowitz,⁴ but later retracted; accepted, however, by Maass⁵ and Preller.⁶ Gruppe derives the god from the Philistine land in the Orient, which he maintains was the home of most of the gods of the old Cretan culture. He identifies him with the god Dagon⁷ and brings him westward by way of Crete. Hiller von Gärtringen⁸ holds that the Cretan Dorians brought the god along with Pythios from the North and developed him in Crete. Delphi has also been suggested as the starting place of the cult.⁹ On one thing most writers agree: the home of the god was not an inland community, but a litoral or island locality. On the strength of the evidence derived from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the origin of the cult has also been assigned to Crete.¹⁰

The evidence in favor of a Cretan origin is twofold. First and foremost is the proof from the localities in which Apollo Delphinios was worshipped. We know that in Crete he had an important cult at Knossos¹¹ and that valuable state records were deposited in the care of the god in his sacred precinct, or *Δελφίδιον*. The remaining cults of Crete were probably subordinate in importance to that of Knossos. In Dreros, an oath was taken by the *ἔφηβοι* to remain true to Knossos, and the gods invoked included Apollo Delphinios.¹² The month Del-

⁴ Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XXI, 91; *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), 575.

⁵ E. Maass, *Greifsw. Prog.* 1886-7, 16; *Hermes* XXIII, 71.

⁶ Preller, *Gr. Myth.* (4), I, 257, 4.

⁷ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Religionsgesch.* II, 1228.

⁸ P. W., IV, 2542, s. v. *Delphoi* (H. von Gärtringen).

⁹ Schömann, *Opusc.* I, 343; cf. P. W. II, 47, s. v. *Apollon*, (Wernicke) for cult localities.

¹⁰ Preller, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.* VI, 140; Farnell, *op. c.*, 146: Aly, *Klio*, 1911, 25 ff.

¹¹ *C. I. G.* II, 2554, 98; *B. C. H.* 1905, 205; Cauer, *Delect.* II, 121; *C. B.* 5155 = *Inscr. Magn.* 67, 8 (decree for two Magnesian ambassadors to be set up) *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπέλλωνος τῷ Δελφιδίῳ*. (Date, 200 B. C.—Kern). *C. B.* 5016, 20; *C. B.* 5150, 45; *C. B.* 5149, 12, arbitration of Knossos in a dispute between Latos and Olus (date, 102, Homolle, *B. C. H.* VII, 155); *C. B.* 5075, 49.

¹² *C. B.* 4952 a 21 (followed by Pythios); *Mus. Ital.* III, 659 C 31; cf. *Rh. M.* 1856, 393.

phinios is mentioned in one of the decrees of Olus.¹³ The god is indirectly proven for other localities¹⁴ and seems to have had an important cult in the island. A citation from the Anthology¹⁵ that Rhianos the Cretan called on Delphinios also has some bearing here, though the places mentioned by Stephanus as the home of Rhianos, can have no significance for the spreading of the worship of the god.

Of the cults outside Crete, a certain number show Cretan connections. The cult at Miletos¹⁶ appears to have been founded by Cretans.¹⁷ This city has been thought to be Delphic-Cretan in origin, which would imply very early migrations from Delphi eastward.¹⁸ The supporting evidence has been derived from a passage in Conon¹⁹ in which this writer makes Branchos, the eponymous hero of the Branchidai, a Delphian. Strabo and Varro have followed him, but the version of Conon probably dates from a time when an effort was made to connect all important religious centers with Delphi because of its pre-eminence, and is therefore of little value. We have, however, had occasion to notice the presence of Cretans at Delphi at a very early period and it is possible that influence from Delphi was felt on the coast of Asia Minor before and during the period of the Ionic migration. Such a supposition would account for the Delphic-Cretan foundation of cities and shrines

¹³ C. B. 5149, 22 (Temple of Phoibos there). C. B. 5105—4th C. B. C. H. III, 293, 22.

¹⁴ Cf. Aly, *op. c.*, 15-16.

¹⁵ *Anth. Pal.* VI, 278, 3. (Fr. 9.) Cf. Steph. Byz. 167, 5, 'Απόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ.

¹⁶ Diog. Laert. (Thales) I, 29; θαλῆς Ἐξαμίον Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον. *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, 623; 1905, 540; C. B. 5495.

¹⁷ Strabo, 573; Strabo, 634; φησὶ δ' Ἐφορος τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης τετειχισμένον, ὅπου νῦν ἡ πάλαι Μιλήτος ἐστὶ, Σαρπηδόνης ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος οἰκήτορας καὶ θημένον τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκεῖ πόλεως ἐπώνυμον κατεχόντων πρότερον Δελέγων τὸν τόπον. Hdt. I, 157; Paus. VII, 2, 4: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰώνων ἐσοίκῃσιν; Paus. VII, 3, 1, Cretans found Kolophon.

¹⁸ K. O. Müller, *op. c.* (Tr.), I, 224 (I, 2, 2, § 6): Roscher, *s. v. Branchos*, (Weizsäcker).

¹⁹ Konon, *Narrat.* 33; Strabo, 421.

in Asia Minor. That the Cretans had their part in founding Miletos appears certain.*

Religious associations between Crete and Miletos, aside from the worship of Delphinios, are rather vague. Apollo *οὔλιος*, the health-god worshipped at Miletos, is found on the road which connected Crete, Attica and Delphi and Farnell²⁰ suspects traces of the influence of the Cretan Zeus in the worship of Zeus Dindymaios at Miletos. It was this city which transplanted the cult of Delphinios to the shores of the Black Sea.²¹ At Massilia the worship belonged to all Ionians, and the presence of Diktyнна there proves Cretan connections.²² The island cults may very readily have come from Crete as the god travelled thence to Athens and Asia Minor. At Thera, the worship is proved by an archaic inscription,²³ at Chios, by inscriptions and literary evidence²⁴ and we know that both of these localities were settled by Cretans. Aegina is known to have had a month Delphinios,²⁵ and to have celebrated a festival in honor of the god. The worship of Aphaia, the goddess who is Diktyнна under another name, was probably closely united here with that of Delphinios, as both were deities con-

* The evidence for the Cretan foundation of Miletos is now available, as a result of recent excavations. The *temenos* of Apollo Delphinios has also been uncovered. The god was honored with an altar, but with no *ναός*, or temple. The lack of any house for the god is an evidence of the remote antiquity of the cult, although it does not necessarily prove that the god came from Crete. For an account of the excavations, cf. Wiegand, *Siebenter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen Museen in Milet und Didyma unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, *Abh. d. K. Pr. Akad.*, Berlin, 1911.

²⁰ Cf. Farnell *op. c.*, IV, 227; Strabo, 635.

²¹ At Olbia: Latyschew, *Inscr. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux.* I, 106; *Arch. Anz.* 1904, 102 (4th C. Vase): Δελφινίου ξυνηΐτητροῦ.

²² Strabo, 179, 4, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκρᾷ . . . τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου, Ἀπόλλωνος κερὸν. τοῦτο μὲν κοινὸν Ἰώνων ἀπάντων. (Evidence pointing to Phocis.) Cult of Diktyнна, *C. I. G.* 6754.

²³ *I. G.* XII, 3, 330, 63, 133; 3, 537, καὶ τὸν Δελφίνιον (very archaic); *Ath. Mitth.* XXI (1896), 253.

²⁴ Schol. Demos. XXIII, § 74, Δελφινίου ἐστὶ μὲν τι χωρίον ἐν Χίῳ. *B. C. H.* 1879, 244 (4th C.) ἡ γῆ ἢ ἐν Δελφινίῳ, Thucyd. VIII, 38; Xen., *Hell.* I, 5, 15; Diod. XIII, 76; Steph., *Harpoc. s. v.*; Wilamowitz, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1906, 63, 75.

²⁵ Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* V, 81; Schol., *Ol.* VII, 156; Schol., *Pyth.* VIII, 88.

cerned with maritime interests, but the connection cannot be absolutely proved.²⁶

In Greece proper the dolphin god is vouched for at Athens, Chalcis, Oropos, Delphi and Sparta. At Athens the cult is intimately connected with Theseus and has other marked Ionic associations, showing how closely Athens and Crete were associated at this period.²⁷

From Athens it is probable that the cult of the god passed to the shores of Thessaly. He possessed a sanctuary at Chalcis²⁸ and gave his name to the harbor at Oropos.²⁹ At Sparta there was a cult Delphidios, but Apollo is not mentioned in this connection. Finally, there was an altar belonging to him on the shore of Krisa, where he was worshipped as Delphinios. Our earliest authority for the cult in this locality is the writer of the Homeric Hymn, who relates a story of Cretans from Knossos bound for sandy Pylos with their ships.³⁰ These men Apollo intercepted in their course, as a dolphin guided them to the shore of Krisa, bade them build there an altar for him and honor him as the dolphin god. Thence he led them to Pytho to become interpreters of his oracle. Several more legends are

²⁶ Plut., *De Soll. An.* XXXVI; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, München, 1906, 5, 8.

²⁷ Paus. I, 19, 1; Plut. Thes. 12; cf. *ib.* 18. *C. I. A.* 3, 138 *τυχὼν ὑγείας Δελφινίω*. Cf. *C. I. A.* 3, 939. On court Delphinion, Paus. I, 28, 10. Harpocr. *s. v.* *Δελφίνιον*.

²⁸ Plut., *Flamin.* 16 (Delphinion).

²⁹ Strabo, XI, 403, 'Ωρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον. *C. B.* 4465, Sparta; Le Bas-Foucart, 162 h.

³⁰ Hom., *Hymn ad Ap.* 388 ff.

καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐφράζετο Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων
οὓς τινας ἀνθρώπους ὀργίνας εἰσαγάγοιτο
οἱ θεραπεύσονται Πυθοὶ ἐνὶ πετρῆεσσι.
ταῦτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησ' ἐπὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ
νῆα θοήν. ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ἔσαν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί,
Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ Μινωίων, οἳ ρά τ' ἀνακτι
ἱερά τε μέζονσι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας
Φοίβου 'Απόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃ
χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο.
οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ πρῆξιν καὶ χρήματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ
ἔς Πύλον ἡμαῖόνετα Πυλογενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους
ἔπλεον. αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι συνήντετο Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων.
ἐν πόντῳ δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφίνι ἐοικῶς
νηὶ θοῇ καὶ κεῖτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινὸν τε.

extant, probably dependent on the Homeric Hymn, which derive from Crete the dolphin god at Krisa.²¹ From the evidence cited, several deductions may be drawn. The first is, that at least as early as the seventh century Delphi was bringing the priests of Apollo, *δρρεῶνες*, from Crete, and we see that this tradition is in keeping with later records, namely that the *δοιοι* at Delphi, whose duties are the same as those of the Cretan *δρρεῶνες*, were of aboriginal descent. The second deduction is, that the writer knew of the Knossian cult of the dolphin god and of Delphic associations with Crete in religion, especially in the case of the altar on the shore of Krisa. As to the date of the cult at Delphi, opinions vary. Aly would say that the foundation at Krisa is late in origin, inasmuch as it is based on the late and false etymological explanation which connects it with the "dolphin god."²² Farnell argues that the cult must be post-Homeric, because Homer nowhere mentions Delphi, but uses the name Pytho.²³ He finds no trace of the sacredness of the dolphin in the Mycenaean age, and considers the cult a later development emanating from Crete. We may, despite the absence of certain evidence, infer that the cult dates back to Minoan times. We know from Plutarch that Diktynna, the Cretan sea-goddess, and Delphinios, who is none other than her cult brother, were closely associated.²⁴ Further, the cult of Delphinios may have existed at Pytho for a long time before it gave its name to the place. Indeed Aly believes that Delphinios was an old 'Sondergott' of the Eteocretans, so named by Hellenic immigrants; that he traveled to Delphi and that his cult was there fused with that of Apollo. If we accept this view, it is possible that the dolphin god may have preceded

²¹ Cf. Et. Mag. 358, 57—Cretans saved and brought to Attica by Apollo in the form of a dolphin. Cf. Paus. X, 13, 10 (Phalanthus). Plut., *Mor.* 984, a rationalized account of the Homeric Hymn. Serv. Aen. III, 332, *Ikadios*.

²² Aly, *op. c.* 42, n. 4.

²³ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 186.

²⁴ Plut., *De Soll. An.*, l. c.; Diktynna, the cult companion of Delphinios, is associated on coins with the fish.

Apollo by a considerable margin of time. We have no proof of the sacredness of the dolphin in Minoan Crete, although the coinage of Crete in later times doubtless preserves some record of the cult associations of this animal. It is of interest in this connection to consider the passage in the Homeric Hymn which describes the arrival of the god in Krisa.²⁵ In the form of a dolphin, he has been guiding the Cretan ship to the shores of Krisa. When they arrive there, the god leaps from the vessel, ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος, and sparks of fire flash in every direction. The passage is said to be an imitation of the descent of Athena from Olympus, in *Iliad*. 4. 77.²⁶ Even if we should admit that this is the case, the manifestation of light is significant.

ἐνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε φλόγα δαΐε πιφαισκόμενος τὰ δ' αἰ κῆλα
πᾶσαν δὲ Κρίσην κάτεχεν σέλας.

The shafts of fire betoken a god of light with lunisolar connections. The description suggests to Gruppe, Zeus Asterios of the old Cretan culture.²⁷ We know that Diktynna, the cult companion of Delphinios, was a moon goddess in Crete and that Apollo Delphinios was frequently allied with Helios.

We see from the evidence presented that the cult of Delphinios points to Crete as its original home; the cult localities outside of Crete present Cretan connections and the writer of the Homeric Hymn vouches for the Cretan origin of the cult

²⁵ *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 438 ff.

ἐνθ' ἐκ νηὸς δρουνσεν ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσῳ ἡματι. τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πολλὰι
σπινθαριδὲς πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκεν.
ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων.
ἐνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε φλόγα δαΐε πιφαισκόμενος τὰ δ' αἰ κῆλα
πᾶσαν δὲ Κρίσην κάτεχεν σέλας. αἱ δ' ὀδόνυσαν
Κρισαίων ἄλοχοι καλλιζώνοι τε θυγατρὲς
Φοῖβου ἐπὶ ῥιπῆς, μέγα γὰρ δέος ἐμβαλ' ἐκάστω.

²⁶ Cf. Allen and Sikes, *Homeric Hymns*, 119, n. on 442.

II. 4, 75 οἷον δ' ἀστέρα ἤκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω
ἢ ναύτησι τέρας ἢ στρατῷ εὐρεῖ λαῶν,
λαμπρόν. τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἵενται
τῷ εἰκνί' ἦϊξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
καθ' ὃν ἔθρο' ἐς μέσσον.

²⁷ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* I, 101. Cf. Virgil, *Ciris*, 305, for Dictynna as the moon.

at Krisa. At what period the cult of the dolphin god rose to such importance that it gave its name to immemorial Pytho, we cannot say with certainty. The fact that Delphi is not mentioned by Homer does not preclude the possibility of the existence of the dolphin god there in pre-Homeric times.

SMINTHEUS.

The cult of Apollo, the "mouse god," was confined almost entirely to the coast of Asia Minor and the islands. It seems never to have gained an important stronghold on the mainland but to have attained noteworthy prestige in the Troad, where it was of great antiquity. We may believe the tradition handed down by the Scholiast on Lycophron¹ who informs us that *Σμίνθοι* was the Cretan word for "mice." Recent investigations into the termination, *-νθος* strengthen the tradition. According to the authority of Kretschmer,² this ending is not Indo-European but belongs to an earlier stratum of population; it came into Greece from Caria. The civilisation of Caria is generally admitted to belong to the "sub-Aegean" period; as Hogarth has shown, elements common to Crete and Caria make their appearance in Crete ages before we discern

¹ Hesych. s. v. *σμίνθος*. *μῦς*. Schol. Lyc. 1303 *Σμίνθοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρητῶν οἱ μῦες*. Steph. Byz. s. v. 580, 11. The word is apparently Eteocretan; cf. also Etruscan words, *sminthinal*, *Smintius*, *isminthinal*, *C. I. Etr.* 3737, 3738, 5201. Schulze, *Zur Gesch. Lat. Eigenamen*, 473. Cf. Deecke, Pauli, *Etr. Forsch. u. Studien* II, 24; Deecke, *Etr. Forsch.* IV, 53; Lattes, *Rend. d. R. Ac. dei Lincei*, II, (1893), 1026; III, (1894), 51, 112. Cf. Kannengiesser, *Klio*, 1911, 26 *Ägäische, besonders Kretische Namen bei den Etruskern*.

² Kretschmer, *Einl. in d. Gr. Spr.* 1896, 308, 404; cf. M. Mayer, *Jahrbuch. Arch. Inst.* VII (1892), 191; H. R. Hall, *J. H. S.* XXV (1905), 320; Fick, *V. O.*, 28.

them in Caria; the Cretan *labyrinthos* is older than the Carian *labyrandos*.³

In addition to the etymological evidence in favour of a Cretan origin for the Sminthian Apollo, we have the proof from the cult localities. Our earliest testimony is found in the *Iliad*,⁴ where the god is invoked by Apollo's priest. In this passage the important cult centers belonging to the god are named, Chryse, Killa and Tenedos. The chief center of worship was Chryse near Hamaxitos, and it is interesting to note that the legends concerning the founding of Chryse point to Crete.⁵ The account which assigned the foundation to the Teucri coming from Crete, goes back, according to Strabo, to the elegiac poet, Callinus. The record is accepted by Lycophron and Aelian, but Strabo gives conflicting reports. Some later writers, he says, reject the tradition that the Teucri came from

³ Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, 103. Conway, *B. S. A.*, 1901, 154, follows Kretschmer in considering the words pre-Hellenic, but thinks them Indo-European; cf. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 1907, 151; cf. 143, L. M. = Carian; Mackenzie, *B. S. A.* XII, 216-219.

⁴ *Il. A.* 39 Κλήιδι μὲν ἀργυρόταξ, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας
Κίλλαν τε θάβηην, Τενέδοιό τε ἱεὶ ἀνάσσει
Σμινθεῦ.

⁵ *Ael., De Nat. An.* XII, 5; Strabo, 604. ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀχαίῳ συνεχρῆς . . . καὶ ἡ Ἀμαξιτιὸς . . . Ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τῇ ἐτυμότητι τοῦ ὀνόματος ὥζον, ὁ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξόανου. . . . τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφικμένοις Τεύκροις (οὗς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοί) χρησμός ἦν, αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν μονὴν ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται, συμβῆναι δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς φασὶ περὶ Ἀμαξιτόν. νύκτωρ γὰρ πολλὸν πλῆθος ἀρουραίων μυνῶν ἐξανθήσαν διαφαγεῖν ὅσα σκύτινα τῶν τε ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων. τοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ μείναι. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰδην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ προσονομάσαι. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικός πληθύνοντάς φησι τοὺς μῆας περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νομισθῆναι τε ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι. . . . πολλαχοῦ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα. καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀμαξιτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου δύο τόποι καλοῦνται Σμίνθια. καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐν τῇ πλησίον Λαρισίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Παριανῇ δ' ἐστὶ χωρίον τὰ Σμίνθια καλούμενον, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Δίνῳ καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλαχοῦ. καλοῦσι δὲ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθιον.

Schol. *Il. I*, 39. ἐν Χρύσῃ . . . Κρίνεις τις ἱερεὺς ἦν τοῦ κείῃ Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦτ' ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀγροῖς μῆας . . . βουλευθεὶς δὲ τότε ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καταλλήγῃαι πρὸς Ὀρῶν τὸν ἀρχιβουκόλον αὐτοῦ παρεγένετο, παρ' ᾧ ξενισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ὑπέσχετο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξειν, καὶ δὴ παραχρῆμα τοξείας τοὺς μῆς διέφθειρε . . . οὐ γενομένου ὁ Κρίνεις ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαστο τῷ θεῷ, Σμινθέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας ἐπεὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐγχώριον αὐτῶν διάλεκτον οἱ μῆες σμίνθοι καλοῦνται. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πολέμωνι. ἄλλοι δὲ οὕτως ὅτι Κρήτες . . . ἔκτισαν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἥντινα ἐκάλεσαν Σμθίαν. οἱ γὰρ Κρήτες τοὺς μῆας σμίνθους καλοῦσι. Schol. Verg., *Aen.* III, 108. Polemon, *F. H. G.* III, 124.

Crete; they claim that Teucer came from Athens and cite as proof the fact that Erichthonios was the common founder of the two places.⁶ Strabo himself, however, defends the Cretan story and when we consider the Cretan proclivities of Teucer and his family, the legend appears to have some foundation of fact.⁷ Conway connects Trojan Chryse with the island of the same name off the coast of Crete, endeavoring to show that the name is an Eteocretan word. If we may accept this evidence, the two centers are linked together even more closely.⁸

An examination of the cult centers which are scattered along the coast of Asia Minor and the neighboring islands, shows that the god may have passed from the island of Crete to Rhodes⁹ and thence to the Troad in very early times, that is, before the Aeolic migration. Especially in the West, at Eryx,¹⁰ Katana,¹¹ Messana,¹² Phintias,¹³ and Rhegion,¹⁴ we may believe that the god was introduced by Rhodians. Cretan relations with Tenedos are also indicated by the appearance of the double axe and by the knowledge of Cretan-Carian cults;¹⁵

⁶ Strabo, 604-5; *ib.* 612, 63.

⁷ Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀρισβη 119, 7 (Scamandros); Lycophron, 1304, and Schol.; E. M. Σκαμ. 715, 30. Cf. Gruppe, *op. c.*, 301.

⁸ Conway, *B. S. A.* VIII (1901-2), 144; cf. *su-* initial group with Σμυρίων month in Magnesia, Dittenberger, 553¹, 929, 2. Kern, *Inscr. von Magnesia* 82, 98. On Chrysa, Pliny IV, 20, 58, (Sillig). According to Wilamowitz, *Opfer am Grabe*, 251, ² Χρύση cannot be separated from the Phocian Κρίσα. Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschr.*, recalls Etruscan *chrisitha*. Cf. Delphic seer Chrysothemis. Gruppe, *op. c.*, 631, 4.

⁹ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 166; *I. G. I.* 762; Strabo XIII, 605; Athen III, 74 F. Sminthian Festival, Apoll., *Hom. Lex. s. v.* 143. In Aeolis and Rhodes Σμίνθιος or Σμυνθεός, very common. Σμυνθεός in *I. G.* XII, 2, 124; Σμυνθίνος, *I. G.* XII, 2, 6, 36; Σμυνθία, *Ath. Mitth.* 1884, 28 (Cyzicus); Σμυνθίων *I. G.* XII, 3 M 1139; Σμίνθιος in Pisidia, *Pap. Am. School* III, 298. Σμυρίων in Chios, Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine*, 1909, 70 (690 B. C.) Sminthian contests in Roman times at Alexandria in the Troad, Le Bas-Waddington, 1730 b. *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, 134, Rhodian month, on amphora. Cf. *I. G.* III, 1197; Aratus V, 2, 5, 324 Maass; *C. I. L.* XI, 6362, Dessau, 7364.

¹⁰ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 301.

¹¹ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 134.

¹² *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 117.

¹³ *C. I. G.* III, 5751, 36.

¹⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi.* 1892, 487, 489, Month.

¹⁵ Cf. Farnell, *Cults* IV, 166 b.

Farnell has suggested that the earliest Hellenic home of the cult was in Tenedos, where Homer places it.¹⁶ The sites in the Troad where the god was known, are Alexandria,¹⁷ Hamaxitos,¹⁸ Larissaia,¹⁹ Parion,²⁰ and Chryse,—not so many as Strabo's phrase, *ἄλλοθι πολλὰχοῦ*, would indicate. Apollo Smintheus was also honored in communities which had colonies in the Troad, as, for example, in Lesbian Arisba,²¹ and Methymna,²² and at Magnesia.²³ No record of his cult is preserved on the mainland, except at Athens²⁴ and Thespieae. Ceos near the coast seems also to have had an important center of worship.²⁵

In epic times the cult of Apollo Smintheus still survived with some persistence in the Troad. Its point of departure was Crete and it was introduced into the Troad by Cretans or by semi-Hellenic settlers in pre-Aeolic times,²⁶ a fact which may help to account for the Trojan sympathies of Apollo in the siege of Troy. Gruppe brings the god from the Philistine land *via* Crete, just as he does in the case of Delphinios, connecting the foundation legend of Hamaxitos with the ancient tradition, *Σμίνθοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρησὶν οἱ μῦες*²⁷ which he claims reached Crete from the Philistine land.

With the "Hellenic" Apollo, Smintheus has little in common, but the importance of his worship in Epic times shows the extent of Cretan influence at this period. His attributes

¹⁶ Cf. Strabo, 604, *supra.*; *Il.* I, 37 ff; Head, *H. N.* 550-1.

¹⁷ *C. I. G.* II, 3582; *Rev. Arch.* XI, 448; Paus. X, 12, 6 (sacred grove of Smintheus.)

¹⁸ Strabo XIII, 605; cf. Aelian, *N. A.* XII, 5.

¹⁹ Strabo, 605.

²⁰ Strabo, 605.

²¹ Tümpel, *Philol.* XLIX, [N. F. III], 103 f. (1890); cf. XLVIII (1889) 114; Plut., *Conv. Sept. Sap.*, 20.

²² *C. I. G. I.* II, 519.

²³ Kern., *Arch. Anz.* 1894, 79; cf. month *Σμυσίων*.

²⁴ *C. I. A.* II, 1597; *Gr. Dialektinschr.*, 1181 A 29; *Ath. Mitth.* 1911, 35 (Σμίνθις in Arcadia, IV C.); *I. G.* VII, 1888 Σμίνθος θεοπετής at Thespieae

²⁵ Strabo, 487.

²⁶ The evidence on the mainland is too slight to believe that the Aeolians brought the Sminthian Apollo with them.

²⁷ Cf. Strabo, *s. v.* *Hamaxitos* for legends of founding.

are the bow and the power of prophecy. His cult probably arose from his interest in protecting the crops from the ravages of field mice. Warde Fowler has shown that certain regions in Greece are still subject to the destruction which these animals accomplish with almost incredible swiftness. The god who could protect the sole wealth of the land against such havoc naturally became of paramount importance in the worship of the community. With these same mice, the plague may also have been brought among men, as is the case in China to-day, where the bubonic plague is commonly known as the "rat plague"; and we have some proof that the ancients recognized such a possibility.²⁸ The cult may thus have embraced the idea of healing, that is to say, Apollo appears here as *ιατρός*, as well as in the capacity of protector of the fields.

²⁸ Cf. Gildersleeve's note in Robinson's Review of Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, *A. J. P.* 1908, 97 ff: A coin in the Br. Mus. of the Emperor Verus struck at Pergamum during a plague epidemic represents Asklepios with a rat at his feet and a small human figure with arms outstretched in the attitude of fear and worship. Cf. *C. R.* 1901, 319-Lang.

AMYKLAIOS.

Our evidence for the cult of Apollo *ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ*, is somewhat vague, but it is worth while to examine it. The name *Ἀμυκλαῖος* is itself difficult to explain. We are safe in asserting that it is non-Greek,¹ but whether it is a Greek formation of the Phoenician name Mikal, as might appear from Cyprian inscriptions, or belongs to the pre-Greek Aegean population,

¹ Fick, *V. O.* 91, 113. *C. B.* 59, 3 = *C. I. Sem.* I, 89: *βαάλαραμ ὁ Ἀβιδμίλων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀμύκλω* (or *Ἀμυκλοῖ* ?) date, 375. In the Phoenician text the god is called *Rešef-Mikal*. cf. *C. I. Sem.* I, 90-94. In another inscription (*Rev. Arch.* XXVII (1874), 90), *Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀμυκλαίῳ*.

or has Etruscan connections,³ is a problem difficult to determine. Foucart claims that the word is merely the Greek rendering of Rešef-Mikal,⁴ the name of a Phoenician god. He bases his conclusion on a bilingual Phoenician-Greek inscription from Idalion, Cyprus. The various Greek explanations of words which have the same root furnish no clue,⁵ e. g., Hesych., *s. v.* ἀμυκλῖς: γλυκὺς ἡδύς, (a drink used at the Hyakinthian festival); ἀμυκλαῖδες, "a kind of shoe"; ἀμυχαλαί, Hesych., "arrow points." The eponymous hero of Spartan Amyklai, Amyklas, is a shadowy figure, who adds no information, although he appears in many old Laconian genealogies.⁶ The legend recorded by Tzetzes on Lyc. 431, might have value, but the account is confused and the variant ἀμύκος appears for ἀμύκλος. According to this report, Ἀμύκλος, (in this form a non-Greek name), was the son of Cretan Talos and an enemy of Idomeneus. Further than the evidence given, nothing of import is known about the word Amyklaios.

There were two important cult centers of Apollo Amyklaios. In Crete proper, a sea-port town bore the name Amyklaion,⁷ and the residents of the town were called Amyklaioi.⁸ Gortyn had a month known as Amyklaios,⁹ and we see from the law of Gortyn¹⁰ that the god was worshipped in that city. Although the name Apollo does not appear in the inscription, there is no doubt that he is the god who must be associated here with Artemis. The second important center where the name appears is Amyklai in Sparta, where there was a famous pre-

³ K. Schmidt, *B. P. W.* 1906, 1650, Amunclae, Latium, Ἀμοῦγκλα, N. Africa; P. W. I, 1989, 34; Verg. *Aen.* X, 564; Pliny, *N. H.* VIII, 104.

⁴ *B. C. H.* VII (1883), 513.

⁵ Pollux VII, 88; Hesych. *s. v.*; Theocr., *Id.* X, 35; E. M. 87, 41.

⁶ P. W. II, 1999 *s. v.* Amyklas (Hiller von Gärtringen); Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀμύκλαι. Paus. III, 1, 3; VII, 18, 5.

⁷ Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀμύκλαι, 88, 3; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* I, 250, 1; Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* III, 717.

⁸ *C. B.* 5025, 4, 18.

⁹ *C. B.* 5016, 24; *Mon. dei Lincei* I, 50.

¹⁰ *C. B.* 4991, III, 7, Ἀρτεμις παρ' Ἀμυκλαῖον παρ' τὴν Τροσκίαν. Cf. *Rh. M.* XL, 21. Bücheler prefers to think of an Amyklaios, because of preposition παρά. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* IX (1884), 376.

cinct, the Amyklaion.¹⁰ Pausanias has furnished us with a description of the sanctuary, and the excavations of Tsountas have given some information in regard to the site. The antiquity of the settlement is proved by the discovery of Mycenaean remains.¹¹ From Sparta, the cult passed to Cyprus, perhaps also to Epidauros.

What we may conclude about the epithet Amyklaios, is as follows: it is not a cult epithet, but a title derived from a place name,¹² and the localities in which it appears were Cretan or under strong Cretan influence. We may choose between two conclusions to explain the relations between Spartan Amyklai, and the site bearing the same name in Crete, as the god worshipped in both places is the same and we have proof that there was intercourse between the two regions in Homeric times.¹³ Either the name was taken over from the Peloponnese to Crete or the name was original in Crete and was transferred from there to the mainland. If the name is pre-Greek, which we cannot prove, although there is strong evidence in favor of the theory, Spartan Amyklai would almost certainly owe its origin to Crete. There are several arguments that support this view. The god appears to have had an important worship in Crete and in Sparta, the cult center belongs in the Mycenaean circle, as excavations have shown; the site of Vaphio, not far distant, is also proof that this region was overrun by men of the Aegean stock. Further, the worship at Amyklai was in the hands of the Achaeans, whose position in Aegean civilisation, although not definitely known, is in any case intimately con-

¹⁰ Thucyd. V, 18, 10; V, 23, 5 στήλην δὲ ἑκατέρους στήσαι τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ. Strabo, 278 συνέκειτο μὲν δὲ τοῖς Ῥακινθίοις ἐν τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ συντελουμένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος; Paus. III, 16, 2; 18, 8; 19; Polybios V, 19, 3.

¹¹ Tsountas, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, 1-26; Inscr. Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ 1892, 18. Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, 35. Late Aegean sherds were found on the site of the Amyklaion and Laconian geometric sherds above; *I. G.* IV, 1078 (Epidauros).

¹² Thucyd. V, 23, 4; 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, ('Απόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ). Cf. also Hyakinthos, himself called Ἀμυκλαῖος, Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XI, 365; XII, 160.

¹³ *Odys.* III. 286; cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀμύκλαι; Aly, *op. c.*, 12.

nected with Minoan culture. By some writers the Achaeans are thought to be a mainland branch of the Minoan race; by others, one of the invading northern tribes. We accept the theory that the Achaeans were a northern race of Greek origin who helped to loot and destroy the Minoan sites and then established themselves on the mainland at Mycenae and at other centers, where a people akin to the Minoan race lived.† The downfall of the island kingdom may be traced primarily to civil strife between these pre-Greek peoples of the mainland and their kinsmen in Crete; it was hastened and effected by the incoming tribes from the North. The invading Achaeans took over this Minoan civilisation in its decay. We may believe that they found the site of Amyklai inhabited by their non-Greek predecessors and wedged their way in there, just as they did at Mycenae. Another argument in favor of the view that Spartan Amyklai was a Cretan foundation is the characteristic practice of the Minoans of repeating their place names in new localities which they settled. There was an Ida in Crete and one in Troy; there were a very great number of towns and islands called Minoa, undoubtedly derived from Crete; there was a Mt. Aigaion in Crete and one at Delphi, and in both of these places there was a Korycian site. In fact one might multiply these examples to include a large number of place names.¹⁴ Finally, the god who was at home in Spartan Amyklai and whom Apollo displaced, was the pre-Dorian, non-Greek Hyakinthos. The name belongs to the class of words in -υθος which were discussed under the cult of Smintheus and which have been

† Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1912, 283, "We must clearly recognize that down to at least the 12th c. B. C. the dominant factor both in mainland Greece and the Aegean world was still non-Hellenic and must be identified with one or other branch of the old Minoan race. This does not say that even at the time of the first appearance of Minoan conquerors in the Peloponnese, i. e. the 16th c. B. C., they may not have found settlers of Hellenic stock already in the land."

¹⁴ Miletos in Crete and Asia Minor; Chrysa, Crete and Troad. Cf. Aly, *op. c.*, 55, relations between Crete and Thessaly; Gruppe, *op. c.*, 109; Malten, *Kyrene*, 126. Cf. *ib.* 137 and Evans, *J. H. S.* 1912, 284, 288, for an opposite view.

held to belong to the pre-Hellenic population.¹⁵ If we enumerate the cult centers of Apollo Hyakinthos, we find that the month Hyakinthos is vouched for in many of the islands. Sicily in particular has a record of this month at Akrai,¹⁶ Eryx,¹⁷ Katana,¹⁸ Leontini,¹⁹ Gela and Syracuse,²⁰ and we find cult associations at Rhegium²¹ and Tarentum²² nearby. The name is also found at Kos,²³ Rhodes,²⁴ Tenos,²⁵ Thera²⁶ and Anaphe.²⁷ Athens celebrated the festival of the Hyakinthia²⁸ and Byzantium named a month after the god.²⁹ Finally, the god is vouched for in Crete under the form *βακίνθιος* at Lato.³⁰

The original character of Hyakinthos is uncertain. Gruppe connects the name with *βαειν* and considers the god a chthonian rain-deity of Amyklai,³¹ whom Apollo superseded. The appearance of the goat beside the god on Spartan coins is accepted in support of this theory.³² Farnell believes that Hyakinthos was a chthonian deity of vegetation, worshipped with gloomy ritual and *ἐναιρίσματα*, the offerings to the dead.³³ He accepts the meaning "young" for the root of the word. The representation of Hyakinthos on the Amyklaean throne was that of

¹⁵ Cf. Kretschmer, *Einl.* 402; Rohde, *Psyche* I, 137.

¹⁶ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 200; 2393, 178, l. 14, 32.

¹⁷ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 12; 2393, 33; 2393, 344; 2393, 451; 2393, 465.

¹⁸ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 168; 2393, 484; 2393, 543; 2393, 105.

¹⁹ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 247 and 316.

²⁰ *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 68; 2393, 316; 2393, 380; 2393, 465.

²¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1892, 489.

²² Polyb. VIII, 28, 2 (Grave of Hyakinthos).

²³ Paton & Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos.* 367, 368.

²⁴ *I. G.* XII, 1, 155 c 85.

²⁵ Phyle, *Ἰακινθίαις*, *I. G.* XII, v, 872.

²⁶ *I. G.* XII, III, 436. Cf. *Hermes* XXV, 405.

²⁷ Festival, Hyakinthia, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. II, 1840, 477. Cf. Phot., Suid., s. v. *παρθένου*.

²⁸ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884, 170, 52.

²⁹ Schol. Pap. 6.

³⁰ *B. C. H.* XXIX (1905), 204, 67; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 139 n.

³¹ Hesych. s. v. *βακίσει*.

³² Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* I, 24; Wide, *op. c.* 89, connects the goat with the Aigeadaï at Amyklai; cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* VII, 14; Busolt I², 207, 8. The Aigeadaï thus worked rain magic by means of goat sacrifices. Gruppe, *op. c.*, 833, 1. Cf. B. M. C. *Pelop.*, 121, Pl. 24, 1.

³³ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 127. Cf. Paus. III, 19, 3. For *agalma*, cf. III, 19, 2.

a bearded man, which does not accord wholly with this view. We find little that is common to the two gods, Apollo and Hyakinthos. The ritual of the Hyakinthia shows that Hyakinthos was worshipped with nocturnal under-world rites of a character wholly alien to Apollo.³⁴ The element which would especially mark the festival as non-Apolline and non-Greek in character is the part which the women played. They wove a chiton for the god,³⁵ entered the chariot races, and took part in the nocturnal *xōmos*. A woman is spoken of as president for life of the *Agon* of the Hyakinthia.³⁶ These functions may be considered to belong to the pre-Apolline period, nor is Dionysos with his nocturnal bands of women needed to solve the problem. The important part played by women in this pre-Dorian cult of Hyakinthos with its Cretan associations, noted under Amyklaios, recalls the very important role which women played in the religion of Crete. This is brought out by numerous cult scenes on rings and by the small wall-painting from Knossos, now in the Museum in Candia,³⁷ where a great crowd of women are seen grouped about one of the small pillar shrines with its sacred horns. The Aegean religion seems to have been

³⁴ Athen. IV, 139 D. Πολυκράτης ἐν τοῖς Δακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ διὰ τὴν μὲν τῶν Ὑακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Δάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γενόμενον περὶ τὸν Ὑακινθον οὔτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δειπνοῖς οὔτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν οὔτε ἄλλα πέμματα καὶ τὰ τοῖσι ἀκόλουθα διδῶσι. καὶ τὸν ἐς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ᾔδουσιν, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον [εἰσάγουσιν] οὐδὲν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θέα ποικίλη καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιολόγος καὶ μεγάλη. παῖδες τε γὰρ καθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδοντες πᾶσας ἅμα τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ μετ' ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ᾄδουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφ' ἱππῶν κεκοσμημένοι τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται, χοροὶ τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν ὀρχησται τε ἐν τοῖσι ἀναμειγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαῖκην ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ καννάθρων [καμαρωτῶν ξυλίνων ἀρμάτων] φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατασκευασμένων αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων ἐξευγμένων πομπεύουσιν. ἅπαντα δ' ἐν κινήσει καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν, ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθεῖ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους.

³⁵ Paus. III, 16, 2.

³⁶ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, 19.

³⁷ J. H. S., 1901, Pl. V. A newly discovered fresco from Tiryns represents women in chariots taking part in a boar hunt. Evans, J. H. S. 1912, 282.

characterized throughout by the prominent rôle played by women.

The ritual of the Hyakinthia cited above, is preserved in part by Athenaeus, who quotes his account from Polykrates. The festival was one of sorrow for the dead Hyakinthos, but that it was gloomy throughout is less certain. The first day was certainly given to mourning. On the second, according to Polykrates, there was rejoicing. In the opinion of Polykrates, the festival lasted three days. Most scholars, however, reject his statement in regard to the length of the festival and the order of the days, since an account by Herodotus²⁸ makes the festival last ten days. Many modern scholars would assign the joy and song to Apollo, in which case, if we follow Polykrates, we have the strange combination of one festal day to Apollo coming between two days of mourning for Hyakinthos. There is no reason why we should not accept the authority of Polykrates for the original festival in honor of Hyakinthos, which was later extended to do honor to the god Apollo. The second day of rejoicing was probably concerned with the resurrection of Hyakinthos, to which Nonnus refers²⁹ when he speaks of a singer who sang of the resurrection of the god³⁰ *Ἀμυκλαίῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ*. In addition, Pausanias says that on the throne at Amyklai was represented the apotheosis of Hyakinthos and his sister Polyboia, and this feature of the legend doubtless played an important part in the ritual. We know also from Euripides³¹ that the original festival had other elements which were not sorrowful, for the nightly revelling can hardly be assigned to Apollo. Hyakinthos in this light appears as a deity of vegetation whose death and rebirth were celebrated in this festival.

One other point remains to be discussed under the head of Apollo Amyklaïos—Hyakinthos. Pausanias, in the passage

²⁸ Hdt. IX, 7, 1; IX. 11.

²⁹ Nonnus, XIX, 101. Cf. Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 265.

³⁰ Eur., *Hel.*, 1465.

cited above, states that within the sanctuary at Amyklai was an elaborate throne, upon which stood a semi-aniconic image of Apollo wearing a helmet and armed with a spear; beneath the throne was the tomb of Hyakinthos. The throne itself has been thought to preserve in its architectural form a likeness to similar Aegean structures.⁴¹ With regard to the statue, Evans sees in its semi-aniconic form⁴² the survival of the pyramidal pillar under which the pre-Hellenic light god of the Aegean was worshipped. At Amyklai, the partly aniconic image of this pre-Dorian divinity, armed with the spear, was associated with a goddess represented under a similar form and known as the armed Aphrodite—on her Hellenic side indistinguishable from Dione.⁴³ This pre-Hellenic light-god was taken over by the Greeks of Laconia and Cyprus into their worship. The spear in the hand of the god Apollo indicates a survival of the cult of this warrior god of the heavens, who is depicted on rings from Knossos. In fact, Evans recognizes this divinity as the prototype of the Amyklean Apollo.⁴⁴

Our evidence for the cult of Apollo Amyklaios, briefly summarized, is as follows. We probably have here a place name which was adopted by Apollo as an epithet and which points to Crete as its original home. This god, Apollo Amyklaios, was represented by a semi-aniconic image, a type which dates from a remote antiquity, and which preserves a reminiscence of the time when the divinity was worshipped under the likeness of a pyramidal pillar. In fact the cult of Apollo at Amyklai and his female associates are a direct offshoot of the Mycenaean religion. But Apollo was not the original deity at Amyklai and the only other pre-Hellenic gods of whom we have record there are

⁴¹ R. v. Lichtenberg: *Die Ägäische Kultur*, Leipzig, 1911. Cf. Reichel, *Vorhell. Götterkulte*, 88.

⁴² Evans, M. T. & P. C. (*J. H. S.* 1901, 120, 173).

⁴³ Br. Mus. Cat. *Peloponnese*. Pl. XXIV; Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, Coin Plate A, 15, 16.

⁴⁴ M. T. & P. C., 170, fig. 48; 174, fig. 50. Otherwise, Farnell. *op. c.*, IV, 144.

Karneios⁴⁵ and Hyakinthos. Because of the termination of the name, Hyakinthos must be relegated to the older order of religion. His cult is vouched for in Crete by the word, *βακίνθιος*. The fact that offerings were made to him before sacrificing to Apollo, furnishes additional proof of his priority over the latter god. Apollo took over the cult of Hyakinthos and appropriated a part in his ritual, but he was forced to keep the tomb of the older god beneath his throne and to sanction offerings to him before sacrifices were made in his own honor.

⁴⁵ Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1912, 45-6; 51. According to this writer, Karneios was a pre-Dorian divinity of prophecy whom the Hellenes identified with Apollo. "Apollo Amyklaios, like Karneios, was conceived as a warrior and god of fertility and in general seems to have been identical with the prophet archer worshipped in Asia and Crete."

AGYIEUS.

The cult of Apollo Agyieus belongs to the earliest period of Apolline worship¹ and has Cretan associations which suggest that Crete may have been the original home of this worship. Here again, as in the case of Apollo Pythios and Delphinios, Delphi and Crete stand in close relation.

The earliest Delphic legend concerned with the name Agyieus betrays its antiquity by its Hyperborean associations: the Hyperboreans, Pagasus and divine Agyieus, establish the oracle for Phoibos.² In Crete, the name is attested by the month Agyios.³ A month at Delphi was also named after the

¹ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 149-50, 162.

² Paus. X, 5, 8, πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ βοιω τοιάδε:

Ἐνθα τοι εὐμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο
Παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὺς καὶ διὸς Ἀγυιεύς.

(On month, Wescher-Foucart, *Inscr. Récentes à Delphes*, 178, 405.)

³ Hemerol. Flor. in Idler, *Chron.* I, 426. Dittenberger, *Hermes* XVI (1881), 168 A. (Hyperberetes also attested.) *Syll.*³ 514, 29.

god, Ἀγύειος. Most important is the cult emblem or ἄγαλμα of the Agyieus worship.⁴ We learn from Harpocration that this was a conical pillar placed before the house doors. This cult form suggests that Apollo has been attracted into the Minoan circle of pillar worship discussed above.⁵ The name ἀγυιεύς, given both to the pillar and to the god, is an evidence of the primitive stage when pillar and god were not distinguished. It is possible that in pre-Homeric times various divinities were worshipped under this aniconic image, but the antiquity of the Agyieus cult, coupled with its appearance in Crete in the name of the month, is evidence in favor of Cretan priority. The Delphic Omphalos has been held by some writers to be a direct imitation of this Cretan form of ἄγαλμα,⁶ and Photius mentions one form which resembled an omphalos.⁷ The worship of the god was especially associated with the Dorians⁸ according to many writers, but they may have taken the worship over from Crete.⁹ It is noteworthy that Athens had an important cult of this god, which cannot be traced to the Dorians.

⁴ Harpocr. s. v. ἀγυιάς; Hesych. s. v. ἀγυιεύς; P. W. I, 909.

⁵ Cf. Evans, *M. T. & P. C.*, 173.

⁶ Gruppe, *op. c.*, I, 103, 4; Evans, *op. c.*, 173; J. Six, *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, 344.

⁷ Phot., *Bibl.* 535 (Fr. 48).

⁸ Harpocr., l. c., O. Müller, *Die Dor.* I, 299 (Tr.).

⁹ On cult localities, cf. P. W. "Apollo" II, 42.

TARRHAIOS.

Apollo derived the epithet Tarrhaios from Tarrha, a small town in western Crete, with which he had close relations.¹ The circle of influence which Tarrha exerted was once of fair

¹ Steph. Byz. 604, 5, s. v. Τάρρα. πόλις Λυδίας . . . ἕτερα Κρήτης, ἐν ᾗ Ταρραῖος Ἀπόλλων τιμάται.

importance. Tarrhaïos was the father of the eponymous hero of Lappa.² This latter city was said to be a foundation of Agamemnon and there was a city of the same name in the Argolid, which furnishes additional proof of early relations between the Peloponnese and western Crete. Tarrha also belonged to a league which issued a coinage of its own and to which the cities Elyros, Lissos, Hyrtakina, Syia and Poikilassos belonged. The coinage bears a goat's head on one side, a bee on the other, recalling, in Aly's opinion, the legend of the children of Apollo and Akakallis cared for by the goat.³ This Akakallis was an important goddess of western Crete and it is very probable that Apollo drove out an old lord who reigned beside her.

² Steph. Byz. 410, 6, s. v. Λάμνη.

³ Cf. Paus. X, 16, 5; Aly, *op. c.*, 43.

MINOR CULTS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

Several cults of lesser importance belonging to Apollo point to Crete as their original home, but because of absence of evidence, little is known of their significance. Apollo *Enauros* is mentioned by Hesychius¹ as a god of the early morning and the word is designated as a Cretan rendering of πρωί. Apollo *Styrakites*² was the god of the styrax plant, and had a cult in Crete. The cult of Apollo *Dromaïos* was perhaps a Cretan cult, as the god was so called in Sparta and Crete, either as god of the palaestra or because the priest representing him ran in the Karneia;³ we know that in Sparta and Crete the

¹ Hesych. ἐναύρω. πρωί Κρήτες.

² Steph. Byz. 588, 16. Plut., *Lys.* 28^a.

³ Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* 724 c; *C. B.* 5040, 4; Paus. III, 14, 6; Cult at Amyklai, *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1892, 26, 8.

race-course was called *δρόμος*. Apollo *Thargelios* had Cretan associations, for the Thargelia were instituted to atone for the death of the Cretan Androgeos and originally had no connection with Apollo.⁴ Apollo *Leschanorios* had a cult in Crete⁵ at Gortyn, with many Thessalian associations. Most of these cults are merely names to us and when enumerated prove nothing for the development of the worship of Apollo. There are, however, two epithets which are associated with Apollo that would be of greater value for us if we could determine their origin, Phoibos and Karneios.

⁴ Cf. "Cathartic Ritual."

⁵ Aly, *op. c.*, 54 ff., C. B. 5015, 17, 27. Cf. Harpocr. s. v. *Δεσχαί*; Plut. *De Ei Ap. Delphos*, 385 C; there was a month *Δεσχανάσιος*, in Arcadia.

(A) **Phoibos.** The root of the word *Φοῖβος* contains two distinct ideas, that of prophecy and of ritual purity. Suidas, s. v., explains *φοῖβος* as *μάντις*, and the term, *ἡ φοιβάς*, is used of Cassandra by Euripides¹ to denote a woman inspired by enthusiastic frenzy.² The meaning "pure," is found particularly in Plutarch,³ who says that the Thessalians used the word of those who kept themselves ritualistically pure. In Homer, *Φοῖβος* appears as an epithet or synonym of Apollo,⁴ but there is no definite evidence for its appearance in the ritual of a cult. According to Farnell,⁵ one must suppose that "Homer derived the term from some ancient cult or at least from popular phraseology that was consonant with cult." Apollo is said to have received the epithet Phoibos from Phoibe,

¹ Eur., *Hek.* 827. *ἡ Φοιβάς, ἣν καλοῦσι Κασάνδραν Φρύγες*; Timotheos. Fr. I, *μαινάδα, θνιάδα, φοιβάδα, λυσσάδα*.

² Cf. *φοιβάζω*, "to utter prophetic words", *Anth. P.* IX, 525, 21; IX, 191; Lyc. 6.

³ Plut., *De Ei Ap. Delph.* 20 c. *Φοῖβον δὲ δῆπον τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον, ὥς ἐτι θεσσαλὸι τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσειν ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἐξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, 'φοιβονομεῖσθαι' λέγουσι.*

⁴ Hom., *Il.* I, 443; XV, 221; XX, 68; Hes. Fr. 194 (213); Fr. 125 (109); Fr. 123 (148).

⁵ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 140.

one of the pre-Apolline deities at Delphi.⁶ This Phoibe belonged to the Titan dynasty⁷ and was the daughter of Earth and Heaven and the mother of Leto. She was thus one of the figures belonging to the older religion. A trace of her cult survived on the mainland at Amyklai, where sacrifices were offered to the war god in the Phoibaion⁸ and where Herakles was said to have been purified. Apollo probably took over his title of Phoibos from this older divinity whom he succeeded. We have already noted that Amyklai had early relations with Crete and that its god Hyakinthos belonged to the Aegean religion; that the oracle at Delphi was closely connected with Crete has also been shown. Thessalian relations with Crete are noted by Aly⁹; there was influence in both directions, and we cannot definitely say that the Thessalians got the word from Crete. It seems probable that the Titan Phoibe belonged to this pre-Aegean cycle and was a divinity who had to do with purification and enthusiastic prophecy. Apollo Phoibos is thus concerned primarily with these two elements.¹⁰

⁶ Aesch., *Eum.*, 4 ff.

⁷ Hes., *Theog.* 136; 404; Harrison, *Delphika*, J. H. S. 1899, 241. "There are many indications that the name Phoibos belongs to the pre-Apolline stratum, the stratum of Gaia and Kronos-Ouranos." Cf. Hesych. s. v. *Γαῖα καὶ Κρόνος*.

⁸ Paus. III, 14, 9; III, 20, 2; Harrison, *Themis*, 388, on Phoibe as Moon.

⁹ Aly, *op. c.*, 55.

¹⁰ Harrison, *Themis*, 384-92, "Apollo Phoibos as Sun."

(B) **Karneios.** An investigation of the Karneia¹ reveals the fact that Apollo Karneios was mainly concerned with herds and with agriculture. His cult in the Peloponnese is believed by many to be pre-Dorian and the conjectures as to its origin are numerous. Wide² argued that the cult was not really Dorian but was brought in from the North by a Minyan immigration.

¹ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 259.

² Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 86-87, denying its military character.

Non-Minyan settlements, however, possessed cults of the god, in the Argolis, at Sikyon, and Phlius, and there is no trace of Karneios in northern Minyan strongholds such as Orchomenos. Farnell holds that the god belonged to the Dryopian population and points out certain traces of Dryopian settlements in the regions where the cult of Karneios was found. More recently, the god has been identified with the prophet-archer of Asia and Crete³ and has been shown to be related to the Phrygian god of prophecy.

Pausanias says that Karnos was from Crete, the son of Europa and Zeus, foster child of Apollo and Leto;⁴ Knossos named a month *Karvηιος* after the god and Gortyn appears to have done the same.⁵ It must be admitted, however, that our knowledge of Apollo Karneios is very vague and that because of the indefinite nature of our information it is possible to attribute the cult to the Minyan, Dryopian or Cretan population. The case cannot be proven for any one of these peoples. The god had in common with the "Phrygian" Apollo, prophetic power and a martial character as god of the bow. The evidence from the name Karnos and the month in Crete, is very slight, and one is inclined with Aly to leave this deity to the Dorians.⁶

³ Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons*, 45, 51.

⁴ Paus. III, 13, 4.

⁵ C. B. 5015, 5; 5009 b.

⁶ Aly, *op. cit.*, 8-10, following Wilamowitz; Malten, *B. P. W.* 1910, 334; E. Meyer, *Gd. A.* II, 113, cult at Amyklai, relatively late contamination. For cult centers, cf. Wide, Roscher *Lex s. v.* Karneios.

III. CATHARTIC ELEMENTS.

Cathartic ritual in Greece rose to a position of great importance in two ancient religious centers, Crete and Delphi. The history of the development of rites of purification does not appear to begin in Greece proper until the eighth century. The Homeric age is noticeably free from ceremonies of this character and we must either assume that the Olympian religion of this period suppressed such practices or believe that the Greeks were very late in developing rites dealing with purification. It is difficult to believe that these ceremonies were developed in post-Homeric times; they are found among so many primitive people that it does not seem probable that the pre-Homeric Greeks were without them. Further, there is much to be said in favor of the view that these practices were merely revived in the eighth century. Cathartic ritual was associated from earliest times with chthonian powers.¹ When it acquired Olympian associations, it was used in the cults of Apollo notably, of Zeus in his chthonian aspect, (Meilichios, Katharsios) and of Dionysus. In Homer the Olympian religion alone is emphasized and the chthonian powers are passed over as if non-existent. It naturally follows that there is no mention of the ritual which belonged to these deities. The fact remains that chthonian deities were revered in Homer's time and we shall notice later the probable causes which brought about a revival of the latent and partly suppressed ritual belonging to these under-world gods.

We have said that the important centers of purification in Greece, were Crete and Delphi. The evidence in regard to the cathartic ceremonies in Crete, the home of an older civilisation

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*, 1903, I, 273 ff.; Harrison, *op. c.*, 161-2; K. O. Müller, *Aesch. Eum.*, 139. On purification in Homer, *Il.* I, 313, *Odys.* II, 261 ff.; Usener, *Stoff des Gr. Epos*, *Sitzb. d. Wiener Ak. Phil. Hist. Kl.* 137, III 59 ff., saw in the episode of Thersites the traces of *φάρμακος* ritual; Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 289 ff.

and one from which these rites may have emanated, will be presented first.

The earliest traditions concerned with cathartic ritual in Crete are connected with the cult of chthonian Zeus.³ In the worship of this god, Rohde believed that the roots of all later expiatory customs in Greece were to be found. From Crete they were spread throughout Greece through the agency of the Delphic oracle.⁴ The name of the Cretan Epimenides was intimately associated with these rites. According to Plutarch, he was an initiate of the orgiastic cult of Zeus in Crete,⁵ a *νέος Κούρης*, and Pausanias gives an account of his ritualistic sleep in the cave of Dictaeon Zeus before he purified the city of Athens.⁶ This act of purification was accompanied by fasting⁷ and ecstasy.⁸ At its completion, Epimenides journeyed to other lands with his healing art, foretelling the future as an ecstatic prophet,⁹ or even explaining the cause of past disasters, such as plagues.¹⁰ Besides purifying Delos,¹¹ he cleansed Athens from the pollution contracted in connection with the conspiracy of

³ Farnell, *op. c.*, I, 37 ff.; Rohde, *op. c.*, I, 272, 1. Eur., *Κρήτες*. Fr. 475, *ap.* Porphyry, *De Abst.* IV, 19. Orpheus (Rhapsod.) Fr. 183 (Ab.) Διὸ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ὀρφεὶ τὰ καθάρσια κομίζειν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης παρακελεύεται· τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην, ἀντὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ τάττειν, εἰώθησαν, οἱ θεολόγοι. (Proclus, on Plato's *Timaeus*, I, 36 E) cf. Oracle in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* V, 31, 2.

Φαιστοῦ καὶ Τάρρας ναέται, Διὸν τε πολύρρου
Πυθῶν κέλομαι τελέειν Φοῖβοιο καθαρμὸν
εὐαγέοντας . . .

K. O. Müller, *Proleg.*, 158 ff.

⁴ Rohde, *op. c.*, II, 96.

⁵ Plutarch, *Sol.* 12; Strabo, 479, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φαιστοῦ τὸν τοὺς καθαρμῶν ποιήσαντα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν Ἐπιμενίδην φασὶν εἶναι. Diog. Laert. I, 115; Schol. Clem. Alex. IV, 103 (Klotz) ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Ῥέας.

⁶ Paus. I, 14 Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσιος, ὃν ἐλθόντα ἐς ἄγρον κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν εἰσελθόντα εἰς σπήλαιον. ὁ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνήκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων.

⁷ Rohde, *Gr. Rom.* 156 ff.

⁸ Suidas, s. v. Ἐπιμενίδης. οὐ [Ἐπιμενίδου] λόγος, ὡς ἐξίοι ἡ ψυχὴ ὁπόσον ἤθελε χρόνον καὶ πάλιν εἰσθεῖ ἐν τῷ σώματι. Diog. Laert. I, 114; Max. Tyr. XVI, 1, ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἄντρῳ κείμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ ἔτη συχνά.

⁹ Plato, *Leg.* I, 642 D; Diog. Laert. I, 114.

¹⁰ Arist., *Rhet.* III, 17.

¹¹ Plut., *Sept. Sap. Conv.* XIV, 158 A.

Cylon.¹¹ Plutarch, whose account is probably based on Aristotle, fixes the date of his appearance in Athens in the time of Solon¹² and although the existence of Epimenides, the time at which he lived, and his purification of Athens have all been considered fictions by various authorities of modern times, we have no reason to doubt his existence or his part in purifying the city.¹³ Further, the account which Plutarch gives of his long sleep is not to be considered a fabrication, but an instance of a practice well known among primitive peoples where wonder-workers acquire powers of divination by incubation in a sacred place.¹⁴ Epimenides must therefore be considered a priest ("new *koures*") who belonged to the cult of Zeus in Crete and who was "skilled in the technicalities of religion, especially as regards enthusiastic and mystic rites." The practices which he employed in the purifying of Athens doubtless date from very early times in Crete. We see that he also reformed the Athenian religion of Solon's time, especially the rites of women, doing away with many barbarous excesses which probably belonged to Bacchic orgies or to the older

¹¹ Aristot., 'Αθ. Πολ. 1, 3. Plut., Sol. 12. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισδαιμονίας ἅμα καὶ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τε μάντις ἄγῃ καὶ μασμυῖς δεομένους καθαρμῶν προφαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡγόρευον. Οὕτω δὲ μετὰ πεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαιστόσιος . . . Ἐδόκει δὲ τις εἶναι θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεία τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν. Διὸ καὶ παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα βάλτης καὶ Κούρηα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον. Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τῷ Σόλῳ χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσουπειργάσατο καὶ προωδοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐσταλείς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη πρῶτον θυσίας τινας εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ κήδη, καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν, ὃ συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλείους γυναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἱλασμοὺς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἰδρύσεσι κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιώσας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπειθή πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησε . . . Ἐπιμενίδης μὲν οὖν μάλιστα θαυμασθεὶς καὶ χρήματα δίδόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν. Suidas, s. v. Ἐπιμενίδης. ἐκάθηρε τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῦ Κυλωνεῖον ἄγους κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα (604-1), γηραιὸς ὢν. Diog. Laert., Vita Ep. I, 110.

¹² J. Wright, *Trans. A. P. A.* 1888, date of attempt by Cylon. Plato has disregarded chronology in *Leg.* 642, 698, by placing Epimenides in the year 500.

¹³ Rohde, *op. c.*, II, 98, citing as cases in point our ignorance of the lives of Pythagoras and Pherekydes of Syros, whose existence we do not doubt because of lack of evidence.

¹⁴ *Rh. M.* XXXIII (1878), 209. Cf. *Rh. M.* 1880, 157, 63; 1882, 465-8; (Rohde).

stratum of religion.¹⁵ He is said to have founded the sanctuary of the Semnae and to have prepared a sanctuary for the nymphs. By some authorities, the founding of the Delphinion in Athens is believed to date from the period when he visited Athens.

Crete boasted another priest who performed purifications and belonged to a much earlier period. The name of Karmanor and his purification at his home in Tarrha of Apollo is woven into the myths of the god's entry into Delphi. According to a legend found in Pausanias¹⁶ Apollo went to Karmanor for purification after he had slain the snake at Pytho. We should not undervalue the account because it does not appear before the time of Pausanias, nor is it necessary to believe with Mommsen in a change from *Κρῖσαῖοι* to *Κρήσιοι* in the verse of Phemonoe which has been cited.¹⁷ The practice in later times according to which the Delphic oracle summoned Epimenides and other Cretans in times of plague¹⁸ when purification was needed, indicates that the cleansing of Apollo by Karmanor was the mythical prototype of these later purifications in Greece. The legend is also handed down by a Scholiast on Pindar, quoted above, this time with the name of Chrysothemis, son of Karmanor, substituted for that of the father. The legend of Apollo's purification at the hands of Karmanor wins additional weight by its Aeginetan associations.¹⁹ According to Pausanias, Karmanor belonged to the Britomartis-Diktyнна-

¹⁵ Plut. *l. c.* Cf. 21; J. Harrison, *op. c.*, 400.

¹⁶ Paus. II, 7, 7 'Απόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρσίῳ ἐνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δέματος ἐνθα καὶ νῦν φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο. Paus. X, 7, 2; Paus. X, 16, 5; Paus. X, 6, 7 (Verse of Phemonoe).

'Αγχοῦ δὴ βαρὺν ἰδὺν ἐπ' ἀνέρι Φοῖβος ἐφῆσει

Σίντη Παρνησοῖο. φόνον δὲ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες

χειρας ἀγιστεύουσι. τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται.

Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* ὑπόθεσις (Boeckh. 298) καθαρθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἄπόλλων τὸν τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας φόνον ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ Χρυσοθέμεδι, ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Θεσσαλικά Τέμπεθ ἐνθεν μετεκομίσαστο τὴν δάφνην.

¹⁷ Hiller Von Gärtringen, P. W. s. v. *Delphoi*; Mommsen, *Delphika*, 94; *Anmerk.*

¹⁸ Thaletas to Sparta, Plut. *De Mus.* 42; Nymphaeis of Kydonia to Sparta, Ael. *V. H.* XII, 50.

¹⁹ Paus. II, 30, 3.

Aphaia circle. There was also an important connection between Apollo Delphinios and this Aphaia, whose worship preserved some genealogical reminiscence of Karmanor. Doubtless the god traveled to Aegina as the cult brother of Aphaia,²⁰ carrying with him some cathartic ritual for bloodshed. Although definite proof for this ritual is not available, we have every reason to believe that such a ritual would have attached itself to Delphinios, who was essentially a god of the state in Crete, as inscriptions show, and who was allied with a community famous for its rites of purification; we know that such ceremonies were attached to the cult under which the court ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, in Athens was founded.²¹

The Delphinion at Athens, which later gave its name to the law-court concerned with trial for justifiable homicide, was, according to tradition, founded by Aegeus, and was said to have been located in the place where the home of Aegeus stood.²² It was from the beginning a center of purification. Theseus was tried in this court for the slaying of the Pallantids and Pausanias adds that before this time homicide was not considered justifiable. In this same place Theseus was freed from the pollution incurred by his act. Later he made an offering to Apollo in the Delphinion on his departure for Crete to atone for the death of the Cretan Androgeos. This Androgeos appears to have been a chthonian power from Crete, whose death was atoned for in the Thargelia by *συβάκχοι* or *φαρμακοί*.²³ Whether or not we believe that the ritual of the

²⁰ Plut., *l. c.* (s. Δελφίνιος cult).

²¹ Pollux VIII, 119, τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ ἰδρῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διγέως λέγεται Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Δελφινίᾳ, ἐκρίθη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πρῶτος Θησεὺς ἀφοσιούμενος τὸ ἄγος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένων ληστῶν καὶ τῶν Παλλαντιδῶν, οὓς ὡμολόγει μὲν ἀποκτείνειαι, δικαίως δ' ἔφη τοῦτο δεδρακέναι. Cf. Paus. I, 28, 10.

²² Plut., *Thes.* XII . . . ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Διγέως ὦκει . . . Plut., *Thes.* 18, Procession of maidens with Ἰκετηρία, showing purification customs in the Delphinia; Pollux VIII, 119.

²³ Hellad. in Photius, *Bibl.* 534 a 3 ff. ὅτι ἔθος ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις φαρμακοὺς ἀγεῖν δύο, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν πρὸς τὸν καθαρμὸν ἀγομένους, καὶ ὁ μὲν καθαρμὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μελαίνας ἰσχάδας περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶχε, λευκάς δ' ἄτερος, συβάκχοι δὲ φησιν ὠνομάζοντο. τὸ δὲ καθάρσιον τοῦτο λοιμικῶν νόσων ἀποτροπιασμός ἦν, λαβδὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρόγεω τοῦ Κρητὸς οὐ τεθυηκότος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις παρανόμως τὴν λοιμικὴν ἐνόησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νόσον καὶ ἐκράτει τὸ ἔθος αἰεὶ καθαίρειν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς φαρμακοῖς.

φαρμακός arose in Crete, it is interesting to notice its early use in connection with a Cretan chthonian deity.²⁴ The festival of the Thargelia obviously did not originally belong to Apollo, but was appropriated by him.

From the evidence cited, we have reason to believe that the purification ceremonies at Delphi were Cretan in origin and were associated with the arrival in that place of Apollo Delphinios, that is, with the cult of the god whose worship we have traced to Crete. Further, Crete was the home of a certain class of wonder-workers, who, like Epimenides, purified by magic rites, or by *ἐπωδαί*, incantations with healing power. To this latter class belonged Thaletas, whom we shall have occasion to consider later. In fact, rites of purification must have played an important part in this island from earliest times, as the priests of Cretan Zeus were subject to certain ceremonies of purification. Eustathius (fr. 772, 3) in commenting on the Kuretes says that they were sorcerers and magicians. The dance of the Kuretes was itself accompanied by a clashing of shields which must have been employed for the averting of evil spirits, although mythology explained the act as an effort to drown the cries of the infant Zeus that Kronos might not hear. Finally, the early legends of Apollo's arrival in Delphi are associated with Tarrha, a remote corner of Crete, otherwise little known to us. That this small town must at one time have been an important center of worship is proved by the fact that it gave its name to a cult of Apollo, in which he was honored as Apollo Tarrhaïos. The further connection between Tarrha and Cretan Lappa proves that the town had a wider circle of influence, as has previously been shown.²⁵ The goddess in Tarrha passed under the name of Akakallis and Apollo attached himself to her cult, doubtless driving out an older deity. The legend concerned with relations between Delphi and Cretan Tarrha, though drawn from late sources,

²⁴ Gruppe, *op. c.*, I, 37; J. Harrison, *op. c.*, 100, "Crete was the home of ceremonies of purification;" cf. Hesych. *s. v.* *ἐπὶ Ἐρωρυγίῃ*.

²⁵ On rites of purification at Tarrha, Paus. X, 16; II, 30.

undoubtedly represents an authentic association between these centers. It is interesting to note that Apollo does not come from Crete as a god of purification, but goes there to receive purification.

The rites of purification which Apollo adopted from Crete were primitive, and belonged to the pre-scientific stage of "medicine" and healing. They were especially employed for the averting of *μίασμα* in time of plague, and Aelian states that on such occasions aid was always summoned from without by the Lacedaemonians at the suggestion of the Delphic oracle.²⁶ But there must also have been some ritual in Crete for the cleansing of pollution arising from bloodshed, as the associations of Apollo Delphinios prove. This was the beginning from which the momentous advance in law, which recognized justifiable homicide, developed among the Greeks. The advance may have been gradual or due to some spontaneous movement within the religion, perhaps from Crete itself, for Epimenides appears to have been active in religious reform in Athens in the seventh century.

²⁶ Aelian, *V. H.* XII, 50, *εἰ δὲ [Λακεδαιμόνιοι] πότε ἐδεήθησαν τῆς ἐκ Μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας ἢ νοσήσαντες ἢ παραφρονήσαντες ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον δημοσίᾳ πάθοντες. μετεπέμποντο ξένους οἷον ἰατροὺς ἢ καθαρτὰς κατὰ πιθόχρηστον. μετεπέμψαντό γε μὲν Τέρπανόρον καὶ Θαλῆταν καὶ Τυρταῖον καὶ τὸν Κῦδαντα Κραφεῖα καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα.*

IV. MUSICAL ELEMENTS.

Crete played a very important part in the ritual connected with the worship of Apollo, by its contribution of musical elements. The artistic dance was of great prestige in the island, as we know from the dancing place of Ariadne, from Sappho's "Cretan women, who dance on the soft bloom of the grass," and from the dance of the Cretan Kuretes, the mailed priests of the cult of Zeus.¹ We know that the island produced some famous musicians, for Linos² and Thaletas were Cretans. Further, the seven-stringed lyre was in use in Crete, and the double flute, as we see them depicted on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada.³ In the composition of their music, the Cretans used certain rhythms which were original with them and to which they gave their name, the Cretic, and the Paeonic. In the discussion of these elements we shall begin with the hyporcheme, or mimetic dance, of which the Cretan character and origin is recognized by the ancients.

HYPORCHEME.

The distinguishing feature of the hyporcheme was the dance, which was an essential accompaniment of the song rendered.⁴ It was a dance of mimetic character⁵ concerned with depicting

¹ *Il.* XVIII, 590, Sappho, Fr. 54 f.; Eur., *Bacch.*, 120 ff.; Callim., *Hymn* I, 52 ff.

² Plut., *De Mus.* IX; Steph. Byz. 106, 14 ἡ πάλαι Ἑλεῖθερνα, Δίνου πατρίς.

³ *Mon. Autichi.*, XIX (1908), Pl. I; Lagrange, *La Crète Ancienne*, Paris, 1908, 62 ff.

⁴ Proclus, 246, ὑπόρχημα τὸ μετ' ὀρχήσεως ῥέδμενον μέλος ἐλέγετο . . . Εὐρετὰς δὲ τούτων λέγονται οἱ μὲν Κουρήτας, οἱ δὲ Πύρρον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως.

⁵ Athen. I, 15 D.

in particular the myths associated with Kronos and the Titans, and with Leto.⁶ We have definite evidence that the hyporcheme was Cretan in origin. Simonides says that it was called Cretan and Athenaeus in a discussion of the dance quotes the statement of Simonides, adding that both the hyporcheme and acrobatic tumbling were native in Crete. This form of art probably dated back to the earliest times in Crete, as it was employed in the cult of Zeus. The Kuretes are named by some writers as the inventors of the dance, by others the mother Rhea herself is mentioned.

On the shield that Hephaistos fashioned for Achilles was represented a dance, which Athenaeus calls a hyporcheme.⁷ On this shield was wrought "a dancing place, like unto that which once in wide Knossos Daedalus wrought for Ariadne of the long tresses. There were youths dancing and maidens of costly wooing, their hands on one another's wrists. . . . And now they would run around with deft feet exceeding lightly as when a potter sitting by his wheel that fitteth beneath his hands maketh trial of it whether it run; and anon they would run in lines to meet each other. And a great company stood round the lovely dance in joy (and among them a divine minstrel was making music on his lyre) and through the midst of them, leading the measure, two tumblers whirled."

⁶ Luc. *De Salt.* 37 ff., describes the various subjects rendered in the hyporcheme.

⁷ Simon. X; Athen. IV, 181 b. ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον ἡ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τοῦτο συμπόσιον εἰσαγωγή παρέγγραφός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ Κρητικοῦ χοροῦ μετεννεγμένη, περὶ οὗ φησιν ἐν Ὀλυμπείᾳ (Σ 590). Cf. Σ 605.

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποικίλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις

τῷ ἱκελὸν οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ

Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ

ἐνθα μὲν ἦθνοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεισίβοιοι

ὠρχευντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.

τοῖς μὲν οὖν Κρησὶν ἡ τε ὀρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ κυβιστᾶν (π 617) . . . ὅθεν καὶ Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα. Κρήτα μὲν καλέουσι τρόπον, τό δὲ ὄργανον Μολοσσόν. (Sim. fr. 31.) Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* II, 127, p. 322, Boeckh: ἐνιοι μὲν οὖν φασὶ πρῶτον Κούρητας τὴν ἐνόπλιον ὀρχήσασθαι ὀρχησιν, αἰθις δὲ Πύρριχον Κρήτα συντάξασθαι, θαλῆταν δὲ πρῶτον τὰ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπορχήματα, Σωσίβιος δὲ, τὰ ὑπορχηματικά μέλη πάντα Κρητικὰ λέγεσθαι. Luc., *De Salt.* 8 πρῶτον δὲ φασὶ Πέαν ἡσθεῖσαν τῇ τέχνῃ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μὲν τοὺς Κορίβαντας ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ τοὺς Κουρήτας ὀρχεῖσθαι κελεύσαι . . . οἱ γὰρ περιορχοῦμενοι διεσώσαντο αὐτὴν τὸν Δία . . . Hes. fr. 198 (44), Kouretes as dancers. Strabo X, 480.

From Crete the hyporcheme appears to have passed to Delos, for Lucian's account of the hyporcheme in Delos in later times accords with the account given above.⁸ An early example of this mimetic dance was the γέρανος, or "crane dance," instituted by Theseus about the horned altar at Delos on his return from Crete.⁹ This dance was supposed to represent the windings and turnings of the Labyrinth.

From the evidence cited, it is seen that the hyporcheme was of great antiquity in Crete. It must have antedated the Dorian invasion, because of its prominence in the cult of Rhea. The cycle of myths represented is one which the Dorians would have little interest in presenting in pantomime,¹⁰ but there is no doubt that they promptly took over this form of dance and developed it in the worship of Apollo.

Another link which binds the hyporcheme to Crete is the name of Thaletas (Midd. 7th C.). That he was a Cretan writer of paeans and hyporchemes ancient writers testify, although the place and date of his birth are in doubt.¹¹ He is credited with the second musical reform in Sparta.¹² According to a statement of Plutarch, which goes back to Pratinas, he was summoned by the Spartans on the advice of the Delphic oracle, to heal them of a plague with which they were afflicted. This he accomplished by means of his music.¹³ He is asso-

⁸ Luc., *De Salt.* c. 16; Athen. XIV, 628; cf. Pallat, *Fab. Ariad.* Berl. Diss. 1891 (crane dance).

⁹ Luc. *De Salt.* 34; Plut., *Thes.* 21, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε, . . . ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡθίων χορείαν, ἣν ἐτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίου λέγουσι, μίμῃα τῶν ἐν τῇ Δαβυρίνῳ περιόδῳ καὶ διεξόδῳ ἐν τινὶ ρυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γινόμενην. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. Ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐώνυμων ἀπάντων; Callim., *Hymn ad Ἰρ.*, 60, Altar of goats' horns collected by Artemis.

¹⁰ Hoeck, *Kreta*, III, 351; Luc. *De Salt.* 37 ff.

¹¹ Plut. *De Mus.* X; Aristot. *Pol.* II, 12, p. 1274 a 28; Suidas s. v. Θαλήτας. (Knossos or Elyros); Paus. I, 14, 4 (Gortynian).

¹² Plut., *De Mus.* IX, τῆς δευτέρας δὲ [καταστασέως ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν] Θαλήτας ὁ Γορτύνιος . . . αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνες γενέσθαι.

¹³ Plut., *De Mus.* 42, καὶ Θαλήταν τὸν Κρήτα, ὃν φασὶ κατὰ τι πυθόχρηστον Λακεδαιμονίους παραγενόμενον διὰ μουσικῆς ἰάσασθαι ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοῦ κατεχόντος λοιμοῦ τὴν Σπάρτην, καθάπερ φησὶ Πρατίνας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν κατασχόντα λοιμὸν τοῦς Ἕλληνας παύσασθαι λέγει διὰ μουσικῆς. Ael., *V. H.*, XII, 50.

ciated with the introduction of the hyporcheme into Sparta¹⁴ and with the use of the Cretic and Paeonic rhythms, which had not been used by Archilochus, Orpheus or Terpander. His influence on the music of Sparta was so far reaching that it was spoken of as a *κατάστασις*.

It appears, therefore, that the hyporcheme was original in Crete, where it antedated the Dorian invasion. As a god of prophecy and healing, Apollo readily assimilated musical elements into the ritual of his cult. The hyporcheme was one of the earliest forms of music taken over by him and developed by the incoming Dorians. It remained for the Cretan Thaletas to make the hyporcheme famous in Dorian communities, introducing into his music the native Cretan meters, "the excited Cretic and the swifter Paeonic."

¹⁴ Plut., *De Mus.* X; Strabo IX, 481, ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ τοῖς ρυθμοῖς Κρητικοῖς χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ψᾶς συντονωτάτοις οὖσιν οὓς θάλπητα ἀνευρεῖν, ὥ καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ψᾶς ἀνατιθέασιν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων. Cf. 482, Thaletas visited by Lycurgus. Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* II, 127 *supra*.

NOMOS.

The nome was probably of Cretan origin. In this department of music, however, the evidence of origin is not definitely stated by ancient writers, but must be deduced from legend and tradition. The literary tradition which particularly associates the nome with Crete is found in Proclus.¹ It is said that when the chorus was singing at the Pythian contest, Chrysothemis the Cretan, wearing the singer's robes and bearing

¹ Proclus (Phot., *Bibl.*, 320 Bekker). νόμμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐπεκλήθη διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων χοροῦς ἱσάντων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ λύραν ῥδόντων τὸν νόμον, Χρυσόθεμις δὲ Κρής πρῶτος στολῇ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ καὶ κῠθάραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μόνος ἦσε νόμον καὶ εὐδοκίμησαντος αὐτοῦ διαμένει ὁ τρόπος τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος. Cf. Archil. Fr. 133, Κρητικὸς νόμος.

the lyre, first sang the nome alone. There are certain statements in the account which cannot be accepted, for example, the epithet νόμιμος. Proclus derives this from Νόμος, whereas we know that the god was called Νόμιος. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the singing of the nome at Delphi was first associated with the Cretan Chrysothemis.

Wilamowitz considers the legend a fiction invented for the purpose of establishing Delphi's claim to citharoedic music. Chrysothemis, in his opinion, belonged to the Cretan settlement at Delphi (Χρυσόθεμις from Κρήσα). He was represented as singing a monody in the midst of the choral song, in order that the nome might be connected with the paean, which was always choral and associated with the Delphic Apollo.²

We have seen that Chrysothemis is associated by legend with another locality than Delphi, namely Cretan Tarrha. Pausanias names Chrysothemis as the son of Karmanor³ and the Scholiast on the first Pythian ode says that the son purified Apollo⁴ at Tarrha. It is significant that Chrysothemis is represented as impersonating the god, an idea which descends from the archaic conception of priesthood,⁵ and that the description of his appearance accords with representations found in Minoan Crete. On the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada,⁶ we have a male figure clad in a long robe and playing the seven-stringed lyre, much in the manner in which the god himself is represented, when in the Homeric Hymn he leads his Cretan priests to Pytho.⁷

According to tradition, the nome was especially composed for Apollo and there is proof in the term δμφαλος, which formed one of the main divisions of the nome, of a definite connection with the cult of Apollo at Delphi. The Doric forms

² Wilamowitz, Timotheus, *Die Perser*, 95 ff.

³ Paus. X, 7, 2 . . . καὶ ἦσε καὶ ἐνίκησεν ᾄδων Χρυσόθεμις ἐκ Κρήτης οὗ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ λέγεται Καρμάνωρ καθῆραι Ἀπόλλωνα.

⁴ Boeckh, *op. c.*, II, Part I, 298.

⁵ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 252.

⁶ *Mon. Ant.* XIX (1908), Pl. I.

⁷ Hom., *Hymn ad Ap.*, 514 ff., φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων καλὰ καὶ ὑψη βιβιάς . . .

of the divisions of the nome as handed down by Pollux⁸ give evidence of the great antiquity of these formal divisions. The notice of the Scholiast on the hypothesis of the Pythian Odes, that one of the parts of the *nomos* was Cretan is important for the question in hand.⁹ But the omphalos at Delphi was not originally Apollo's possession and we have seen, under the discussion of Pythios, a connection between the Delphic and the Cretan omphalos of which the latter is undoubtedly the older.¹⁰ We cannot prove that the nome was taken over by Apollo from an older Cretan worship, but it is very probable that such was the case. One use of the nome which undoubtedly dated from very early times was that of the *κραδίας νόμος*. This was an old air, played on the flute while the *καθαρμοί* or *φαρμακοί*, according to a statement of Hesychius,¹¹ were being whipped with fig branches.¹² This *φαρμακός* ritual belonged to the pre-Apolline Thargelia and was instituted to atone for the death of the Cretan Androgeos. From this fact, it is probable *αὐτὴ τῆς κραδίας νόμος* also had some original connection with Crete.

⁸ Pollux IV, 66, *μέρη δὲ τοῦ κιθαρωδικοῦ νόμον, Τερπάνδρον κατανεύμαντος ἔπαρχα, μέταρχα, κατὰτροπα, μετακατὰτροπα, ὀμφαλὸς, σφραγίς, ἐπίλογος.*

⁹ Schol., *Pind. Pyth.* I, 182 (Boeckh), cf. Cretic meter.

¹⁰ Callim., *Hymn ad Iov.*, 45.

¹¹ Hesych. s. v. *κραδίας νόμος*: *νόμον τινὰ ἐπανλοῦσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις φαρμακοῖς κράδαῖς καὶ θρίοις ἐπιραβδίζομενοι.*

¹² Cf. Francke, *Callim.*, 129, otherwise.

PAEAN.

Ancient tradition derived the paeon from Crete.¹ According to Strabo, not only the dance and certain rhythms among the Lacedaemonians were called Cretan, but the paeon also was

¹ Strabo, 481, 18, *τὴν τε ὀρχησιν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιχωριάζουσιν καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ᾄδομένους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων Κρητικὰ καλεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενα.*

held to be Cretan in origin. Tradition further made the paean coeval with the cult of Apollo by ascribing its introduction to the god himself.²

It is a significant fact that the cry, *ἰὲ Παιάν*, which forms the refrain, and which was the earliest characteristic of the paean, was said to have been uttered first by the inhabitants of Parnassus, when Apollo was engaged in combat with the Python.³ Apollonius Rhodius puts the cry in the mouth of the Korycian nymphs.⁴ These accounts seem to assign the refrain *ἰὲ Παιάν* to a people present at Delphi when Apollo made his appearance there. Some writers explain the cry as that of Leto, *ἰε παῖ*, "shoot, boy,"⁵ which is but a step farther than the explanations already cited. At any rate, the cry was as old as the god at Delphi and would appear to have belonged to the older population there.

The meaning of the refrain *ἰὲ Παιάν* is not certainly known, but the most probable interpretation recognizes it as a cry for relief from distress. The refrain is commonly used in cases

² *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.*, 514,

. . . ἤρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἀναξ Διδὸς νίδς 'Απόλλων,
φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων,
καλὰ καὶ ἔψι βιβιάς. οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο
Κρήτες πρὸς Πυθῶ καὶ ἱηπαῖον' αἰδῶσα
οἰοί τε Κρητῶν παῖθες οἰοί τε Μοῦσα
ἐν στήθεσσι βέβηκε θεὰ μελίγηρην αἰοδῆν.

Schol., *Il.* X, 391, εὔρημα μὲν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος) ὁ παιάν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην τοῦ δράκοντος αὐτὸν ἐξεῦρεν.

³ Strabo IX, 422, τοὺς δὲ Παρνασσίους . . . κατατοξέοντος ἐπικελεύειν ἰὲ παιάν ἀφ' οὗ τὸν παιανισμόν οὕτως ἐξ ἔθους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς μέλλονσι συμπίπτειν εἰς παράταξιν. (Quoting Ephorus.) Callim., *Hymn ad Ap.*, 97.

'ἰῆ ἰῆ Παιήον' ἀκούομεν, εἵνεκα τοῦτο
Δελφός τοι πρῶτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὔρετο λαός,
ἤμος ἐκηβολίην χρυσέων ἐπεδείκνυστο τόξων.
Πυθῶ τοι κατιόντι συνήρτετο δαιμόνιος θῆρ
αἰνὸς ὄφις. τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήναρες, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ
βάλλων ὠκὺν οἰστὸν. ἐπήττησε δὲ λαός
'ἰῆ, ἰῆ Παιήον ἱεὶ βέλος.' εὐθύ σε μήτηρ
γείνατ' ἀοσητήρα. τὸ δ' ἐξέτι κῆθεν αἰεῖδῃ

⁴ *Apoll. Rhod.* II, 712,

πολλὰ δὲ Κωρύκλαι νύμφαι, Πλειστοῖο θύγατρεις,
θαρούνεσκον ἔπεσιν, Ἴημε κεκληγυῖαι.
ἐνθεν δὴ τόδε καλὸν ἐφύμνιον ἐπλετο Φοῖβῳ.

⁵ *Athen.* 701 C, *Δητῶ* . . . εἶπεν ἱε παῖ. Δοῦρις, *E. M.* 469, 41.

where relief is sought from suffering or disease.⁶ This explanation accords with that of the Scholiast, who says that the paeon was a hymn, ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμοῦ ἢ χακοῦ. Further, the paeon was originally associated with Paian, the god of healing, a deity distinct from Apollo, in the opinion of most scholars.⁷ According to Usener, the god Paian was supplanted by Iatros, Asklepios and other gods of healing. His worship was widespread through the Greek world from a very early date and a trace of his cult is perhaps to be seen in Elis in a legend handed down by Pausanias. Rhea is there represented as entrusting the infant Zeus to the Idaean Daktyls or Kuretes, —Herakles, Paionaios, Epimedes, Iasos and Idas⁸ who practiced the art of healing. The question now arises, how, if the hymn was originally an invocation to Paian, it came to be associated with the worship of Apollo at Delphi.

If we examine the sources for evidence in regard to the paeon, we find that it was not used preeminently in "Dorian communities" from earliest times. The Achaeans sang both paeans of thanksgiving and battle paeans.⁹ Aside from Delphi, which we shall discuss later, the community that seems especially to have cultivated the paeon was Spartan Amyklai.¹⁰ We have seen that the paeon was sung at the Hyakinthia, originally celebrated in honor of Hyakinthos, a pre-Greek deity

⁶ Fairbanks, *A Study of the Greek Paeon*, Cornell Studies, 15; Schol. Ar., *Plut.* 636.

⁷ Hes. Fr. 194 (213); Schol. Hom., *Od.* IV, 232; Παίων ἱατρὸς θεῶν, οὗχ ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀλλὰ κεχωρισμένος. παρὰ μέντοι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς νομίζεται εἶναι. καὶ Ἡσίοδος μάρτυς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου εἶναι τὸν Παίωνα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος λέγων: εἰ μὴ φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ὑπὲρ θανάτοιο σάωσαι ἦ καὶ Παίων, ὃς ἀπάντων φάρμακα οἶδεν. Fairbanks, *op. c.*, 4 ff.; (Eisele), Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth.*, s. v. *Paian*. Usener, *G. N.* 153 ff. Crete undoubtedly had a god of healing; whether or not he was called by the name Paian we cannot say. On the top of Mt. Juktas Evans discovered an M. M. sanctuary with a pair of clay limbs dedicated to the god. Cf. Petsofa, *B. S. A.* IX, Pl. XII; Karo, *Arch. f. Rel.*, 1913, 255.

⁸ Paus. V, 7, 6, Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος ἐπιτρέψκει Ῥέαν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλουμένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ Κοῦρησιν. ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἰδῆς τῆς Κρητικῆς, Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἰασον τε καὶ Ἰδαν.

⁹ *Il.* I, 472; *Il.* XXII, 391.

¹⁰ Xen., *Hell.* IV, 5, 11 οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι αἰεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ῥακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα.

of vegetation at Amyklai. The suggestion was made that it was used there in the ritual of Hyakinthos before Apollo's coming.¹¹ The fact that the song belonged to the god Paian would not have prevented its use in the worship of other gods. In later times it was employed in the worship of Artemis, Asklepios, Hygieia, Athena, Dionysos, Poseidon and Zeus,¹² and it may have been used from the earliest times, whenever help was implored or thanksgiving expressed for relief from ill. The worship of Apollo at Amyklai belonged to the Achaeans, for the Dorians were enemies of Amyklai, so that the paean of Apollo is to be associated in this center with the Achaeans in historic times.

The paean was also sung at Delos. Euripides speaks of the Delian women singing the paean in honor of Apollo and swaying in beautiful dance before the doors of the temple.¹³ The paean here cannot be assigned to the Dorians, but belonged to the Ionians.

Finally, the paean was, *par excellence*, the Delphic hymn. The earliest mention of the use of the paean at Pytho is found in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.¹⁴ In this passage, Apollo leads his Cretan priests to Pytho in triumphal procession after he has slain the Python. The god precedes in solemn measure (*ὄψι βιβάζ*) playing the lyre, and the Cretans follow beating time and singing *ἐπηαιήων*, "paeans such as the Cretans sing to whom the divine muse has given the gift of sweet song." Croiset saw in this passage "une allusion très claire à l'origine crétoise du péan."¹⁵ It is significant that the Cretans sing the paean and sing it, as the poet expressly states, according to the fashion of their country. Further, they are the Cretans whom Apollo Delphinios, the Cretan god, led to the shores of Krisa to become the interpreters of his oracle.¹⁶ When, in addition to

¹¹ Cf. *Supra s. v. Hyakinthos*.

¹² Fairbanks, *op. c.*

¹³ Eur., *H. F.*, 685-90.

¹⁴ Cf. citation *supra*.

¹⁵ Croiset, *Histoire de la Litt. Grec.* II, 270.

¹⁶ Cf. *supra s. Delphinios*.

this tradition which places the paeon in the mouth of Cretan priests, we consider the fact that the paeonic meter was consistently attributed to Crete¹⁷ and its introduction into Greece was assigned to the Cretan Thaletas,¹⁸ the evidence for the Cretan origin of the paeon appears to be attested by fairly strong evidence. Fairbanks believes that "the paeonic meter was the form in which they cast the Cretan dance rhythm," but that the allusion in the Homeric Hymn "only means that there was a so-called paeon dance at Delphi which reminded men of the dances in Crete."¹⁹ He considers the tradition in regard to Thaletas more definite.

The close connection between Krisa and Crete must be admitted. We have seen in the discussion of *Delphinios* that the worship of Apollo Delphinios at Krisa can be traced to Crete. This cult had associations with Tarrha, a remote center of purification in Crete, where Karmanor and Chrysothemis were at home. The former is said to have purified Apollo from the pollution incurred in slaying the Python; the latter sang the first νόμος at Delphi. These associations with Tarrha are too rare to be inventions. The Homeric Hymn expressly states that the Cretan priests sang paeans at their advent at Delphi, and paeans which were of a distinctly Cretan character. There is reason to believe that they brought these with them from Crete to the Delphic settlement. We know that the Cretans were skilled in music and dancing. The hyporcheme was Cretan, and in early times may not have been differentiated from the paeon.²⁰ The nomos was probably Cretan. The Cretic and Paeonic rhythms were particular contributions of Crete to the early music of Sparta.²¹ Finally, the "inventor" of the paeon was Thaletas, the Cretan, who brought about Sparta's second musical reform.²²

¹⁷ Strabo, 481.

¹⁸ Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 32.

¹⁹ Fairbanks, *op. c.*, 46.

²⁰ Plut., *De Mus.* IX; Smyth, *op. cit.*, LXXI.

²¹ Plut., *De Mus.* 1141 A; 1143 B. & D. Schol. Ar., *Eq.* 303.

²² Strabo, 481; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.*, ῥῶν παιᾶνας ἀρχαίους τινὰς τῶν Θάλητος

The Cretan origin of the paean explains its widespread use in Homeric times. The Achaeans probably took over this hymn from Crete and from there Delos also may have acquired it. The close connection between the two islands is proved by excavations, by the Theseus cycle of myths and by the Cretan priests who murmur prayers about the altar in Delos.²³ Lastly, Spartan Amyklai was deeply dyed in pre-Greek influence, as is shown by excavations, by its name, by its god Hyakinthos, and its archaic festivals, the *Kopides* and *Hyakinthia*.²⁴ It was second only to Delphi in the celebrating of the paean, which appears to date from a very early period in Amyklai.

²³ Verg., *Aen.* IV, 146; Gruppe, *op. c.* I, 233. The ancient name of Delos as well as that of Crete was Asteria. Cf. Zeus Asterios.

²⁴ Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 129 ff.

V. SUMMARY.

A brief survey of the present investigation has disclosed the fact that Apollo took over into his worship certain cults which emanated from Crete, such as Smintheus, Delphinios, Amyklaios-Hyakinthos, Tarrhaios. He appropriated the ancient oracle at Pytho, which was probably founded by men of the Aegean stock, and, by displacing an earth goddess of the older religion, he became Pythios. From Crete were derived the cathartic elements prominent in the ritual at Delphi and undoubtedly an important requisite to the cult of Delphinios. Evidence points to the coming of the paean from Crete, possibly also the nomos; in Crete, the hyporcheme arose. The island may thus be said to have been the source from which the important musical elements were derived which were employed in the worship of Apollo, especially at Delphi and Amyklai.

The evidence has further shown the important relations existing between Crete and Delphi. This has been brought out by the discussion of the Pythian and Delphinian Apollo and by the cults of Agyieus and Tarrhaios. It is proved by the legends in regard to purification and the presence of Cretan music and musicians at Delphi. And this suggests the reason why Apollo settled at Delphi. Coming down from the North as a great Northern god, he found at Delphi an oracle of importance. This oracle, if not a Cretan foundation, was appropriated by Cretans at a very early date. If it was a *Pelasgian* oracle, belonging to a race considered by many to be a mainland branch of the Minoans, the goddess who possessed it at a remote period was either the Cretan earth goddess or a cult sister. The divination was of an enthusiastic type known to have existed in Crete in the cult of Rhea, and it is doubtless

true that Crete contributed much to the history of enthusiastic divination in Greece. One of the most important tenets of the Delphic oracle was the doctrine of purification, and we have every reason to believe that this doctrine had its roots in Crete. The god with whom this purification ritual was associated was Delphinios, whose cult in Athens, where we can see it at its best, was intimately concerned with purification. That this god was oracular seems improbable. He may have been closely associated with the oracle of Ge, but there is no evidence that he founded this oracle or was originally concerned with divination. It is not impossible that the tradition that Poseidon and Ge once held the Delphic oracle in common, is a reminiscence of the connection of the dolphin god with the oracle at Delphi. Thus the Delphic oracle, according to the evidence cited, was essentially Cretan in character, and the advent of Apollo marks the fusion of Northern and Cretan elements into a great common worship.

The above summary leads to the discussion of several points not heretofore noted in detail in this investigation, namely, the character of the elements appropriated from Crete, the people from whom they were taken over and the time at which this took place; finally, the relation of Apollo to Crete.

It is significant that the elements taken over by Apollo from Crete betray for the most part the characteristics of a primitive religion and reveal Apollo as *'Αλεξίφακος*, or as the healer. The Pythian cult undoubtedly had something of this character, as the oracle was especially consulted in early times in regard to disease, the propagation of the family, and matters especially concerned with bodily existence. The cult of Delphinios had its ritual of purification, which bore traces of primitive rites of healing. The cult of Apollo Tarrhaïos had similar ceremonies. Smintheus was an averter of plague, Agyieus was the pillar god who warded off evil from the house and at one time probably headed the procession of invaders into Greece as they moved on their way of conquest. The musical elements discussed reveal the same primitive character. The paean was

a song of healing, in origin probably an incantation with magical power. Thaletas was able to heal with his songs; Epimenides was the magically gifted purifier. On the whole, the contribution of Crete toward the development of Apollo worship reveals a religion concerned with rites of healing and aversion.

The antiquity of the cults taken over is revealed by the fact that each of these elder gods had only a *περίφρακτον* or *temenos*. To this enclosure the god gave his own name; the Delphinion, the Sminthion, and the Amyklaion thus bear the marks of this earlier and more primitive age when the god was without a dwelling.

Apollo must have entered Minoan territory under very auspicious circumstances, when the Aegean power was beginning to decay and when the Achaeans were making inroads into the island. The Minoan deities were still uppermost in power and even Apollo, who fought his way into Greece from the beginning,¹ could not do more than gradually take over their cults and attach their names as epithets to his own. Thus he became Apollo Delphinios, Pythios, Smintheus, Tarrhaïos. It does not appear that these gods were necessarily assimilated into his cult because of common interests of cult, but because they were in power in the centers to which Apollo came and his worship proved the stronger.

A review of the evidence also reveals the fact that historical Crete of Greek times played a relatively unimportant rôle in the early development of Apolline worship. On the other hand, prehistoric, pre-Greek, non-Greek Crete had a very important influence on Greece in religion, myths, laws and social customs.² This non-Greek character of the Minoan culture is especially

¹ Cf. his combats with the Python, Typhon, Tityos, the Pallantids, the Niobids.

² Prinz, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1910, 149 ff. Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1912, 283, "*Minoan and Mycenaean Elements in Hellenic Life*." The writer shows that if the Achaeans founded this culture, because of the continuity of the civilisation, they must have entered Crete in the neolithic age. Cf. Karo, *Arch. f. Rel.* VII, 156 = "1000 years of Achaean domination;" Dörpfeld, *N. J.*, 1912, 1-26, presents another view.

significant, and it is to this layer of civilisation that the cults and ritualistic elements which we have treated belong. These early Cretans were not Achaeans, for the script used in Crete was wholly foreign to the Achaeans. The difference between the Mycenaean culture in Crete and on the mainland is additional proof of this fact. The people who must be named as the leaders of this civilisation were the Eteocretans.⁵ By modern authorities they are identified with the Kafti⁶ who were recognized by the Egyptians in 1600-1500 B. C. as a mighty sea-people. They are represented on Egyptian monuments much as we find them on the wall paintings in Crete. The origin of the Eteocretans is uncertain. By Evans and Mackenzie⁷ they have been traced to Libya, but this conclusion is not accepted by most scholars. Associated with them were two other enigmatic peoples, the Lycians (Lukka), in Asia Minor, who went from Crete to the mainland, and the Tursi, who were later the Tyrsenians of Lemnos and the Etruscans of Italy.⁸

Apollo came to Crete when this pre-Greek civilisation was in its decline and when the Achaeans had a foot-hold in the island. He was not native in Crete and had no important family ties there. Zeus preceded him in the island and attached himself to the great mother goddess, perhaps displacing a native son. Apollo became the father of Philandros and Phylakides by the Cretan nymph Akakallis who belonged in western Crete, or he had a son, Miletos, by the same goddess, or he was the son of Korymbos,⁹ but he had no binding ties in Crete. It is possible that his attachment to Leto may have begun in Crete but it is more probable that this association occurred later, when the "sub-Aegean" culture was at its height, on the shores of Asia Minor. We know of a prehistoric migration

⁵ *Odyss.* XIX, 175; *Hdt.* I, 171; *Strabo*, 221, 475, 478.

⁶ Cf. name Kaptōr for Crete, among the Israelites; *Hall, B. S. A.*, VIII, 157, *Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea*.

⁷ Mackenzie, *B. S. A.* XII, 216; Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1897, 374 ff.

⁸ Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alter.* I, 2, 677 ff.

⁹ *Cicero, De Nat. Deor.* III, 23; *Clem. Alex., Protrep.*, 24.

of Apollo Lykeios from Argos *via* Crete to the coast of Asia Minor,⁸ where Leto appears to have had an important cult. The name Lato was extant in Crete from an early date and we know that Miletos was a Cretan foundation.⁹ Doubtless the name was used in Crete for a goddess there, an offshoot of the Cretan mother. This name came to be applied in later times to an important mother goddess of Lycia.¹⁰ When the Northern god Apollo, the common deity of all Greek stocks, came into Lycia, he was affiliated with the Lycian Leto just as in Crete the worship of Zeus was attached to that of the Cretan mother. It is probable that Apollo displaced a native deity who stood in a similar relation to this Asiatic mother goddess.¹¹ In Lycia, according to this theory, the Northern Apollo became *Λητοίδης*.¹² It remained for the epic to establish this relationship on a firm basis.

⁸ Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 122, 123.

⁹ Cf. *supra* on *Delphinios*. Dr. Robinson informs me that the Mycenaean site of Miletos has been found and that the vases discovered, now in Berlin, and shortly to be published, prove the Cretan connections.

¹⁰ Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 1911, 90, contests the view that Leto was aboriginal and paramount in Lycia, because the proof of her cult is late. He thinks that Apollo was supreme there in early times.

¹¹ Apollo Laribenos, Ramsay, *A. J. A.*, 1887, 348 (Hierapolis); *J. H. S.*, 1889, 216.

¹² Vs. the view of Wilamowitz, Leto = Lycian *lada*, see Farnell, l. c.

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