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with J. S. Harrison's kind regards

BIRD AND PILLAR WORSHIP IN
CONNEXION WITH OURANIAN DIVINITIES

By JANE ELLEN HARRISON

'Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss
And madst it pregnant.'

AUGUST FICK¹ has told us that the Leleges worshipped Twins and Birds. Into the ethnology of this mysterious and shifting people I do not propose to enter. But I want to ask, and, it may be, in part to answer, the question: Was there in ancient Greece a regular cult of birds? a worship acknowledged, orthodox, well-defined; and, if such a cult existed, what was its significance?

Had I asked the question some five years ago, my answer must have been vague and halting. I might have pointed to sacred birds as attributes of certain divinities, the Eagle of Zeus, the Owl of Athena, the Swan of Apollo. I might have added that in Greek mythology stories of bird-metamorphoses abound. Such are the myths of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela, of Nisos and Skylla, of the Meleagrides, of the Heliades. With these myths were apt to be connected stories of bird paternities; and these bird paternities, I might have noted, had special affinity with Twin divinities, as with Leda and the Swan, the Dioscuri and the Molionidae.² Turning to literature, it would have been impossible even then to forget the kingdom of the birds pictured to us by Aristophanes, his reminiscence³ of olden times, when Zeus was not, and the woodpecker was king. But all this must have seemed matter for poetical fancy, haunting the imagination but scarcely affording precise evidence for definite Bird-cults.

To-day we stand upon firmer ground. On the famous Hagia Triada sarcophagus (Fig. 1)⁴ discovered at Phaistos, we have evidence clear and indefeasible that in Minoan days there was a public cultus of birds with regular established ritual.

The scene there depicted explains itself. To the right is a shrine with a sacred tree; in front a low basis; on it a pillar, which in the preceding design was obviously a palm stem. The pillar is surmounted

¹ *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, pp. 113-114. ² *Ibycus, frag.* 16. ³ *Ar. Av.* 480.

⁴ *Revue Biblique*, 1907, p. 342, Fig. 34, M. J. Lagrange; reproduced here by kind permission of MM. J. Gabalda et Cie. I examined the sarcophagus myself five years ago in the Candia Museum, but I was not studying bird-worship at the time, and my remembrance of the character of the bird is vague.



by a double-axe, on which is perched a bird of black colour, possibly a pigeon¹ or, as Dr. Evans suggests, a black woodpecker. In all there are three objects of worship, a trinity of birds surmounting a trinity of double-axes and palms. And, delightful fact, it is clear as day that these birds are no decorative adjuncts but the objects of a definite cult. In the one design three worshippers approach, one with a great lyre, the second with a basket of offerings, while the foremost pours libations into a *situla*. In the second design² the action is less clear; but we have in front of the holy bird a basket of fruit, an *oinochoe*, and a small portable altar.

We have then before us clear evidence of the worship of birds. Two of the worshippers are dressed in the skins of some animal, and the robes end in tails. It is tempting to see in these ritual robes feather dresses ending in 'bird'-tails, but Dr. Evans and Professor von Duhn pronounce against this view. It may, however, be worth pointing out that in the bird-worship of Egypt the priestess of a bird-goddess did actually wear a bird robe, as we see in Fig. 2. Here we have the image of a Carthaginian priestess on a sarcophagus found at Bord-el-Djedid.³ The priestess wears the dress of the Egyptian goddess Isis-Nephthys; her body is hidden by the two wings of the sacred vulture, which enfold the hips and cross in front. The vulture's head appears above the head-dress. The colouring of the feathers is vivid blue; but the colourless reproduction here shown gives but a slight idea of the loveliness of the bird-priestess. In her right hand she holds a bird.

This bird-dress is not a mere curiosity. It is a ritual fact of the first importance. What is the good of dressing up as a bird, unless the bird is a being stronger and holier than yourself, whose divine nature you seek to put on with his feathers?

Phoenicia may seem remote; Ephesus is nearer home. Among the strange and beautiful archaic ivory statuettes found by Mr. Hogarth under the basis of the Artemis statue at Ephesus is that of a priestess (Fig. 3).⁴ She carries a sacrificial vessel, while on her head is a huge pole surmounted by a hawk-like bird, evidently to be carried in ritual procession. Was Artemis herself once a bird-goddess?

I return to Crete. Dr. Evans's Dove-Goddess (Fig. 4),⁵ which I now place before you, is familiar to all. She was found, it will be remem-

¹ According to Aristotle, the pigeon (*φάρτα*) was the largest of the dove species, about the size of a cock, and ashy in colour: *Ar. H. A.* 13, 544 b *μέγιστον (τῶν περισστεροειδῶν) ἢ φάρτα ἐστί.* Cf. *frag.* 271, 1527 (*ap.* Athen. ix. 394 a) *ἀλέκτρος τὸ μέγεθος ἔχει, τὸ χρῶμα σπόδιον.*

² Lagrange, *op. cit.*, Fig. 35.

³ Mabel Moore, *Carthage of the Phoenicians*, 1905; frontispiece in colour, and p. 146: reproduced here by kind permission of Mr. Heinemann.

⁴ *Ephesus*, pl. xxii.

⁵ *B. S. A.* viii, p. 99, Fig. 56.

bered, in the miniature shrine with the horns of consecration and the double-axes. On the head of the half-anthropomorphic figure is settled a dove, and on the breast of the goddess or priestess it is surely not fanciful to see in the painted decoration her outspread wings.¹

In like fashion a dove is perched on the head of the gold-leaf goddesses of Mycenae (Fig. 5).² The goddess is in fact in both cases only the anthropomorphic form of the ancient dove-surmounted pillar. May I remind you of the painted terra-cotta pillars surmounted by doves, which Dr. Evans has discovered and interpreted (Fig. 6) ?³

The worship of birds in Minoan Crete is, we may venture to hope, clearly established. We turn now to our second question : what is its significance ?

The bird is perched upon a pillar. The pillar, as Dr. Evans has clearly shown, and as is evident from the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, stands for a sacred tree. That pillar, that tree, takes human shape as a goddess ; and that goddess is the Great Mother, who, taking divers shapes as Mother and Maid, develops later into Gaia, Rhea, Demeter, Dictynna, Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena. As Mother Earth she is also Πότνια Θηρών, with her lions, her stags, her snakes.

And the bird ? If the tree is of the earth, the bird surely is of the heaven. In the bird brooding upon the pillar we have, I think, the primal form of the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia, of Sky the father with Earth the mother. And of that marriage sprang, as Hesiod⁴ has told us, not only mortal man but all the glory of the later gods.

κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων,
οἱ Γῆς τ' ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος

The old lovely anthropomorphism lingers on even to-day : we speak of Mother Earth, and the Church still prays to ' our Father which art in heaven '.

But in the days of Pillar and Bird, anthropomorphism was not yet. The dove was not the attribute or messenger of the divine father ; it was itself the Life-spirit, the Father. Dr. Evans writes as follows :⁵

' The dove is the image of the divine descent and the consequent

¹ The wings were, I believe, first noticed by Mr. A. B. Cook.

² Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 101.

³ *B. S. A.* viii, p. 29, Fig. 14.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.* 105.

⁵ *J. H. S.* xxi (1901), p. 105 ; *B. S. A.* viii, p. 29. Dr. Evans further points out that when sacred doves appear in their simplest European form, they are generally associated with the sepulchral cult of the spirit of the departed. For instance, the heathen Lombards ornamented their graveposts with the effigy of a dove. See Paul. Diacon. *de Gest. Langob.* This is of much interest in connexion with the fact that on the other side of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus the scene represented may be the cult of a dead man. But into this question I do not propose to enter.



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possession of the betylic column by a spiritual being. Among primitive races to-day the spiritual being constantly descends on the tree or stone in the form of a bird.'

Dr. Evans, if I rightly understand him, regards the dove as the divine life entering the lifeless pillar and becoming substantially one with it. I venture on a slight but, I think, not unimportant modification of this view. I regard the conjunction of bird and pillar as the union of two divine lives, male and female; as in fact the primitive form of what later took literary shape and name, and greater precision of sex,¹ as the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia, Father and Mother.

But how is this view² to be reconciled with an undoubted fact observed by Mr. Evans? In Aegean lands the dove early became the attribute of not a god but a goddess. Dare we take from Aphrodite the 'doves that drew her', and give them to a man-god, be he ever so Ouranian? And, on the other hand, if the pillar be the vehicle or phytomorphic form of Gaia the Earth-Mother, what becomes of the Oak-Zeus whose branches Mr. Cook has made to shadow all the land?

The explanation is simple and, I trust, convincing. We are all right. In matriarchal lands the stress of parentage is laid on the Mother, and she tends to assimilate the doves, the attributes of the Father. Aphrodite is herself 'Ouranian'. In patriarchal lands the stress is laid on the Father; and at Dodona,³ not content with his own lawful Ouranian doves, Zeus in true Olympian fashion wrests to himself the Oak-tree of the Earth-Mother.

At this point I should like to draw attention to a class of monuments outside Greek art, in which the bird on the pillar appears as a well-established type; I mean the Babylonian boundary-stones known as *kudurrus*. Of these boundary-stones twenty complete specimens are known and sixteen fragmentary ones. They cover a period from 1350 to 650 B. C., and have recently been collected and discussed in a convenient volume by Drs. Hinke and Hilprecht.⁴ I will here only

¹ A language that has *ἡ στίλη* and *ὁ στῦλος* may well, as Prof. Gilbert Murray points out to me, indulge in some vagueness as to the sex of a pillar.

² This view was held independently of, and prior to me, by Mr. Cook, who expressed it to me in conversation before this paper was cast in final form. My own attention was at the time so exclusively focused on the Ouranian significance of the bird, that, but for this expression, I might never have completely grasped the symbolism of the conjunction of bird and pillar. It is specially satisfactory to me that starting from quite different points—Mr. Cook I believe from Zeus and Oak-worship, and I from the Orphic parentage of Ouranos and Gaia, and the Ouranian symbolism of birds—we should have arrived substantially at the same main conclusion.

³ *C. R.* xvii (1903), p. 408.

⁴ The Babylonian Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, ed. H. V. Hilprecht; vol. iv by W. J. Hinke, Philadelphia, 1907: *A New Boundary-Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I from Nippur*.

refer to the well-known *kudurru* (Fig. 7)¹ of the time of Nebuchadrezzar, where we have the usual Sun, Moon, and Evening Star, the symbols of various other astral divinities, and among them a bird on a pillar. The instance given is only one out of a series of thirteen.

I am no Orientalist. I bring these monuments forward not to interpret them, but in the confident hope that there will be Oriental scholars present who will read the riddle. Drs. Zimmern and Frank,² by a process of exhaustion, conclude that the bird on the pillar is the symbol of Aru-ru. Aru-ru appears in the Gilgamesh story, and is associated with the creation of Ea-bani. Part of her story was transferred to the Eve of our Bible. She seems to be a kind of primal Mother. I shall be grateful to any one who can give me positive evidence of this attribution of the bird and pillar to Aru-ru.

But, it may fairly be asked, is there any evidence that in Minoan and Mycenaean lands divinities of the Sky as well as of the Earth were worshipped? The familiar double-axe is now acknowledged on all hands to be the symbol of the thunderbolt, of Keraunos before he became Zeus-Keraunos. But the double-axe I leave to Dr. Evans and Mr. A. B. Cook. For more direct evidence of astral worship I turn to the famous gold ring from Mycenae (Fig. 8).³

Here is the Earth-goddess under her great fruit-bearing tree, while above is all the glory of Ouranos, Sun and Moon, and Milky Way. If it be urged that this is mere scenic background, the evidence of a lentoid seal found in Crete cannot be gainsaid (Fig. 9).⁴ Here is a sanctuary, and within or below the sanctuary the crescent moon—the Moon which, as Fick⁵ has noted, was worshipped under the form of Endymion by those same Leleges who worshipped birds.

For later evidence, showing the conjunction of birds and astral symbols, we have the familiar coin of Paphos (Fig. 10).⁶

If the astral and Ouranian significance of the dove be counted problematic, there is another bird, the king of birds, who brings instant conviction. The eagle carries the thunderbolt; the thunderbolt is the fire-bearing eagle. Peithetairos threatening to destroy the Palace says, quoting Aeschylus:

‘This Palace and Amphion’s domes I will Reduce to ashes with fire-bearing eagles.’⁷

καταιθαλώσω πυρφόρουσιν ἀετοῖς.

¹ Brit. Mus. *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, pl. xi., E. A. Wallis Budge.

² *Leipziger Semit. Stud.* ii. 2; *Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Götter*, v. K. Frank, nebst einem Beitrag v. H. Zimmern, 1906, p. 39.

³ *J. H. S.* (1901), p. 108, Fig. 4.

⁴ *J. H. S.* (1901), p. 185, Fig. 59.

⁵ *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, p. 112.

⁶ Perrot et Chipiez, iii, p. 119.

⁷ *Ar. Av.* 1247; Aeschylus, *frag.* 157.



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Thunder, thunderbolt, and lightning are not distinguished, and further they are not for death and destruction only. Like the Sun they are part of the heavenly fire, the *Aither*, only caught and imprisoned in a black thunder-cloud. As Euripides¹ has it, it is in his Epiphany of thunder and of lightning that Keraunos comes to Keraunia, that the Sky-god weds Semele, the Earth, the 'bride of the bladed Thunder', βροντῇ ἀμφιπύρῳ τοκάδα.

The eagle, then, though he is the thunder-and-lightning bird, is also the Sun-bird (Fig. 11).² The design before you is from the roof of a small Phoenician sanctuary. We see before our eyes the metamorphosis of Sun into eagle. It may be urged that this is Phoenician and not Greek imagination. But can we forget that in the heart of Arcadia in the ancient precinct of Zeus Lukaios,³ that place of uttermost light where neither man nor beast casts a shadow, there was no image of Lukaios the Light-god; only two pillars facing the rising of the Sun, and on them two golden eagles. Aelian⁴ tells us that the nestlings of an eagle were exposed to the Sun's rays, to test if they were real eagles, that is, real children of the Sun. If an eagle so much as blinked it was cast out of the paternal nest; but if he never flinched, he was enrolled in the eagle tribe. 'Facing the heavenly fire' (πῦρ τὸ οὐράνιον) was his token and certificate of birth.

M. Salomon Reinach in his brilliant tract *Aietos-Prometheus*⁵ has shown, to me convincingly, that Prometheus was his own eagle. And who was Prometheus? Who but an elder Zeus, a Sky-god, a Titan, a Fire-bearer, twin-brother of Atlas, with whom he upheld the heavens? We see them at their common labour on the famous Kyrene kylix in the Vatican (Fig. 12).⁶ As I have tried to show elsewhere, behind Prometheus is his zoomorphic form, an eagle perched upon a pillar.

Many years ago Dr. Maximilian Mayer in his original book, *Die Giganten*, showed conclusively that these earlier pre-Olympian divinities, these Titans, were sky and sun potencies; were literally *Aitherioi*, *Ouraniones*. Tantalus, Atlas, Prometheus, Sisyphus, and a host of others, are all hypostases of Sun and Sky, and Titan himself—convincing fact—who was he but the Sun-god?⁷ Owing to the reaction against an overdriven Sun-mythology, Dr. Mayer's work has never, to my mind, met with the attention it deserved. We have been absorbed of late in the figure of the Mother, Gaia, in her many mani-

¹ Eur. *Hipp.* 559, translated by Professor Gilbert Murray: cf. *Bac.* 3 Σεμέλη λοχευθεῖσ' ἀστραπηφόρῳ πυρί, and frequently.

² Bérard, *Cultes Arcadiens*, p. 89. ³ Paus. viii. 30. 2. ⁴ *De Nat. Anim.* ii. 26.

⁵ *Rev. Arch.* 1907, ii, p. 59. ⁶ Gerhard. *A. V.* ii, pl. 86.

⁷ For Titan and Helios at Titane see Kaibel, *Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαίου*, p. 493.

festations, her fertility-rites and the like. But because we bow before the shrine of Gaia, need we disallow the might of Ouranos ?

Man is always nearer earth than heaven. The anthropomorphic Olympians were powerless to efface the images or abolish the cults of the Earth-goddesses. But before the human Zeus and the well-nigh superhuman Apollo the old Sky-gods, the Ouranians, Atlas, Prometheus, Titan, and the rest, dwindled and paled. Their bird forms lived on, but mainly in a senseless and fantastic mythology, fit material for the Metamorphoses of an Ovid. Now and again a poet as well as a comedian betrays some haunting remembrance of a bird kingdom divine, in sunlit places :

Could I take me to some cavern for mine hiding,
On the hill-tops where the Sun scarce hath trod ;
Or a cloud make the home of mine abiding
As a Bird among the Bird-Droves of God.

ἡλιβάτους ἐνὶ κευθμῶσι γειοίμαν
ἵνα με πτεροῦσσαν ὄρνιν ἀγέλησιν
ποταναῖς θεὸς ἐνθεῖη.¹

In Greek art the type of the bird on the pillar lived on, its meaning only half understood. A few instances may be cited :

1. First, the owls of Athena on two columns, between them Leto and her twins.² In like fashion on Panathenaic vases³ the cocks of Athena appear.

2. On a vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁴ a raven on a column seems to mark the locality as Hades. Standing near by is Cerberus. The connexion of the raven and Hades I cannot explain.

3. On coins of Croton⁵ we find a great eagle perched on a column ; and we remember the white eagle of Pythagoras.⁶

4. On imperial coins of Leucas⁷ we have Artemis with her bow, above her head the crescent moon ; behind on a high support stands a bird, and we are reminded of the bird-priestesses of Artemis at Ephesus.⁸

¹ Euripides, *Hipp.* 732, trans. Professor Gilbert Murray.

² *Élite des Monuments Céram.* ii. pl. 2.

³ *Mon. d. Inst.* x. See also *Die hellen. Kultur*, Taf. v, p. 150.

⁴ *Bibl. Nat. Cat. des Vases Peints*, 269, A. de Ridder, p. 179, Fig. 26.

⁵ *B. M. Cat. Italy*, p. 349.

⁶ *Iambl. vit. Pyth.* xxviii. 142.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Thessaly-Aetolia*, p. 179, pl. xxviii, 15 and 16.

⁸ The bird, according to the catalogue description stands on a sceptre ; but the support, if a sceptre, is unusually high. It is far more likely that the bird is not the eagle of the imperial standard but a zoomorphic form of the goddess. I may note here that I do not propose to discuss the common type of the eagle on the standard, but it tells the same tale of bird divinity. The god was once a bird, the king was once a god. For birds on sceptres see Mr. A. B. Cook, 'European Sky-God,' *Folklore*, xv (1904), pp. 371-390.



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5. On a silver patera in the Bibliothèque Nationale¹ we have a Hellenistic Hermes in full human form. Clustered around him are the animals he once was; among them *on a pillar* is a cock—a cock who, we remember, was in Crete the embodiment of the Cretan Vulcan, *Φέλαχος*.²

In all these scattered instances, which might be multiplied, we have no definite evidence of cultus. It is otherwise with our next example.

6. The design next given (Fig. 13)³ is from a gem. A woodpecker stands on a post round which is coiled a snake. The snake is of some importance, as marking the chthonic character of post and tree. At the foot is a sacrificial ram. We might hesitate to interpret the scene but for a passage in Denys of Halicarnassus: ⁴ 'Three hundred stadia further is Tiora called Matiene. Here there is said to have been an oracle of Mars, of great antiquity. It is reported to have been similar in character to the fabled oracle at Dodona, except that whereas at Dodona it was said that a dove, perched on a sacred oak, gave oracles, among the Aborigines the oracles were given by a god-sent bird, called by them Picus (the Greeks name it Dryokolaptes), which appears on a wooden pillar.'⁵

Tiora and Picus, who gave his name to the Picentines, may seem remote from Greece. But Aristophanes, as already noted,⁵ remembered the days when Picus was king before Zeus; and, more curious still, according to Suidas,⁶ on the tomb of Minos-Zeus in Crete was the inscription, 'Here lieth dead Picus who is also Zeus',

ἐνθάδε κείται θανὸν Πήκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς.

The old bird-god king of Crete survived in remote aboriginal Tiora. This would add new interest to Dr. Evans's suggestion that the bird on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus is a woodpecker.

Specially interesting is it that Denys sees in the Tioran Oracle-cult an analogy to Dodona. At Ammon and at Dodona was the same cult of sacred birds connected with sacred trees and at Dodona with dove-priestesses (Peleiades).⁷ We see the doves of Dodona on an imperial coin of Halicarnassus (Fig. 14).⁸ Zeus Askraios, the oak-god, crowned with rays, stands in human form between his oaks on which are perched the doves.

¹ *J. H. S.* 1882, pl. xxii.

² See A. B. Cook, *C.R.* 1903, p. 413.

³ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gem.* pl. xxiv. 10, p. 119.

⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant.* i. 14; *C.R.* 1904, p. 375. For association of Picus and tree see also Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 37.

⁵ *Supra* p. 154.

⁶ s. v. Πήκος; see A. B. Cook, 'European Sky-God,' *Folklore*, 1904, p. 387.

⁷ For the various traditions as to the Peleiades and the supersession of priests by priestesses see Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* 1166, and D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, s. v. Πέλειαι.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Greek Coins*, Caria, p. 111, No. 88. See A. B. Cook, *C.R.* 1903, p. 416, Fig. 10.

And, again, the oak and the doves appear on a bronze coin of Epirus¹ itself.

The doves and oaks of Dodona passed with the Oak-Zeus to Olympia. We see them on a red-figured vase in the British Museum; ² they frame a picture of the oath-taking of Pelops and Oinomaos. At Ammon it is not a little curious that the fountain of the Sun is known to this day as the Fountain of the Doves.³

I venture to go further. Not only at Dodona and Ammon was there a bird-worship of Uranian significance, but its symbol survived in the great historic centre of Greek religious life, in Delphi. On a votive relief in the Sparta Museum (Fig. 15)⁴ we see Apollo and Artemis in human form. Beneath them are the older divinities of Earth and Sky, the omphalos and the eagles. The omphalos is not, I think, the stump of a tree, nor even at first a speaking stone (Ὀμφή). It is simply what the name says, the navel⁵ of the Earth-goddess, the Mother thought of anthropomorphically. And on either side are the Uranian parent-birds, be they eagles or crows or swans,⁶ who brought to the Mother life and light. On a Phoenician stele (Fig. 16)⁷ in the Bibliothèque Nationale we have the same conjunction, the goddess and the Sky-birds. In the upper part of the design she has taken full human form. Above her is arched the sky, in her hands the sun and moon.

On the well-known coin of Mallos (Fig. 17)⁸ in Cilicia, the aniconic Earth-goddess is attended by her two birds, by canting heraldry, half grape-bunches, half-pigeons (οἰβάδες).

And last, in a curious Egyptian design from the Book of Am-Tuat (Fig. 18)⁹ we have the black under-world with two Light-birds clinging to it, strangely like in pose to the golden omphalos eagles in the rare electrum stater of Cyzicus reproduced in Fig. 19.¹⁰

Only a single instance is known to me in which a single bird surmounts the omphalos, a red-figured vase in the Naples Museum.¹¹

¹ See A. B. Cook, *C.R.* 1903, p. 408, Fig. 4.

² Brit. Mus. *Walters Cat. Vases*, iv. 136.

³ *C.R.* 1903, p. 403. Herod. ii. 55.

⁴ Sparta, *Cat.* 468. *Att. Mitth.* 1887, p. 378, pl. 12.

⁵ H. Diels, *Arcana Cerealia*, p. 13, note 5.

⁶ For the divers birds see Plut. *de def. orac.* i; Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 6; Middleton, *J.H.S.* ix, p. 294.

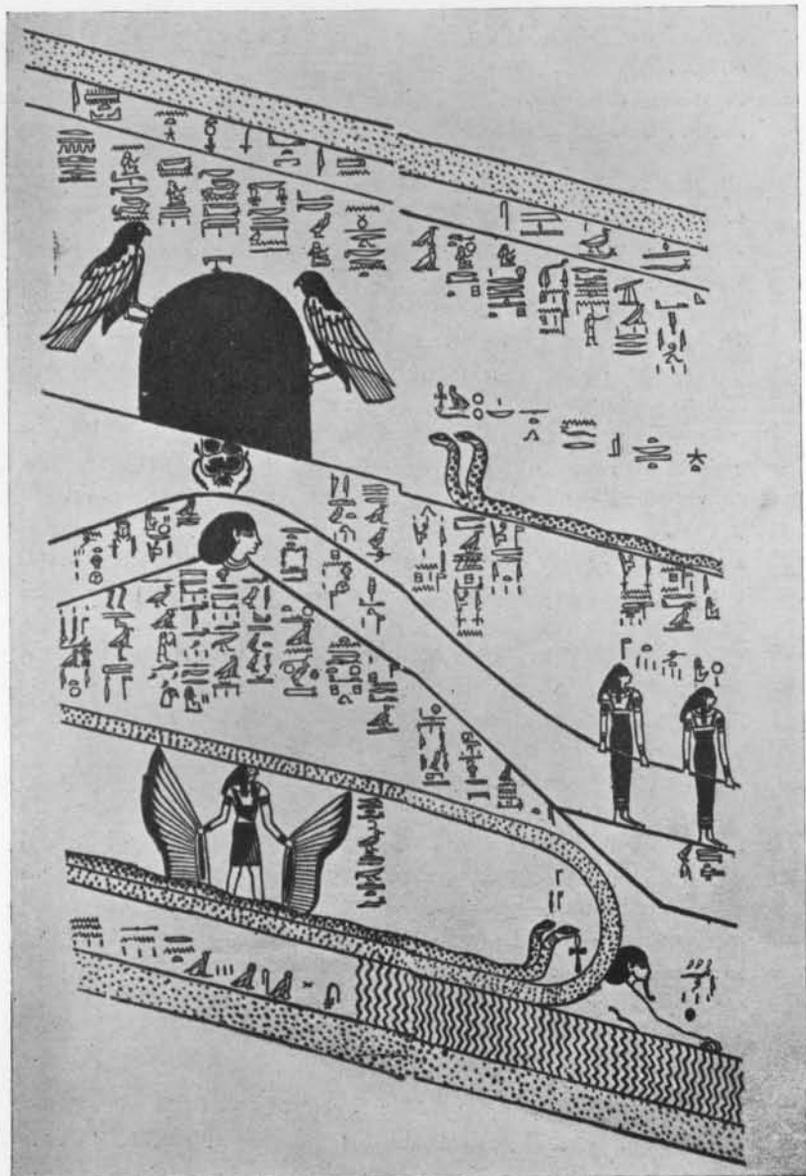
⁷ *C. Inscript. Sem.* pl. xlv, No. 183.

⁸ Svoronos, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 107. D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, s. v. Οἰβάς.

⁹ Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, i, p. 102; reproduced here by kind permission of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

¹⁰ *Cat. of Greek Coins*, Mysia, pl. viii, no. 7. Similar to these birds are the eagles which perch on an unexplained object on the proto-Corinthian lekythos in the Boston Museum, *Proleg.*² p. 382, Fig. 116.

¹¹ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1865, Tav. d'agg., H.



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Turning finally to literature, it is, I am convinced, on no mere fancy of the comedian but on the actual foundation of ancient bird-cultus, that Cloud-cuckoo-town, Nephelokokygia, is builded. Did not Zeus himself woo Hera in the form of a cuckoo? The Sky-Father in bird form woos the Earth-Maiden. He wooed her on the mountain Kokkygion near Sparta, and for that, Pausanias¹ says, was a cuckoo perched on Hera's sceptre. The *Birds* of Aristophanes, seen in this new religious light, would well repay detailed examination.²

There is, however, one tradition of deep religious import enshrined in the *Birds*, which I cannot pass by, and with which I will conclude. The birds are gods; thus and thus only can and must the world have sprung from an egg.

In the beginning of Things black-winged Night
Into the bosom of Erebus dark and deep
Laid a wind-born Egg.³

I venture to translate *ἰπηνέμιον* not as 'wind-egg' but (as I think) more literally 'wind-born', 'wind-begotten'. The beautiful doctrine of the fatherhood of the wind and the Virgin Birth was Orphic, and is connected with the ancient Attic cult of the wind-gods, the Tritopatores, worshipped by bride and bridegroom before marriage.⁴ The World-Egg, looking back to the divine Bird, is Orphic. Orpheus said: 'What time great Chronos fashioned in holy Aether a silver-gleaming Egg.'⁵

The cosmic heavenly Egg lives on in the story of the Tyndaridae and of other twins. The Egg from which the Tyndaridae sprang fell from heaven;⁶ and, no doubt in honour of this belief, from the roof of the sanctuary of Hilaria and Phoebe—significant names—an Egg was suspended.⁷ Twins and eggs go together, as Dr. Kaibel⁸ has observed. Twins and birds, as we have seen, went together in the worship of the Leleges. And it is not a little remarkable that in Orphic doctrine the mystery-god Phanes creeps forth from an egg, twin-natured, arsenothelys.⁹

¹ Paus. ii. 17. 4, ii. 36. 1; cf. Schol. Theocr. xv. 64.

² I think, e.g., that it is quite possible that the *ὄλοχύται*, somewhat odd when connected with the sacrifice of oxen, are natural enough in a bird ritual. Cf. Ar. *Av.* 622 sqq. The umbrella of Prometheus, too, has a new significance when seen as part of the ritual of a Sun and Sky god.

³ Ar. *Av.* 692. See my *Proleg.*² p. 625. The Scholiast, half understanding, says *ἰπηνέμια καλεῖται τὰ δίχα συνοουσίας καὶ μίξεως*. And see Ar. *de Gen. Anim.* iv, p. 765 a, 23.

⁴ *Proleg.*² p. 179.

⁵ Abel, *Orphica, frag.* 53 καὶ γὰρ Ὀρφεύς ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας χρόνος αἰθέρι διὰ ἄεον ἀργύφειον.

⁶ Plut. *Symp.* ii. 2 a. 2.

⁷ Paus. i. xvi. 1.

⁸ Kaibel, *Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαίου*, *Nachr. v. d. K. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, philol. hist. Klasse*, 1901, Heft iv, p. 514.

⁹ Clemens Rom. *Hom.* vi.

The Orphics, we have long known,¹ revived, among other primitive things, the cult of Gaia, the Earth-Mother. They revived also, we have seen, the egg cosmogony, implying a past bird-worship. Did they know of a Father God, Ouranos, as well as an Earth-Mother? Surely. The evidence is clear and beautiful. On the gold tablet of Petelia² the initiated Orphic in Hades will drink of the Water of Memory. The Guardians challenge him. They ask him whence and from whom he comes. He claims no kinship with any Olympian; he looks back to an earlier faith and an auguster parentage: 'I am the child of Earth and of Starry Heaven'

ΓΗC ΠΑΙC ΕΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΑCΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΟC.

7

THE DAEMON IN STOICISM

BY ST. GEORGE STOCK. (ABSTRACT)

I. What is the Stoic doctrine of the daemon?

II. Whence was it derived?

III. What is its value?

I. The daemon in Epictetus.

The daemon in Marcus Aurelius.

II. The doctrine did not come from the founders of the school, though the need of some such idea was early felt.

Its pragmatic origin.

(i) Philosophical antecedents of the doctrine.

The *Cebetis Tabula* a Stoic production. The daemon there is generic and symbolic, not personal and real.

The daemon in the pseudo-Platonic Axiochus.

Plato himself is the source of the Stoic doctrine of the daemon.

The *Phaedo*.

The Vision of Er.

The *Timaeus*.

The doctrine of the Timaeus reappears in Cicero and in Philo.

The *Apology*.

The *Symposium*.

Diogenes Laertius on the Stoics.

View of daemons as 'divine shepherds' in the *Laws* and *Politics*.

The *δαμόνιον* of Socrates.

¹ See my *Proleg.*³ p. 645.

² *Ibid.* p. 659.