

THE CULTS OF THE ERECHTHEION

Since the discovery of an opening in the roof of the north porch of the Erechtheion there can be little doubt as to the identity of the god who in the belief of the Athenians of the fifth century made the marks in the rock below. The place where a thunderbolt of Zeus struck remained hypaethral. Zeus however may not have been the only god to whom the marks were attributed in the long history of the sacred site. There are two traditions to be explained. According to one Poseidon drove Erechtheus into an opening in the earth with blows of his trident:¹ according to the other Zeus at the request of Poseidon smote Erechtheus with a thunderbolt.² The first, that of Euripides, shows that Poseidon acted without reference to Zeus in disposing of his rival. The second subordinates Poseidon to Zeus. The two traditions may be easily reconciled by the assumption that Zeus displaced Poseidon as protagonist in the story. The memory however of Poseidon's participation in the event survived. It is then possible that the marks in the rock under the floor of the north porch of the Erechtheion were at first those of Poseidon. When the worshippers of Zeus on the acropolis gained the ascendancy over those who worshipped Poseidon, an altar to Zeus Hypatos was set up beside the former trident marks which had become those of a thunderbolt. The same kind of transfer occurred when the sea of Poseidon became the Erechtheis.

Poseidon's trident drove Erechtheus into the earth. The marks of it were the site of his tomb. The version of his death at the hands of Zeus does not state where Erechtheus was buried, but since a person hit by lightning was buried on the spot where he was struck down,³ the tomb of the hero must have been beside the marks of the bolt. In other words the position of the tomb did not change from the time when Poseidon opened a chasm and drove Erechtheus into it with a fatal blow of the trident. Epigraphical evidence of an abaton of Zeus who descends in the lightning was found on the acropolis.⁴ The inscription is dated to the end of the fourth century. Where the abaton was situated is unknown but that it stood near an altar of Zeus may be safely inferred from a statement by Plutarch that Demetrios Poliorketes received an altar as Kataibates.⁵ Plutarch does not say where Demetrios descended from his chariot as in the lightning, but since in the preceding sentence he states that figures of Demetrios and his father Antigonos were woven in the sacred robe of Athena, his Athenian triumph apparently took the form of a Panathenaic procession in the

¹ *Ion*, 281.

² Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 46.

³ Artemidoros, *Oneirokritika*, II, 9.

⁴ Lolling, *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.*, 1890, p. 144.

⁵ *Demetrius*, X.

course of which he descended from his chariot as Zeus Kataibates somewhere on the acropolis. The altar of the real Zeus Kataibates was identical with that of Zeus Hypatos in the north porch of the Erechtheion. There was no thunderbolt so important in the traditions of the Athenian acropolis as that which laid Erechtheus low.

The theory that Erechtheus was buried where first Poseidon opened the earth with blows of his trident explains the small hole through the pavement of the north porch close to the wall of the temple. This opening was cut before the pavement slab was laid and is therefore contemporary with the temple. One may believe that the dead Erechtheus received the same offering as the hero Phokos who had a shrine at Tronis in Phokis. The Phokians poured the blood of victims through a hole (*ὄπη*) into his grave and consumed the flesh on the spot.⁶ Another earlier variant of the same rite was the pouring of a liquid offering into the sepulchral craters of the Dipylon cemetery. The offering passed through an opening in the bottom of the crater to percolate to the dead. In the light of the facts that the blood of the victims, *ἱερεῖα*, was poured to Phokos, and that Solon forbade the sacrifice of an ox at the grave,⁷ it is probable that the liquid offering at the Dipylon was the blood of an ox, and that such too was the offering to Erechtheus. This inference is confirmed by the presence of an altar of the Thyechous which stood in the porch of the Thyroma, i. e., the north porch of the Erechtheion, according to official report. The name Thyechous meant "the one who pours the sacrifice." The altar of the Thyechous thus interpreted cannot have been identical with that of Zeus Hypatos to whom no living creatures were sacrificed and no wine poured.⁸ Pausanias may have been led to state these prohibitions for the cult of Zeus Hypatos because in sharp contrast to them the adjacent altar of the Thyechous received either the blood of the ox or as a substitute for it an offering of red wine. There must have been two altars in the north porch, one of Zeus Hypatos near the large opening in the pavement through which the marks in the rock may be seen today, and the other of the Thyechous beside the small hole against the wall of the temple. Pausanias did not mention this altar probably because of its mystic character. The altar of Zeus Hypatos was that of the god who hurled the thunderbolt, the altar of the Thyechous was that of Erechtheus who was struck down by it. The juxtaposition of these two altars in the porch is matched by the juxtaposition of the seats of the priest of Zeus Polieus and of the Thyechous in the theatre of Dionysos. The date of the inscriptions on their seats is of less importance than their juxtaposition which could have been and probably was traditional. It will be noted that the priests of Boutes and Hephaistos sat side by side in the same theatre.

⁶ Pausanias, X, 4, 10. The grave was also placed at Aigina beside the Aiakeion (Pausanias, II, 29, 9).

⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, XXI, 5.

⁸ Pausanias, I, 26, 5. Cf. Stevens and Paton, *The Erechtheum*, pp. 318, 490 (Paton).

⁹ For a figure of their seats see Stevens and Paton, *ibid.*, p. 485.

This interpretation would explain the passage through the foundation of the north wall which is large enough to permit a man to reach the lower end of the small hole in question. It is possible that Erechtheus for whom blows of the trident opened a chasm in the earth was once possessed of oracular power like Amphiaraos for whom the thunderbolt of Zeus likewise opened the earth whence Amphiaraos sent up oracles.¹⁰

The question now arises, Who was the Thyechous? The first to bear the title may have been Boutes who was sufficiently important to have an altar in the temple beside that of Poseidon-Erechtheus and to have the portraits of his descendants on the walls of the altar chamber. Since Boutes was the name of the priest who slew the ox at the Diipoleia,¹¹ it is possible that the Boutes of the Erechtheion also sacrificed an ox and poured its blood to Erechtheus, that the two priests of the name were really one and the same, and that the Diipoleia, a very ancient rite on the acropolis, was in honor of the Zeus of the north porch of the Erechtheion. The author has elsewhere pointed out¹² that the slaying of an ox by one Diomos or Sopatros which led to the establishment of the festival of the Diipoleia presents a curious parallel to the slaying of Erechtheus by Zeus. The name Diomos contains that of Zeus while Sopatros may be a title of Zeus alluding to the fact that he saved the Ouranides¹³ and for the service of "saving his fathers" received as reward the thunderbolt. It looks as if the slaying of an ox at the Diipoleia was an annual reënactment of the slaying of Erechtheus by Zeus.¹⁴ The oracle which the Athenians received, when they consulted the Pythia as to means of ending the drought that afflicted their country after the slaying of the ox by Diomos, had said that an ox must be sacrificed and that those who ate of its flesh would benefit.¹⁵ It will be remembered in this connection that those who sacrificed victims at the grave of the hero Phokos consumed the flesh there. Hesychios tells us that at the Diipoleia bread in the form of an ox was consumed,¹⁶ i. e., a communion of theriomorphic bread was substituted for the flesh of the animal. Such may have been the shape of the cakes laid upon the altar of Zeus Hypatos in the north porch.

There was no slaughter of the ox at Athens before the arrival of Erechtheus.¹⁷ The rite apparently came with his cult. Previously the ox had been used in the cultivation of the fields and consequently shared the protection of the Eleusinian deities who had a sanctuary on the northwest slope of the acropolis. The slaying of the sacred animal probably brought Erechtheus into conflict with the Eleusinian Immarrados, a tradition so important as to be commemorated by statues near the Erechtheion which

¹⁰ The several references are assembled by Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 1071.

¹¹ Hesychios, *s. v.* Βούτης: καὶ ὁ τοῖς Διῖπολοις τὰ βουφόνια δρῶν.

¹² *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 121.

¹³ Hesiod, *Theog.*, 501-4.

¹⁴ Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, II, 29, quotes Theophrastos to the effect that the offending ox which Diomos slew ate cakes offered to the gods. In the Diipoleia these gods are reduced to one, Zeus.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 29.

¹⁶ *S. v.* Βουφόνια.

¹⁷ Pausanias, I, 28, 10.

represented the two fighting.¹⁸ The war between Erechtheus and the Eleusinians shows that the Eleusinians had certain claims to the site of the Erechtheion, claims which apparently Poseidon had not disputed.¹⁹ Immarados and Erechtheus were in origin two ox heroes, the former arriving in Attica before the latter. Hence being rivals they "locked horns," and the rivalry survived in the anthropomorphic versions of the pair. Since Immarados shares presumably the Thracian provenience of his father Eumolpos, his curious name is perhaps to be resolved into *imm<o>* and *arados*; the first element being the Lydian *immous*²⁰ "oxen," the second containing the same root as Lt. *arare* "to plow." The name would then mean "plowing ox" corresponding to Hesiod's *βούς ἀπορήρ* and Latin *bos arator*. Of the two rival cults one permitted the sacrifice of the divine animal and the other did not. Before the temple of Triptolemos which adjoined that of Demeter and Persephone in the Athenian Eleusinion above mentioned Pausanias saw a bronze statue of an ox.²¹ The animal was represented as if led to sacrifice. Nearby was a seated statue of Epimenides the Knossian. Since Triptolemos was the first to sow grain²² and there was a sacred tillage somewhere on the north slope of the acropolis,²³ it may be conjectured that the bronze statue commemorated the sacred ox which was slain by Diomos.

The suggestion has already been made that the slain Erechtheus was the recipient of mystic cult. Boutes, who was the brother of Erechtheus according to Apollodoros,²⁴ was also the husband of Chthonia.²⁵ The name of Boutes shows that his function as the founder of a family of priests called the Boutadai had to do with an ox. This ox could not have been an ordinary sacrificial victim. It is probably the same ox which was represented in bronze before the temple of Triptolemos, and again the same ox which appears in a B.-F. vase painting on a base within a canopy or porch.²⁶ Athena, who has removed her helmet, is seated before the ox and holds out toward it a patera from which she is about to pour a libation. The ox is not only sacred; it is a theriomorphic deity. This scene is to be compared with that of Europa who is seated before the Zeus bull on the coins of Phaistos²⁷ and should be considered in the light of Hesiod's reference to Poseidon as *ταύρεος ἐννοσίγαιος*.²⁸ Poseidon as a bull seems to have been displaced by Erechtheus as an ox in Athenian worship. The slaying of the divine ox was designed to promote fertility like the slaying of the divine bull by Mithras. In the vase painting of Athena seated in the presence of the ox, the goddess

¹⁸ Pausanias I, 27, 4. Cf. I, 5, 2.

¹⁹ Cf. Isokrates, *Panath.*, 193. Note also the share of the Eleusinians and Athena in the skirophoria in which the Eteobutadai carried the important sunshade.

²⁰ Hesychios, *s. v.*

²¹ Pausanias, I, 14, 4.

²² Pausanias, I, 14, 2-3.

²³ Cf. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 156.

²⁴ Apollodoros, *Bibl.*, III, 15, 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Figured in J. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 428, fig. 37.

²⁷ Figured in Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 661.

²⁸ *Scutum*, 104.

has come to the house of the ox hero or god Erechtheus. The folding chair upon which she sits was perhaps commemorated by that which the Erechtheid Daidalos made for the shrine of Athena.²⁹ That the divinity of the ox was known to Homer may be gathered from the groan of the women of Nestor's household when the animal was struck down with an ax.³⁰ The groan was lamentation rather than a shout of religious joy. It is to be compared with and explained by the lamentations of the Egyptian peasants who beat their chests as they cut down the first sheaves of divine grain.³¹

The slaying of Erechtheus by Poseidon or by Zeus at the request of Poseidon was not the first to occur on the site of the Erechtheion, for in addition to his tomb there was one of Cecrops. The relation of Cecrops to Erechtheus suggests that Cecrops suffered the same fate as Erechtheus and was buried where he fell. In origin Cecrops was the guardian snake of the pool of water near the southwest corner of the later Erechtheion, like the Python at Delphi. Just as the Python perished at the hands of the new-comer Apollo so perhaps Cecrops perished under the trident of Poseidon. The Python remained a snake in Delphic tradition while Cecrops was semi-anthropomorphized. The two archaic figures of serpents discovered on the acropolis³² very probably decorated a small temple on the site of the pool and inspired a B.-F. painting of a fountain house with a gable of two snakes.³³

There was a curious Egyptian record preserved by Diodoros that some of the rulers of Athens came from Egypt.³⁴ One of these, Petes by name, was the father of Menestheus who took part in the expedition against Troy. This Petes obtained citizenship at Athens and then the kingdom. At this point in the text of Diodoros the editors indicate a lacuna because what follows can in their opinion refer only to Cecrops. If we reject the lacuna Petes becomes a hybrid. Diodoros says that the Athenians could not explain the double form of the king, and then himself adds that Petes was part man and part animal because he held a double citizenship, Greek and barbarian. His name Πέρης³⁵ or Περεώς³⁶ is to be connected with that of a town in Boeotia, Περεών.³⁷ Strabo placed it in Haliartia.³⁸ Cecrops had a heroön at Haliartos.³⁹ Petes seems to have been a semi-anthropomorphized serpent like Cecrops, who was also king of Athens, if not Cecrops himself. Diodoros cites as a second instance of the Athenian kings who were of Egyptian provenience, Erechtheus.

²⁹ Pausanias, I, 27, 1.

³⁰ *Odys.*, IV, 450.

³¹ Cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 441.

³² Dickens, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, pp. 74-75. The estimated measurements are not the same, nor is the treatment of scales.

³³ Darenberg et Saglio, *Dict.*, s. v. fons, fig. 3144.

³⁴ Diodoros, I, 28, 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 500.

³⁵ Diodoros, I, 28, 6.

³⁸ IX, 410.

³⁶ *Iliad*, II, 552.

³⁹ Pausanias, IX, 33, 1.

The displacement of Poseidon by Erechtheus which may have occurred at the same time as the defeat of Poseidon by Athena had as one consequence a new name for the "sea" of Poseidon, the Erechtheis.⁴⁰ The new name did not completely displace the old. Neither did the altar of Poseidon become that of Erechtheus exclusively. Poseidon was the first to come to Athens and, striking the rock with his trident, produced a *thalassa*.⁴¹ There had always been a seepage of water to the low level at the southwest corner of the present Erechtheion, just as there had probably been an olive tree or trees on the acropolis before the arrival of Zeus and Athena. Poseidon and Athena appropriated the water and the olive as their tokens. It is impossible to imagine why Poseidon should have produced a *thalassa* on the acropolis in justification of his claim to Attica where salt water was the last thing desired and where a pool of fresh water would have saved the occupants of the citadel the necessity of descending the steep underground passage to a Mycenaean spring recently discovered by Broneer.⁴² Poseidon could not expect to defeat Athena if he had nothing better than useless salt water to offer the ancient *polis*. It is quite clear that the "sea" of Poseidon has not been understood.

In the earliest references the "sea" is called *θάλασσα*. Later it became a *φρέαρ*; i. e., the "sea" was conventionalized after the pattern of an ordinary well with some kind of curb. At such time it acquired a *στόμιον*. A sea does not have an artificial border. Recognition of this fact invalidates the almost unanimous conclusion that the official name for one of the chambers of the Erechtheion, *προστομαῖον*, was derived from the word *προστόμιον* in the forced sense of "opening in the floor above the *θάλασσα*."⁴³ The suggestion has been offered⁴⁴ that the word *prostomiaion* had nothing whatever to do with the sea of Poseidon, but is derived from *στόμιον* "entrance," the entrance being that to the tomb of the serpent-tailed hero Cecrops. The word *στόμιον* is used with the same meaning as at Delphi where the entrance to the *antron* of the Python was called *στόμιον* by Strabo.⁴⁵ Some significance may be attached to the presence of a Python near a spring at Delphi and a snake Cecrops near a pool on the acropolis at Athens.⁴⁶ The all-important tomb of Cecrops had an entrance *στόμιον* as did the tomb of Antigone.⁴⁷ From it must have been formed a name **στομαῖον* for the chamber of the Erechtheion in which was the tomb. This was situated at the southwest corner of the temple, as may be inferred from the official designation *πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου*. The *stomiaion* was the inner or southern of the two chambers constituting the house of Erechtheus while the north chamber in front

⁴⁰ Apollodoros, *Bibl.*, III, 14, 1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 448; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 317-433.

⁴³ Stevens and Paton, *The Erechtheum*, p. 312.

⁴⁴ *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 111.

⁴⁵ Strabo, IX, 419. The altars of Themis "upon the Stomion" and Zeus Kataibates at Olympia received successive sacrifices (Pausanias, V, 14, 10).

⁴⁶ See above, p. 117.

⁴⁷ Sophocles, *Ant.*, 1217.

of it was the *prostomiaion* mentioned in the official inscription.⁴⁸ In favor of this interpretation is the further consideration that the terminology of the commissioners is seen to be based on a monument the sanctity of which dates from the earliest period of the cult. In the same way the west colonnade was called that "toward the Pandroseion," another very early and important site in the history of the cult. The east colonnade, however, which faced nothing of corresponding importance, was cited as the porch "toward the east."⁴⁹ These shrines, the Cecropium and the Pandroseion, belonged to associates of Athena. The temple as a whole is named in terms of the "ancient image," not of Poseidon but of Athena who superseded him. In the official topographical references there is then no certain recognition of Poseidon. A criticism of the derivation of the name *prostomiaion* from any part of a well is that it brings the defeated Poseidon into the record. Official names ignored the defeated rival of the goddess whom the whole city held in honor. There were numerous statues of Athena on the acropolis, but apparently none of Poseidon except those which commemorated his defeat.

Since the salt well of Poseidon was first a *thalassa*, any explanation of it must satisfy the demands of this earlier name. Just what was the significance of a miniature sea on the Athenian acropolis? The answer lies in a chance observation by Pausanias. He was not surprised to find salt water in a well away from the sea, because he knew of another instance of the phenomenon at Aphrodisias in Caria.⁵⁰ As one might judge from the name, the chief deity of this city was Aphrodite. One of its coin types represented Aphrodite riding on a sea-goat⁵¹ which may have given her the *epitheton* Πελαγία. The choice of the goat was just another expression of her association with Pan. In any case Aphrodisias put the goddess on the sea, while the salt water in a well in the city reproduced artificially the element from which she was born. In the Erechtheion there was a "sea" which brings Aphrodite to the temple where her Homeric husband Hephaistos⁵² had an altar in the same chamber with that of Poseidon-Erechtheus. The story of the birth of Aphrodite from the μήδεα of Ouranos is as old as Hesiod⁵³ and probably far older. A Christian author says that the severed part thrown into the sea violated the wave,⁵⁴ that is, the goddess Thalassa, just as Zeus had violated various goddesses. He adds the significant detail that in the mysteries at Paphos in Cyprus the initiates received a cake of salt and a phallos.

⁴⁸ Cf. my *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, p. 44.

⁴⁹ The reference to the south wall as that "toward the south wind," πρὸς νότον ἀνέμου, suggests that the site of the Hekatompedon was clear of any structure. Pausanias says that the salt well gave forth the sound of waves when the south wind blew.

⁵⁰ Pausanias, I, 26, 5.

⁵¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, pl. IV, 14.

⁵² *Od.*, VIII, 270.

⁵³ *Theog.*, 188-195.

⁵⁴ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrep.*, II, 12-13.

These gifts must have been symbolic of the birth of the goddess. She was the daughter of *μήδεα* and Thalassa.

The Cyprian Aphrodite was no stranger at Athens where she was the daughter of Dione.⁵⁵ Significantly enough this Dione had an altar near one end of the east porch of the Erechtheion. The commissioners in their report on the state of the temple numbered the unfluted columns of the east facade from the altar of Dione. The place of this altar is not now known, but it must have stood south of the east porch because to the north of this porch the steps to the lower level left no suitable space for it. This altar of the mother of the Cyprian Aphrodite which served as a point of reference like the Cecropium and was therefore of some antiquity becomes unusually interesting in the light of the annual ceremony of the Arrephoroi described by Pausanias: ⁵⁶ *ἔστι δὲ περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη. Ταύτη κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. Κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσιν, κτλ.* The enclosure was on the (acro)polis, but not far from the Aphrodite in the Gardens whose sanctuary was below on its north slope, as Broneer has shown. The mention of Aphrodite in this topography of the Arrephoria suggests that the Arrephoroi descended to her garden sanctuary. Such destination would explain the dove, the attribute of the goddess, which appears in the hand of one of the marble maidens of the acropolis.⁵⁷ These statues several of which were found in a pit to the northwest of the Erechtheion probably represented the Arrephoroi, but not of the tender age at which they served, since the statuary of the early fifth century did not include the child among its themes. The Arrephoria concerned Athena in some way because her priestess gave the maidens the mysterious object which they carried.⁵⁸ This rite occurred in the month of Skirophorion which took its name from *σκίρον* "sunshade." The sunshade was carried from the acropolis either in a festival of Athena or of the Eleusinian goddesses⁵⁹ when the priestess of Athena and the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus proceeded under it in company with the priest of Helios to Skiron.⁶⁰ The Eteobutadae carried the large sunshade, thus attesting the antiquity of the rite and its connection with the Erechtheion. It is possible that the rite originally concerned Aphrodite who was displaced by Athena. As the martial goddess of the citadel Athena had little claim to a white sunshade and one can readily pardon Phidias for returning it to Aphrodite in the east frieze of the Parthenon.

A reasonable conjecture as to the Arrephoria is that it had something to do with the birth of Aphrodite from the sea. Since the initiates into her cult at Paphos received a cake of salt and a phallic symbol, it may be that the Arrephoroi carried

⁵⁵ Euripides, *Helena*, 1098.

⁵⁶ Pausanias, I, 27, 3.

⁵⁷ Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pl. 22.

⁵⁸ Pausanias, I, 27, 3.

⁵⁹ Cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 45.

⁶⁰ Harpokration, *s. v.* *σκίρον*.

the same symbols. If the mysterious wrapped-up object which they received in the sanctuary of Aphrodite was a symbol of phallic nature⁶¹ and was carried by them to the Erechtheion to be cast into the *thalassa*, then this ritual could be interpreted as a commemorative reënactment of the birth of Aphrodite from the *medea* of Ouranos. Such participation of the maidens in a rite involving the *thalassa* of Poseidon would make quite appropriate the dedication of a *kore* to him. The conjecture has long since been made that the Caryatid Porch was the entrance used by the Arrephoroi and that they decorate their own porch. That these maidens had also to do with marriage rite may be inferred from the fact that they began weaving the peplos of Athena during the festival of the Chalkeia.⁶² This festival took its name from χαλκεύς, the coppersmith par excellence, i. e., Hephaistos. The peplos was for Athena, the bride of Hephaistos, just as the peploi woven at Olympia and Samos were for Hera, the bride of Zeus.⁶³ When Pausanias saw an image of Athena beside that of Hephaistos in his temple overlooking the agora, he was not surprised because he knew the story of Erichthonius. He might have made the same remark about the juxtaposition of the same pair in the east frieze of the Parthenon. Athenian tradition however preserved the memory of Aphrodite as the previous consort of Hephaistos. Not only was a sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania near the temple of Hephaistos,⁶⁴ but in the Hellenistic period his temple was surrounded by the κήπος⁶⁵ of his former bride. One may conjecture that this garden had pomegranates.⁶⁶ Aphrodite planted the pomegranate in Cyprus.⁶⁷ The Hellenistic garden in question was probably transplanted from the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens which Broneer discovered. The title of this Paphian Aphrodite was Urania, a title of considerable vogue in Athens and very old. It did not originally have the meaning "heavenly" but referred rather to the remarkable birth of the goddess as told by Hesiod.⁶⁸ When Kronos emasculated Ouranos he cast the *medea* into the sea whence as a result Aphrodite was born. The poet adds that when she set foot upon the island of Cyprus the grass sprouted beneath her feet. This phenomenon shows the character of the goddess as one producing fertile fields, and is reflected in the language of Hesiod. Kronos "reaped" the *medea* of Ouranos with a sickle. The drops of blood which fell upon Gaia engendered within her a varied brood. From this tradition it seems reasonable to believe that the Arrephoroi

⁶¹ Broneer found in the sanctuary sufficient evidence of such. Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 119.

⁶² On the Chalkeia see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 35-36. On the Arrephoroi as dew-carriers see Cook, *Zeus*, III (1940), pp. 165-180.

⁶³ Significant perhaps is the fact that Vulcan in Etruria takes rank after Zeus as god of heavenly fire. Cf. Altheim, *History of Roman Religion*, p. 150.

⁶⁴ Pausanias, I, 14, 7.

⁶⁵ Recently discovered. Cf. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396-425.

⁶⁶ Two of the marble maidens of the acropolis hold each one pomegranate. Cf. Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pls. 18, 54.

⁶⁷ Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 817-818.

⁶⁸ *Theog.*, 179-195.

in proceeding from the *thalassa* in the Erechtheion to the Cypriote Aphrodite in the Gardens reënacted the birth of the goddess and thereby promoted agriculture. No wonder that sacred ploughing took place on the north slope of the acropolis.⁶⁹

There is another reminiscence of Aphrodite in the Erechtheion. Cecrops dedicated there a wooden Hermes (?) which was hidden under myrtle boughs.⁷⁰ This was a herm rather than a Hermes and the question arises whom did it represent? The myrtle was sacred to Aphrodite⁷¹ and owed its name to Myrrha the daughter of the priest-king Kinyras of Cyprus. Athenaios repeats a story about an archaic image of the goddess which was purchased at *Paphos* by one Herostratos and taken on board ship for Alexandria.⁷² When a storm arose and the ship's crew turned to the goddess for help, myrtle appeared about her image. On arriving safely Herostratos dedicated the image and the myrtle in a sanctuary of Aphrodite. Cecrops may have dedicated the herm and the myrtle in a sanctuary belonging originally to the Paphian Aphrodite. Pausanias or his readers have misunderstood the myrtle-shrouded image. The figure did not represent the god Hermes but Aphrodite in the form of a herm. This is the more likely in view of another passage⁷³ where the author describes the image of the goddess which stood near her temple somewhere beyond that of Zeus Olympios. "The image was square like the images of Hermes." It may be conjectured that this herm was related to the herm in the temple of Athena.

It is a curious fact that there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite at each of two ascents to the Athenian acropolis, one below the Propylaea on the west⁷⁴ and the other not far from the Mycenaean ascent which ended in front of the Erechtheion.⁷⁵ Apparently the Cyprian goddess could not ascend to the summit of the acropolis but had to content herself with sanctuaries on its slopes. The sanctuary at the foot of the Propylaea seems not to have had such close ties with the Erechtheion as that on the northern slope of the acropolis. The parents of Aphrodite, however, who according to one Athenian tradition were Zeus Naios and Dione Naia, received altars near the east porch of the Erechtheion. The evidence for the presence there of an altar to Dione has already been cited;⁷⁶ that for one to her mate is a small altar discovered on the acropolis and bearing the inscription: *Διὶ Ναίῳ καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ*.⁷⁷ Here *σύνοδος* is probably the equivalent of *συνοδοπόρος*. Dione might be so designated since she came with Zeus from Dodona where they were established at a very early period. The interest of the Athenians in Dione at Dodona is shown by the restoration of her statue there by

⁶⁹ Cf. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 157.

⁷⁰ Pausanias, I, 27, 1.

⁷¹ Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 445.

⁷² XV, 8.

⁷³ Pausanias, I, 19, 2. For a herm of Aphrodite from the Agora see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 239, fig. 37.

⁷⁴ Pausanias, I, 22, 3. Cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 245-246.

⁷⁵ See the map in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 109.

⁷⁶ See above, p. 120.

⁷⁷ Lolling, *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.*, 1890, p. 145.

command of the oracle.⁷⁸ This is an early attachment as is shown by the tradition that one Skiros came from Dodona to help the Eleusinians fight Erechtheus.⁷⁹ The presence of an altar to Dione and presumably nearby that of her mate throws some light on the Hekatompedon because the temple of Zeus at Dodona had that name.⁸⁰ It is quite likely in view of the position of the altars of Zeus and Dione in front of the Hekatompedon that this temple on the acropolis belonged originally not to Athena but to Zeus of Dodona. To such an early Zeus temple may be assigned the archaic gable group discovered on the acropolis which represents Zeus and Dione(?) at its center welcoming Herakles and Artemis⁸¹ not to Olympos but to the Athenian acropolis. The early establishment of a cult of Zeus on the site of the Hekatompedon and on the ruins of the Mycenaean megaron of the acropolis is in keeping with the traditions that Mycenaean kings like Agamemnon and Amphiaraos were identified with Zeus.⁸² It would explain too the existence somewhere to the east of the Hekatompedon of the great altar of Zeus Polieus at which the most ancient rite of the Diipoleia was performed. This altar then was not originally without a temple. The exact site of the altar is a question. Pausanias after passing the sanctuary of Ge Karpophoros the position of which is fixed mentions the statue of Zeus Polieus, describes the bouphonia, and then gives the subject of the east gable of the Parthenon.⁸³ Both the altar and statue of Zeus Polieus must have been somewhere in the area before the Hekatompedon. This Zeus is probably none other than Zeus Naios of Dodona who is invoked in the Iliad as Πελασγικέ. He must have been the Zeus of the Pelasgian period both at Dodona and on the acropolis. When Achilles invokes the Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona he stands μέσῳ ἔρκει before his tent.⁸⁴ This indicates that the Zeus of Dodona was Zeus of the court or of the Hekatompedon, since his sanctuary at Dodona bore that name. Recently there has been a return to the old theory that the Athenian Hekatompedon was not a temple but an area.⁸⁵ Perhaps the truth is that the earliest court of Zeus on the acropolis was the Pandroseion in which was an altar of Zeus Herkeios, that this was succeeded by a larger court, the Hekatompedon, after the Mycenaean megaron fell into ruins. The name Hekatompedon owes its gender to the neuter noun ἔρκος. But the consensus of opinion has without hesitation assigned the Hekatompedon to Athena because the cella of her Parthenon was officially named ἐκατόμπεδος ναός. This conclusion is altogether sound but ignores the fact that Athena arrived on the acropolis after Zeus and soon reduced him to a subordinate position as she did Poseidon. Just as Athena took away from Zeus his olive in the

⁷⁸ Hypereides, III, 35 ff.

⁷⁹ Pausanias, I, 36, 4.

⁸⁰ Ptolemy, III, 14, 7.

⁸¹ But cf. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, pp. 62-5.

⁸² Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 1069, 1073.

⁸³ Pausanias, I, 24, 5.

⁸⁴ *Iliad*, XVI, 231-233.

⁸⁵ Cf. Judeich, *Hermes*, 1929, p. 398.

Pandroseion and his aegis⁸⁶ so she took his Hekatompedon, but she did not take his altars either in the Pandroseion or in the later Hekatompedon. The completeness of her conquest on the Athenian acropolis is seen in the pages of Pausanias who noted the universal worship of the goddess in Attica⁸⁷ and her numerous monuments on the acropolis. Her supremacy there seems to have been accompanied by the withdrawal of Zeus who in the days of Peisistratos was to receive a large temple on the Ilissos, perhaps in compensation for his loss of the Hekatompedon. When the Persians burnt the temple on the site which had once been his, the Athenians did not rebuild since they had already planned for her a more imposing temple on a more imposing site.⁸⁸ When Zeus descended to the banks of the Ilissos his daughter Aphrodite, the eldest of the Fates, apparently accompanied him since she had a garden near the Ilissos and a herm⁸⁹ like that (?) which was dedicated by Cecrops in the temple of Athena. She followed her father to the south and her ex-husband to the north of the acropolis.⁹⁰ But the ancient altar of Zeus continued to be the scene of the earliest sacrifice on the citadel with Boutes as priest.

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⁸⁶ Zeus had the titles Morios and Elaious (Hesychios, *s. v.*) and is named before Athena by Sophocles (*Oedipus at Colonus*, 705-6) as the protector of the olive. The altar of Zeus Morios in the Academy, where there was a shrine of Athena close to the twelve sacred olive trees, was also significantly called that of Zeus Kataibates (*ibid.*, Jebb *ad loc.*; cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 413). This environment very obviously indicates a close tie between the cults of the Academy and the Erechtheion. The passage in Sophocles becomes the more significant because in the immediately following antistrophe Poseidon, the rival of Athena on the acropolis, is mentioned. The olive of Athena in the Pandroseion which shaded the altar of Zeus Herkeios in the classical age must have been originally the olive of Zeus from which those in the Academy were propagated.

⁸⁷ Pausanias, I, 26, 6.

⁸⁸ Hence the south wall of the Erechtheion was officially called not "that toward the Hekatompedon" but that "toward the south wind."

⁸⁹ Pausanias, I, 19, 2.

⁹⁰ There was a certain appropriateness in the construction of the temple of Hephaistos by the same architect as built the temple of Ares in the agora. For the evidence see Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 47, 43. It was equally appropriate that their cult images in these two temples should have been made by the same sculptor, Alkamenes. Ares stole Aphrodite from Hephaistos (*Odys.*, VIII, 266).