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Stevenson, Mrs. Sara (York) 1847–

On certain symbols used in the decoration of some potsherds from Daphnae and Naukratis, now in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
ON CERTAIN SYMBOLS

USED IN THE

Decoration of Some Potsherds

FROM

DAPHNAE AND NAUKRATIS.

NOW IN THE

Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

BY

SARA YORKE STEVENSON.

PHILADELPHIA,

1892.
[From the proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, for 1890-91. Read April 2d, 1891.]
ON CERTAIN SYMBOLS

USED IN THE

Decoration of Some Potsherds

FROM

DAPHNÆ AND NAUKRATIS,

Now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

454471

The painted potsherds to which I would call attention, belong to the collection recently sent to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania by the "Egypt Exploration Fund," and form a part of the discoveries made by Mr. William M. Flinders-Petrie, on the ancient sites of Daphnæ and Naukratis in the Delta.

The geographical position of these sites, and the period of history to which they belong—i.e., a period full of commercial activity, and of brisk intercourse between the Mediterranean peoples and the civilized nations of Western Asia and Northern Africa, who one and all contributed their share to the development of Greek thought, make these potsherds particularly valuable for the purpose of tracing the gradual evolution of certain artistic forms which have become familiar in decorative art. And the fact that those in charge of the excavations, keenly appreciating the requirements of modern science, spared no pains to establish the historical stratum and the exact surroundings of every fragment discovered by them, has added the greatest possible value to the "finds." Moreover, by means of the published reports of the explorers, we not only possess all the necessary data concerning the specimens obtained by us, but we are able to trace the companion
sherds which have found their way into other museums, so that, although our own series may be incomplete, we often can, for the purpose of study, supply its deficiencies by means of the published plates.¹

THE HUMAN-HEADED BIRD.

For instance, among the number of smaller pieces sent to the Museum of the University are two fragments of a vase of red-glaze incised painted ware (fig. 19), found at Tel-Defennhe—(N. E. Delta), which upon referring to plate xxxi, fig. 4, of Mr. Petrie's work upon that site, may be seen to represent the head and tail of the human-headed bird later known in Greek art as a Harpy (fig. 20). [The wings and middle portion of the body are missing in our specimen, although sufficient trace of the former remains to indicate that, in their form, they were similar to those in the published specimens, in which the head is wanting. Comparing the two, we have the complete bird.]

It is worthy of remark that a variation of this form is found on a fine Ænochóe from Kamiros (Rhodes), in the British Museum. The

¹ See Tunis, Part II, Nébeskh (Am.) and Defennhe (Tapahnes) by Mr. W. M. Flinders-Petrie. Also, Naukratis, Parts I and II.
attitude and the body and tail are very similar to those in our example, but the wings are spread out instead of being held up erect.¹

Fig. 21. Egyptian Soul-Bird.

The older and common Egyptian form of this fanciful creation is herewith given (fig. 21). Thus it was that the Egyptians portrayed the soul which they call 'Ba.' It is sometimes depicted with out-

Fig. 22. From Sir G. Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, III, p. 158.

stretched wings, fluttering over the mummy, holding in its hand the emblem of life—i.e., the Cross—or presenting to it both the Cross

¹ A. S. Murray, Handbook of Greek Archeology, p. 62.
and the Sail, which was the hieroglyph for breath (fig. 22). Another form shows it standing by the side of a coffin, with raised hands, in an attitude of invocation. Another still (fig. 23), under the sycamore tree, receiving from the mother-goddess the waters of life.

Fig. 23. From Sir G. Wilkinson’s *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, III, p. 64.

Among people of primitive culture, the notion that birds are transformed disembodied spirits seems to be a common one. Night birds, such as bats and owls, who haunt caves and are found living where the remains of the dead have been deposited, are particularly so regarded. Many examples might be furnished of such ideas being prevalent not only among modern races in a low stage of intellectual development, but among the nations of antiquity.

3 Wilkinson, loc. cit., III, pp. 64 and 119.
5 Among the indigenous races of America the notion that associates night birds with
The Rig Veda (I, 165, 4) directs the worshipper to curse death and the God of the dead, when the owl emits her dismal cry; and this
death, and sees even in ordinary birds, spirits of the departed, is a very general one. The owl was regarded by the Aztecs, the Quichés, the Mayas, the Peruvians, the Araucanians, and the Algonquins as sacred to the Lord of Death, whose messenger it was. (D. G. Brinton's *Myths of the New World*, p. 106. Among the Quichés, not only were owls looked upon as departed spirits, but they were supposed to take part in the affairs of men. (*Ibid.*, p. 64.)

The Dakota children have a "Ghost-game" which betrays the light in which the owl is regarded among their people. One of them erects a hut outside the village, and at night comes hooting like an owl and scratching on the outside of the tent. (J. Owen Dorsey, *Am. Anthrop.*, October 1st, 1891, p. 330.)

The Aztecs thought that the spirits of all good people as a reward became embodied in birds, and the Powhatans believed that the souls of princes passed into birds. (D. G. Brinton's *loc. cit.*, p. 102.)

In Iroquois mythology a small bird (Saxonia fusca) is supposed to have come from a human pair changed by the Creator, who doomed them to inhabit caves, ruins, and such places. (J. N. B. Hewitt, *Am. Anthrop.*, January 1st, 1892, p. 36.) Moreover, when a man died they set off a bird who was supposed to carry off with it the spirit of the dead. (Schoolcraft, 113; Comp. E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, II, 9.

In Tierra del Fuego the souls of the dead are supposed to enter the bodies of ducks, and after some English travelers had been out duck-shooting, the natives tried to placate the spirits by blowing. (A. Réville, *Religions des Peuples non civilisés*, II, p. 399.)

The Abipones also think that the soul flies off under the shape of a duck. (*Ibid.*, I, 386.)


Similar ideas are found in other parts of the world. For instance, the Orang Koubous of Sumatra, believe that the departed spirit flies above the soul where the body rests (*Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthrop.*, Jan., Feb., 1891, p. 32), and in the Philippines bats are treated with respect by the natives for similar reasons. (See H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 1885, p. 330.) The same author quoting M. Caussin de Perceval says that the Arabs believed that "when the soul left the body it flew away in the form of a bird which they called Hama or Sada (a sort of owl), and did not cease flying around the tomb crying pitifully."

Mr. Codrington, *Journ. of the Anthropol. Inst.* X, 261, tells of a woman from the Banks Islands who, knowing a neighbor at the point of death, heard a fluttering in her house just as the cries outside showed her that the man had died. She caught the flying creature and ran with it to her neighbor's, crying that she had caught the "atai" (spirit, personality) and opened her hand over the corpse's mouth, of course with no result. Other similar beliefs exist among the Samoans. (See H. Spencer, *loc. cit.*, p. 796.)

To this day in the folklore of France relating to the legends connected with the night-hunt, the Souls of the Dead are often alluded to as doves who, pursued by
bird was brought into close relation by the Hindus with the God Yama who ruled the underworld. The crow was also closely connected by them with the shades of the departed, and when funereal offerings were given to the crows, souls were supposed to pass into a better world.¹

In the Odyssey ² the spirits of the dead are said to "twitter like bats and scream like frightened birds," and the Hebrew soothsayers, when consulting the shades of departed ancestors, are represented by Isaiah as chirping like birds.³

A survival of the idea may be detected in the widespread, unreasoning and superstitious dread inspired by bats, and even owls, among cultivated people of our own day. Indeed, I have known the feeling to be extended to the accidental visit of ordinary birds by some persons who look upon such an occurrence as an omen of death. And the numerous legends connected with vampires have a similar origin in the past.

In the Chaldean story of Ishtar, she is represented as threatening that, unless she be admitted to the realm of the dead, she will let them out to devour the living.⁴ But although the ancient Babylonians conceived the soul after death as "clad like birds in a garment of feath-

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Satan, only find rest under the protection of the Cross. (See Les Acoussmates et les Chasses fantastiques, by E. Henry Carnoy, Rev. de l' Histoire des Relig., IX, 375.)

In the Chron. of the Beatafed Anthony, quoted by Gubernatis (Zoological Mythol., II, 254), fetid black pools are described in Regione putolorum in Apulia, whence the souls arise in the forms of monstrous birds, in the evening hours of the Sabbath, and wander till, in the morning, an enormous crow compels them to submerge themselves and to disappear.

In Hungary, as indeed in many other countries, the owl is the bird of death and its cry a bad omen. (Comp. Gubernatis loc. cit., where many such superstitions are mentioned as existing among Aryan peoples.)

¹Gubernatis, Zoological Mythol., II, 254.
²Odyssey, xxiv, 5–10.
³Isaiah viii, 9. "And when they say unto you inquire of the spirits" (the word is based upon the meaning of ancestors) "and of the soothsayers" (literally: those who know) "who chirp and who murmur—should not a nation inquire of its God through the living, the dead?" I am indebted to Dr. Morris Jastrow for the above analysis of this interesting passage.

Among the Polynesians there is a widespread notion that ghosts have a chirping, whistling voice. In the Tonga Islands it was forbidden to whistle because it was tantamount to imitating the voice of the gods. (Albert Réville, loc. cit., II, 96.)

⁴Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, page 146, says "under the shape of vampires." Ménant, Recherches sur la glyptique orientale, p. 177, says under the shape "of wolves." It is curious to find this passage giving rise to these two interpretations—when, as a matter of fact, the notion which inspired it has given birth to the two conceptions of
ers;' 1 or "Like birds clothed with wings," 2 I am unaware of their having originally used this form to illustrate the notion in art. 3 It is in Egypt that we first find the soul-bird represented in a visible shape, and we may therefore consider the Nile Valley to be its birthplace as an artistic form.

The "vampire" and the "Loup-garou" or were-wolf, both weird embodiments of the disincarnate human spirit, regarded as preying upon the living.

The Keres of death, who, in Greek mythology, "stretch men in the grave" (Iliad, viii, 70) and whom Hesiod shows us flying over the battle-field "gnashing their white teeth," terrible, insatiable, struggling for the fallen warriors, "thirsting for their black blood," who, when they he'd a wounded warrior, buried their talons into his flesh "and sent his soul into Hades—in the Chilly Tartarus"—seem as though they might be actors of the scene of violence threatened by the great Chaldaean nature-goddess. "See Hesiod, The Shield of Herakles, 249." And the notion of the souls of the dead thirsting for blood appears in the Odyssey, when the blood of Ulysses' sacrifice draws the phantoms of the dead "like flies."

1 "Descent of Ishtar into Hades" f. 10. Sayce, The Relig. of the Ancient Babyl. Hibbert Lect., 1887, 221.


3 The extraordinary scene from Tello now in the Louvre, where birds of prey are depicted bearing away the limbs of the dead on a battle-field—is obviously a scene of carnage symbolical of victory. (See Léon Heuzey, Les origines orientales, p. 40, etc. Comp. with M. de Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. i, 2–3.)

The nearest approach to the artistic form of the human-headed bird which I have been able to find among the antiquities of Mesopotamia is on a remarkable cylinder of lapis-lazuli in the museum of the Hague—published by M. Ménant—("Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale, p. 97, fig. 56"). Two fantastic winged-beings with human heads and scorpion-like tails, face each other on either side of an object resembling an altar. M. Ménant is no doubt right in suggesting that these weird creatures represent the Scorpion-keepers of the mysterious region beyond the seas—situated in one of the islands at the mouth of the Euphrates—who, according to the legend, guard the rising and setting of the sun. When, in the mythical story of Gilgames, the hero, seeking Hasisadra, journeys toward the land of Mas where dwells the sage, now raised by the gods to immortality, he meets the monsters and engages in a colloquy with them. The date of this cylinder is unknown. We may, therefore, have here an adaptation of the Egyptian soul-bird applied by the Mesopotamian artist to the mythical guardians of the land of immortal spirits; or, which is more likely, we may have a production of pure Mesopotamian symbolism. These speaking scorpions might well be represented with human heads, whilst their being endowed with wings as a proof of their supernal essence seems quite in keeping with what we know of the symbolism of the Assyrians and Babylonians. However this may be, the creatures are primarily scorpions and not birds.

The same mythical beings are represented upon a Persian cylinder, published by Ch. Lenormant, Mélanges d'Arch., III, pp. 130, etc. There they are given lion's feet, in addition to a human head and wings—and they stand under the flying Sun-disk. V. Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 76, has also published a cylinder on which the same creatures are represented.
Among the Egyptians, the human-headed hawk, in the symbolism of the historical period, belonged to the higher plane of thought which identified the soul of man with the Hawk of Horos—the Divine Spirit embodied in the sun—whose destiny it must share. Yet there is little doubt that notions more or less similar to those described above originally prevailed in Egypt. At all events, it is quite clear that, along with the belief in the soul's ultimate apotheosis, and in its diurnal journey in the solar bark, there co-existed among the people—even under the New Empire—a more homely belief evidently based upon a more primitive conception of which it may be regarded as a survival, and according to which man's highest aspiration upon leaving this life, was to continue to lead in his tomb a pleasant material existence—his bird-embodied soul coming and going out at will into the day.

If we remember that among people of primitive culture the spirit is identified with the breath, and the breath with the physical air—as is attested by the philology of the words used to express these ideas in many languages, ancient and modern—it becomes easy to conceive how the winged inhabitants of the aerial regions came to be looked upon as spirits by man, at a time when the stage of intellectual development he had reached made it difficult for him to deal with abstractions.

However all this may be, the human-headed bird, as an artistic

Indeed, according to Ménant, loc. cit., I, 97, they are frequent on Chaldean and Assyrian monuments.

1 In early times the hieroglyph for soul, Bat, was not the human-headed hawk, but a stork-like bird. See first tomb in Mariette, Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, Sokar Kha biu. See also Pyramid texts in Recueil de Travaux, etc., Vol. III, p. 188, l. 70; p. 202, l. 209, etc. According to Gubernatis, Zoological Mythol., II, 261, there is in Germany a superstition that, when storks fly around a group of persons, one of the group is about to die. And all who have traveled in Germany know the share which these birds have in the bringing of souls into the world. The same author regards owls, crows, magpies, and storks as occupying, among the Aryans, the same mythological position with regard to the dead.


3 On many funeral stelae of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties there occurs a formula in which the dead expresses a wish that: "I may take a walk by the edge of my basin, each day, without ceasing; that my soul may perch upon the branches of the funeral garden that I have made for myself, that I may refresh myself beneath my sycamores." Maspero, Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie Eg. et As., II, p. 105. 1880.

Comp. Stela C. 55 Louvre under King At—XVIIIth d. quoted in Maspero Etudes Egyptiennes, I, p. 175.
device, passed from Egypt to the Mediterranean peoples, who made use of it to illustrate many myths and legends, particularly those connected with the harpies.

These mythical beings—"daughters of the sea"—in their origin personified, as did the Maruts of the Vedas, the storm-winds, and were evidently not the God-sent scourges which they later became, when the primeval animism of the Greeks developed into an ethical religion. It is likely that, as is the case in most primitive storm-myths, they were originally conceived as birds of prey.¹

At first sea-born storm-winds, then messengers of Zeus, they extended comfort and protection to his favorites,² and executed his vengeance upon those whom he had doomed.³ In this latter rôle they harassed their victims, or carried them off alive to the world's end, toward some mysterious place on the shores of the Northern Ocean.⁴ It seems to be only later still that they are represented bearing away the souls of the dead; and it is probable that in the Harpy "Psychopompe," such as we see it depicted on the famous Lykian monument, known as the tomb of the Harpies,⁵ we have an instance of the process so well explained by Mr. Clermont-Ganneau in his Mythologie Iconologique, and an evidence of the influence exercised upon the Aryan idea by the

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¹ Hesiod "Theogonîs," 132: The earth bare Pontos, 237: Pontos and the earth bare Thaumas (i.e., Wonder), 265–7: Thaumas and Electra (i.e., Lustre), daughter of Oceanus, produce Iris (i.e., the Rainbow), and "the fair-tressed Harpies (the Storms), Aello and Ocypete, who, I ween, accompany the wind-blasts of birds with swift wings, for they are wont to fly high above the earth." In Virgil, Æne. iii, 245, the Harpies are numerous, and only Celaeno is mentioned by name.

² The Maruts are spoken of in the Vedas as warriors, as bulls, as horses, and also as birds. See, for instance, Rig-Veda, i, 87, 2. Hyginus, Fab., xiv, says: "The three birds Harpies, Alope, Acholoe, and Ocypete, are daughters of Thaumas and Oeumne." See J. H. Cerquand, Revue Architol., 1860–1861.

³ Iliad, xix, 415, 430. Zeus, wishing to soothe and comfort Achilles, calls Pallas: "As thus he spake, he sent the goddess forth, eager to do her errand. Plunging down in form a shrill-voiced Harpy, with broad wings, she left the air"—and feeds and strengthens the hero.

⁴ See Sophocles, Phîn. Compare Apollonius, Argonaut., ii, 180, etc.: "Across the clouds, suddenly appearing, the Harpies, with their claws, stole incessantly from the mouth and hands of Phineus. Often nothing remained, sometimes a little was left, that he might live in sorrow. Moreover, they cast upon those remains so detestable an odor that no one could have touched them with his lips."

⁵ Comp. Odyssey, xx, 62–65, etc.; Euripides, Hipp., 732; Strabo, vii, 302.

Egyptian form borrowed to represent it. In other words, it is the result of the grafting of the soul-bird symbol upon the Aryan myth.

Fig. 24. Siren from Cyprus. Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l’Art, II, p. 591.

A singular form of this imaginary creature, showing the adaptation of the artistic device, with a perversion of the idea which it originally was intended to embody, was found in the island of Cyprus, and is now in the Louvre (fig. 24). It is a human-headed bird, carved in limestone, and depicted with hands, holding up pan-pipes to its mouth. It is therefore, as already pointed out by Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez, a hybrid standing between the Harpy and the Siren, and may

Fig. 25. Handle of bronze. Van Armenia, Histoire de l’Art, etc., II, 734.

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1 Ibid. For forms of Greek Harpies varying from the simple, human-headed bird to the human form with bird’s legs and wings, see plate in the already-quoted article by Cerquaud, Rev. Arch., 1860, p. 367; see also Collignon, loc. cit., 286, etc. For the introduction of the soul-bird and other Egyptian funeral practices among the Greeks, comp. Léon Henzen, Comptes Rendus de l’Acad. des Ins., 1882, p. 388, etc.
be regarded as illustrating one of the phases or aspects of these varying conceptions.

Among the antiquities of Van, in Armenia, are some bronze plaques in which the swinging handles of vessels were fastened. Some of these are in the shape of human-headed birds, and the one which is here given¹ may be said to have an Egyptianized expression. In this case we have reached the stage where the mythical meaning of the object represented has been entirely lost,—i. e., only the decorative “motif” remains.

It is now recognized that the Mediterranean peoples at the dawn of their civilization copied many artistic forms brought to them by commerce with the outside world—often without understanding the religious ideas that had led to their creation as symbols; that is to say, as the artistic expression of that, which to people of another race, was a deep-felt truth. Such singular composite forms would readily strike the imagination of the Greek artist and of the Greek poet, who, in his effort to understand their meaning, often built around them innumerable legends and myths, a process in the course of which the original idea often became obscured, if not altogether lost.²

This is not confined to minor symbolical forms; it extends to the Pantheon and to the mythology; and the much quoted Har-pe-Chruti, whose childhood, represented in the conventional Egyptian way by the familiar gesture of carrying the fore-finger to the mouth, was misunderstood by the Greeks and was turned by them into Harpocrates, the God of silence; or the myth of Bellerophon and the Chimera,³ if perhaps the most striking and the best known, are by no means the only instances of a divine personage having more or less lost his identity before his introduction into the Greek Pantheon. There are other mythological forms which might be traced, as loans, to Egypt; although one should tread cautiously upon such doubtful ground.

¹ Collections of St. Petersburg, Œuvres de Longpérier. Another is in the Coll. de Vogué, I, 276—Hre. de l’Art, etc. Perrot et Chipiez, II, p. 734. There are others in Paris and in London and similar ones have been recovered in Palestine and at Olympia, Greece. See Arch. Zeitung, 1879, p. 181. Mr. Holleaux, during his excavations in Greece, 1885, discovered a large brazen basin, the handle plaques of which were formed with two human-headed birds, to whom the artist had also given human arms. See Bull. de Correspondance Hellénique, 1888, quoted in Bull. Arch. de la Relig. grecque, Rév. des Relig., XX, 1, 89, 290.

² Comp. Clermont-Ganneau, L’Imagier Phénicienne et la Mythologie Iconologique, 1880.

³ See P. Decharme, Mythologie de la Grèce Antique, 1886, fig. 161. Comp. with Clermont-Ganneau, Horus et St. George; Revue Arch., 1873, fig. 13.
THE SACRED TREE.

Another very interesting fragment in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania, also from Tel-Defenneh (i. e., seventh century B. C. fig. 26), is the broken neck of an amphora-shaped vase of red incised pottery, decorated with a most significant design, of which many adaptations or corruptions are, like the ancient soul-bird just referred to, in common use to-day. The variations which this one artistic theme furnished the Mediterranean peoples are well-nigh infinite; and it is, therefore, scarcely surprising to find it constantly applied by our modern artists under different names:

The hylix-pattern—as Mr. Birch calls it, the honeysuckle design—as it is termed in our schools of decorative art, the anthemion—its classical name; or, according to the French name in which, strangely enough, the original intention has been preserved through all these centuries: the "Palmette."

Whatever may have been the history of the symbolism represented in this type of the sacred tree—which is evidently a composite one—our potsherd teaches us that, in this highly conventional form, it exercised a powerful influence upon the decorative art of the Mediterranean peoples, and supplied them with an endless variety of designs.

From at least the ninth century B. C. it was a familiar object on the walls of the palaces of Nineveh (fig. 27). In early times the sacred

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1 *Ancient Pottery*, pp. 303-5.
2 Layard's *Monum.*, first series, pl. 7. Only the top of the tree is here given.
palm-tree seems to have been generally drawn in its natural shape—
or, at all events, in a more simple emblematic form.¹ It is obvious that
foreign artisans could not have been inspired by the wall-decorations of
the temples, palaces, or tombs of distant lands, and that such designs
as served them as models must have reached them by means of portable
manufactures. There is little doubt that the inordinate use which the
Assyrians made of the "palmette" in the ninth, eighth, and seventh
centuries B. C.—i. e., during the period of their most stirring war-
like and commercial activity in a westerly direction—accounts for
its great popularity in Asia Minor, and among the inhabitants of
the basin of the Mediterranean Sea at about this time.

If we make due allowance for the difference in the execution of the
two pieces above given—one a carefully-sculptured bas-relief, in
carving which the Assyrian artist was treating the conventional
symbol of his own religion, the other a rough sketch, drawn upon the
neck of an ordinary pottery vessel by a foreign artisan, copying what,
to him, seemed simply a decorative device—we shall see that the latter

¹ See Ménant, Recherch. sur la Glyptiq. Orientale, p. 140, fig. 86. Cylinder of
Dungi, son of Urkham; and another, p. 142, fig. 87; another, p. 189, fig. 120, al-
though a well-drawn palm-tree, is set up on a sort of altar, and approaches an
eembleatic form. Many examples might be given of very ancient forms, more or less
conventionalized.
has made what may be considered a very fair attempt at adapting the well-known symbol to his artistic purposes.

This comes out much more distinctly in the black and white copy of the design, taken from Mr. Petrie’s work (fig. 28) than it does in the photograph, where the red coloring of part of the pattern causes the outline to be indistinct.

The same design occurs, much more neatly executed, upon a Greek amphora signed by Nicosthenes, published by Mr. Klein,¹ and the approximate date of which is circa 500, B.C.

It is worthy of note that a sherd also signed by this artist was recovered at Naukratis.² This fact, viewed in connection with the absence³ at Daphne and Naukratis, of the types of decorated pottery which elsewhere preceded the introduction of the “Oriental” style,⁴ gives us a hint as to the possible influence of the Delta school of art upon the work of Nicosthenes. Indeed, doubt has been expressed as to his having been an Athenian.⁵

Mr. E. B. Tylor, in an interesting article, recently published,⁶ has gone far toward proving that the large winged-figures which have become so familiar to us from their frequent occurrence on the bas-reliefs of the Babylonian and Assyrian palaces, where they are depicted standing in front of the sacred tree, touching it with a cone-like object which they hold in their hand—represent the divine act of fertilizing the tree over which they are supposed to shake the pollen of the full-blown male blossom (fig. 29). To the people of Mesopotamia

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¹ Vasen mit Meisternamen, p. 30.
² Naukratis, Part I, p. 53.
³ Naukratis, Part I, p. 49. Chapter on Pottery by Mr. Cecil Smith.
⁴ Although certain survivals of the “Geometric” type of decoration had remained to show that the time was not very far off when it was in vogue. Comp. Chapter on the Pottery from the Tombs of Aphrodite, by Mr. E. A. Gardner. Naukratis, Part II, p. 50.
⁵ Comp. Cecil Smith in Naukratis, Part I, p. 52. See an excellent article by Mr. H. A. Tubbs in Smith’s Dict. of Greek and Roman Antq., p. 929.
⁶ Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Arch., 1890.
the fruit of the palm was the "staff of life." The wine made from it "made glad the heart of man;"¹ and the failure of the annual crop

¹ Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 242.
meant famine in the land. Therefore, according to Mr. Tylor, the gods, by the fulfilment of this act were thought to insure the life and prosperity of their worshippers.

This view receives strong confirmation from the observation of the palm trees, figured on the monuments as natural objects in the landscape. These present so close a resemblance to the palm tree that the latter can scarcely be called a conventionalized form. See Layard’s Monuments, etc., plates 58, 72, 41, 43, 49, etc. This is particularly the case when, as on a cylinder published by J. Ménant, (loc. cit., p. 191, fig. 121,) the palm tree, although represented as a natural object, is drawn with a short trunk. In the Assyrian landscapes the palm trees have as many as 11 or 13 palms, yet some are represented with as few as 6—and the usual number is 7 or 9—i.e., numbers commonly exhibited by the conventional design.

Although there is every likelihood that Mr. Tylor has come very close to solving the problem, it seems likely that we have in the conventional representation of the tree, so common during the last centuries of the great Assyrian Empire, a syncretism of the various sacred trees worshipped throughout the land.1

That there were several of these seems certain, and a close inspection of the artistic renderings of the tree of life on the ancient cylinders reveals the fact that, although the palm is by far the most frequently dealt with, others are depicted which apparently should not be confused with it. For instance, a cylinder found at Tello by Mr. de Sarzec,2 seems to represent a simple Asherah, topped by branches that somewhat resemble stag’s horns, and decorated with long streamers.

Others represent trees, at the end of each naked branch of which is a cone.3 Perhaps we have in these the cedar, the sacred tree of

1 Mr. Sayce suggests (loc. cit., 242.) that the palm and the cedar—the sacred tree of Eridu—may have become merged into one by the later Babylonians, or that the palm tree may have succeeded the older cedar tree. This latter hypothesis (p. 240) does not seem to me a likely one, as the palm appears on very ancient cylinders. The first seems far more probable. Mr. Sayce also recalls the fact that among the Western Semites there was a tradition that mentioned two trees: the tree of knowledge and the tree of life. See Genesis iii, 21–24. “And the Lord said: Behold the man is become like one of us, to know good and evil: and now lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live forever.” . . . “So He drove out the man; and He placed at the east of the garden of Eden—cherubims and a flaming sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life.”

2 Léon Heuzey, La mase d’Armes, Paris, 1887, quoted by Mr. Goblet d’Alviella, La Migration des Symboles, Paris, 1891, p. 171.

3 J. Ménant, Recherches sur la Glyptique Orient., p. 65, fig. 5, gives a cylinder on
Eridu, which at all times played a conspicuous part in the magic of the Babylonians. Mr. Sayce also quotes a passage in which the "divine lady of Edin" is mentioned as the "Goddess of the tree of life" in the Akkadian of N. Babylonia, and as the "Goddess of the vine" in the Sumerian of S. Babylonia. So that, if this is correct, the sacred tree would appear to have also been identified with the vine.

Moreover, according to Sir George Birdwood, certain forms of the climbing plant wound around the sacred tree on Assyrian bas-reliefs closely approach the "Asclepias acida"—i.e., the sacred plant or tree of life, from which Hindus and Iranians both derived their immortal Soma or Haoma.

On the other hand, the cone is sometimes held up—not only over a tree—but to the face of human figures or objects which are not palm-trees—or the conventional gesture is made before the tree without the cone being held in the hand of the figure (fig. 29 furnishes examples of this). And Mr. Goblet d’Alviella has very justly observed that the cone is used in very much the same manner as is the Ankh—or "life"-sign by the Egyptian gods—and obviously with a life-imparting intention.

The evidence seems therefore to point to the fact that our symbol, in its later conventional shape, was a complex one. That originally it was closely associated with the great nature-goddess, and that the scenes in which it so conspicuously appears were symbolical of the universal generative and reproductive powers of deified nature, seems to which palms are represented, and on the same cylinder a seated god holds in his hand a stem with branches, at the end of each of which is a cone. Such trees are represented as natural objects in the landscape in historical bas-reliefs (See Layard’s *Monuments*, p. 33, p. 39, fig. 1-46, fig. 1), showing that they were intentionally thus depicted.

1 Mr. F. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l’Hist.*, I, p. 84, gives the following text from *Canefe. Inc. W. A.*, IV, pl. 162): "Take a vase, put in it some water, put in it some white cedar wood, place in it the charm that comes from Eridu, and thus complete the virtue of the enchanted waters." Another text given by the same author says: "Take the fruit of the cedar, and present it to the face of the patient; the cedar is the tree that gives the pure magic and repels the unfriendly demons—ever ready to ensnare"—*loc. cit.*, 83-84. Comp. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 242. It was upon the heart at the core of the cedar tree that the name of Ea was inscribed, and it was associated with the magical arts and the secrets of heaven. Only the initiated could taste its fruit.


3 *Industrial Arts of India*, Part II, p. 430.

4 *Antiq. B. M.* I Part III, pp. 362, 363, 364, 369, etc.)

5 *La Migration des Symboles*, p. 180. Comp. above, p. 86, pl. 29.
be implied in the words of an ancient hymn of Eridu, in which it is described:  
"In Eridu (a stalk) grew overshadowing; in a holy place did it become green;
Its root was of white crystal which stretched toward the deep;
(before) Ea was its course in Eridu, teeming with fertility;
Its seat was the [central] place of the earth; its foliage (?) was the couch of Zikum [the primeval] mother,
Into the heart of its holy house which spread its shade like a forest
hath no man entered.
"(There is the home) of the mighty mother who passes across the sky.
"[In] the midst of it was Tammuz."  

Mr. d’Alvèllia suggests that this hymn may throw light upon the meaning of the group so often formed by the tree and the winged figures under the sun-disk, from which worshippers seem to draw down the life-giving rays of the sun upon the symbol, the whole scene being emblematic of the universal divine fecundity. It may be worthy of note in connection with this, that Dr. Richter has found a votive-offering of a sacred-tree in the temenos of Aphrodite at Chythroi, Cyprus. (See *Ancient Places of Worship in Kypros*, p. 48, pl. xvii.)

That even as a common-place decorative design, the sacred palm retained its meaning for the Assyrian artist, is hinted at in the ornamental detail of the gorgeous robe worn by Assur-nazir-pal on a bas-relief of the palace (fig. 30) of Nimrud. On this, the workman has detached the palm in its most conventional shape, to form the centre of a group in which two goats or two winged bulls are alternately represented bending the knee before the sacred object. We, therefore, have here the transitional stage of the emblem—adapted and used for ordinary purposes, just as the cross often is with us—and which, in its purely decorative character, was carried by commerce over the entire region to which it had direct or indirect access.

The rosette, which, in Mesopotamian art, was conventionally used as a symbol of the sun, had probably a similar history; and its emblematic meaning in Mesopotamia, as well as the common use which its inhabitants made of it for purposes of decoration, justify its being considered a typical Mesopotamian symbol.


2 The Sun-God regarded as either the son or the husband of the Nature-Goddess.

3 Layard. *Monuments*, etc., I series, p. 43.
Whatever may have been the genesis of similar designs in other regions—whether they may be traced to floral or to geometrical forms—there is no room for doubting that its origin, on the banks of the

Fig. 30. Design from Robe. Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, I series, p. 43.

Euphrates, must be traced to the eight-rayed star which, from the very earliest times to which we have access in Chaldea, was the ideogram

1Mr. Murray, Handbook of Arch., p. 77, has very properly pointed out that the rosette designs could be readily arrived at independently, without any conscious borrowing on the part of the artist.
for "god." Even as early as the time when the Tello monuments were erected, the star-symbol occurs in the conventional form of a star-rossette enclosed in a disk.¹ Later, a common form of representation for the sun is a four-ray star between the rays of which flame-like streaks are depicted.² And although the variety of form presented by the symbol in the course of time is almost endless, and it tends to lose its identity in the floral form; the numerous star-types survived to indicate its evolution from the hieroglyph for "god."³

We have at the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania a limestone bas-relief of the time of Khu-en-aten,⁴ when Mesopotamian influence was, as shown by the discoveries at Tel-el-Amarna, very strong in Egypt, which represents a priest worshipping the sun-disk: This is simply depicted in the form of a floral rosette from which rays depend. Although it occurs early in Egypt, the rosette was never used there to represent the sun, and it only becomes common as a decorative design from the beginning of the New Empire. Then, however, it is vulgarized and frequently met with. For instance, there are, also in the collection of the University, some tiles from a palace of Rameses III at Tel-el-Yahudiye,⁵ the design of which is identical with that to be seen on some tiles from Nineveh, now in the Louvre, and on which the wheel pattern likewise alternates with the floral rosette.

Mr. Goodyear ⁷ has offered a very probable suggestion as to the origin of the Egyptian rosette: He proposes to see in the dried-up ovary stigma of the lotus after seeding, the model from which the Egyptian artists derived their floral design. There is no doubt that the natural object, as given by Mr. Goodyear, bears a striking resemblance to the type which I have distinguished by the term of "floral," which makes its

¹ Mr. de Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. 46, No. 7.
² Stele of Nabu habal idin. Brit. Mus. disc. by Mr. Rassam. See Ménant, loc. cit., 246. Here the simple eight-rayed star is the special symbol of Ishtar.
³ See, for instance, Layard Monum., pl. 42, where the star and floral varieties are each represented on the bracelets of two great winged figures of the palace of Nimrud. Plate 13 furnishes us with every possible variety: from the true solar eight-rayed star type to the later floral designs.
⁴ Sent by Mr. W. M. Flinders-Petrie and found by him at Gurob.
⁵ Sent by the "Egypt. Exp. Fund" in 1890.
⁶ See Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, etc., II, p.

Since the above was written, Mr. Goodyear in his work, the Grammar of the Lotus, 1892, has stated that Mr. Newberry also coincides in this opinion.
appearance on the banks of the Euphrates toward the close of the second millennium B.C.

In connection with this suggestion, it is interesting to find that the Rosette-Sun-disk on the monument of Khu-en-aten, to which I have alluded above, is precisely of the pronounced "stigma" type. It would thus seem as though, at the time when Mesopotamian influence was strong enough to overcome the hieratic traditions of the native Egyptian artists, to such an extent as to lead them to represent the sun-disk after the fashion of the Asiatics, the Egyptian Rosette, brought into prominence by the novel use to which it had been adapted, had reacted upon the form used in Mesopotamia where it found its way and became popular.

This was the time (fifteenth century B.C.) when, as is shown by the recent discoveries at Tel-el-Amarna, Egypt was most subject to foreign influences;¹ and when the Babylonian scribes attached to the Court conducted a wide correspondence in the neo-Babylonian character with allied and tributary rulers of distant Semitic states. It is therefore likely that it is also at this time that many Egyptian artistic forms were grafted upon the symbolism of Asia; a process which gave rise to the mixed style of decoration so characteristic of the art of the Assyrian empire; and which, in the days of its supremacy and with the development of Phoenician commerce, spread over the Western world. At all events, the cuneiform tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna reveal a constant and direct interchange of industrial and natural products between Egypt and Mesopotamia; trees, brazen vases, bulls, etc., were, at this time, sent by the Asiatic kings in exchange for gold, stone-tables, Egyptian wares, and even skilled servants.²

A careful comparison of the remains of the Valley of the Euphrates with those of the Valley of the Nile cannot fail to bring with it the conviction that the two civilizations which they represent developed independently. If we make the proper allowance for such facts as are sufficiently explained by certain aspirations common to the human race, for the expression of which primitive arts and industries offer necessarily restricted means; and by a general likeness in the external circumstances of life that engenders common needs, born of common physical conditions, we shall find differences more fundamental in the

¹ See Mr. Petrie's letter in the London Academy, April 9th, 1892.
² Proc. of the Soc. Biblical Arch., 1888–9, June 5th, p. 588, etc. Mr. Budge gives the contents of letters from Burra-buryas, King of Babylon, and from Alashya, king of Mitanni, etc., in which such transactions are mentioned.
manner in which the men of each region worked out the problems set before them, than the analogies that are apt, at first sight, to strike a superficial observer.

Contact, of course, there was—and a mutual exchange of thought and of industrial commodities took place, probably at a much earlier period even than that which we have been considering. But the loans that resulted from such intercourse are beginning to be easier to detect; and with the progress of science, as we are permitted to penetrate more deeply into the inner thoughts that inspired these men, and which they embodied in their art, we may more readily distinguish that which belongs to the spirit of each race, from that which contact with others grafted upon the original stock of primeval ideas.

But to return to our potsherd. This fragment from Tel-Defennah, dating from the seventh century B. C.—i. e., towards the close of a period of immense Babylonian and Assyrian activity—enables us to trace the filiation of a long series of ancient and modern designs, to the sacred tree. It very nearly approaches the well-known conventional form of the Assyrian symbol, yet contains all the elements which, in time, were transformed for the common purposes of decoration; and

Fig. 31. Naukratis, Part II, pl. vii, fig. 4.

we are reminded that we are on Egyptian soil by the lotus-like form assumed by the portion of the design which, in the Assyrian symbol,

1 Mr. Léon Heuze, *Les Origines Orientales de l’Art*, Vol. I, pp. 6 and 25, admits a distant Egyptian influence upon the art of Tello, but regards it as independently developed, and believes that in many particulars it betrays a spirit opposed to Egyptian methods.

2 Comp. with the remarkable Cypriote form of the sacred tree, highly conventionalized and much altered, published by Dr. Max Ohnefalsch Richter (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. V, p. 105.)
is a horn-like scroll. This lotus-form soon defines itself on other designs, and eventually becomes the favorite type of decoration used by the artist-potters of Daphne and Naukratis\(^1\)—the same elements being used to produce different effects (figs. 31 and 32).

![Fig. 32. Naukratis, Part I, pl. vii, fig. 15.](image)

On the neck of a similar amphora, reproduced by Mr. Flinders-Petrie\(^2\) (fig. 33), the scroll supporting the palm, instead of stretching upward, as in our sherd, is tightly coiled beneath it. The greater or less loosening of these coils will in turn furnish the Greek artist with the many graceful running varieties of the pattern which are still in use to-day in our art-schools, and which have not been improved upon.

In comparing the decorative motives used by the artists of Thera, Melos, Rhodes, Cyprus, etc., and the Delta, it is very interesting to note how the same artistic elements, brought to them by outside influences, were appropriated and turned to account by each local school of art, which impressed upon them its own original stamp.

\(^1\) *Naukratis*, E. A. Gardner, Part II; *Ibid.*, pl. vii, fig. 4; pl. xi, fig. 2; plate viii, fig. 5. Also, *Defenneh*, see *Tahis*, Vol. II, pls. 7 and 27, fig. 3, and pl. 18, fig. 4.

\(^2\) *Tahis*, Part II (*Tahis*), pl. xxxi, fig. 1. Compare with the vases found in the island of Melos (*Conse Melische Thongfässse*), and with those found at Thera and Kamiros.
The fact that several of the ceramic forms found at Tel-Defenneh by Mr. Petrie are considered by him as intermediate between the well-known Egyptian shapes and the true Greek types found elsewhere, and that these intermediate forms are often decorated with the most archaic designs, derives its principal interest from the history and the geographical position of the site on which they were found.

Tel-Defenneh,¹ the Daphne of the Greeks, was situated on the edge of the desert and was a stronghold protecting the road to Syria. According to Herodotus² it is at Daphne that Sesostis—i.e., Rameses II—was received and feted upon his return from his victorious Syrian campaign, and narrowly escaped death at the hands of his brother, Armant. But although Mr. Petrie, while excavating the

¹ Tumus, Part II (Defenneh), W. M. Flinders-Petrie.
² II, 107.
mound of Daphnae, came upon the remains of a baked-brick foundation wall of much earlier date than the other ruins, which he judged, from a certain analogy with a similar structure met with at Tel-Nebesheh, must date from the epoch of the Ramessids, the objects recovered there, and the ruins among which they were found, only go back to the reign of Psammetichus I.

It is outside the gates of Daphnae that this monarch established the camp of his mercenaries, the Ionians and Karians, with whose help he had overcome the forces of the Dodecarchy, and had inaugurated the XXVI Dynasty, who ruled Egypt from Sais in the Delta. To judge from the character of the ruins explored by Mr. Petrie, the town of Daphnae became far more Greek than Egyptian. Moreover its geographical position as an outpost on the eastern frontier of

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1 Herod. II, 154.
Egypt brought its inhabitants into close relations with their Asiatic neighbors, and it is probable that many immigrants from Syria sought refuge in the Greco-Egyptian city at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judæa.  

After the defeat of Apries, (570-565 B. C.) Amasis removed the Greek troops to Memphis and replaced them at Daphne by an Egyptian garrison. At the same time he restricted all foreign commerce to Naukratis, in the Western Delta; and, from this time forth, Naukratis retained the monopoly of foreign trade, which its close proximity to Sais, the seat of Egyptian government at that time, favored. Daphne, stripped of all that had contributed to its prosperity, then entered upon its decline; and all the pottery of Greek or mixed forms recovered among its ruins can therefore be chronologically restricted to a limited period—i.e., 670-570 B. C.—according to Mr. Petrie, no Greek pottery found there can be assigned a date later than 550 B. C. In the time of Herodotus, a Persian garrison held Daphne.

We are here, therefore, in possession of all the necessary facts bearing upon the history of our potsherds; and it is most instructive to find the ancient pottery of Greek or mixed types, made by Greek potters of the seventh and sixth centuries before our era, upon Egyptian soil, decorated with designs inspired not only by Egyptian, but by various Asiatic influences: The lotus-bud, worked into numerous different conceits, the Sphinx, which has already lost its Egyptian repose and gravity and gained in grace all that the artistic Greek has caused him to lose in dignity and in depth of meaning; and the Soul-bird, found side by side not only with the sacred tree of Mesopotamia, but even with certain decorations of Amazons declared by the highest authority upon the subject, Mr. Murray, to be of Persian origin.

The active traffic of the period, which produced the eclecticism in art so noticeable among the Greek colonists of Daphne, is further illustrated by the result of Mr. Petrie's excavations at Tel-Nebireh, the site of ancient Naukratis, the Greco-Egyptian emporium of the sixth century B.C.

Here the explorers found traces of iron foundries and of a factory of pottery, etc., which show the town to have been a great centre not only of trade, as was already known, but also of manufacture.

3 II, 30.
4 See *Chapter on Pottery*, by A. S. Murray, in the Vol. of *Tanis*, II, Nebesheh and Defennneh, p. 70.
From the factory of pottery and amulets we have in the Museum of the University, not only scarabs and other amulets, but the moulds themselves in which these were cast, and lumps of the coloring matter used to give to the glaze its particular hue. Among the numerous scarabs collected upon this spot by Mr. Petrie were types previously found in the Island of Rhodes.\textsuperscript{1} These, executed by foreign workmen had, in many cases, betrayed their non-Egyptian manufacture by certain peculiarities of treatment, or by the faulty rendering of the hieroglyphs. At other points of the basin of the Mediterranean, objects of Egyptian origin have also from time to time been found. Although there is no doubt that many specimens of Egyptian art and industry found their way to different points of the civilized world through direct or indirect intercourse, many centuries before the foundation of Naukratis,\textsuperscript{2} it is nevertheless evident that we have here the centre of trade where a large number of those which have been recovered were manufactured, and whence they were afterward distributed; possibly, in the course of time, serving as models for local workmen to imitate.

In the tombs of Etruria many objects have been exhumed, some of undoubted Egyptian manufacture, others not so typically Egyptian, which were thought, at the time of their discovery, to be foreign imitations of Egyptian models.\textsuperscript{3} That which makes these particularly interesting in connection with the discoveries at Naukratis, is the presence among them of vases of green porcelain glaze—a glaze characteristic of the last millennium B.C.,\textsuperscript{4} and which was very common in Egypt about the time of the establishment of the Greek colonies in the Delta, when Daphnæ and Naukratis became active centres. In the Polledrara tomb, near Vulci, such porcelain vases were found, inscribed with hieroglyphics of unfamiliar form, which had obviously been drawn by workmen unacquainted with the Egyptian language. Moreover, on one of the incised ostrich eggs also found there, was cut the Greek letter "A" in a form that precisely coincides with the writing of the Greek colonists settled at Naukratis in the VIIth century, B.C.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Naukratis, Part I, p. 47.}
\textsuperscript{2} At Yalisos [Rhodes] where the tombs are of the most archaic type, a scarab of Amenhotep III was found. Duncker, \textit{Hist. of Greece}, p. 53. See also for evidences of Egyptian influence in Cyprus under the 18th D., Dr. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in \textit{Verhandlungen Berlin Anth. Gesells.,} Jan. 1st, 1891; in \textit{"Die Nation,"} June 21st, 1891, and in \textit{Mittheil. der Anthrop. Gesells. in Wien,} Nov., Dec., 1890.
\textsuperscript{3} Birch, \textit{Ancient Pottery,} 433, quot. \textit{Micali Monumenti inediti, Tabula VII.}
\textsuperscript{4} Catalog. \textit{Brit. Mus.,} p. 74, 1888.
\textsuperscript{5} Murray, \textit{Handbook of Greek Arch.,} p. 56. Figures of the God Bes and of Osiris
This alone must date the tomb, even though a scarab of Psammetichus I. had not been recovered among these objects.

Scarabs of glazed ware, one of which bore the cartouche of the same king, unguent vases, and other objects of Egyptian origin were recovered at Capo di Selvo on the site of ancient Tharras on the west coast of Sardinia, and among these there also occur vases of the pale green porcelain glaze already referred to.¹

Mr. Wiedemann ² mentions an ushabti of the Vth or VIth century B. C. which was discovered some 20 years ago among some Roman antiquities in Württemberg; he also mentions other Egyptian objects, manufactured some time between the VIIth and the IVth centuries B. C., which have been exhumed near Cologne and Bonn. Others have been found in Gaul. Whatever may be the time at which the latter objects found their way to the distant lands where they have been discovered, all these facts tend to show that the commerce with Egypt was an extensive one—not limited to Asia Minor and the neighboring islands, but fully established and carrying far and wide the products of Egyptian civilization.

It is therefore impossible to doubt the influence which the art of Naukratis must have exercised over that of neighboring peoples, or the share which the great Græco-Egyptian mart had in bringing about the blending of exotic forms with the decorative designs peculiar to the Mediterranean nations.

**ORIENTAL DESIGN.**

That the artist-potters of Naukratis no more confined themselves to Greece or Egypt for their models than did their fellow-workmen of Daphne, is shown by the very handsome potsherds herewith given, which continue the story told by our Daphne pottery.

On the Naukratis vases, as on those recovered at Kamiros, the disposition of the decoration—which is divided into concentric zones—each zone developing its own theme, has been traced, by all who have made a study of the subject, to Assyrian influence.

As this artistic ware was never manufactured by either the Egyptians or the Assyrians, the generally accepted opinion as to the manner in which this style of decoration reached the artists of the Greek colonies, is that it was brought to them on Assyrian textiles, through Phœnician commerce. Mr. Murray \(^1\) regards this peculiar type of pottery as having been invented by the colonial potters, who came into more direct contact with the East, and he thinks that it later found its way to Greece. He has also pointed out that the meanders, rosettes, and other geometrical designs which are scattered over the background of these animal scenes, are but a survival of the "geometrical" style characteristic of the Archaic Greek pottery, which the artist-potters could not bring themselves suddenly to discard altogether, when the new designs furnished them by Oriental textiles, gave rise to the type of decoration which we are now considering.

One can but concur in these general conclusions which have been

\(^1\) Loc. cit., p. 61.
arrived at through much learning and a serious study of the question. Yet there seems to be another and more direct way than that furnished by the Asiatic textiles, through which these Oriental designs may have reached the Mediterranean artists, and may have suggested

Fig. 37. Naukratis. Potsherd, in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

to them the highly specialized class of pottery known as the incised painted "Oriental" ware, by placing under their very eyes vessels upon which such devices were employed with telling effect.

On the accompanying potsherds, we have good specimens of the

Fig. 38. Naukratis. Potsherd, in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Naukratis incised type. The subjects are divided into zones. Here a series of grazing deer, ibexes or antelopes (figs. 36 and 37), not elongated out of all proportion—as on some of the Kamiros, Cyprus, and other Island vases, but well drawn in their natural shape and
executed in polychrome; above or below are series of wild animals, divided by well-defined conventional lines; whilst on the smaller sherd we have the well-known Asiatic theme of a lion attacking an ibex (fig. 38). In all these, the animals, their attitudes, the mode of
treatment, and above all the incised outline of the principal figures—apparently a superfluous feature of the well-drawn painted design—immediately recall not only the embroideries on the Assyrian textiles, but more particularly the decoration to be seen on some of the engraved metal bowls called "paterae," which have been discovered in such numbers in and out of Mesopotamia.\(^1\)

Those to which I am particularly referring were found by Mr. Layard in the northwest palace of Nimrud, founded by Assur-nazir-pal (ab. 880 B.C.), but afterward repaired and inhabited by Sargon II (circa 740 B.C.). So that the objects found there should probably not be referred to a date earlier than the latter reign.

Some of these bowls are engraved with Egyptian subjects, and reproduce Hathor-heads, Sphinxes, scarabs, feathers of truth, cartouches, and even hieroglyphs.\(^2\) But, even in the most Egyptian among them, there is something unfamiliar in the curve of the wings or in the disposition of the hieroglyphs, etc., that betrays their foreign origin, and convinces the most superficial observer of their non-Egyptian "provenance." Some present mixed forms; but others, such as the one here given,\(^3\) (fig. 39) are decorated with processions of animals, in what has been termed by students of ancient art "true Mesopotamian style." And the bulls, the ibex, the leopard, the griffin, etc., which are represented either grazing or fighting—their attitudes, their general expression, are so similar to those on our potsherds, that it is difficult to avoid the inference that the men who designed each were inspired by the same models; and that the engraved outlines on the metal bowls suggested to the potter-artists the incised lines which they applied to their pottery.

It had long ago been suggested by competent authorities,\(^4\) that the original models of these bronze "paterae" first came from Mesopotamia, and were exported into Syria, where the industry became naturalized and perfected; use being made—for the sake of obtaining variety—not only of the usual Assyrian theme, but of those Egyptian and mixed designs that at one time proved so perplexing to antiquaries. Now, we know that, through the enterprise of the Phoenicians, and through their commercial relations with the trade

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1 For the influence of metal vessels upon Island and Greek pottery, compare Mr. Cecil Smith in Journ. Hell. Studies, V, 233, and in Arch. Zeitung, 1881.
2 Layard, Monuments, II series, plates 59 to 68.
3 Ibid., pl. 60, Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art, etc., II, 741.
centres of the Mediterranean Coast, these exotic forms were scattered abroad, and not only became known far and wide, but furnished local artists with models for the ornamentation of their own wares. Even as far as Etruria this type of decoration is found. On an Etruscan figure of hammered bronze, found near Vulci (Polledrara tomb), and now in the British Museum, the skirt of the statuette is ornamented with a zone of animals in relief. We have already seen that the objects recovered in this locality were associated with Egyptian antiquities dating from the VIIth century B. C., and Mr. Murray regards this figure as representing Etruscan art prior to 600 B. C.

The conspicuous place which the stag and other cervidae occupy on the vases decorated with these designs would, alone, point to Mesopotamia, where, if we may judge from its early and constant representation on the cylinders, this class of animal played, from the earliest times, an important part in the religious symbolism of the people.

According to Mr. Sayce, the antelope was particularly connected with Ea, the great god of Eridu, to whom the gazelle likewise seems to have borne some relation.

The latter animal was also identified with the God of Nipur, Mullil, who was called the "gazelle god," and with whom the goat was associated. Indeed, it is apparent that the primitive zoologists of Mesopotamia did not discriminate very closely between ibex and oryx goats and the cervidae.

Deer and antelopes of various kinds were held sacred in different parts of the Semitic world. They were not forbidden food, but bore a relation to certain divinities. Troops of sacred gazelles occur down to a late day at the sanctuaries of Mecca and Tabala, and in the island spoken of by Arrian. Stags and gazelles occur as sacred symbols in

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1 See Hist. of Greek Sculpture, I, p. 85, 2d ed.
2 See above, p. 98.
3 Handbook of Greek Archæology, p. 241, fig. 82.
5 A. H. Sayce, loc. cit., p. 283, quoting W. A. I., II, 6, 7; 59, 5; 55, 31–33.
6 Sayce, loc. cit., p. 284, quoting W. A. I., IV, 70, 55; II, 59, 5.
7 Ibid., p. 285–6; quoting W. A. I., IV, 28, 3.
8 Even Pliny, Nat. Hist., VIII, ch. 89, enumerates among Capræ the roebuck, the chamois, the goat, and the antelope-oryx. The Roman offering of the "Cervaria Ovis," in which the sheep was made to pass for a stag, shows the close connection existing between these animals in the minds of the ancients.
9 VII, 20.
Southern Arabia, in connection with Athtar worship; at Mecca, probably in connection with the worship of Al-Ozza; and in Phœnicia, both on gems and on coins of Laodicea ad Mare. An annual sacrifice of a stag took place at the latter place on the Phœnician coast, which was looked upon as a substitute for a more ancient sacrifice of a maiden, offered to a goddess whom Porphyry \(^1\) calls Athene, whilst Pausanias \(^2\) identifies her with Bœuronian Artemis, supposing her cultus to have been introduced by Seleucus. Mr. Robertson Smith,\(^3\) from whom I have borrowed these details, has, however, pointed out that the town \(^4\) is much older than its re-christening by Seleucus, and that, if the goddess had been Greek, she would not have been identified with both Athene and Artemis. He regards her, in fact, as a form of Astarte, the ancient Tyche of the city.

Among the Greeks, deer were held sacred to Apollo at Delphi.\(^5\) One of the most important among the archaic statues of the god—that executed by Kanakhos—which stood in the temple of Didymus, near Miletus (about VIth century B. C.), if we believe Pliny,\(^6\) represented the god holding his bow and carrying a young deer upon his outstretched hand.

Deer and stags were also sacred to Artemis,\(^7\) and the famous statue of this goddess in the Louvre\(^8\)—which represents her, according to the conception of the artists of the IVth century B. C., dressed with the short chiton—shows her accompanied by the deer, her common attendant. A number of statuettes of Artemis-Kybele, with the deer or with the dog, were found by Dr. Richter at Achna, Cyprus.\(^9\) Moreover, on many monuments, she wears the *nebris,\(^10\) or fawn-skin, over her chiton.

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1 \(De Abat., II, 56.\)
2 \(III, 16-8.\)
3 \(*Religion of the Semites,* p. 447, 1889.
6 Pliny, XXXIV, 19. The description is obscure; in this I have followed Collignon's interpretation.
7 \Comp. Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis.*
8 M. Collignon, *Mythologie Figurée de la Grèce,* p. 107. Compare the Corinthian Puteal as given by Mr. A. Michaelis in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies,* vol. VI, p. 48, on which Artemis is also represented with the deer which she holds by the fore-leg.
9 *Ancient Places of Worship in Kypros,* p. 37, pl. iv.
10 The *nebris,* or fawn-skin, and the * SEGIS,* or goat-skin, were associated with the gods in Greek mythology. The latter seems to have been regarded as possessed of divine or magic virtues. See Homer, *Iliad,* v, 738; xviii, 204; xv, 229, 307, 321; xxiv, 30.
Cervidae were also sacred to Aphrodite. Indeed, the worship of the Greek Artemis seems, in early times, to have been very much confused with that of female divinities whose attributes had little or nothing in common with the severe type of the stern goddess. And, difficult as it is to understand how the later Greeks could recognize the chaste sister of Apollo in such deities as the Persian and the Ephesian Artemis, we have already seen that, as a matter of fact, Astarte was identified by ancient writers, not only with Artemis, but also with Athene. Artemis was originally an Eastern deity; and Mr. Cecil Smith, in pointing out how frequently she figures on vases decorated with the "Oriental" design, has only strengthened the evidence.

The recent discoveries of Dr. M. Oheimfalsch-Richter in Cyprus also tend to confirm the view which sees in the different Greek goddesses mere aspects of the great Nature-Mother: In the archaic art of Cyprus, the same form—borrowed from that of Nana-Istar—was made use of by the Cyprian artists to represent Ashtoret-Aphrodite, and Tanit-Artemis-Kybele. Later on, however, the former divinity appears as a nude male form, pressing her hands to her breasts, whilst the latter continues to be draped.

Shrines have been brought to light by the same careful explorer—belonging to about the same period as those from which our potsherds have been derived—in which Artemis-Kybele, Aphrodite-Kybele, Anat-Athene, and Astarte-Aphrodite were respectively worshipped; and Dr. Richter's conclusions, drawn from such facts, derive these various forms from one original type, for which he claims an Asiatic genesis.

The Aegis of Zeus (the word here used in the sense of shield) was made of the skin of the goat Amaltheia, whose milk was supposed to have nourished the infant god. Athene and Apollo are stated to have borrowed it from Zeus; see Iliad, xv, 229, 307, 318, 390; xxiv, 20; ii, 447, 449; xviii, 204; xxi, 400. (Comp. Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antig., p. 34, 1891.) The nereis is also associated with Dionysus and his orgiastic cortège (ibid., p. 225).

1 O. Keller, loc. cit., p. 94, says that it was also sacred to Athene, and, at Thocis, to Isis (loc. cit., p. 96). Compare Callimachus' Hymn to Artemis, v, 386, where Athene is said to have formed the flute of the bones of the deer.


3 E. Curtius, Die griechische Götterlehre vom geschichtlichen Standpunkte, 1875.

4 Dr. Max Oheimfalsch-Richter, Ancient Places of Worship in Kypros, p. 42, pl. xi, 1891.

5 Ibid., p. 11.

6 Ibid., p. 12.

7 Ibid., pp. 15, 16, 23.

8 Ibid., pp. 30–32.
Apollo and Aphrodite seem to have been the most important divinities of Naukratis, and this reminds us that in the region of Paphos (Cyprus), Apollo occupied a conspicuous position by the side of the same goddess.  

The special association of the cervidae with the worship of Apollo and with that of Aphrodite makes it likely that the frequent recurrence of these animals upon the Naukratis vases is not a purely fortuitous circumstance. And the fact that the sherds so decorated were found in the temene of Apollo and of Aphrodite—where they had originally been brought by the faithful as offerings—lends some support to the view expressed by Mr. Goodyear \(^1\) that the decoration on these vases was symbolical. It is, at least, probable that it was selected, either by the artist himself or by the devout purchaser, with a view to religious symbolism, and as particularly appropriate to the end for which these vessels were destined.

Among the other mythological animals that are frequently represented upon the painted incised vases of Naukratis, is the boar—and as this animal is seldom, if ever, found as a symbolical decorative object among the antiquities of Mesopotamia \(^2\) which are contemporaneous with the use of this "serial" design, its presence here deserves, perhaps, more than a passing mention.

The pig, in the pre-Semitic religion of Chaldea, was sacred to the war-god Adar, or Ninib, \(^4\) who was originally the sun-god of Nipur, \(^5\) and was regarded as the offspring of the great local tutelary divinity, Mullil, the ruler of the under-world and of the dead. \(^6\) Although a

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\(^1\) Ibid., p. 23.

\(^2\) Grammar of the Lotus.

\(^3\) As far as I know, pigs do not occur in the symbolical art of Assyria, where it was not a sacrificial animal. There is, however, a representation of a pig on a clay tablet from Babylon, reproduced by Mr. Babelon in Manual of Oriental Antiq., p. 123. 1889.

\(^4\) Sayce, loc. cit., p. 152. The "Lord of the Asu." According to Jensen, Kosmogonie der Babylon, the Asu of the woods is the wild boar.

\(^5\) Sayce, loc. cit., p. 152, quoting W. A. I., II, 57, 51, 76:

There is among the objects exhumed from the mound of Niffer, ancient Nipur, by the "Peters Expedition," which are now in the Museum of Archeology and Paleontology of the University of Pennsylvania, a fine clay representation of a pig. This specimen is a bas-relief about three inches long, of poorly-baked clay, but the animal is beautifully drawn, and modelled with a great deal of expression. It is an object complete in itself, and must have been used either as a votive offering or as an image. It presents an archaic appearance, crumbles easily, and the clay, wherever it is broken off, exhibits the unbaked blue core.

\(^6\) Sayce, loc. cit., pp. 145, 146, etc.
solar god, Ninib was, therefore associated with darkness and death, and Mr. Jensen,\(^1\) quoting a hymn in which the god is addressed as the "light of Heaven and earth illuminating the interior of the Underworld," describes him as the East Sun, before it rises. He is also the "merciful one, who gives life, who causes the dead to live."\(^2\)

He was called "Lord of the Swine," a title which, according to Mr. Sayce,\(^3\) would appear to have been dropped and lost during the Semitic period of Mesopotamian history; at least, it does not occur in the later texts.

Wild boar's meat was forbidden food on the banks of the Euphrates, in the months of Ab and of Marshesvan;\(^4\) and the very mention of the domestic pig is said to have been avoided in the Semitic-Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions.\(^5\)

Ramman,\(^6\) the god of the luminous air, regarded in the later mythology as the husband of Ishtar, whose earlier consort was Tammu, the sun-god of Eridu—when worshipped as Mātu (Martu), the lord of the tempest, minister of Bel—was, it would seem, known as "Khumunsir," an Akkadianized form of the Semitic "Khumsuru"—a pig.\(^7\) As Bel of Nipur is the Semitic form of the ancient Akkadian divinity, Mullil,\(^8\) Ramman, in this aspect, may be regarded as the equivalent of Ninib.

Complicated as are these myths, it seems evident that the animal

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\(^1\) *Kosmogonie der Babylonier*, p. 475.


\(^3\) *Loc. cit.*, p. 153. In K. 161, 1–8, quoted by Mr. Sayce, one of the remedies prescribed for heart disease is "swine's flesh."

\(^4\) I am indebted to Dr. Morris Jastrow for the information that the latter month is designated by an ideogram which, in II R., 57, 32, is a title of Ninib, whilst the chief ideographic element of the written name of "Ab" means "fire," and according to a passage in the inscription of Sargon, Cyl. 61, Ab is the month sacred to the fire-god, who is, of course, brought into direct connection with the sun-god.

\(^5\) *Sayce, loc. cit.*, p. 83.

\(^6\) *Sayce, loc. cit.*, p. 212, identifies this god with the Syrian sun-god Rimmon (Zech. xii, 11) whose untimely death was mourned in the valley of Megiddo by the plain of Yezreel every year, just as the death of Tammuz was mourned by the women of Phoenicia and of Jerusalem (Ezech. viii, 14), or as Adonis was mourned by Aphrodite (comp. *loc. cit.*, p. 227).

\(^7\) According to Prof. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 201, swine's flesh was forbidden to all the Semites, and that animal was only sacrificed in certain exceptional rites on certain solemn occasions. The same author expresses a doubt (*loc. cit.*, p. 143) as to whether swine's flesh was "taboo" by the Semites because it was regarded as holy or as impure.

\(^8\) *Sayce, loc. cit.*, p. 103.
we are now considering was connected with the sun-god in the early religion of Chaldæa; but with the sun-god in its fiercer and darker aspects, anthropomorphized as the warlike son of the lord of the underworld.

Mr. Sayce suggests that the Semitic abhorrence of the swine may have caused it to be used to symbolize the ancient rivalry of the sun-god of Nipur and of the sun-god of Eridu; but, as we find that the swine-myth underwent a similar process in other religious systems, a purely local explanation of the phenomenon which turned this animal into the adversary of the divine type that he had once personified seems insufficient, and it is much more likely that the swine, after having been associated with the sun in the underworld—i. e., with the sun which, dying, is born again and brings with it all life and fertility, came, in the course of time, to represent the darkness that swallows or destroys the light and life-giving god, and thus assumed the part of his antagonist.

This seems to be the only way in which we can account for the contradictory position occupied in various mythologies by the swine.

Among the Egyptians, there is reason to believe that, in early times, this animal was not regarded with the aversion which it inspired later, probably under Semitic influence. It may be seen among the flocks of Amten, a high functionary of Pyramid times;² and, at that period, that animal was used along with others, in hieroglyphic writing, as the determinative for "herd."³ The fact that the sow was sacred to Isis⁴ also lends support to this view. The hippopotamus, an animal which seems to have been classed by the Egyptians with the swine,⁵ was a favorite form of the mother-goddess, who in her name of Ta-urt, typified fertility; and who, although mythologically regarded as the consort of Set,⁶ the brother and opponent of Osiris, was mentioned in the legend as having assisted Isis to bring forth Horos.

As the mother of the gods, Apet, who at Thebes in Ptolemaic times was held in highest veneration,⁷ was represented under the form of a

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¹ Sayce, loc. cit., p. 236.
² Lepsius, Denk. ii, 5.
⁴ On sow-amulets is often inscribed the wish "that Isis may grant happiness to the owner of this sow." Maspero, Catalog. de Bulag., No. 4158. 1883.
⁵ Lefèbure, Les Yeux d'Horus, p. 54.
⁶ The destructive power of the earth, who also typifies darkness as opposed to light. His connection with the earth is shown by the fact that the determinative of his name is a stone.
⁷ Mr. de la Rochemonteix, Rec. de Travaux. Vol. III, pp. 73, etc., Le Temple
hippopotamus. In a papyrus in the Louvre collection, in which the different attributes of the divine power are symbolized under various animal forms, the sow represents fertility and motherhood; and the mother of Min, the mummiform generative god, was represented under the shape of a white sow.

In the Todtenbuch, the swine seems to be more particularly connected with El-Kab, the ancient city of the South, whose vulture goddess, Nekheb, had from time immemorial typified Upper Egypt. In the chapter cxxii, which bears some relation to this locality, the swine appears in the rôle of the adversary of light; and much more than an allusion is made to the danger with which the eye of Horos was threatened at the hands of Set, metamorphosed as a black swine—the solar nature of the eye of Horos being made clear by the further remark that its might burn the black swine.

The same chapter also records the fact that oxen, gazelles, and swine were ordered by Horos to be sacrificed to the gods, the latter animal having been declared abominable by the sun-god Ra. Set is often mentioned in the texts as having swallowed the eye of Horos, or as having been compelled to throw up that which he had eaten, and according to Chabas, swine are frequently referred to as odious to Horos.

The classics also allude to the mythological character of the pig as the antagonist of Osiris. Plutarch, for instance, relates that Typhon found the chest containing the body of Osiris whilst pursuing a sow.

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1 No. 3148.
3 Siel de Metternich, Reichs, Monuments de Mireamar, 117.
4 Todt., chap. cxxii, pp. 3, 4, 5.
5 In a papyrus of Leyden, studied by Chabas, and which contains an incantation, it is stated that, from the burnt hind quarters of the 'Sow of the Sun,' there comes a fat that ascends to heaven and falls back upon earth in the shape of asps.—Lefébure, Les Yeux d'Horus, p. 58.
6 Ibid., chap. cxxii, p. 6. Plutarch, Is. and Osiris, 31, says that only animals disagreeable to the gods were sacrificed.
7 Comp. Herod., ii, 47, who says that swine were regarded as so unclean that the Egyptians washed in the river, without undressing, any one whom a pig had touched. Swineherds were regarded as unclean and compelled to interarry.
9 Todt., chap. cviii, p. v.
11 De Is. et Os., 18–42.
in the moonlight. This is obviously a corrupt version of the myth, for both he and Herodotos\(^1\) state that pigs were sacrificed to the god and eaten on the first day of the month of the full moon; and that this celebration took place all over Egypt at the same time—\(i.e.,\) on the eve of the feast of Osiris, on the day of the Great Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys.\(^2\) Chabas\(^3\) mentions the sacrifice of a pig as taking place at Medinet Abu at that time, the 25th of Choiak.

According to Egyptian texts, the great festival in honor of Osiris took place in Egypt at the time of the winter solstice, when the days are shortest; and they culminated after seven days of mourning for the death of the god. These occurred on the 24th Choik. From the 12th to the 24th, elaborate preparations, prescribed by regulations, were made in the temples. Figures of Osiris were made of dough mixed with spices, aromatic woods, gold, silver, and even precious stones, all cast in a mold, and set to dry in the setting sun, embalmed and placed in a coffin.

At the appointed time these were taken in solemn procession on the Nile, at night, accompanied by the other gods, in 34 barks, illuminated by 365 lamps. After this the images lay in state in the temples for seven days, and were then buried in great pomp.\(^4\)

In the island of Cyprus, swine were sacrificed particularly from ancient times in connection with the worship of Adonis and Aphrodite, and wild boars were offered on April 2d. Mr. Robertson Smith\(^5\) gives it as his opinion that this rite was originally intended to repre-

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\(^1\) ii, 47. He says to the moon and Dionysos (\(i.e.,\) Osiris), and adds that on the eve of the festival of the god, every Egyptian sacrificed a hog in front of his house, and that the poor people, who could not afford to do this, formed figures of pigs out of dough, which they offered after baking them.

Although the Egyptian myth in which the pig plays a part is obviously a solar myth, the lunar element which appears to be associated with it in the narratives of Herodotos and Plutarch is further brought to our attention in a papyrus quoted by Mr. Lefèbure (\textit{Les Yeux d'Horus}, p. 52), in which the lunar god \textit{Thoth} is represented armed with two knives and striking at a pig, whilst another vignette shows Horus, the sun-god, attacking seven swine.


\(^3\) \textit{Loc. cit.}

\(^4\) For details of these important \textit{"mysteries"}, see V. Loret \textit{Les Fêtes d'Osiris au Mois de Choeak}. \textit{Revue de Travaux}, vol. iii, pp. 43–57; vol. iv, pp. 21, etc.; vol. v, pp. 85, etc. This celebration of the death of Osiris was followed by that of the new birth of the god.

\(^5\) \textit{Loc. cit.}, p. 392.
sent the death of the swine-god Adonis, and was not in its primitive form an act of vengeance for his death.

On the other hand, the warlike character of the sun-god of Nipur, "lord of the swine," reminds us of the Ares of Greek mythology, who, under the shape of the wild boar, slew the beautiful lover of Aphrodite.

According to ancient writers, swine were, therefore, held especially sacred to Astarte and Aphrodite by the Syrians. Occasional sacrifices of swine were offered to the latter goddess at Argos and in Thessaly, but Prof. Robertson Smith regards the Semitic origin of these as less clear than that of the rites connected with the Cyprian goddess.

The animal is a familiar figure in Greek legend, where it also plays the part of a god-sent scourge. The killing of the boar of Erymanthus is among the labors of the solar hero Herakles, and the exploits of Theseus against the boar of Crommyon, as well as those of Meleager against the Calydonian boar, sent as a scourge by Artemis, are too familiar to need dwelling upon.

It is certainly a fact that the pig played an important part in the sacrificial rites of the Greeks and of the Romans. Swine were numbered among the sacred herds of the Greek temples, and, according to Peller, pigs were sacrificed to Herakles. We have already seen that they were also sacrificed to Aphrodite. But it is especially to Demeter, the earth-goddess, who presided over the fertility of nature and the fruitfulness of human marriage, that pigs were consecrated by the Greeks.

1 Lucian Dea Syriæ, liv; and Antiphanus ap. Athen., iii, 49.
2 Athen., iii, 49.
3 Strat. ix, 5-17. In other localities, where no doubt a totemistic element survived, the sacrifice of swine to Aphrodite was specifically prohibited. See Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 582.
4 Loc. cit.
5 In Greece the pig was the great purificatory sacrifice, whilst among the Semites the offering of this animal was connected with mystic rites, and was not an ordinary piacular. See Robertson Smith, loc. cit., 456.
6 On an inscription containing a list of regulations concerning the enclosure of the temple of Athena Alea, discovered in Arcadia by Mr. Fougères and published by Mr. Béard in Bull. de la Correspondance Hellén., April, 1889, certain rules and fines are mentioned with respect to the "sacred herds," among which swine are numbered.
7 Griechisch. Myth., i, 303.
8 Acc. to Herod. (v. 57, 61), the worship of Demeter was introduced into Attica by the Gephyreans, who stated that they came from Eretria, but whom Herodotos re-
In the Thesmophoria, a festival celebrated at seed-time in Athens, as well as in other places, pigs were sacrificed. And a scholion on Lucian's Dialogues of Courtesans, a translation of which is given by Mr. Andrew Lang in his interesting article on "Demeter and the Pig," tells how pigs were then thrown into "the caverns" of Demeter and Persephone, and how the women went down into these recesses to fetch the remains of the victims, which they placed upon the altars. "And it is believed," says the scholion, "that whoever takes of this flesh and mixes it with the seed corn will have the richest harvest and abundance."

After doing this they deposited there the "well-known images." These rites were called: "The carrying of things not to be spoken, and they are performed in the way for the fruitfulness of the fields and of human kind."

Sir Charles Newton, in his excavations at Cnidus, on the site of the temenos of Demeter, discovered the crypts of the temple, in which were found certain small figures of pigs in marble, and at the very bottom the bones of swine and other animals.

Votive offerings to Demeter are found, consisting of pigs, bearing children on their backs—probably brought to the shrine of the mother-goddess by wedded women anxious for offspring.

The pig was a common purificatory offering, and in the usual representations of Demeter she accordingly appears accompanied by a pig and a purificatory torch. In the Eleusinian Mysteries the initiated bathed in the sea, each with the pig intended as an offering to the Phœnicians. He also states that the worship of Demeter was originally derived from the Isis-worship of the Egyptians (ii, 59, 122, 123, 155), and that the Thesmophoria were introduced in the same manner (ii, 171).

1 Nineteenth Century, 1887, vol. xxii, p. 559.
2 Comp. Pausanias (viii, 25-4), who says that at Theplusa, in Arcadia, there was a hole, sacred to Demeter Erinyes, into which live pigs were cast, and that in Boeotia the people used to throw young pigs into crypts (loc. cit., ix, 8-1).
3 Acc. to Mr. Frazer (The Golden Bough, ii, p. 49), in Hessen and Meiningen pigs are eaten on Ash Wednesday or Candlemas, and the bones are kept until sowing time, when they are put into the field, sown or mixed with the seed in the bag. This is supposed to make the flax grow well (comp. loc. cit., p. 29). Comp. E. Hugo Meyer, Germanische Mythol., p. 103, who, in addition to these facts, states that farmers stick a pig's tail into the ground at sowing-time; and that brides were presented with a pig's tail on their wedding-day.
4 Mr. A. Lang, loc. cit., p. 562.
6 Æschyl., Eumenides, 283.
7 Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq., ii, 833, 1891.
the goddess, and each sacrificed a pig on the 17th of Boedromion—i.e., the day of the great Eleusinia. There is little doubt that every family did the same at Athens.

Mr. Frazer suggests that the pig which, later, was sacrificed to Demeter, was originally the goddess in animal form. This seems very probable, and it is likely, as remarked by Mr. Lang, that the fecundity of the animal, joined with its habit of rooting up the earth, may have primitively led to its association with the under-world and its rulers.

According to Livy in the rites of the Roman fetiales—rites which may possibly go back to a time when stone implements were still in use among the ancestors of the ancient inhabitants of Italy—the victim slain by the pater patratus with the sacred flint preserved for the purpose in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, to consecrate the solemn oath sworn by the Roman people, was a hog. This animal was, moreover, held especially sacred to the Lares, and the sow was closely connected with their worship as well as with that of the Manes. In the Cerialia, a spring festival celebrated at Rome

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1 Plutarch, *Phocion*, xxviii, quot. by Mr. Lang, *loc. cit.*
A pregnant sow was offered to Demeter at Mykonos and Andania.
3 Livy, i, 24; xxx, 43. "If by public counsel or by wicked fraud they swerve first, in that day, O Jove, smite thou the Roman people as I here to-day shall smite this hog; and smite them so much more, as thou art able and stronger," and having said this he struck the hog with a flint-stone.
4 On an ancient altar, dated in the ninth year of Augustus, and dedicated to the Lares Augusti, which was exhumed in Rome on the banks of the Tiber, near the little church of San Bartolomeo de Vaccinari, there is a bas-relief representing four "Magistri" about to accomplish the rites of their cultus and to sacrifice a bull—the animal more particularly identified with the genius of Augustus, and a hog, the special offering to the Lares. See *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, Vol. XX, p. 39-40. *Bull. Arch. de la Religion Romaine*, by George Lafayette.

The pig also appears associated with the bull and with the sheep in the ancient purificatory rite of the "Suovetaurilia," which was in its origin dedicated to Mars in his primitive agricultural aspect; and which, with the development of this deity into a war-god, was afterward applied to warlike purposes.

"Immolet . . . porcum Laribus," Sat., ii, 3, 164; Prop., iv, i, 23: "Parva saginati

In the legend of Lavinium, the sow, escaping from the knife of the sacrificing priest, marks the spot where the town shall be built, and according to Varro (*Re Rustica*, ii, 4, 18), quoted by Mr. Hild, *loc. cit.*, p. 165, a brazen image of the thirty
in honor of Ceres, and intended to commemorate the return of Pro-
serpina to earth, no bloody sacrifice was permitted save that of a
sow.\(^1\) According to Macrobius,\(^2\) a sow or a ewe lamb was
offered to Juno-Lucina on the calendars of every month, and there
seems to be good reason\(^3\) for connecting these rites with those which
were celebrated in Cyprus in honor of Aphrodite, to whom, as we have
already seen, both the goat and the pig were sacrificed.

We, therefore, find the pig here also connected with death and with
life, with the fecundity of motherhood and with the darkness of the
grave, and among other Aryan peoples the hog, as well as the wild
boar, is a disguise for the sun in the night or in the darkness of the
clouds.\(^4\)

Many legends, fairy-tales, and ancient customs preserved in Europe
betray the ideas which, in the symbolism of the Aryan races, were once
attached to the swine. Among them it represented fat and plenty.

According to Mr. E. Hugo Meyer, the pig is one of the oldest as

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small pigs mentioned in \(\text{Æn. viii, 43, 81,}\) was set in the public place, and the body
of the sow herself was preserved in brine.

\(^1\) Ibid. Fast. iv, 414.

\(^2\) i, 15, 19.

\(^3\) See Prof. Robertson Smith, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 453.


In the Rig-Veda (i, 114–5: I am indebted for the following passage to Prof. E.
W. Hopkins) the sun is invoked as “the wild boar of the sky, red, with braided hair,
swift, beautyful), we reverently call upon, carrying in his hands the best medicines.
May he grant us protection, shelter, and guard.” In the Puranas (Gubernatis, \textit{loc. cit.},
ii, p. 8) the third avatar of Vishnu is the wild boar; and a transparent myth given at
length by Burnouf (\textit{L’Inde Française}) tells how the sun-god Vishnu, transforming him-
self into a wild boar, pierced through the earth and penetrated to the infernal regions,
where he saw the feet of Mahadeva. On his return he was saluted the first-born of the
gods. Yet the same contradiction which exists in other mythologies and associates
the swine with darkness, the enemy of light, may also be detected here, and a pas-
sage of the Rig-Veda (i, 61, 6. Comp. v, x, 99—6) shows us the god, killing the
monster wild boar who steals that which is destined for the gods, with the weapon
stolen from the celestial blacksmith Tvashtar. According to Mr. Gubernatis, in the
Hindu mythology, where the storm plays so important a part, the boar is not only
connected with light and fertility in their struggle against the darkness of night or
of winter, but we also find it associated with light and fertility in their contest with
the darkness of the storm-cloud. Indra himself takes here the form of the boar
(Gubernatis, \textit{loc. cit.}, ii, p. 8).

In the Avesta (\textit{Yest} x, 70, etc.) this animal is the embodiment of Verethrafgna,
who, as such, is there associated with Mithra, before whom he runs “wrathful” and
“death-dealing” to his foes. Comp. x, 127, where it is said that “behind him
drives Atar all-ablaze”; and the awful kingly glory.
well as the principal sacrificial animal among the Teutonic peoples—who reared it for the purpose, and ate it in all solemnity at stated times. It was sacrificed to Freyr, at the Yule-feast, at which time offerings were made to insure the fertility of the soil.

On the Lower Rhine, the "St. Anthony's parish swine" was distributed and eaten on January 17th; and similar solemn sacrifices of the pig took place at various dates in different places—which were connected either with the beginning of winter, or with harvest-time. A pig of dough was offered at Christmas-time; and this rite was performed in the same intention as that practiced in the North—and according to which the Yule-tide male and female goats were baked and mixed with the seed-grain when sown. We have already seen that such rites were common in antiquity, and that, in these substitutes, was concealed a "mystery."

Their meaning is abundantly explained by the customs which, as already noted, are preserved in Meiningen; where the picked bones of the sacrificial hog are mixed and sown with the seed-grain. We have seen, where dealing with the worship of Demeter, what were the ideas that inspired the rites of which these customs are a survival.

In Germany, as formerly in England, the custom of serving an ornamented boar's head at dinner on Christmas day is, very likely, a survival of the ancient rite celebrated at the time of the winter solstice, when the boar was sacrificed to the god who—descending then into the underworld—was to return again, bringing life, fertility, and plenty to the world. And there are legends too numerous to find place here, which are more or less closely connected with the ancient myth, and in which the tusk of the boar appears as life-giving in the morning and as death-dealing in the evening.

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1 The Spring Sun-God. See E. H. Meyer, Germanische Mythol., p. 103. This author, however, regards the swine-myth as purely a storm-myth.
2 "St. Antoniusgemeindeschwein," loc. cit. I am told that, in some parts of Russia each village sacrifices a hog to the House-spirit, or Lar, on March 25th. This is divided among the villagers, and every man forthwith buries his piece under his door-step. This insures prosperity and plenty. After this the ceremonies of the "Death-week" take place. These culminate after several days in the driving out of death—who is finally drowned under the shape of a hideous dummy.
4 The "Kavanim" which, according to Jeremiah (vii, 18), the women of Judah and of Jerusalem made of kneaded dough, and which they dedicated to the "Queen of Heaven," were either, like the figurines of Osiris (see above, p. 111), images used in the worship of Tammuz, or substitutes for living offerings.
Although the Eddas may appear of too recent origin to be of any very decisive value in the interpretation of mythical ideas that seem to reach back to the very dawn of religious thought, it is interesting to note how very clearly they explain the notion which lies at the foundation of the antithesis in which the swine plays a double rôle as a solar symbol, and at the same time as a funereal offering associated with the under-world, and regarded not only as suitable food for the Manes, but as the embodiment of ever-renewed life.

They show us the boar with "golden bristles," the "boar of war," representing the sun, "glowing in Valhalla," and it is upon its substance that the souls of the immortal heroes feed to all eternity, for its life was ever renewed. In their mythology the boar was especially sacred to Freyr, and to his sister Freyja. The latter was a nature-goddess, and was closely associated with her brother in his character of the "sun regenerated in the spring." The golden boar, the symbol of the sun, is therefore connected with her, as well as with Freyr.

The ideas embodied in the symbolism of the swine, as it appears in the Eddas, bring us back, therefore—at the end of the journey through space and time, which we have undertaken in pursuit of the pig—to our original starting-point; that is, to very nearly the same stage of the myth as we found existing in pre-Semitic Chaldea—where we saw the

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1 I am indebted to Dr. Hermann Collitz for the following passages bearing upon the subject, which he has had the kindness to collect for me: Song of Hyndla, Older Edda, cf. Corpus Poeticum Boracæ, vol. i, p. 226, 19: "Thou seest not to dream! to say that I have my lover with me on the journey to Walhall, where the swine Gullinbursti [i.e., golden bristle] glows; Hildisvin [i.e., the boar of war] which the skillful dwarfs Dain and Næbi wrought for me."

2 Grimmismal, Older Edda, cf. Corpus Poeticum Boracæ, i, p. 75, 18: "Andhrimir [i.e., Breath-Sooty] cooks Sæhrimir [i.e., Sea-Sooty, the hog], in Eldhrimmir [i.e., Fire-Sooty, the kettle], the best of bacon; but few know what the Einherjar [i.e., Host of the Chosen] live on." This extremely obscure passage receives elucidation from another in the later Edda, which evidently refers to it: "Gylfaginning, c, 39:"

3 The boar eaten every day by the Einherjar—i.e., the heroes in Valhalla—and reviving every night, is an image of the sun. (Simrock, Deutsche Mythol., 5th ed., p. 188.)

4 Mogk, Teutonic Mythol., in Paul's Grundrisse, i, p. 1109.
swine-god in the underworld, i.e., the type of light, concealed in darkness—worshipped as the giver of life, born of death.

From the above it would seem that the swine had been very generally associated by primitive men in the early stages of their religious evolution, with mother-earth and the Chthonian powers ruling the underworld. With the development of solar worship, which properly belongs to the period when man passed from the pastoral to the agricultural age, and with the recognized influence of the sun upon the fecundity of the earth, the swine was taken as a symbol of the sun beneath the horizon, issuing forth from the night, and it thus became particularly associated with the male element in the return of light, of life, and of fertility. It is evidently a later outgrowth of the myth that made of him the type of the darkness of winter, or of the storm, which overcomes the radiance and power of the sun; and that, by a process common in mythology, caused it to personify the adversary of the god, one of the aspects of which it had once been used to symbolize.

If we keep in view the Asiatic origin of Aphrodite, her close connection with the mother-goddesses of Cyprus and Asia, and the myths which connect her with the vernal sun-god, lord of the swine, killed to be born again, it is easy to understand the important position which the animal we are considering occupied in her worship; and why it should occur as a favorite theme upon the decoration of the vases recovered at Naukratis, where that goddess was evidently held in high veneration.

Indeed, rare as is the swine in the later symbolical decorative art of Mesopotamia, it is a form commonly used not only by the Greek artists of the Delta, but by those of Greece and of the Mediterranean basin who constantly introduce it among the animals composing the original series in the "Oriental" design, as it appears in Assyria, whence, carried by commerce, it found its way at least as far as Etruria.

There is in the "Lamborn Collection" now deposited in the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, in Philadelphia, a large shallow bowl of very coarse red unglazed ware, the rim of which is decorated with series of animals stamped in low-relief, whose attitudes and general expression are very similar to those on our sherds. Among them is one which I take to be a boar. I am indebted to the kindness of the owner, Dr. Robert H. Lamborn, for the information that he was induced to purchase this bowl in Rome some years ago, because of its close resemblance to similar specimens forming part of the sepulchral furniture of the Campana tomb at Veii. As the inter-
ments in this locality are considered earlier than 400 B.C., it is interesting to find that our design had become sufficiently common to be adapted to and stamped upon such coarse ware, not later than the fifth century B.C. We have already seen that it occurs on a bronze figure found in the Polledrara tomb; and another example may be seen, applied as a border, in the incised decoration of a fine bronze cista from Palestrina (ancient Praenesta), now in the British Museum. On this the boar appears between a lion and a leopard—the latter is attacking him from behind; and the attitudes of the animals are strongly suggestive of the scenes depicted on the Assyrian patera reproduced above (fig. 39).

After what has been said above with regard to the worship of Kybele in Cyprus, and of the various foreign types which Dr. Richter discovered there, as it were, in process of formation, one need not wonder at finding the Phrygian lion—the animal sacred to the great Phrygian mother-goddess, "Matar Kubile," 2 used as a favorite theme upon the painted vases of Naukratis in the sixth century B.C. 3

The accompanying potsherd (fig. 40) is only one of many examples, some of which reproduce the well-known group which is familiar to us from the gateway of the Acropolis of Mykenae—two lions facing each other—that is, the typical heraldic motive commonly met with on the tombs of Phrygia, and through which if, as is probable, Mr. W. M. Ramsay 4 is correct in his interpretation of the Phrygian ideas as to the hereafter, the sepulchral monument became a shrine dedicated to the mother-goddess.

These few fragments of broken pottery show us the Mediterranean region in the light of a huge intellectual churning into which the most

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1 Murray, loc. cit., p. 143, fig. 57.
3 Loc. cit., pp. 254, etc.
4 Loc. cit., pp. 254, etc.
heterogenous elements were thrown, not alone by conquest, but more particularly by peaceful traffic; and out of which sprang many of those decorative forms which the Greeks idealized and handed down to us.

That such commercial activity had its origin in the far-distant past there could be no doubt, even though the recent discoveries of archaeologists on various independent points of the ancient world did not all lead to the same conclusion. The researches of Dr. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter \(^1\) in Cyprus, of Mr. Petrie \(^2\) at Kahun and at Gurob, of Signor Ossi \(^3\) in Sicily, etc., all give us glimpses of an established intercourse of the civilized peoples of the Mediterranean among themselves and with the East, long antedating the events brought before us by the objects now under consideration.

The fact that their relations with one another were sufficiently close to lead to an organized and concerted movement against so formidable a power as that of Egypt under the Ramessids—by such distant allies as the Libyans, the Maxyes, the Tyrrhenians, the Sikels, the Sardinians, the Achæans, and the Lykians in the second millennium B. C., as appears from the inscription of Karnak, \(^4\) necessarily implies the existence of a long period, during which inter-commercial and political alliances could gradually be formed and cemented by the civilized Mediterranean nations of pre-Homeric times.

The recent discoveries of Mr. Petrie in the Fayûm, which tend to show that such a condition actually did exist in the ancient world at a much earlier period than has hitherto been admitted, interesting as they are, should logically have excited less surprise. The new facts

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\(^1\) See \textit{Mittheil. der Anthrop. Gesells., in Wien, November and December, 1890, and Verh. der Anthrop. Gesells.,} January, 1891.

\(^2\) \textit{Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara}, 1890. The earliest mention of an Egyptian king making an expedition towards the people of the North—\(i. e.,\) the Ha benu—dates from the reign of S’Ankhara XI dynasty.

Mr. Petrie has found in the Fayûm traces of light-haired and other foreigners, and has gathered evidence to show that Etruskans, Libyans, and people of the \(\text{\AE}g\)ean Sea lived in the Fayûm as early as the third millennium B. C. In tombs of the XIIth dynasty he has found Cypriote pottery and vases similar to the earliest Italian pottery. Similar ware was also found by Mr. Naville at Kha’aneh, associated with objects of the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties. (See \textit{Itlahun Kahun Gurob}, p. 10.)

\(^3\) Signor Ossi’s researches in Sicily, conducted under governmental auspices, have shown that the Mykeneæ culture extended as far as that island. The Siculi were probably among the people whom the hieroglyphic inscriptions above referred to describe as having taken part in the attack upon Egypt under Meneptah.

fit in perfectly with the scientific probabilities of the question, as it now stands under the light shed upon it by other independent researches.

That such an intercourse, carried on, directly or indirectly, by the civilized Aryans with Egypt and Mesopotamia should have brought about an exchange of thought, and should have been the means of spreading certain arts and industries as far and as fast as the products of these could travel, requires no argument.

This fusion culminated, in the VIIth century B. C., with the foundation, in the Delta, of the Greek colonies of Daphnæ and Naukratis; and we scarcely need wonder if, from the shores of Sardinia to the mountain fastnesses of Phrygia, from Nubia to Würtemberg, we may even now, after millennia, recover vestiges, faint though they at times may be, of the deep impression left upon the Aryan mind by ancient Oriental thought.

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1 In the ornamentation of the facade of some of the rock-cut tombs of Phrygia, the lotus-bud, mixed with the Mesopotamian "palmette," in the well-known pattern so popular during the last millennium B. C., appears, along with the geometrical designs proper to the Thrakian style of decoration. Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez (Hist. de l'Art, v, p. 191) see in the peculiar execution of the lotus-bud above mentioned, an intention on the part of the artist to represent an acorn. But there is no possible doubt that the model, though perhaps misunderstood by the local artist, who was probably unacquainted with the form before him, was the common mixed lotus and palmette design so familiar to us.
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