

A VISION OF MANDULIS AION

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

I. THE TEMPLE AT TALMIS

THE Roman garrison town of Talmis, now called Kalabsha, lies in Nubia a little South of the Lesser Cataracts of the Nile and was the seat of a god called Merul or Melul, a name hellenized as Mandulis. He was worshipped elsewhere in this region, as for instance in a temple of his own at Ajuala and in the temple of Petêsi and Pihor at Dendûr, and again further North at Philae, where a figure of him was in A.D. 394 sculptured on the North wall of the 'Hadrian passage,' but he is at Dendûr described as 'great god, lord of Talmis,' and Talmis was certainly the center of his cult.¹ The first religious edifice known there was built by Amenophis IV,² but Professor Griffith informs me that there is no likelihood that Mandulis was worshipped in it, his name being unknown in Pharaonic Egypt and apparently non-Egyptian. In later times a Ptolemy — the third, fifth, sixth, or ninth — erected a chapel to Mandulis, and then under Augustus³ began the construction of a great temple of which imposing remains survive to this day. Building was completed by the time of Vespasian, but the mural decorations were still unfinished in Antonine times.⁴ Ptolemaic and Roman interest in the temple may have been due to a political purpose, the desire to make it a place at which the

My thanks are due to Professors W. S. Ferguson and F. Ll. Griffith for their kindness in reading a first draft of this paper and for various corrections, to Mr. C. F. Edson for much assistance in its completion, and to Professors Campbell Bonner, R. P. Casey, F. Cumont, W. F. Edgerton, F. N. Robinson, and W. Schubart, and Drs. H. Lewy and W. W. Tarn, for friendly help.

¹ A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr*, 80 f. My information on Philae is due to Professor Griffith.

² H. Gauthier, *Le temple de Kalabchah*, I 218 ff.

³ Under him the temple of Petêsi and Pihor was built at Dendûr.

⁴ Gauthier, 69.

nomads would come to worship together with the peaceful subjects of the Empire. In any case, there was no Egyptian settlement at Talmis in Roman times; there are very few Demotic graffiti.⁵ At the end of the third century the town passed out of Roman hands, and in time the temple became a church dedicated to St. Archelaus.⁶

Mandulis was worshipped at Talmis in two forms, as a full grown man and as 'Mandulis the child.' The two shapes actually appear side by side in the reliefs which adorn the cella. He was probably a solar deity, and was commonly associated with Isis, who had a dominant position in this region.⁷ She takes precedence over him, as does also Osiris, in his occasional appearances in the temple reliefs. Other deities figure at times—Buto often, Harendotes, Hathor (both of these with the young Mandulis), Chnum, Satis, Arsenuphis, Min occasionally. There are representations of royal offerings to Isis and Hathor, to Osiris and Isis, and to other deities with whom Mandulis does not appear.⁸

So much we learn from the decorations. To the Graeco-Roman population it was the temple of Mandulis and 'the gods with him.' It attracted considerable attention, being new and magnificent and remote. The soldiers quartered there and men who came from a distance⁹ made numerous acts of veneration, *proskynemata*, on behalf of themselves and of those near and dear to them, sometimes of their horses and commonly of 'who-soever reads this' (that is to say, reads this aloud, as the ancients ordinarily read a book: it is like the good wishes for the reader of an epitaph, who was thought of as thus giving

⁵ F. Ll. Griffith, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XV, 1929, 74. He has now four graffiti from Talmis.

⁶ A. H. Sayce, *Revue des études grecques*, VII, 1894, 294.

⁷ For her association with the sun cf. P. Oxy. 1380. 187 ff. ἥλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρεις.

⁸ At Debod Mandulis was associated with Geb and Nut; Lanzzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, 301.

⁹ Gauthier, p. 243 no. 8 ἦλθον καὶ προσεκύνησα; p. 268 no. 1 ἦλθον εἰς Τάλμιν χοιὰκ κ' καὶ προσεκύνησα; p. 239 no. 1 (the vision of Maximus discussed later) μακάριον ὄτ' ἔβην ἡρεμίας τόπον ἐσαθρήσαι; p. 278 no. 23 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ σοῖς προθύροις ἦλθον. Most of these texts are to be found in Fr. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*.

to the dead man a momentary animation). Those which are dated range from the time of Vespasian onwards; the last dated inscription (not a *proskynema*) of the Roman occupation belongs to 248/9.¹⁰

II. PILGRIM RECORDS

Greek settlers in Egypt and elsewhere were accustomed to make these records. There are hundreds of graffiti in the ruined shrine of Memnon at Abydos, and of statements by men that they had seen the colossus or the pyramids or the Sphinx or the royal tombs at Thebes. Some of these reflect only the desire to leave one's name and to immortalize the moment, as Greek mercenaries in the sixth century had left their names on the legs of a gigantic statue at Abu-Simbel, and as lovers on Thera recorded on the rocks of the island the attainment of their desires. The art of writing was not then old in Greece, and the instinct for self-dramatization was at least as strong there as in humanity at large. Religious emotion, like other emotion, called for expression, and some inscriptions indicate the pilgrim rather than the tourist. The pious commemoration by a man of himself and of his friends is known at Syra and at Grammata in Epirus and elsewhere,¹¹ but in far greater measure in Egypt and Syria. Here it is in the main to be regarded as a habit due to the incoming of Greeks and Romans into a strange and impressive atmosphere; the ruins in particular invited scribbling, and a scribble cost less in trouble and expense than a stele. In earlier times we have countless memorial stones for the dead at Abydos and Busiris, bringing their names before the attention of the gods and recording supposed

¹⁰ Gauthier, 268 f. no. 1; 193 f.

¹¹ C. I. L. III 583; C. I. G. 1824-7; at Sunium (B. Snell, *Ath. Mitt.*, LI, 1926, 159 ff., citing parallels from Attica and from Acrocorinthus); in the Petraean valley (M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 139). Plutarch *De curiositate*, 11, p. 529 D, mentions the habit of writing on walls. 'So and so remembered so and so with good intent.' 'So and so is the best of friends,' and the like. Cf. Friedländer-Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 10th ed., I 443; and, on the general character of the graffiti at Thebes, J. Baillet, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1920, 107 ff. and *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*, fasc. IV [*Mém. inst. fr. arch. Or.* XLII].

'royal offerings' for their welfare.¹² Many of these stelae begin "Adoration to Osiris, homage to Isis." So prayer and praise were made for the dead by others, and this is perhaps the antecedent of the later form of *proskynema* made by one man for others living. In general the religion of the dead came first in Egypt; statues were dedicated in temples in order that those represented might enjoy offerings and, in addition, a certain continued existence in a holy place,

And feel the steady candle-flame and taste
Good strong, thick, stupefying incense-smoke.

Nevertheless, Egyptian model letters include pious aspirations for the benefit of the recipient like those which we find in Greek papyrus letters,¹³ and *proskynemata* in temples for other living persons may later be discovered from the period of Egyptian independence. In any case, although private offerings were not nearly so common then as afterwards, and although religion was then in a high degree the affair of the king and of his deputies, who (like Ichnofret) set their memorials in the temples, there are nevertheless sporadic and striking instances of the desire of humbler individuals to leave some reminder of themselves before men and before gods, and to show personal religious devotion. Certain stelae from the Theban necropolis record men's piety and penitence.¹⁴ In the Ramesseum there are graffiti by natives, though here it must be remembered that the building fell into disrepair in the twenty-second dynasty and was adopted as a cemetery by certain families of Theban priests related to the royal house.¹⁵ But as early as the twelfth

¹² J. Baillet, *La régime pharaonique dans ses rapports avec l'évolution de la morale en Égypte*, 368.

¹³ So in a letter of the time of Meneptah quoted by J. Černý, *Bull. inst. fr. arch. Or.*, XXVII, 1927, 164 f. "Je dis à Amon, Mout, et Khons, à l'esprit dans le cèdre, amour de Thèbes, sur la route de la Cime, à Amenophis de la Cour, à Amenophis, favori de Hathor de Persea, à Amon d'Opet, aux huit babouins qui sont dans la cour de Hathor, résidant à Thèbes, à la Grande porte de Beki, à tous les dieux et déesses de la Ville, que tu sois sain, que tu vives, que je te voie sain et que je t'embrasse, pendant que tu es dans la faveur des dieux et des hommes. Que ta santé soit belle dans la maison d'Amonre, roi des dieux." Other examples in A. Erman, *Literatur der Ägypter*, 252 ff.

¹⁴ Erman, *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin, 1911, 1086 ff.; G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, 57 ff.

¹⁵ Quibell-Spiegelberg, *The Ramesseum* (Egyptian Research Account, 1896), 9.

dynasty the Egyptians who went to the mines at Sinai put up elaborate votive inscriptions recording that they owed their success to divine favors,¹⁶ and in the Middle Kingdom those who quarried at Hatnub put up statements of their sacrifices accompanied by representations of themselves: the style is based on that of grave stones and includes the funerary habit of claiming virtues, and once a pair of eyes is chiselled in the wall as on tombs. There are representations of potentates who did not actually visit the mines, and a graffito for one. These Hatnub records are not exvotos; like the epitaphs which they resemble, they are directed to posterity, and one includes a promise of a safe return to whoever reads the text.¹⁷ In Ptolemaic and Roman times we have numerous votive graffiti and other inscriptions in Demotic which resemble closely the familiar Greek stelae.¹⁸ The wide extension of this usage among natives is perhaps due to a heightening of individualism; the nominal Pharaoh, whether Ptolemaic or Roman, was an alien ruler enthroned in an alien city, and religious practices, for the Egyptian as for the Jew, were a symbol of national and local feeling. At Philae these graffiti continue into the fifth century A.D.; one text tells how an official of the Ethiopian king Taqreramane, of the time of Trebonianus Gallus, composed his hymn of praise to Isis; she had heard his prayer and brought him and his companions safe and sound to Egypt.¹⁹ In the Semitic area

¹⁶ R. Weill, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinai*; V. Loret, *Kemi*, I, 1928, 99 ff.; Blackman, *Bull. inst. fr. arch. Or.*, XXX, 1930, 97 ff. The language of these texts is very constant in character, and clearly there was something of a convention, as in the records made at Kertassi of thanks after each successful transportation of stones. I follow L. Deubner's interpretation, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XVI, 1913, 501 ff. of the texts edited by F. Zucker, in Roeder, *Dedod bis Bab Kalabsche* [Temples immergés de la Nubie].

¹⁷ *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers* herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Rudolph Anthes (K. Sethe, *Unt. z. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, IX, 1928); similar records in J. Couyat-P. Montet, *Hammâmât-Ouâdi* (*Mém. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, XXXIV, 1912) of people who came to get stones.

¹⁸ E.g. those at Medinet Habu, discussed by W. F. Edgerton, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Jan. 1934 (available to me in advance by the author's kindness). For Demotic graffiti in the crypt of the Osiris temple at Karnak, cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Ann. serv. ant.*, III, 1902, 89 ff. (late Ptolemaic). Coptic Christianity continued the custom.

¹⁹ Cf. H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, V, 1002 ff., 1014 ff.

the desire for self-record was strong, as we see it in Job's desire (xix. 23-24) that his words might be graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever; votive inscriptions by commoners are not frequent, but we have some from South Arabia,²⁰ and at Carthage there are many records from individuals of their sacrifices to Tanit.²¹

The visiting of holy places in ancient Egypt was associated with the great festivals to which men came from far and near, just as in Syria and Mesopotamia. To the newcomers these holy places were all interesting, and in the mixed culture which followed upon intermarriage the pilgrimage habit became a typical form of piety. One of the inscriptions in this temple at Talmis gives a series of maxims from a man called Sansnos; "Revere the divine. Sacrifice to all the gods. Travel in homage to each temple. Believe above all in your ancestral gods and revere Isis and Sarapis, the greatest of the gods, saviors, good, kindly, benefactors."²² The custom was observed faithfully by men with Egyptian names. Thus the temple at Ajuala, probably dedicated to Mandulis, has on one block of stone the *proskynema* of Amatisis Nentiris, a priest.²³

Talmis has many *proskynemata* directed to Mandulis, sometimes coupled with the deities associated with him in the temple; none of them distinguish the younger and the older Mandulis. Now there is a very notable fact about these acts of devotion. They are all painted in red letters on the outer façade of the pronaos, in the porticoes on the North, South, and East of the court, and in the pylon. There are naturally none in the cella, for this was a temple in actual use and the priests alone would penetrate to the cella. Short *proskynemata* were commonly inscribed on the stones of temples in use as well as of ruins,²⁴ but may it not be that a special authorization

²⁰ Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, I 230; for graffiti on Sinai, dated 147-253 A.D., cf. B. Moritz, *Abh. Göttingen*, XVI ii, 1916.

²¹ K. Preisendanz, *Pauly-Wissowa*, IV A 2186 ff.

²² Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I ii 147 no. 116.

²³ Blackman, *Dendûr*, 65.

²⁴ So for instance at Philae; G. Deville, *Arch. Miss. scient.* 2nd Ser., II, 1865, 457 ff. Cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, I ii 147 f. no. 117 (second century, A.D.), and W. Crönert's discussion in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso*, 481 ff.; J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua*, III 42 f.

was necessary for these inscriptions? Even the Roman financial authority paid some heed to the making of votive offerings.²⁵ Perhaps the right to make any such record was accorded in return for some donation, just as the right to portraiture in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Doura belonged to benefactors.

The South portico contains a group of inscriptions which are of particular interest and importance. They give expression to personal devotion and to the desire to make some special glorification of the god. One is the hymn of Maximus the decurion, written in Sotadeans which pass into hexameters and pentameters and contain the writer's name in an acrostic.²⁶ Maximus speaks of his desire to visit the blessed place of loneliness (*μακάριον ὅτ' ἔβην ἡρεμίας τόπον ἐσαθρήσαι*), a phrase which is noteworthy because it reveals that fascination by loneliness which we find elsewhere attested for Egypt. Apart from Philo's account of his own practice and of the Therapeutae, and Chaeremon's description of the life of the Egyptian priests, there is Plutarch's story of the hermit who lived on the shore of the Red Sea, holding Pythagorean or Platonic doctrines. He met men once a year but consorted otherwise only with wandering nymphs and daemones. He was very beautiful, and free from all disease. Once a month he ate a bitter medicated kind of herb. He knew many languages, but to the informant he spoke Doric for the most part, in a manner approximating to poetry, and when he spoke there was a fragrance in the place. He devoted himself to various sciences, being inspired for one day a year to practise the prophetic art.²⁷ This is of course an imaginative picture, but it has much in common with the texts at Talmis. The idea that solitude was desired by philosophers appears in Porphyry and elsewhere.²⁸ The earlier dissemination

²⁵ Gnomon of the Idios Logos, § 97 l. 216 (P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 339): for official interest in Talmis, cf. *Mitteis-Wilcken*, I ii 102 no. 73.

²⁶ Re-edited by G. Manteuffel, *Eos* XXXI, 1928, 181 ff. and in his *De opusculis graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis* (*Travaux de la Société des sciences et des lettres de Varsovie*, XII, 1930), 198 f.

²⁷ *De defectu oraculorum*, 21 p. 421 f.

²⁸ Porphyry, *De abstinencia*, I 36 speaks of Pythagoreans and others *ὡν οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐρημότατα χωρὶα κατέκουν*; *Epist. Hippocrat.* 12. 1 of Heraclitus as *ιδιάζοντος πάμπολλα ἐν ἀντροισι καὶ ἐρημίῃσι*. Dio of Prusa devotes oration XX to an attack on the idea that retreat is necessary for serious study. Euseb. *Hist. eccl.*, VI 9. 6 implies that philo-

of such feelings helps us to understand the group of latter-day pagans who gathered around Antoninus in the Delta,²⁹ and the rise of Christian monasticism. The Graeco-Egyptian was drawn to Alexandria, but he was also repelled, and even men who were moved neither by the Pythagorean belief in the value of silence nor by any Christian revulsion from the world felt at times a certain wish for retreat and seclusion.

We must dwell a little longer on the hymn of Maximus, because it makes explicit much which is of importance for the understanding both of the text which is the special object of this study and of the world of thought and feeling to which it belongs. Maximus came to this blessed place of quiet with a clear conscience, free from all guilt, and was seized with an inspiration to compose. He fell asleep and dreamed that he was washing in the waters of Nile and that Calliope was singing among the Muses. Then the real impulse to write in Greek free from barbarism came to him from Mandulis, who strode forth from Olympus on the right of Isis.³⁰ His praises follow, in a semicreedal style; it is told how day and night and the hours worship him.

On the same wall, but not immediately beside this, is inscribed the text which follows on p. 61, and above one of the doors another telling of the anonymous writer's visit, "Having beheld where thou wast, having duly adored thy godhead." He then prays that he, his wife, and his children may be delivered, and promises to tell of the god's story.³¹ Similar prayer concludes another hymn found on the East wall of the court; the petition is that Herodes may reach his homeland again.³² This text is very fragmentary, but so far as we can judge may well have identified Mandulis with both Apollo and Horus. In the

sophic life and retirement went together: cf. Justin Martyr's story in his Dialogue of how he entered into solitude in the hope of seeing God. For *ἡρεμία*, cf. Chaeremon ap. Porphyry *De abstinentia*, IV 6 *ἡρεμαίους δὲ εἶναι*, of Egyptian priests, and Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, 49 (XXVI 913 C Migne) *εἰ δὲ θέλεις ὄντως ἡρεμεῖν*.

²⁹ Eunapius, *Vita Aedesii*, p. 41 ed. Boissonade (1822).

³⁰ The position of honor from a Greek's standpoint (R. Wünsch, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII, 1904, 99).

³¹ H. Gauthier, *Ann. serv. ant. Ég.* X, 1910, 76 ff., 125 ff.

³² Ib. 83 *Ἡρώδη παλινορσον (?) σὴν ἐς πατρίδα ἰκῆσθαι*, where *σὴν* must be an error for *ἐγν*.

court is another brief invocation of Pythian Apollo, meaning no doubt Mandulis, and a Latin hymn to Apollo, which again gives the writer's name in an acrostic.³³

The form of most of these is conventional; they are *tours de force*, like the records which people made of having heard the response of the Memnon's colossus to the first rays of the rising sun, or of visits to Philae. The Muses appear, as of old to Hesiod and Callimachus; there are Homeric commonplaces as well as the new technique of the acrostic. From the point of view of religious history we learn only that Mandulis was equated with Apollo, that he was closely associated with Isis, that purity of conscience was regarded as a preliminary to inspiration, and that here as elsewhere the recording of an experience was regarded as an act of piety. To be able to do so in a difficult style was moreover a mark of divine help. Synesius in his work on Dreams (3) says that unlettered men may fall asleep, meet the Muses, question them and receive answers and become cunning bards. This, he states, has happened in his own time and does not to him seem surprising.³⁴

III. THE VISION

We come now to our text.³⁵ I give it first as it appears on the stone, making no attempt to reproduce letter shapes.

ΑΚΤΙΝΟΒΟΛΕΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ
 ΜΑΝΔΟΥΛΙΤΙΤΑΝΜΑΚΑΡΕΥ
 ΣΗΜΙΑΣΟΥΤΙΝΑΛΛΑΜΠΡΑΘΕΑΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΕΠΕΝΟΗΣΑΚΑΙΕΠΟΛΤΙΠΡΑΓΜΟΣΑΑΣΦΑΛΩΣ

³³ Ib. 89 and Temple 278 no. 23; Buecheler Carm. Lat. epigr. 271.

³⁴ Professor F. N. Robinson draws my attention to the parallel of Caedmon, in Bede's History, IV 23 f., to its repetition in connection with the Old Saxon Heliand; the story of Aeschylus in Pausanias, I 21. 2. Julian Ep. 89 p. 302 A (p. 142 Bidez-Cumont) says that most hymns were given by the gods in answer to prayer, and a few composed by men under divine inspiration: in Corpus Hermeticum, XIII 18, we have ὁ σὸς Δόγος δι' ἐμοῦ ἠμνεῖ σε. For parallels in Christian monasticism cf. R. Reitzenstein, Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca, 135 ff.

³⁵ First copied by Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abt. VI Taf. 97, nos. 451 (1-14), 455 (15-21); 463 (6-13), then by Gauthier, who first recognized that the three texts of Lepsius belonged together (Ann., X, 1910, 87, and Temple, 241 IV). Since the time of Lepsius some letters which he read have become illegible. Puchstein's emendations are from his Epigrammata, 71 ff. Preisigke includes the text in Sammelbuch, no. 4127.

- 5 ΙΔΕΝΑΙΘΕΛΩΝΕΙΣΤΙΟΗΛΙΟΣ· ΑΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ
ΕΜΑΤΤΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΗΝΠΑΣΗΣΚΑΚΕΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙΠΑΣΗΣ . . . ΟΤΟΣΚΑΙΑΓΝΕΤΣΑΣΕΣΠΟΑΤΝ
ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΤΙΘΕΙΑΣΕΤΣΕΒΙΑΣΙΝΕΚ
ΕΠΕ ΚΑΙΕΝΘΕΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΑΝΕ
- 10 ΝΕΤΩ ΕΔΕΙΞΑΣΜΟΙΣΕΑΤΤΟΝΕΝΤΩ
ΧΡΤΣΩ ΚΑΦΟΣΔΙ . . ΤΕΡΩΝΤΑΤΟΝ
ΟΤΡΑΝΙΩ . . . ΩΔΟΝΚΑΙΣΤΟΠΙ . Α(?) . . ΝΔΕΜΜΑΤΑ
ΚΑΤΑΔΕΙΝΟΝΝΤΚΤΙΔΡΟΜΟΝ . . ΝΙ(?)ΑΑ . ΠΙΑΤΟΝΠΟΙΗΣΑ-
ΜΕΝΟΣ
ΕΝΩΚΑΙΑΓΙΩΤΩΤΗΣΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣΤΔΑΤΙΔΟΤΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ
- 15 ΦΑΙ ΟΝΗΛΘΕΣΚΑΤΑΚΑΙΡΟΝΑΝΑΤΟΛΑΣ
ΠΟΙΟ ΕΙΣΤΟΝΣΟΝΣΗΚΟΝΑΟΑΝΩΤΕΣΩΚΑΙΝΑΩΕΜΠΗΝ-
ΟΙΑΝ
ΠΑΡΕΧΩΝΚΑΙΔΤΝΑΜΙΝΜΕΓΑΛΗΝΕΝΘΑΣΕΕΓΝΩΝΜΑΝΔΟΥΔΙ
ΗΛΙΟΝΤΟΝΠΑΝΤΕΠΟΠΤΗΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
ΑΙΩΝΑΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΩΤΩΝΕΤΤΥΧΕΣΤΑΤΩΝΛΑΩΝΤΩΝΚΑΤΟ-
ΙΚΟΤΝΤΩΝ
- 20 ΗΝΟΗΛΙΟΣΜΑΝΔΟΥΔΙΣΑΓΑΠΑΤΗΝΙΕΡΑΝΤΑΛΜΙΝΗΤΙΣΕΣΤΙ-
ΝΤΠΟ
ΤΑΣΚΑ ΘΕΙΡΑΣΜΤΡΙΩΝΤΜΟΤΙΣΙΑΔΟΣ.
APP. 4ΚΑΙ ΩΑΙLepsius.

- 5 Dot slightly above line as mark of punctuation.
- 7 Lepsius read ΠΑΣ, gap, ΟΤΟΣ (gap of ca. 5 letters: in his no. 463 ΚΑΙΠΙΑ ΟΤΟΣ).
- 8 L. read ΧΡΟΝ, then gap of ca. 8 letters; Gauthier gives 8 dots in *Annales*, 9 in *Temple*. At end 4 dots in *Ann.*, 3 in *Temple*.
- 9 ΕΠΕ L. 451 and G.; ΣΠΕ L. 463. Gap of ca. 9 letters in L.; 8 dots in *Ann.*, 12 in *Temple*.
- 10 Gap of ca. 7 letters in L.; 6 dots in *Ann.*, 10 in *Temple*.
- 11 Gap of ca. 6 letters in L.; 6 dots in *Ann.*, 8 in *Temple*. Between ΔΙ and Τ, 1 letter in L., as also after Τ.
- 12 So L.; Gauthier gives as L.'s reading ΟΤΡΑΝΙΩΕΙΔΩΔΟΝ. L. has ΣΤΟΠΙ, 3 letters, ΝΔΕΜΜΑΤΑ.
- 13 ΝΤΚΤΙΑΡΟΜΟΝ in L.: then 1 letter, then ΝΑΑ and 1 letter. Gauthier as text.
- 15 Gap of ca. 7 letters in L.; 7 dots in *Ann.*, 9 in *Temple*.
- 16 Gap of not over 3 or 4 letters in L.; 6 dots in *Ann.*, 7 in *Temple*. ΣΟΝ in L.: ΕΟΝ Gauthier.
There is a bar over first Α of ΑΟΑΝΩ.
- 21 Gap of 8 letters in L.; 9 in *Ann.*, 10 in *Temple*.

The basis for reconstruction is far from ideal: Gauthier's number of dots in each of a number of gaps varies from his first to his second edition of the text, without explanation, and the original squeeze of Lepsius is not extant.³⁶

Some of the gaps in this defy restoration, and not a few of the supplements proposed are purely tentative.

ἀκτινοβόλε δεσπότα, | Μανδοῦλι, Τιτάν, Μακαρεῦ, | σημιᾶ σου τινα λαμπρά θεάμενος | ἐπενόησα καὶ ἐπολυπράγμοσα ἀσφαλῶς |⁵ ἰδέναί θέλων, εἰ σὺ ἰ (= εἰ) ὁ ἥλιος. ἀλότριον | ἐμαυτὸν ἐποίησάμην πάσης κακειίας | καὶ πάσης [ἀθε]ότος καὶ ἀγνεύσας ἐς πολὺν | χρόνον [τὸ δέον] ἔ]τι θείας εὐσεβίας ἴνεκ[εν] | ἐπεθυσάμην καὶ ἐνθεασάμενος ἀνε[πάην]. |¹⁰ νεύ[ν γὰρ κατ]ἔδειξάς μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῷ | χρυσῶ [.] καφός δι . . τε ρῶντα τὸν | ουρανω . . . ωλον καὶ στοπι . α . . ν δεμματα | κατὰ δεινὸν νυκτιδρόμον . . να α . πιατον ποιησάμενος, | ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀγίῳ τῷ τῆς ἀθανασίας ὕδατι λουσάμενος |¹⁵ φαί[νῃ δεύτερ]ον. ἦλθες κατὰ καιρὸν ἀνατολὰς | ποιο εἰς τὸν σὸν σηκόν, ξοάνῳ τε σῶ καὶ ναῶ ἔμπροϊαν | παρέχων καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, ἔνθα σε ἔγνων, Μανδοῦλι, | ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην, ἀπάντων βασιλέα, | Αἰῶνα παντοκράτορα. ὦ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων λαῶν τῶν κατοικούντων, |²⁰ ἦν ὁ ἥλιος Μανδοῦλις ἀγαπᾶ, τὴν ἱερὰν Τάλμιν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ | τὰ σκά[πτρα τῆς εὐ]θείρας μυριωνύμου Ἰσιδος.

7 ἀθεότος. Puchstein read ἀθεότητος: the error may be due to the inscriber.

Rhetorios in Cumont, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, VIII iv 179. 21 lists together *τολμηροῦς ὤμοις μεταμελητικούς ψεύστας κλέπτας ἀθέους ἀφίλους κτλ.* But this may be due to Christian ideas and I am not wholly satisfied with this rather theoretical word.

8 I restore *exempli gratia*. The name or some epithet of an incense offering is required. According to Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 52, p. 372 D *ἡμέρας ἐκάστης τριχῶς ἐπιθυμιῶσι τῷ ἡλίῳ, ῥητίνην μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, σμύρναν δὲ μεσουρανοῦντι, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον κῦφι περὶ δυσμάς*; for its composition cf. 81, p. 383, E: so we should perhaps prefer *κῦφι ἔτι*. Puchstein reads *χρόν[ον θυώματι]*.

9 ἐπεθυσάμην Puchstein. I restore *ἀνεπάην*, comparing Corp. Herm., XIII 20, *βουλή τῇ σῇ ἀναπέπαυμαι*, IX 10, *ἐν τῇ κάλῃ πίστει ἐπανεπαύσατο*; and the frequent use of this word and its correlatives in Christian literature for "comfort, refreshment." For the form cf. I.G., XIV 158 *ἀναπάη*.

11 ff. defy exact restoration. The sense was probably something like Puchstein's *χρυσοδέτῳ σκάφει διαπερῶντα τὸν οὐράμιον πόλον*.

13 [Μῆγα?] Puchstein.

³⁶ So Professor W. Schubart informs me.

- 15 Sense demands something like this or *φαιδρόνη. τοῦτον*; now that ll. 15 ff. are known to be a continuation of 1-14, Puchstein's *φαίδιμε* "Ἀπολλων leaves the *ἐν ᾧ* clause without a main verb, and according to Gauthier's first report there is room for 7 letters at most. For the opening of the sentence with *ἦλθες* cf. Theocrit., XII 1.
- 16 Puchstein *ποιούμενος*, perhaps rightly. I am inclined to suppose that $\bar{\alpha}$ is an error for $\bar{\alpha}$ and that the true reading is *ξοάνω τε σῶ* 'to your cult image'; for *ξόανον* as a technical term in inscriptions and papyri cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, III 382 and p. 93 later [Puchstein proposed *ἄ(θ)άν(α)τε, σῶ καὶ ναῶ*].
- 21 Restored by Puchstein, who refers to Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 833. 1 for Isis as *εὐπλόκαμος* and to the plant "Ἴσιδος *τρίχες*.

We may now attempt a provisional translation. "O rayshooting lord Mandulis, Titan, Makareus, having beheld some radiant signs of thy power I pondered on them and was busied therewith, wishing to know with confidence whether thou art the sungod. I made myself a stranger to all vice and all godlessness, was chaste for a considerable period, and offered the due incense offering in holy piety. I had a vision and found rest for my soul. For thou didst grant my prayer and show me thyself going through the heavenly vault; then washing thyself in the holy water of immortality thou appearedst again. Thou didst come at due season to thy shrine, making thy rising, and giving to thy image and to thy shrine divine breath and great power. Then I knew thee, Mandulis, to be the Sun, the allseeing master, king of all, allpowerful Eternity. O happy folk, that dwell in the city beloved by the Sun Mandulis, even holy Talmis, which is under the sceptre of fairtressed Isis of the countless names."

This text is in prose, but it is to be noted that it is inscribed in lines of very unequal length, the conclusion of each coinciding with the conclusion of a word.³⁷ At the same time I cannot discern any metrical structure or principle of division into cola in this arrangement, apart from the third line, which consists of four dactyls if, as is likely, *σημία* is to be scanned as a dactyl. The rhythm may be accidental, or the phrase may be borrowed from some poetic hymn — or again the writer may have liked

³⁷ The record of the miracle at Panamara in 41/0 B.C. has unequal lines — not as unequal as ours, but like them, so far as we can see, all ending at the end of a word (P. Roussel, *Bull. corr. hell.*, LV, 1931, 82).

the feeling of having secured a verse rhythm. But he is certainly not a self-conscious artist in prose: he had no feeling against hiatus. The arrangement remains odd and puzzling. It cannot be explained, I think, from any desire to produce some artificial shape as a *jeu d'esprit* — such as the Pipe of Theocritus, and the Wings, Altar, and Swallow-egg of other poets (Anth. Pal., XV 24–7).

I may here add a few notes on linguistic points.

- 1 *ἀκτινοβόλε*. *ἀκτινοβολῶ* is cited from Philo etc. by Stephanus-Dindorf, Thes., I 1370, and had a technical sense in astrology, 'aspecting from the left.' Of the adjective the only other example known to me is Melito *Περὶ λουτροῦ*, 3, ὡς, ἀν πλησίον ὀφθῆ, δέκα ἀκτινοβόλοις ἀστραπαῖς καταφλέξει τὴν γῆν (E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, 311): but it occurs as the name of a horse on a curse-tablet from Berytus, (2nd–3rd cent. A.D.), published by P. Mouterde, *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth*, XV (1930), 106 ff.; other horses there mentioned have solar names, e.g. 'Ἀήτητος, 'Ἀνατολικός (cf. *ib.* p. 119).

- 2 *Τιτάν*. Poetic commonplace; cf. p. 102 later and note the mock-heroic use by Colotes in Usener, *Epicurea*, 145, note on l. 5 ἡ πάρεϊ, Τιτάν, τὰ σκότῃ πάντα ἐκδηλῶν;

Μακαρεῦ. Helios has in mythology a son called Makar or Makareus (Schirmer in Roscher, *Lex.* II 2288 ff.); but I suspect that *μακαρεῦ* is here used as a supposed recondite equivalent for *μάκαρ*. There is no certain example of this epithet, but we should perhaps restore *μακαρ[εῦ αἰ]ώνι* in Preisendanz, *P(apyri) gr(aecae) mag(icae)*, III 234.

- 3 *σημεῖα*. *σημεῖον* has a variety of meanings in connection with deities: (1) attribute.

So in Dio Prus., XXXVI 43 of the distinguishing marks of the sun's four horses. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Parisina*, III 103 ff. prints a note (of Tzetzes?), *Περὶ τῶν σημείων Ἡλίου καὶ Θαλάσσης*. Here *σημεῖον* is almost 'characteristic.' Similar works on the *σημεῖα* of the other gods follow.

(2) More cryptic distinguishing marks of deities, as *P. gr. mag.*, III 499 (cf. 624), addressed to the sun, *οἶδά σου τὰ σημεία καὶ τὰ παράσημα καὶ μορφὰς καὶ καθ' ὥραν τίς εἶ καὶ τί σου ὄνομα*; the list which follows gives the shape, tree, stone, bird, and the mystic name of the sun in each hour. The list differs in order from that in IV 1636 ff. These *σημεῖα* correspond to the *σύμβολα* claimed by the magician in IV 2290 ff. when he is acting an imaginary divine rôle e.g. *ἄκουσον . . . τοῦτο γὰρ σου σύμβολον. τὸ σάνδαλόν σου ἔκρυφα καὶ κλείδα κρατῶ*. Cf. Hopfner, *Pauly-Wissowa*, XIII 752 ff. and *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, I 99 § 401. *σύνθημα* is used in an oracle in Porphyry, *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*, p. 151, ed. Wolff, of symbolic attributes.

(3) Miracle, as commonly in N.T.; sign vouchsafed in the course of a prayer, as P. gr. mag., I 64 *ἔσται δέ σοι διώκοντι τὸν λόγον σημεῖον τόδε*; IV 2940 *σημεῖον ὅτι ἐκρούσθη*.

(4) Supernatural sign indicating the state of affairs; e.g. Cassius Dio, *passim*; Suidas s.v. *Ἡράϊσκος*; cf. Lydus *De Ostentis*, proem p. 3, Wachsmuth.

The range of meaning is wide, arising out of the general sense, 'indication pointing to a fact or a person'; thus in Egyptian documents *σημεῖον* is used of 'distinguishing marks' enabling one to recognize a man; (F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, II, 1930, 287). The sense here is probably general, 'indications.' Cf. above all Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica*, I 11 (XLV 16 Migne) *οὕτως καὶ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος τῷ μὲν ὑφ'εστάναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν διήρηται πρὸς ἐκείνον, παρ' οὗ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει· τῷ δὲ ταῦτα (? l. ταῦτά) δεικνύειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἃ περὶ τὸν θεὸν καθορᾶται, ὃ αὐτὸς ἔστι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνῳ τῷ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν γνωρισμάτων εὐρισκομένῳ· εἴτε γὰρ ἀγαθότης, εἴτε δύναμις, εἴτε σοφία, εἴτε τὸ αἰδῶς εἶναι, εἴτε τὸ κακίας καὶ θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτον, εἴτε τὸ ἐν παντὶ τέλειον, εἴτε τι τοιοῦτον ὅλως σημεῖόν τις ποιοῖτο τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καταλήψεως, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εὐρήσει σημεῖων καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου ὑφ'εστῶτα λόγον.*

- 3 *θεάμενος* for *θεασάμενος*. Here, as in *ἀθεότος* (7), if that be correct, a syllable has been swallowed up in pronunciation or in writing; for analogies, cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 9 f.
- 4 *ἐπολυπράγμοσα*. For this form I can give no parallel: but it is to be noted that popular Greek made new formations freely, e.g. in *-ίζω* (L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, ed. 2, 36 f.).
- 8 *θείας εἰσεθείας*. This is a peculiar phrase, for *θείος* is properly applicable to that which belongs to the gods or partakes of their qualities; so even in Chaeremon ap. Porphyr. *De abstinentia*, IV 6, *τῇ θείᾳ γνώσει καὶ ἐπιπνοίᾳ* and P. gr. mag., XV 3 *θείον ἔρωτα*, which is like Aeneid, VIII 373 '*dictis diuinum adspirat amorem*.' The nearest analogy which I can find is [Apul.] *Asclepius*, 11 p. 47. 22 Thomas, '*si foret diuinae pietati conplacitum*,' but that means "the gods in their pious wisdom."
- 9 *ἐνθεασάμενος*. The verb appears to be found only here; it suggests a concentrated vision; cf. Porphyr. *Ad Marcellam*, 13 *τῆς ἐκείνου* (sc. τοῦ θεοῦ) *ἐνοράσεως*. Easy as it is to supply an object, there is something deliberately mysterious about its omission, comparable with the use of *γνώσις* without a dependent genitive.
- 10 *νεύων*. Cf. the hymn to Artemis in P. gr. mag., IV 2248 *νεύσον μάκαιρα, πρὶν στυγνὴν σε καταλάβω*, and 945, 2330. There may be some thought, whether conscious or not, of the way in which the images of Egyptian gods were thought to give oracles by nodding, on which see p. 68 later. *ἦδη ἐπίνευσον* occurs in another of the inscriptions in our temple; (Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.*, X 77).
χρυσ . . . Gold is common in epithets of the sun; cf. P. gr. mag., II 90 ff., III 134, IV 458, 460; *χρυσοχελ* [sic] in another inscription in this temple (*Ann. Serv.*, X 89, no. V); *χρυσόκομ'* "Απολ[λον]", in an

inscription of ca. 500 B.C. in a temple of Apollo at Zoster in Attica (K. Kuruniotes, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικόν*, XI, 1927-8, 38), etc.

- 16 *σηκόν*. Properly the adyton, or holy of holies.
- 18 *παντεπόπτην*. *πανόπτης* is an old epithet of the sun. For this form cf. Schol. in Arist. Ach., 435.
- 19 *λαῶν* might be thought a literary word, but is common in the papyri; cf. Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary of the New Testament*, 370 f.
- 20 *ἀγαπᾶ*. Cf. Dion of Prusa, XXXIII 21, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων ἐκείνην (s.c. τὴν Τροίαν) ἔφη μάλιστα ἀγαπήσαι; E. Stauffer in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, I 36, 39 n. 94.
- 21 *μυριωνύμου*. This is well known as a standard epithet of Isis; cf. a mummy amulet published by Preisendanz, *Études de papyrologie*, I, 1932, 19 ff. l. 13, *εἰσρωῶντες τὰ χρόνια τῆς κυρίας μυριωνύμου θεᾶς* [*Ἰσιδος τιμωρήματα*]. Her special association with the sungod at Talmis has been noted earlier; cf. also W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros und verwandte Texte*, p. 21 l. 137, *ἀμφιπολεύω Ἄελίω βασιλῆιον ἐμῶι σὺν λαμπρῶ ὀμαίμω, καὶ με καλέυσι πάρεδρον*, with Peek's note, p. 64.

IV. THE QUEST OF VISIONS

We have here the record of an experience, set up by its recipient. Unlike most of the accompanying texts this is without name, and there is nothing to suggest that anything has been lost at the beginning or the end. Such statements are addressed to the deities. This point is perhaps illustrated by a curious peculiarity of many of the signed texts; they commonly say to-day, *σήμερον*, instead of giving a date.³⁸ This is to our great loss, for as to the date of this text we can say no more than that it is not later than the latter part of the third century of our era. But it suggests the significance which these dedications had for those who made them. *σήμερον* here, as in the phrase from a mystery discussed later (p. 91), reminds us that for those concerned the moment was of supreme importance. It reminds us also that such a dedication was a religious action, just as a hymn or a religious book could be regarded as a votive offering giving pleasure to a deity.³⁹ The ordinary *exvotos* in

³⁸ Very few graffiti in the Memnonion at Abydos are dated (Perdrizet-Lefebvre, *Les graffiti grecs du Memnonion*, viii); few, again, in the royal graves at Thebes.

³⁹ For hymns, cf. Terpander fr. 1, and the dedication of the paean of Aristonoos to Apollo (H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, 527); for a religious work cf. P. Oxy. 1381. 151 ff., 168 (in Manteuffel, *Opusc.*, 89 f. This work, supposedly a hellenization of the book of Menecheres on Imuthes, was finished according to the god's favor and not

the Greek Orthodox Church to-day do not bear names, any more than many cheap votive offerings in antiquity.⁴⁰ The attitude appears clearly in the inscription on a votive cross *Whose name thou knowest, οὐ γινώσκεις τὸ ὄνομα.*⁴¹ We shall see other points of contact with the Poimandres; here we may remark that that treatise has neither author's name nor pseud-epigraphic attribution.⁴² Any such record served a purpose of edification to one that should read, as the Arabian Nights would say, but it did not minister to the ordinary ancient desire to immortalize one's own name.

Men have always sought to find in this or that way the answer to the questions before which their industry and intelligence failed. In practical matters this was as common in ancient Egypt as elsewhere. On legal and other questions in the Later Empire an appeal was regularly made to the cult images of deities, as for instance to Amon of Pe-Khenty. The image nodded and showed emotion; verbal commands were also heard, doubtless through priests who acted as mediums.⁴³ In Ptolemaic and Roman times these customs continued, and we have a multitude of papyrus instances of the questions, which are normally like ours introduced by *εἰ*: "shall I marry . . .," "is it granted to me to . . ." ⁴⁴ The questions were written

with the writer's wisdom); for literary works in general, Crusius, ed. mai., (2nd ed.), of Herondas, vii f.

⁴⁰ These were often dated in fact by being entered in the year books of the priests, as Professor Ferguson reminds me.

⁴¹ Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, III 96; H. Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét.*, III 3184 ff., s.v. *Cuius nomen Deus scit*. In modern Syria Mohammedans, after sacrificing at the shrines of saints, leave the imprint of their hands in blood on the door and its posts as a sort of visiting card (Fr. Schwally, *Arch. f. Rel.*, VIII, 1905, 89), just as visitors to Medinet Habu and Philae sometimes scratched their names, but sometimes their feet instead, on wall or roof (W. F. Edgerton, *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, Jan. 1934).

⁴² R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum*, 9 points out that *Historia Monachorum* and *Historia Lausiaca* were both anonymous, and that theoretically the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius was probably so likewise; the author's identity being indirectly revealed at the end.

⁴³ A. M. Blackman, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XI, 1925, 249 ff.; XII, 176 ff., Hoffman-Gressmann, *Zeit. alt. Wiss.*, XL, 1922, 110 ff.

⁴⁴ Plut. *De E apud Delphos* 5, p. 386 b, c.; Mitteis-Wilcken, I i, 125; I ii, 149 f. nos. 121 f.; for the technique, cf. W. Schubart, *Zeit. f. ägyptische Sprache*, LXVII, 1931, 110 ff. In one of the texts at Talmis (Gauthier, *Temple*, 283 no. 35, N. section of E. portico) Mandulis is described as *θεὸν Μανδούλιον Ἀπόλλωνα νευήκοον χρησημοδότην*. In

out on sheets of papyrus and handed in for solution, as at the oracle of Bes at Abydos. Sometimes an omen was taken from children playing with astragaloi, and dream revelations were very common, as were interpreters official and unofficial. This was an important aspect of Graeco-Egyptian worship.

The questions thus asked were of a practical and matter-of-fact kind. A text inscribed at Elephantine in Ptolemaic times tells how king Zoser wished to know the source of the Nile and the name of the god to whom sacrifice was there offered. But he consults Imhotep (who here appears in his character as a historical personage), and Chnum's coming to the king in a dream, saying, 'I am Chnum who made thee' is something additional and of divine favor: Zoser had not consulted him.⁴⁵ Revelations were sought of the true name of a deity, but that was for reasons of magical utility, such as induced Isis to force this information out of Ra.⁴⁶ The desire can of course be generalized, as in the title of Book of the Dead 17 in the version of the New Kingdom "to know what Thot knows by way of spells for deliverance, to be acquainted with every sanctuary, to be glorified in the hereafter."⁴⁷

The question here put is framed from the point of view of a stranger, who does not know exactly what divine reality is veiled under the alien name and the alien cult. For him Mandulis is one of the *agnostoi theoi* in the matter of fact sense of deities who happen not to be precisely identified, and not in the sense of the un-Greek *agnostos theos*, who is essentially unknowable.⁴⁸ The uncertainty is one which could be faced by intellectual enquiry, such as we find in Plutarch's works, where there are many such riddles considered, and knowledge, while it is one of the objects of prayer (Isis and Osiris, 1), is sought in a natural way; Plutarch looked for points of similarity in

the temple of Pnepheros and Petesuchos at Karanis oracular responses may have been given by the high priest from within the great altar [E. E. Peterson in A. E. R. Boak-Peterson, Karanis, 1924-31, 53 f.].

⁴⁵ Roeder, *Urkunden*, 177 ff.

⁴⁶ Roeder in Roscher, *Lex.*, IV 1178.

⁴⁷ H. Kees, *Totenglaube und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, 324.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. Bultmann in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, I 120 ff., 688 ff.

myth and cult and cult-image with known Greek gods. Or again, as here, revelation might be sought.

In the line of Greek tradition it was not unthinkable that an oracle should be consulted on such a matter. Delphi had been approached to settle the problem whether Lycurgus should be honored as a hero or as a god; Alexander had sent to Ammon to learn as much about Hephaestion; the men of Miletus and Erythrae asked Apollo of Didyma for confirmation of the divine sonship of Alexander himself. Apollophanes the Arcadian is said to have asked the Delphic oracle whether Asclepius was the son of Arsinoe, and therefore Messenian, or of Coronis.⁴⁹ In the second century of our era it would appear that Apollo of Claros was asked, 'Who is Iao?' and men at least played with the idea of asking the oracles about ultimate problems of religion and morality.⁵⁰

A god with an oracle, above all a new god, could be asked about himself. The god Glycon, established by Alexander at Abonutichus, was asked who he was and replied, 'A new Asclepius': 'Different from the old one? What do you mean?' 'That it is not permitted to you to hear.'⁵¹ Macrobius tells how Sarapis was asked by Nicocreon, a Cyprian king, which of the gods he was, and replied, that his head was the firmament, his belly the sea, his feet the earth, his ears in the ether, and his eye the sun.⁵² This is probably a later figment; the association of Sarapis with Helios is not known till much later, his original functions being those of Hades, and this picture of the god whose body is the universe represents the intrusion of later reflection. But if this is so, it is significant that the story could be told.

Again, a god could be asked for a special revelation. Pseudo-Callisthenes I 33 relates how Alexander sought for the Sarapeion as a result of an oracle of Ammon. Seeing the obelisks he asked whose they were and was told, Of king Sesonchosis. Then he looked at the god and said, 'O greatest Sarapis, if thou

⁴⁹ Pausanias, II 26, 6.

⁵⁰ Nock, *Rev. et anc.*, XXX, 1923, 230 ff.

⁵¹ Lucian, *Alexander*, 43.

⁵² *Sat.*, I 20. 16.

art god of the universe, make it clear to me.' The answer was vouchsafed in a dream, in the course of which Alexander further asked if his city would preserve his name, and was reassured.

A similar motif appears in Alexandrian poetry. At the beginning of Greek literary history Hesiod's story of the birth of the gods was set forth as the result of an unsought vision of the Muses. But, when we pass to Propertius, we find Vertumnus setting forth his attributes, like Isis in her Praises (known from various inscriptional copies), and in Ovid's *Fasti* Janus and others appear to the poet when he is puzzled. The form may go back to Alexandrian models, possibly to Callimachus. In what we have of him the indications are scanty, but in any case he too introduces the gods as telling their story at length.⁵³

In all this there is a strong element of convention, but there is also a certain relation to actual practice. The ancients did not merely regard the dreams which came spontaneously as significant and worthy of interpretation, but they also sought dreams which might give light and leading. The Pythagoreans heard in the evening music suitable to the reception of mantic dreams.⁵⁴ Further the exegesis of dreams did not depend wholly on the empirical pseudoscience which built itself around them. Artemidorus IV 80 quotes from Menecrates the grammarian the tale of a man who had a dream which none of the experts in Alexandria could interpret. So he prayed to Sarapis to solve the riddle, and in a dream Sarapis appeared and gave the answer. The best parallel to our text is afforded by Marinus, *Life of Proclus* 32 p. 25 Boissonade. There was at Adrotta a shrine the divine occupant of which was uncertain. Some of the inhabitants thought that it was Asclepius, for the place had a table and another feature appropriate to the god, and oracles were vouchsafed which sometimes gave health, and those who came to it were saved from the greatest dangers. Others as-

⁵³ R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung* (Ber. sächs. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl., LXXI, 1919, vii), 96 f. The call of Callimachus to poetry was probably not represented as given in a dream: E. Reitzenstein, *Festschrift für R. Reitzenstein*, 52 ff. On such epiphanies cf. Pfister, *P. W. Suppl.*, IV 277 ff. According to a tradition in O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* 145, no. 62 Orpheus prayed to Phoebus Titan Apollo that he might learn the birth of the gods and the making of the universe and received repeated revelations.

⁵⁴ Cf. G. Méautis, *Recherches sur le Pythagorisme*, 30 ff.

signed the shrine to the Dioscuri, for two young horsemen had been seen on the road to Adrotta. As Proclus was uncertain and was praying to the local deities to learn what god or gods visited the temple and received honors in it, the god appeared to him and said that the two figures were Machaon and Podalirius. The god actually quoted Iamblichus. There are other stories which help us to understand how concrete was this faith in the possibility of firsthand information from supernatural personages. Philostratus tells how Apollonius of Tyana had converse with Achilles and asked him many things (IV 15 f.), and in his *Heroicus* describes the constant dealings of a vine-tender with the hero Protesilaus.⁵⁵ At the end of paganism we have the story of Paralios in the life of Severus by Zacharias the scholastic. Paralios offered to the demon the usual sacrifices and begged him to indicate by an oracle whether it was he or his enemy who was a magician, and whether such an oracle had been given about him also. He was prepared to sacrifice if assured on this point, but although he proffered the request for many days it was in vain.⁵⁶ This is a Christian story told for edification, but it implies that such questions could be asked.

We have therefore plenty of illustration for the desire to be informed of something by a vision. It should further be remarked that visions bulked particularly large in the religious life of Egypt under the Roman Empire. Cumont has drawn attention to a striking letter of the doctor Thessalus of Tralles, who flourished under Nero. This relates how he travelled about in Egypt and visited many sacred places seeking to find why the proceedings prescribed in the Book of Nechepso did not work; coming to Heliopolis, he made the acquaintance of the priests and finally asked them whether there was any magical power yet preserved. One of them at least enabled him to meet Asclepius, that is Imuthes, face to face, *μόνος πρὸς μόνον*, a phrase familiar from its use by Plotinus.⁵⁷ In the last days of paganism

⁵⁵ Cf. S. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, VIII, 1929, 1 ff.

⁵⁶ Ed. M.-A. Kugener, *Patrologia Orientalis*, II i p. 28.

⁵⁷ Texts in *Cat. codd. astr. gr.*, VIII 3, 132 ff., ed. P. Boudreaux, and VIII 4, 253 ff., ed. Cumont; discussed by Cumont, *Monuments Piot* XXV, 1921/2, 77 ff. On *μόνος πρὸς μόνον* cf. E. Peterson, *Philol.*, LXXXVIII, 1933, 30 ff. The similarity to the religious quests described by Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue*, at the opening of the Cle-

we have the story in Apophthegmata Patrum of the visit of a heathen priest to the Abbot Olympios and of the priest's surprise on learning that the monks did not enjoy visions of God. "When we serve our god, he hides nothing but reveals his secrets to us."⁵⁸ The magic papyri contain various ways of securing direct vision and contact.⁵⁹ To Philo, in whom the Jewish and the Graeco-Egyptian strains meet, the *ὄρατικὸν γένος*, the men who see God, are the highest type of humanity.⁶⁰ To them this vision becomes an end in itself; as in Hermetic literature, it raises the recipient to the plane of deity.

The writer of our text has no such exalted conception. To him vision is purely a means to a specific end — the attainment of certain knowledge. We may suppose that he was inspired by various ideas and practices current around him — the possibility of obtaining answers to questions from an oracle, that of getting prophetic dreams, that perhaps of the existence of esoteric methods for securing special revelations (though he had no idea of the constraining processes which are so prominent in them), and again the habit of sleeping in temples to obtain dreams indicating the right way of being healed of a disease. In magic and in incubation there were, as here, the preliminary fast and purification and the incense offering.

He realized strongly the need of purification. This underlying feeling is wellnigh universal, resting as it does on the belief that the impurities contracted in ordinary life require a period of quarantine in which to wear off, as both holiness and unholiness are thought to do,⁶¹ and on the empirical fact that abstinence does predispose people to see visions; at this time it was widely held that some sort of abstinence was necessary for

mentine romances and (humorously) by Lucian in his *Menippus* has been noted; and cf. Nock, *Conversion*, 107 ff. It was a common idea that temples were sources of wisdom; cf. Rhetorius, in *Cat. codd. astr. gr.*, VIII iv, 210, 30 ἢ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀναστροφὰς ποιουμένους προφάσει μαντείων, ἐνθουσιασμῶν, ἢ μαθημάτων.

⁵⁸ Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*, I 582.

⁵⁹ Nock, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XV, 1929, 230 ff.

⁶⁰ Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3rd ed., p. 317.

⁶¹ For the wearing off of holiness, cf. *P. gr. mag.*, I 41 (after winning a *paredros* abstain from intercourse with a woman for seven days). For freedom from all vice (l. 6), cf. Celsus, *True Word*, III 59 p. 20 Glöckner (in what he gives as a typical proclamation before a mystery) *δοσις ἀγνός ἀπὸ παντὸς μύσους, καὶ ὄψῃ ἢ ψυχῇ οὐδὲν σίνουιδε κακόν.*

any serious study, just as for gymnastics.⁶² Our questioner did not depend on any magic method or power to cause the god to disclose the truth; the offering of incense was for him a natural pious beginning, like crossing oneself. After all, from the time of Augustus onwards, every member of the senate offered incense at the beginning of each of its meetings. Like Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*, 80, p. 383), our writer may have thought of incense as hygienic and purificatory; it continued the work done by his self discipline.

This contrast with magic appears again in the fact that he did not keep to himself what he had learned. The *Poimandres* affords a good parallel. The writer of that work had been thinking about nature. His mind was exalted and his bodily senses dulled and he saw a divine visitant, who revealed to his eager questioning all that he wished to know. Then he passed on this new truth to all who would hear and wrote up the account of his gratitude in his heart and rejoiced. Thanksgiving was natural; that was in place after a prophetic dream or such a revelation as is given in [Apul.] *Asclepius* or a magic process. But here that which had been attained did not remain private.

V. THE CONTENT OF THE VISION

A man who has a vision usually sees that which is in some way already present to his mind, whether above or below the level of consciousness. One illustration may be allowed. Sir Edward Browne, in his *A year among the Persians*, 148 f., tells how he met a philosopher of Isfahan who spoke bitterly on the futility of all systems of belief and in particular on the groundless nature of the attempts made to obtain by occult sciences a control over the jinnis. He had essayed the traditional proceeding himself; he had settled in a magical circle, he had eaten little and daily less, he had seen a lion approach on the twenty-first day, as expected, and thereafter a tiger and then a dragon, at the sight of which he fled. Later he concluded from his studies that these visions were hallucinations, and repeated the process in

⁶² Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, II 30. 15 purus castus esto; V praef. 4 pura mente et ab omni terrena conuersatione seposita et cunctorum flagitiorum labe purgata. On fasting as a preliminary to vision cf. J. A. Montgomery, *J. Bibl. Lit.*, LI, 1932, 183 ff.

a spirit of philosophical incredulity and saw nothing. What is more, he had not at this time seen a real lion

“and my ideas about the appearance of that animal were entirely derived from the pictures which may be seen over the doors of baths in this country. Now, the lion which I saw in the magic circle was exactly like the latter in form and colouring, and therefore, as I need hardly say, differed considerably in aspect from a real lion.”⁶³

We have endeavored to see how our writer would arrive at the idea that it was possible to obtain a revelation. We come now to the content of the revelation. He obviously expected to find Mandulis solar. The speculative tendency to regard many gods as solar, which we see at its height in Macrobius, was common before and was used by philosophers of various schools — and their ideas did filter down to the people. Further, he might well know of the dominant position of the sun in Egyptian piety, and he may have seen the effect produced by the incoming of the first rays of morning into the dark temple. Thanks to their orientation, many Egyptian temples were able to catch these rays;⁶⁴ the pylon of this one faces a little North of East, but the pronaos faces East (to judge from the one small plan I have seen giving the points of the compass).

When he proceeds to define the sun's attributes he must be telling us what was in his mind, for it is clearly implied that all he saw was some appearance of the sun, and the sun's nightly bath, and that Mandulis did not say 'I am . . .' Such a statement would hardly have been omitted from motives of reserve, for divine self-predications of this type were familiar and popular. The most notable is that of Isis to Lucius in Apuleius XI. He has prayed to the queen of heaven, whether she be Ceres or celestial Venus or Diana or Proserpine, or whatever the right name or rite or likeness be. She appears, and says that these names and others are hers, but the true name is

⁶³ Cf. Tertullian *De anima* 9, iam uero, prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiae uisionibus subministrantur.

⁶⁴ Professor Griffith informs me that the original and essential purpose of temple-orientation was that the dromos should go straight to the river landing place East or West, but that it could be also North or South or for the sun to strike inwards on rising over the hills.

Isis.⁶⁵ That the sun set in the Ocean was obvious; that he bathed in it was an old Egyptian idea, and the Egyptians like others thought of the morning sun as new; in fact they commonly thought of him as passing through two, three, or even twelve phases.⁶⁶ That they thought of him as reborn by the lifegiving water is not expressly stated in the texts, but inferred by Blackman.⁶⁷ Certainly they looked on water as revivifying, and water of rejuvenation was thought capable of renewing the dead.⁶⁸ Whatever the truth about Blackman's theory, it is not necessary to see Egyptian influence here; the 'water of life' is a very widespread idea⁶⁹ and there is here no word of rebirth or of the various solar phases. The nightly bath of the sun was a commonplace in Graeco-Roman poetry, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV 214 ff. speaks of his horses as feeding on ambrosia every night: the second century Christian apologist Melito of Sardis treats the sun's bath as an analogy for baptism, saying that the sun rejoices greatly in his mystic baptism, drawing his sustenance from water, and that, remaining one and the same, he rises as a new sun for men, strengthened from the deep, purified by his bath and, having driven away the darkness of night, begets radiant day.⁷⁰

The description of the sun as all-seeing is universal, that of him as ruler of the world was as current among Greeks as among Egyptians. The mutilation of the central part of the text compels us to be cautious, but it is not possible that it should have found room for the Egyptian idea of the nightly triumph

⁶⁵ J. Berreth, *Studien zum Isisbuch in Apuleius, Metamorphosen* (Diss. Tübingen, 1931) 16 ff. has shown the meaning of the story, as that of a revelation. The literary fiction is heightened by the fact that Isis is not previously mentioned in the story.

⁶⁶ Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber*, I 100 f. §§ 405 ff.

⁶⁷ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 1918, 57 ff., 86 ff.; *Rec. Trav.*, XXXIX, 1921, 44 ff.; *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, V 117 ff., 148 ff.; some criticism by H. Bonnet, *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ*, I, 1925, 103 ff.

⁶⁸ Cf. a papyrus of the Persian period quoted by Ed. Meyer, *S. B. preuss. Ak.* 1928, 510 "Ich vergötte die ehrwürdige Seele des Osiris Unnofre des Seligen . . . Ich werde seine Seele und seine Glieder beleben durch Wasser der Verjüngungs das ihn verjüngt zu seiner Zeit ohne aufhören."

⁶⁹ So of those who hear the prophet Corp. *Herm.*, I 29 *ἐγράφησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ἕδατος*.

⁷⁰ *Περὶ Δουτροῦ* 3, p. 311 Goodspeed.

of the sun over the powers of evil who sought to bar his way.⁷¹ We seem a little nearer to Egyptian thought when our writer speaks of the power and breath brought by the morning rays into the shrine. This recalls Egyptian thought, according to which the sun's rays conveyed a sort of fluid streaming into shrines and men.⁷² Perhaps our writer was in some measure influenced by some special phenomenon, such as the proverbial musical note caused by the rays which first struck the colossus of Memnon, or again the way in which the first rays to strike the Serapeum touched the cult-image on the lips, 'ita ut inspectante populo osculo salutatus Serapis uideretur a Sole.'⁷³ In any case, as has been remarked, Egyptian temples were very often oriented so that the rising sun might light up their dark interiors. Nevertheless, here also the source may lie in thought which had come within the Hellenistic horizon. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I 23. 21 says 'postremo potentiam solis ad omnium potestatum summitatem referri indicant theologi, qui in sacris hoc breuissima precatioe demonstrant dicentes, "Ἠλιε παντοκράτορ, κόσμου πνεῦμα, κόσμου δύναμις, κόσμου φῶς.' The *theologi* who thus addressed the sun as almighty, breath of the universe, power of the universe, light of the universe, were probably men (for instance, Neoplatonists) who used the Chaldaean Oracles. In the so-called Mithras liturgy (P. gr. mag., IV 641) 'thy breath is strong, thy power is strong,' *ἰσχύει σου ἡ προιή, ἰσχύει σου ἡ δύναμις* is addressed to Helios and there is a direction (537), 'draw in breath (*πνεῦμα*) from the rays, inhaling thrice, as hard as you can.' After all, the Stoics thought of the *pneuma* of the universe as fiery.

⁷¹ E.g. Roeder, *Urkunden*, 1; A. Scharff, *Ägyptische Sonnenlieder*. Ed. Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte*, Berlin, 1928, 503 ff. discusses a solar creed from Karnak of the twenty-first dynasty, notable for its slight emphasis on mythological elements and for the absence of the usual identification of other gods. K. Sethe, *Abh.* Berlin, 1929, iv, 110 urges that this process of spiritualization goes back much further in Egyptian history.

⁷² Cf. F. Preisigke, *Vom göttlichen Fluidum nach ägyptischer Anschauung*, and *Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit*; also Roeder, *Urkunden*, 232 for the fragrance associated with the sun's rising; K. Sethe, *Abh.* Berlin, 1929, iv, 90 ff. on the concept of Amon as wind, breath of life, spirit.

⁷³ Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, XI 23; cf. W. Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion*, 9.

So far the mental background of this document has not shown itself to contain elements characteristically Egyptian: it is in the style of later Hellenistic thought. What of the description of the sun as all-powerful Eternity?

VI. ΑΙΟΝ

We may first observe that this is a purely descriptive phrase. It is not an identification of Helios with some other definite divine figure. That should require *τὸν καὶ Αἰῶνα*. We have the indication of a functional attribute and aspect of deity. The term Aion was very much in the air. But it must be remembered that the ancients did not have our distinction of capital and small letters. *Αἰών*, like *Σοφία* and *Χάρις* and *Λόγος*, oscillated between being a noun and a personification. Thus an invocation in P. gr. mag., XIII 983 ff. starts *κύριος αἰῶνος ὁ πάντα κτίσας θεὸς μόνος ἄφθεγκτος* and after magical names ends *ὁ μέγας μέγας Αἰών, θεέ, (κύ)ρ(ιος) Αἰών*, and in XII 246 we have *τίς δ' αἰὼν αἰῶνα τρέφων αἰῶσιν ἀνάσσει*;⁷⁴

The life of man lies in time and in space: time, like space, is the stage on which he acts his part, and it is very easy for him to think of everything as in a sense produced or begotten by time.⁷⁵ This is a natural mode of pictorial expression, seen in many shapes throughout antiquity. In the older Greek writings the predominant word or name is Chronos, not Aion. *αἰών* was originally a very fluid word, commonly meaning 'life.' Plato, in *Timaeus* 37 D, gave to it the sense of eternity as contrasted with time, and thereafter this connotation was frequent though not inevitable or universal: technical terms did not suit the genius of the Greek language.

⁷⁴ In the Clarian oracle mentioned pp. 83, 99 the supreme Being is called Aion, and we have also *ἀζηχελὶ δ' ἐν μελεθηθμῶ αἰὼν αἰώνεσσ' ἐπιμίγνυται ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ*. In general, cf. Nock, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LII, 1933, 137. So *amartatāt* is used to describe (a) one of the Ahuras (b) the food of immortality enjoyed by the blessed (Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Awesta*, 121, 131: cf. ib. 68, where it is uncertain whether the meaning is 'creator of Vohu Manah' or 'creator of good sense').

⁷⁵ Such thinking was elaborated in India; cf. A. B. Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 24, 209, 437, 465 ff. Here, as in Greece, it was the result of deliberate thinking; was it so also in Persia? For India and Greece we have a sequence of material which is not available for Persia.

It has been suggested that behind much of the use of Aion in this sense lies the Persian concept of Zervan, the time or space which is the ultimate principle of the universe, the source of the good god (Ahura Mazda) and of the evil god (Ahriman). In canonical Zoroastrianism this was pushed into the background, but in all probability it goes back far into Persian religious history, and had originally no taint of heresy;⁷⁶ for Mithraism Zervan was the first principle.⁷⁷ Since Plato in the *Politicus* and *Laws* gives indications which may be regarded as pointing to an acquaintance with Persian dualism, and Eudemus, who belonged to the early Academic circle, knew the Persian doctrine, it might be thought possible that here Plato knew of Zervan: but this is not likely in view of the complete absence of mythical concepts from the passage in the *Timaeus*.

Aion is not used for this concept by our sources; in Mithraism the figure corresponding to Zervan seems to have been called Kronos rather than Aion,⁷⁸ and Philo of Byblus, who as we shall see tells of a Phoenician Aion, does not — unless the quotation in Eusebius fails us in this — use the name Aion in his excerpt from a supposed work of Zoroaster, concerning a god of this type.⁷⁹ Eudemus, cited by Damascius, has *χρόνος*, not *αἰών*.⁸⁰

One supposed instance of Aion in this sense requires discussion at length. In the text which Antiochus I, king of Commagene from 69 B.C. onwards, caused to be set upon his mausoleum (not much before 31 B.C.) we read that his body, which has been favored of heaven till old age, will lie *εἰς τὸν ἀπειρον αἰῶνα* (l. 43) in this monument after despatching his soul to the heavenly throne of Zeus Oromasdes, and later (l. 112 f.) that it is right for his law to be kept by all generations of men *οὐς ἄν χρόνος ἀπειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν γῶρας*

⁷⁶ Cf. O. G. von Wesendonk, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, 53 ff.; A. Christensen, *Études sur le zoroastrianisme de la Perse antique* (Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologisk Meddelelser, XV 2, 1928), 45 ff., and *Le monde oriental*, XXV, 1931, 29 ff.; Cumont, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.*, N. S., VIII, 1922, 9 ff.; H. Lommel, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1931, 963 ff.

⁷⁷ Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, 19, 74 ff.; Fr. Saxl, *Mithras*, 71 f.

⁷⁸ Cumont, *ib.* 76. (The passage describing which he quotes from *Mythographus Vaticanus III* appears under the rubric *Saturnus*. Probably an earlier Greek art-type was adapted for this deity, as for Mithras; possibly from Orphism.)

⁷⁹ C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, III 572 f.

⁸⁰ *Dubitationes et solutiones 125 bis* (I 322 Ruelle).

ταύτης ἰδίᾳ βίου μοίρα καταστήσῃ.⁸¹ The natural translation is 'for endless eternity' and 'whom endless time sets in the succession of rule over this land according to their individual destinies,' the personification of time in the second being familiar and spontaneous. Nevertheless, since Antiochus claims Persian as well as Greek descent (30, 225), and states that the priest is to wear raiment befitting the Persian race (71 f.), and since the gods specified, of whom there were two rows of images, are Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, and the deified country of Commagene, a Persian significance has been seen in these phrases. H. Junker regards the first as referring to the awaiting of the commencement of the Unlimited Aion which is to succeed the 'Aion of long domination' in which we live,⁸² and which will bring with it the resurrection of the flesh.⁸³

This cannot be right. Antiochus had this monument erected with all Greek-speaking posterity in view and clearly employed a skilled rhetorician to compose the inscription.⁸⁴ Although the mausoleum was hard of access, owing to the height of the Nemoud Dagh, copies of the reliefs with adaptations of the text were set up: of those at Selik and Samosata there are remains of which we shall speak later (p. 81).⁸⁵ The inscription is comparable with the Res Gestae of Augustus, which also was set up in various copies. Antiochus had no reason, like early Christians in Asia Minor, to veil his meaning in cryptic phrases, and I cannot believe that in the phrases quoted any Greek of the time would have seen more than met the eye. ἄπειρος αἰῶν is a familiar phrase (e.g. ἐξ ἀπειρου αἰῶνος, Diels, Vorsokratiker, I p. 16. 14; τὸν ἀπειρον αἰῶνα, ib. 318. 16; Aristot. ap. [Plut.] Consolat. ad Apoll. 27 p. 115 C: [Plut.] 111 C, 117 E, the sense in the two last quotations turning on the contrast of human life and all time, as in Hipparchus in Diels, II p. 138. 14, ὡς πρὸς τὸν ξύμπαντα αἰῶνα; Leisegang's index to Philo, I 103; Proclus, Elements of Theology, 206 p. 180 Dodds). So for χρόνος ἄπειρος we may quote Plato Rep. p. 499 C; [Plato] Epinomis p. 987 A; Aristotle, p. 969 a 29; Diels, II p. 23. 11; Leisegang, l.c.; J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, II p. 163, 8, III p. 260. 19; Proclus, Elements, 85 p. 78. Neither belongs to the stock of conventional phrases used in inscriptions to mean 'for all time,' but this is a text in which solemnity was sought.

When the preposition εἰς is used in a temporal sense it means: (a) till a particular point of time, as ἐς ἡῶ; (b) at a particular point of time, as εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν; (c) into or till the end of a particular period, or for its endlessness if it be endless, as in [Arist.] De mundo, p. 401 a 16 (of Zeus) διήκων ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀπέριμος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα; Sextus Empiricus, Aduersus mathematicos, IX 62 ἡ δὲ γε τῶν θεῶν ἔννοια καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἦν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμένει; further examples in E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, 169 f. (in this usage a *terminus a quo* is stated); (d) for a particular period, as in εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον; in

⁸¹ Dittenberger, *Oriens graeci inscriptiones selectae*, 383; L. Jalabert-R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, 1. For the mausoleum, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I 742 ff.

⁸² *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1921/2, 152.

⁸³ H. Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnsreligion*, 23.

⁸⁴ J. Waldis, *Sprache und Stil der grossen griechischen Inschrift vom Nemrud Dagh in Kommagene* (Diss. Zürich, 1920).

⁸⁵ Jalabert-Mouterde, nos. 51 f.

l. 9 of this inscription *εἰς χρόνον αἰώνιον; εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα* (Dittenberger Or. gr. inscr. sel., 566. 21); *εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα* (332. 32: 138/3 B.C.). One phrase, *εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα*, is merely an elaboration of this. The sacrificial institutions are eternal, *ἀίδιον* (l. 75 f.): there is no hint of *uenturum expecto dominum*.

While Antiochus uses *οὓς ἂν χρόνος ἄπειρος . . . καταστήσῃ* of future generations, he has a little later of the priest (126 f.), *ὅστις τε ἂν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τάξιν λάβῃ ταύτην*, and of the artistes consecrated as hierodules (179 f.), *οἵτινες ἂν ἐν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ τοῦτο γένος διαδέχωνται*.⁸⁶ Is it credible that there should be any fundamental distinction between these phrases? or is it thinkable that *αἰών* and *χρόνος* should be used in studied contrast, without juxtaposition and some sort of emphatic phrase to underline the antithesis?⁸⁷

These considerations seem to me decisive, but we must pause for a moment to take stock of a serious argument advanced by H. H. Schaefer.⁸⁸ He has noted that, while no gods are named or represented save those mentioned p. 80 and the king as a 'new Fortune,' nevertheless Antiochus states that he chose to make the site of his mausoleum a holy throne to be shared by all the gods, *ἱερόν ἅπαντων κοινὸν ἀναδείξαι θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα* (l. 45 f.), in order that not only the heroic band of his ancestors may be there but also the divine shape of manifest deities may make this place too a witness to his piety. Schaefer infers that the real object of worship was Zervan as 'Allgott,' the four figures named being his attributes or aspects, and connects them with four aspects of Zervan in Manichee texts and also with three puzzling figures associated with Zervan in Christian writers.

The answer is, I think, that while only four deities are named, others would be worshipped in the shrine, for instance by adding the formula 'and to all gods and goddesses' on occasions of sacrifice. Ancient pantheons did not in fact contain representations of all known deities: it must be admitted that those of which we have details contained more representations than this shrine.⁸⁹ In any case, this was not a temple: it was a holy place, sacred to all the gods, but those of special importance for the king had images. Once more, why is this divine unity so veiled? Why does the king use such phrases as *δαίμοσιν ἐπηκόοις* (59), *βασιλικῶν δαιμόνων* (116), *μεγάλων δαιμόνων ἐπιφανείαις* (85), *θεῶν ἠρώων τε τούτων* (126), *πατρώους ἅπαντας θεούς* (224)?

While he is not consistent, the king appears to distinguish the gods of his special devotion from the gods as a whole and to call the first daimones. But there is a stronger argument against Schaefer's view. The Samosata inscription gives a shortened version of the text:⁹⁰ the twenty-six lines preserved correspond to the first 64 of the Nemroud Dagh record. In it Antiochus ex-

⁸⁶ Cf. ib. 47, III 14; IV 10, (the Arsameia inscription recording an earlier foundation by Antiochus for the cult of his ancestors).

⁸⁷ They can be used side by side without distinction, as in *Anthologia Palatina*, IX 51. *αἰὼν πάντα φέρει· δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν κτλ.*

⁸⁸ *Vorträge Warburg*, 1924/5, 135 ff.; cf. E. Peterson, *EIS THEOS*, 245 ff.

⁸⁹ H. Jacobi, *IIANTEΣ THEOI* (Diss. Halle, 1930), 99. Note that the explanation preferred by Cassius Dio, *LIII* 27, 2, for the name Pantheon at Rome is that by reason of its shape it resembled the heavens.

⁹⁰ Jalabert-Mouterde, 52; for the constitution of the text, cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Studien*, XLVII, 1929, 127 ff.

pands πατρῶαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν into πατρῶαν βασιλεῖ[σαν παραλαβὼν παρὰ] Διὸς τε Ὁρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἐρ]μοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους [Ἄρεως], omits κοινὴν θεῶν ἀπάντων . . . καθίδρυσάμην and continues [καὶ ποιησά]μενος παλαιὰς δυνάμεις [καὶ τύχης νέας ἐ]μήs ἡλικιώτων θεῶν μεγάλω[ν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τιμὴν] ἐν ἱερᾷ τε λιθείᾳ μιᾶς περιόδου δαίμοσιν οὐρα[νίους] χαρακτήρα μορφῆs ἐμήs [ἐπηκόους σύνθρονον] ἐν εἰs δεξιᾶs παρέστησα, με[ίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσσωσιν κτλ]. That is to say, Antiochus not merely makes his rule a gift from these personal deities, but he omits (a) any reference to the dedication of the shrine to all the gods; (b) εἰs τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα — two of the three supposed theological shibboleths.

So much for negative criticism. There is something positive for us to learn from this inscription. Firstly, it is unconventional in substance, just as in form. Antiochus did not hold the imposing concept of a divine unity with four aspects which has been ascribed to him, but religion was a main interest of his life and reign: he made his kingdom a home for all the gods (l. 24 ff.); he adorned the images of the gods made in accordance with Persian and Greek tradition; he gave them sacrifices and festivals. Neither tradition was that of his land and what he did does not appear to have struck firm roots in its soil.⁹¹ The inscription is not bilingual, like the Graeco-Aramaic text at Ariaramneia.⁹² Here we see a phenomenon of syncretism in the hour of its birth — like the formation of the worship of Sarapis, or the wedding of Bel and the Mazdyasnic religion mentioned in a Cappadocian inscription.⁹³ Antiochus rules by divine grace, like a Persian monarch; he represents himself in the reliefs with the attributes of Zeus, like a Hellenistic monarch; the ritual dress of his shrine is Persian, but the idea of the ascent of his soul, while perhaps Mesopotamian in origin, was familiar in Hellenistic circles. Secondly, since there is later evidence for the importance of the concept of Zervan in the Mazdaeism of Asia Minor,⁹⁴ it is very significant that the idea is not stressed by Antiochus. His special devotion, like that of the Persian kings, is to Ahura Mazda.⁹⁵

To conclude, while Zervan could, like Aion in our text, be called almighty, and while he was known to some Greek thinkers, we are not entitled to see him in Aion: so far as I know, Aion never renders Zervan.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Hönigmann, Pauly-Wissowa, Supp. IV 989.

⁹² Nock in Jackson-Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, V 177.

⁹³ M. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, I, 1900–2, 66 ff. Other instances of such action on a lower social plane are Dittenberger, Sylloge, 3rd ed., 985 (the foundation of the shrine at Philadelphia in Lydia with its special list of deities and its moral requirements) and G. Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures [de Constantinople], III 54 ff. no. 847, a stele from near Dorylaeum dedicated by a man and his wife Ἐρμηδίων Ἐρμηδὸς σὺν γυναικὶ Νάνα πρωτοιερεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων Ὅσιω Δικέφ εὐχῆν (they are self-ordained priests of this cult).

⁹⁴ Cumont, Textes et monuments, I 19.

⁹⁵ Cf. Jalabert-Mouterde, 47, VI.

⁹⁶ Again in the Orphic theogony of Hieronymus-Hellanicus the Zervan-like figure is called χρόνος ἀγήραος and Heracles (Kern, Orphica, 130 no. 54: A. Boulanger, Orphée, 55). Kern, 163 no. 95, has the line καὶ φύσεως κλυτὰ ἔργα μένει καὶ ἀπείριτος αἰὼν, where the sense is not clear; ib. 134 n. 56 (Phanes), τὸν ἄπειρον περιλάμπει αἰῶνα, with αἰὼν in

We may now attempt to survey some Greek ideas which bear on the possible connotation of Aion in our text. (1) The philosophic sense, stamped upon it as has been said by Plato, — eternity viewed ideally, in contrast with *χρόνος*, eternity viewed as actual time. Aristotle related *αἰών* especially to the heavens. The philosophic sense appears in Corpus Hermeticum XI and in a dedication at Eleusis, probably of 74–3 B.C., made ‘for the might of Rome and the continuance of the mysteries,’ and stating that Aion abides for ever, without beginning middle and end, without change, the craftsman making a divine nature eternal in all respects, and that the universe likewise is one.⁹⁷

(2) The Aion of philosophy in Hellenistic and later thought can be the second god, *δεύτερος θεός*, part of the descending chain which linked God and the world. So in the Chaldaic Oracles Aion is the cause of activity and motion,⁹⁸ and in the Naassene section in Hippolytus the divine child born in the Eleusinian mysteries is explained as being *Αἰῶνα Αἰώνων*.⁹⁹ Aion could again be the supreme being. So in one of the oracles from Claros mentioned earlier it is stated that the chief deity is Aion, the various gods of cultus being a small part of him and his angels.¹⁰⁰ An invocation in P. gr. mag., XII 238 ff. is addressed to “the god from the four winds, almighty (*παντοκράτωρ*), that didst breathe into men for life, whose name is veiled and concealed among men . . . the water about thee, the Ocean, is Agathos Daimon. . . . What Aion, nurturing Aion, rules the aiones (ages)? There is one immortal god.” This spell, (but not the verse hymn which includes the name Aion), occurs in two other papyri of the same type.

a local sense, possibly just as the Pythagoreans gave a local meaning to *χρόνος* (cf. Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, I 355, 5 ff., but the phrasing may be due to our source, the author of the Clementine Homilies, or to some intermediary in the line of transmission).

⁹⁷ Dittenberger, *Sylogae*, 1125; O. Weinreich, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIX, 1918, 174 ff.; M. Zepf, *ib.*, XXV, 1927, 225 ff.; E. R. Dodds, *Proclus, The Elements of Theology*, 227 ff.

⁹⁸ W. Kroll, *De oraculis Chaldaicis*, 27. Simplicius in *Arist. Phys.* p. 785. 9 Diels (*Comm. in Arist.*, IX) *καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ χρόνος ὁ ὡς θεὸς ὑπὸ τε Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας τιμηθείς*. Here *Χαλδαίων* may refer to the Oracles, or to astrological writers; *ἀγιστείας* to Magians and in particular to Zervanite thinkers or possibly to Orphics.

⁹⁹ *Refutatio*, V 8 45 p. 97. 19 Wendland.

¹⁰⁰ K. Buresch, *Klaros*, 97 f.

These magic papyri are of special importance for our text, since the description of Helios as Aion is well attested in them. He is addressed as *δέομαι σου, αιώναϊε Αἰών, ἀκνοκράτωρ, αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ* (I 200), *τὸν ἕνα καὶ μάκαρα τῶν Αἰώνων πατέρα τε κόσμου* (IV 1169 f.); we have *ὁ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότης, ὁ Αἰών τῶν Αἰώνων. σὺ εἶ ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ, Ῥᾶ, Πᾶν* (Ib. 2197 ff.). Helios is thus both Aion and all-powerful. Of course Aion may be distinguished from him, as in I 309 and VII 510 (*σὺ εἶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παλιγενοῦς Αἰώνος*, by a transparent allegory), or as in IV 1181 ff., *δέξαι μου τὰ φθέγματα, ἄκουε Ἥλιε, πάτερ κόσμου . . . 1205, ὁ κύριος ἐμαρτύρησέ σου τῇ Σοφία, ὃ ἐστὶν Αἰών*. So *παντοκράτωρ* is used also of Iao,¹⁰¹ Typhon, Albalal, Adonai, and Hermes¹⁰² in these papyri. Aion is thus a term of fluid sense, popular perhaps because of the vague suggestion of the unknowable. It was not a proper *nomen* — hardly an individuality — and is very rare on amulets.¹⁰³ There was a natural basis for this description of Helios as, or in relation to, Aion. The sun was in Egypt regarded as the source of life, and in a hymn of Akhnaton we read ‘Thou art the span of life itself; we exist through thee.’¹⁰⁴ And the sun was the measure of the years, and a natural symbol for time.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ P. Mich., 193, which I know by the courtesy of Professor Campbell Bonner.

¹⁰² P. mag. gr., IV 272 (Seth, VII 962); IV 968; IV 1552; VII 668. For Helios pantokrator, cf. the invocation cited from Macrobius, p. 77 above, for the epithet in general, Höfer in Roscher, Lex., III 1558 f.; K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, II, 1932), 31, 45 f.; Cumont, *Comptes rendus acad. inscr.*, 1931, 243 f.

¹⁰³ A. Jacoby, *Archiv*, XXVIII, 1930, 275, 285, conjectures that *ιαωμ* on one is isopsephic for *αἰών*. Professor Bonner has kindly drawn my attention to ΔΙΩΝ, probably for ΔΙΩΝ, on an amethyst, B. M. 56427. The principal feature of the design is a Serapis head, with modius and rays on a jar (Canopic?). For the fluidity of *αἰών* in magical texts, note that in the text which Dieterich called Mithrasliturgie the subject says that he will (520) see *τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ ἐσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων* and invokes Aion (594), but neither of the two principal gods who appear after the preliminaries is so described.

¹⁰⁴ Roeder, *Urkunden*, 65.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Ps. Arist. *De mundo*, p. 397a, 9, *τῶν ἀστρων ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης κινουμένων ἐν ἀκρίβεστάτοις μέτροις ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα*. Lactantius Placidus ad Stat. *Theb.*, IV 516, p. 228 Jahnke, tells of a view emanating from philosophers, Magi, and Persians, according to which there is a supreme god distinct from all the gods of mythology ‘*de cuius genere sint soli Sol et Luna*.’ Among the Trobriand islanders the cycle of the year is determined by the economic round of gardening, and the same word does duty for yam and for year (Br. Malinowski, *J. R. anthrop. Inst.*, LVII, 1927, 210).

(3) Further, since we have noted that Aion can be supreme or subordinate, it should be added that the concept of eternity could and did present itself in a variety of forms, some speculative, some commonplace or so to speak sentimental, some mythological. By sentimental I mean mainly political. AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE appears with a representation of a temple on coins of Emerita and Tarraco struck soon after the death of Augustus, referring to his apotheosis. This idea emerges on Imperial coinage in Rome under the Flavians and becomes a regular deified attribute of the living Emperor, commonly accompanied by sun and moon.¹⁰⁶ On the column of Antoninus a young male figure carrying the dead emperor to Olympus possibly represents an aspect of eternity, but I think this very doubtful.¹⁰⁷ By the side of this idea of the eternity of the Emperor existed the older idea of the eternity of Rome, which was thought to be guaranteed by the fire of Vesta and the palladium. An inscription of A.D. 32 at Interamna speaks of Tiberius as 'nati ad aeternitatem Romani nominis sublato hoste perniciosissimo,' after the death of Sejanus.¹⁰⁸ In 66, after another peril, the conspiracy of Piso, games were held at Rome 'pro aeternitate imperii,' and the Arval Brothers then and thereafter sacrificed to this deified abstraction and prayed that the Emperor might be preserved to the same end. Issues of the first years of Vespasian have the legend AETERNITAS P. R.

¹⁰⁶ Cumont, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.*, I, 1896, 435 ff.; W. Koehler, *Personifikationen abstrakter Begriffe auf römischen Münzen*, I (Diss. Königsberg, 1910), 23 ff.; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, 186 ff. The sun and moon have been connected with Horapollon's statement that one Egyptian hieroglyph for aion was sun and moon, which is true of late Egyptian writing (H. Schäfer ap. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 143), though the term so translated appears to mean 'all the days,' 'always,' and not an abstraction. I suspect that both spring from the same fact of nature, namely that time is made up of nights and days; cf. n. 105, and *Anth. Lat.* 389, 51, *Sol saeculum mensisque, dies Sol, annus et hora*. There is no suggestion that there was any Egyptian religious idea involved, still less any Egyptian religious idea which had any chance of being carried Westwards with those cult-elements which did migrate. As we shall see, the sun was regarded as typically eternal, and this accounts e.g. for the coupling of the legend AETERNITAS from the time of Gordian II on with a representation of the sun. Horapollon himself explains the hieroglyph, *διὰ τὸ αἰώνια εἶναι στοιχεία*.

¹⁰⁷ L. Deubner, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1912, 16 ff.

¹⁰⁸ C. I. L., XI 4170 (= Dess. 157).

and the type of Victory handing the palladium to Vespasian — after the fire of the Capitol and the other troubles of the Four Emperor year.¹⁰⁹ That this was the meaning is confirmed by a dedication of November 17, 70, 'Paci aeternae domus Imp. Vespasiani Caesaris Aug. liberorumque eius.'¹¹⁰ This emotional use of the idea of eternity is seen again in such a private dedication as 'Fortunae aeternae domus Furianae.'¹¹¹

(4) We have seen that Aion is not actually used of Zervan. It is however applied to a Phoenician god. The cosmology which Philo of Byblus produced at the beginning of the second century A.D. as coming from Sanchuniathon, and which in spite of its apocryphal dress contains much that is true Semitic, describes the birth of a first pair of human beings, Aion and Protogonos.¹¹² They are here the first human beings, not the first beings. This is of course a Euhemeristic version of the tale, and Protogonos looks very like a borrowing from an Orphic cosmogony which had in it Chronos as the original god, and yet Aion probably represents Baal Shamin, which means in the first instance 'lord of eternity' and in the second 'lord of the world'¹¹³ — That there is a real substratum is indicated by Eudemus of Rhodes, quoted by Damascius *Dubitaciones et Solutiones*, 125 ter (I 323 Ruelle), who records a Sidonian story of the making of the world with Chronos, Pothos, and Omichle existing before all other things, and another cosmogony coming

¹⁰⁹ Mattingly, B. M. C. R. Emp., II lx.

¹¹⁰ C. I. L., VI 200.

¹¹¹ Dessau 1170 (from Albania). Compare the publicist use of aion in the stèle from Egypt published by O. Rubensohn, *Arch. f. Pap.*, V, 1909, 168 no. 24 *αἰὼν κηρύξει τὴν Φιλομήτορα καὶ Φιλάδελφον*; the rhetorical use of *μόνος*, the only, and of *εἰς θεός*, 'x is the one god' (O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus and Salmoeneus*, 6 f.) and the remarks on the Pathosformel in my review of J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle* (forthcoming in *Am. Jour. Phil.*); Vettius Valens, II 21, p. 86 I Kroll *αἰωνίου μνήμης ἔτυχεν*; B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, I, 46 ff.; P. Jouguet, *Essays F. Ll. Griffith*, 243. Is it fanciful to ask whether the emphasis on the idea of eternity of Rome in the third century is in any sense a sort of whistling to keep one's courage up in face of external disaster and of the widespread belief that the world was aging? For the latter cf. Nock, *Sallustius*, lxxxvii, xxiv.

¹¹² FHG., III 565. The god *Saeculum frugiferum* in Africa may be connected with a Phoenician deity (Cumont, *Textes*, I 78).

¹¹³ Cumont, *Religions orientales*, ed. 4, 269 n. 109 (cf. *Textes*, I 86, on sky-time in Persian texts). On El as 'King, Father of Years' in the Ras Shamra texts, cf. J. A. Montgomery, *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, LIII 102, 111.

from one Mochus, in which Aether and Aer are the first pair, and Oulomos, whose name probably means eternity,¹¹⁴ is their offspring. Here also Aion is not the supreme being.

(5) In these texts the name Aion was used to render a native name which corresponded to it. Elsewhere it is used in plain allegory with no such basis. Thus Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 22 refers to the view taken of Isis as the physis or nature of Aion ἦν φύσιν αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἐφύσαν καὶ δι' ἣν πάντες εἰσίν, λέγουσιν. Joannes Lydus says of Aphrodite that her birth from the genitalia of Kronos was explained as a birth from Aion, (*De mensibus*, IV 61 p. 116. 21); τεχθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν ἀξιούσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Κρόνου μηδέων, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἣ δὲ φύσις τῶν πραγμάτων αἰδῖος καὶ ἀφθαρτος.¹¹⁵ The explanation is clear: Kronos was equated with Chronos and the more philosophical sounding Aion substituted. Earlier Lydus quotes οἱ περὶ Ἐπιμενίδην — some Neopythagorean or Neoplatonic forgery — as explaining one of the Dioscuri as Aion, the other as Physis.¹¹⁶ This again is transparent allegory; one of the twins was immortal, one mortal. (It may be recalled that on some third century coins Aeternitas is represented between the Dioscuri.) Elsewhere — with the exception discussed pp. 95 f. below — Lydus uses αἰών quite neutrally, either of eternity or of the ages of which it is composed.

(6) Eternity comes to the fore in a late group of poets. Claudian *De consulatu Stilichonis*, II 424 ff. describes how Sol prepared a year worthy of Stilicho's consulate. The god visited a cave which even the gods could hardly approach.

annorum squalida mater
immensi spelunca aeui, quae tempora uasto
suppeditat reuocatque sinu. complectitur antrum,
omnia qui placido consumit numine, serpens
perpetuumque uiret squamis caudamque reductam
ore uorat tacito relegens exordia lapsu.

¹¹⁴ N. McLean ap. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II 1037; cf. the magic nomen *εὐλαμω* discussed by A. Jacoby, *Archiv*, XXVIII, 283 f.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Philodemus, *On piety*, p. 79. 1 ff. Gomperz; Artemidorus, II 37 p. 142. 13 Hercher (of Aphrodite) *φύσις γὰρ καὶ μήτηρ τῶν δλων εἶναι νερόμισται*; P. gr. mag., IV 2917 (addressed to Aphrodite) *Φύσι παμμήτωρ*.

¹¹⁶ IV 17 p. 78. 20; cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 130.

uestibuli custos uultu longaeua decoro
ante fores natura sedet cunctisque uolantes
dependent membris animae. mansura uerendus
scribit iura senex, numeros qui diuidit astris
et cursus stabilesque moras, quibus omnia uiuunt
ac pereunt fixis cum legibus.

He keeps record of the meanings of the movements of the heavenly bodies. When Sol stood on the threshold of this cave, Nature and the old man met him respectfully, the doors opened and he picked out a golden year. The tail-eating serpent is a familiar symbol,¹¹⁷ and yet it seems to me that this is an imaginary allegorical picture. Aion should properly speaking be superior to the sun. As it is, he is a mere janitor, or rather caretaker, for Nature is the janitress. The combination of the two abstractions has parallels (p. 87). The whole second book is filled with personifications who play their parts in honor of Stilicho — Clementia, Fides, Iustitia, and the like —, and then personified provinces, the hero's personified home, and Rome. The setting in the cave has caused Gressmann to think of a Persian origin for the scene and he has further compared the old man with the wellknown figure in Daniel 7.¹¹⁸ If this is so, at least we must observe that the sense has been lost with the reduction of Aion to a subordinate position. And the cave might conceivably be related to the Orphic cave of night.¹¹⁹

Nonnus again and his imitator Johannes of Gaza have individualistic personifications of Aion. Here the figure has no attributes of a cultgod and is prominent in the paraphrase of the fourth Gospel as well as in the Dionysiaca.¹²⁰ Again in the prayer ascribed to Musaeus, which is prefixed to the Orphic hymns, the all-surpassing strength of Aion is indeed invoked

¹¹⁷ Found in Egypt and on a Mithraic monument and ascribed also to the Phoenicians (Macrob. Sat., I 9. 12); cf. Cumont, *Festschrift Benndorf*, 291 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Z. f. Kircheng.*, XLI, 1922, 175.

¹¹⁹ A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 159 n. 1; cf. G. W. Dyson in *Speculum Religionis* . . . to C. G. Montefiore, 32 ff.

¹²⁰ J. Golega, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie, XV, 1930), 63 ff.; P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, 178. Another free personification in Eusebius, *Triakonteterikos*, p. 206. 15 ff. Heikel. (Note that in Nonnus, XII 23-5 Helios is clearly distinct from Aion.)

(I. 28) "Ατλαντός τε καὶ Αἰῶνος μέγ' ὑπέροχον ἰσχύν, after Ocean and his daughters and before Chronos and the water of Styx. He is here for the sake of completeness,¹²¹ but it is to be noted that in the collection there is no hymn addressed to him (XIII 5 'Αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτορ is conventional allegory) and he has certainly no important position. It may be that the writer has met the name in a Chaldaic or Clarian oracle or in some philosophic context. I am inclined to think that the redactor was philosophically interested; he certainly did not retain the essential core of Orphic theology, for all his use of its names and literature.

(7) Complication is introduced by the use of *αἰών* in Christian literature as a term descriptive of a whole category of supernatural beings, like *δαίμων* or *πνεῦμα*. Their characteristic may be the rule of a period of world history, as in Eph. 2. 2 *κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, which is synonymous with what follows, *κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος*. More often an Aion is the personified representative of a region in the stratification of the universe — one zone in the spacing down from God to man. *Αἰῶνας* in Hebr. 1. 2, 11. 3 is simply 'worlds.' It has been recognized that this use has a Semitic background, and it does not appear in texts which are in no relation to Judaism or Christianity.¹²² The magic papyri are known to have a strong strain of Jewish influence and when Damascius speaks of theologi as calling the many gods Aiones because of a certain property of the first Aion (Dub. 151, ii p. 33. 24), *ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς οἱ θεολόγοι τοὺς πολυμόρφους θεοὺς αἰῶνας καλοῦσι διὰ τήνδε τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πρώτου αἰῶνος* he is no doubt referring to late Orphica or Chaldaica coming from Neoplatonic circles, which were acquainted with Gnosticism.

These *αἰῶνες* can be regarded as possessed of personality. When Ignatius asks with reference to Christ, (Eph. 19. 2), 'How was he manifested to the Aiones?' he is speaking of

¹²¹ Lackeit, Pauly-Wissowa, Supp., III 67.

¹²² Lackeit, Aion, Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen, I (Diss. Königsberg, 1916) 37 ff. Strack-Billerbeck, Komm. zum N. T., III 671 f. This pluralized abstraction can retain temporal sense e.g. Mart. Matt. 3 (Bonnet, Acta apostolorum apocrypha, II i, 220. 2), 'Ἰησοῦν τὸ παιδίον τὸν τῶν αἰῶνων πρεσβύτερον' ἀλλὰ τῶν αἰῶνων τούτων πάντων πατὴρ ἐγὼ εἰμι.

powers as personal as 'the ruler of this universe' in 19. 1. The term then appears in various Gnostic systems to indicate the several members in their chains of hypostases.¹²³ But it should be noted that in the use of the term there is nothing that was thought to be specifically Gnostic; Irenaeus and Tertullian do not question its suitability, and in a work as early and influential as 1 Clem. 35. 3 we have 'the creator and Father of the Aiones,' as again in Justin Apol. I 41 'to the Father of the Aiones.' This local sense of Aion was not thought to clash with its use in a temporal way to describe the Present Age and the Age to come, and at the same time, as we have seen, there can be an *Αἰῶν αἰώνων*, a phrase which need not at times be more than an emphatic way of describing Aion as supremely worthy of that name: Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, 53, (p. 52, Dodds) uses it of undivided eternity (as contrasted with the eternity in which things eternal participate).

(8) So far we have considered Aion as a philosophical or theological or poetic abstraction or as a semitechnical term in a special vocabulary, — as a term descriptive of a god who could be recipient of cult and not as a personality who is the recipient of cult (unless the representation of a temple with the legend AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE, p. 85 is supposed to imply a distinct cult of the abstraction, which is possible but not certain). In Alexandria Aion appears as the personal object of worship. Epiphanius (*Panarion*, LI 22) describes an annual festival in that city on the night of January 5–6 in the Koreion, a very great temple. There was an allnight vigil, with songs and flute music; then after cockcrow torchbearers entered a subterranean cavern and brought up a wooden image lying naked in a bier, with the seal of a cross on its forehead, two more on its hands, two more on its knees. This was carried seven times round the center of the holy of holies, with flutes and timbrels and hymns. There was a revel, and it was taken back to the cavern. The meaning assigned to this by the worshippers, says Epiphanius, was that on this very day the maiden (Kore),

¹²³ Two Roman epitaphs, Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 642 (= I. G., XIV 1976) l. 15 *καὶ τῦμβῳ κατέθηκε καὶ αἰῶσιν παρέδωκε*; 726. 3 *αἰώνων ἔσπευσας ἀθρήσαι θεία πρόσωπα*, probably show the Christian or Gnostic concept.

that is the virgin, has given birth to Aion; *ὅτι ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σήμερον ἢ Κόρη, τουτέστιν ἢ παρθένος, ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα*. This may be a liturgical cry, and the emphatic *ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σήμερον* sounds like one, but — and this is generally overlooked — Epiphanius quotes it as an explanation, like the explanation which Hippolytus gives of the Eleusinian cry, *λέγουσιν ὅτι*.¹²⁴

This statement is supplemented by the Alexander legend of Pseudo Callisthenes, (in its oldest extant shape probably about A.D. 300). This, according to a probable restoration, informs us that Aion Plutonium was the patron deity of Alexandria, (and was therefore identified with Agathos Daemon, itself also a descriptive title applied to the Sungod in magical papyri). Further, although this seems not to have been remarked, it mentions a very great image of a virgin (*κόρης ἄγαλμα μέγιστον*), that is probably, of Kore, standing beside what is called the indescribable xoanon. The xoanon is actually of Sarapis, but the writer obviously knows something in a muddled way of Aion and Kore.¹²⁵ We have also two citations in Suidas. He

¹²⁴ The source of this section is unknown. R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, 233 urged that Epiphanius had indeed invented the name of the Alogi, to whom the section is devoted, but had good material for many of his statements. He had of course lived in Egypt.

For the mother as virgin, there are Semitic analogies (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., 56, and S. A. Cook's addenda, 520 f.; W. Weber, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xix, 1919, 331 n. 1); the Syrian goddess, like Anat in the Ras Shamra tablets (J. A. Montgomery, *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, LIII 107), is often called virgin though she has a lover. Was there here a myth of an annual recovery of virginity, like Hera's after a bath at Argos? Or was it assumed that the cycle started afresh each year after the death of Tammuz or Adonis — or before the birth of Aion — without the worshippers feeling the need of any logical bridging of the gap? In default of further evidence, I incline for the moment to the second view.

For the liturgical to-day, cf. in the Canon of the Mass on Maundy Thursday, 'qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur, hoc est hodie' (present Roman rite); 'q. p. q. p. n. et omnium s. p., hoc est hodierna die' (Milan Sacramentary, A 24, H. Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét. et lit.*, XI 1089), and for the antiquity of this phrase, A. Baumstark, *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewissenschaft* VII, 1927, 3. Augustine *Epist.* 98. 9 (in Migne's separate, 1841 edition, ii, 363) says 'Nempe saepe ita loquimur ut Pascha propinquante dicamus crastinam uel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit; cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint.' For parallels cf. O. Casel, *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewissenschaft*, VI, 1926, 165 ff.

¹²⁵ The line is faulty in the A text and it is likely that Αἰῶν stood in the original recension which it represents. So W. Kroll in his edition, I 33, p. 33. 15. Cf. Ausfeld ap.

quotes Damascius as saying that Epiphanius and Euprepus were two Alexandrians expert in ceremonies, Euprepus being the leader of those called Persian, Epiphanius of those to do with Osiris, 'and not only of these, but also of those of the god who is celebrated as Aion, of whom, though I can say who he is, I will not, on the present impulse at any rate.'¹²⁶ In another article he relates that Heraiscus had a peculiar gift enabling him to tell which images were living, i.e. possessed by deities, and which were not. So by a really mystic sympathy with the divine he recognized that the unmentionable image of Aion was tenanted by the god whom the Alexandrians worship and who is Osiris and Adonis alike.¹²⁷

There is another relevant fact. Cumont has published a bas-relief, found probably in Rome or the Campagna, and by its style assigned to the second or third century A.D., showing a god in Egyptian dress, an ankh or symbol of life in each hand, with a twoheaded snake encircling his legs and stretching its two heads over his shoulder. In spite of divergencies, he resembles the Mithraic Kronos type discussed p. 79. He is accompanied by a goddess, and the pair may well be Aion and Kore.¹²⁸

What are we to make of these facts? It is now certain that

R. Reitzenstein, *Nachrichten Göttingen*, 1904, 317, (but Mr. J. Skinner informs me that the Armenian has in fact 'forever' not 'eternity'). Thus Aion becomes a wealth-giving and protecting spirit; cf. R. Wünsch, *Archiv*, XII, 1909, 32 ff. an amulet with a figure like the Mithraic Kronos discussed p. 79 above with magic nomina — not the name Aion: S. Eitrem, on P. Oslo. I 216 p. 86 f. In any case we have not here the equation of the Aion of cult with the Agathos Daimon of cult: the festival of the former was on 11 Tybi, that of the latter on 25 Tybi, and the cult image of Aion had none of the snaky concomitants which Agathos Daimon derived from his first form as Psoi. Agathos Daimon also had an extension of use which went far beyond its special local connotation in cult. On the whole complex in the magic papyri cf. Th. Hopfner, *Archiv orientální*, III, 1931, 149 ff., 334 f. In P. gr. mag., III 144 *ψοειω* occurs in nomina addressed to Helios; *κηηφ* precedes (142).

¹²⁶ S.v. Ἐπιφάνιος; I 2, 481 Bernhardt, II 391 f. Adler.

¹²⁷ I 2, 871 ff. Bern., II 579 Adler. I follow the interpretation of R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 193 f. This passage may well come from the *Life of Damascius* (E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 86*). — For the identification with Osiris, it is perhaps relevant that in P. gr. mag., IV 2093 ff. the holy god Osiris *κηηφισρω* is mentioned as the power constraining a dead man's spirit to give a revelation, and the figure to be drawn on a membrane is of the type of the so-called Mithraic Kronos mentioned earlier, that on the papyrus sheet is Osiris in Egyptian garb; but the name Aion is not used, and the Alexandrine cult-type of Aion was different.

¹²⁸ Cumont, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.*, 1928, 274.

this Aion has nothing to do with Zervan and it would require great imagination to see any connection between him and the old Egyptian primal divine pair Heh and Hehet.¹²⁹ The five crosses may be ankhs, but if they are they may be due to a desire to give the cult an Egyptian atmosphere,¹³⁰ or they may be, as Boll suggested, symbols of the five planets.¹³¹ The rite itself, as Kern saw, suggests the drama of the birth of Plutus at Eleusis, and it did certainly take place in a Koreion.¹³² Further Aion is at Alexandria associated with Agathodaimon and he too is a figure with a natural affinity to Plutus.

The date, January 6, represents in all probability the date of the winter solstice in the old unified Theban calendar, and it is reasonable to suppose that the date belongs to an old solar festival.¹³³ Similar celebration of a virgin birth took place on the same night at Elusa and Petra and a coincidence is possible only in the borrowing of a celebration of a natural event.¹³⁴ How it came to be kept at Alexandria is a mystery, since, Psoi apart, that city had no constant tradition of native cults and there is no evidence of any celebration on the date elsewhere in Graeco-Roman Egypt.¹³⁵

I would suggest the actual festival as one of Kore and Aion must be referred to a fairly late date. Epiphanius states expressly that the temple was one of Kore, which must in Graeco-Roman Egypt mean Persephone.¹³⁶ The term xoanon in his

¹²⁹ H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, 2nd ed., pp. 132 ff.; cf. K. Sethe, *Vom Zahlen u. Zahlwörtern bei den alten Ägyptern*, 11 ff.

¹³⁰ We know ancient statuettes with pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions.

¹³¹ Ap. Weinreich, *Archiv*, XIX 187. So in a relief at Doura (in a shrine founded A.D. 52) the god Aphlad wears a breastplate, having on its centerpiece the symbol of the sun and seven crosses representing stars and more such symbols on the shoulder straps and belt (M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 186, pl. XXXII, 1; for the star-adorned garments of deities, cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*). The five crosses have been connected with the five vowels denoting parts of Alexandria; if that were the idea involved, we might expect to find the vowels themselves on the figure.

¹³² *Archiv*, XXII 199 f.

¹³³ K. Sethe, *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1920, 33 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Archiv*, XXX 141 ff., esp. 148 f., 156 ff.

¹³⁴ There is evidence for a personified Time among the Arabs: R. Eisler, *Archiv*, XV, 1912, 630 citing J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 66.

¹³⁵ F. Bilabel, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1929, 37.

¹³⁶ Cf. P. Oxy. 1449 [list of dedications at Oxyrhynchus, dated A.D. 213-7, showing that her shrine was there distinct from that of Demeter and mentioning among votive

account does not imply antiquity; it is the technical term in Egypt for small processional images.¹³⁷

Now Plutus was the child of Demeter and not of Kore, but Kore was sometimes said to be the mother of Iacchus, a figure whose chief function was that his wooden image was carried in procession.¹³⁸ It is possible that the date, the solar significance, and the name of Aion were grafted on some earlier solemnity to which the name of Iacchus was attached.

When all allowance has been made for the gaps in our evidence, it remains notable that there is at most one other reference to what Epiphanius describes as a very great festival of Alexandria, and no indication that it spread through the land.¹³⁹ The one striking evidence of the significance of the date is its adoption by the Christians as the date of the Epiphany. While the first evidence for this comes from Egypt, it is possible that Syrian custom played as large a part as Egyptian

objects *Ἰαχχάριον μικρὸν (ρόν)*, a small votive representation of a shrine of Iacchus]. For Kore, cf. also F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III 390 a. In P. Oxy. 1380, 72 (Manteuffel 75) Isis is said to be called Kore in the Metelite nome. B. A. Van Groningen, *De papyro Oxyrhynchita* 1380, 22 f., argues that the name denotes some local Egyptian deity; if so, the equation was complete. More puzzling still in the same document is 104 f. *ἐν Μάγοις Κόρην Θαψ(.)υσιω*; here, however, I infer that no comma is to be placed before K. and Θ. In any case the text is not free from efforts of the imagination and from errors. A mummy label, (Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 5508), has the phrase *ἐν τόπω Κόρης*. I have no explanation for the origin of the term, though Demeter and Kore protected the dead: P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos*, 199 f.

Presumably the Koreion was distinct from the Thesmophoreion mentioned by P. Oxyrhynchus, XV 29. 8. (Does ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΝ, presumably for *Ἐλευσίμιον*, on an Alexandrian bone tessera found at Kertch and published by M. Rostovtzeff, *Revue archéologique*, V, 1905, 118, represent another temple?)

¹³⁷ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 90 note 107; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I 95 n.

¹³⁸ O. Kern, *Pauly-Wissowa*, IX 621; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 73 f., 125 f. The relevance of the birth of Iacchus was noted by H. Lietzmann, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1917, 1466.

¹³⁹ *Vita Pachomii* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXIII 249) 'undecimo die mensis Tybi, id est octauo Id. Ianuarii quaedam apud Aegyptum celebratur ex more festiuitas,' has been quoted, but the context indicates that it refers to a Christian and not a pagan celebration, and it must be the custom of drawing water on that day, mentioned by Epiphanius in another context (LI 30), as done throughout Egypt and elsewhere: it is not specifically Alexandrian custom, and Epiphanius does not mention it as pagan custom. Cf. on the Epiphany B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie* (Textes et études liturgiques ed. B. Capelle, I, 1932).

in the determination. It is also clear that there was here nothing as well known and universal as the observance of *Natalis Inuieti* which lay behind Christmas.

One text may be thought to disprove the idea that the association of the festival with Aion was late, and, as will be suggested, of the second century A.D. Joannes Laurentius Lydus devotes the fourth book of his *De mensibus* to a survey of the months of the Roman year, one by one, and their festivals. Each month has an introduction with the history of its name and something about the deity from whom that name was taken. In speaking of January he quotes Labeo on Janus and his function, and continues thus: *Λογγίνος δὲ Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι βιάζεται ὡσεὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος πατέρα, ἢ ὅτι ἐνὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἕλληνες εἶπον, ὡς Καλλιμαχος ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰτιῶν*

τετραένον Δαμάσου παῖδα Τελεστορίδην, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰᾶς ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς μῆας κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορείους. ὅθεν ὁ Μεσσαλᾶς τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν αἰῶνα νομίζει. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου ἑορτὴν Αἰῶνος ἐπετέλουν οἱ πάλαι.¹⁴⁰ That is to say, Longinus interprets Januarius as Aionarios, as father of Aion, and Messala thinks that Janus is Aion, for the men of old celebrated a festival of Aion on the fifth of January.

Messala is clearly the augur and antiquarian of the late Republic. There is a longer quotation from him on Janus in Macrobius *Sat. I 9. 14*;

qui cuncta fingit eademque regit, aquae terraeque uim ac naturam grauem atque pronam in profundum dilabentem, ignis atque animae leuem in inmensum sublime fugientem, copulauit circumdato caelo; quae uis caeli maxima duas uis dispares colligauit.

To whom are we to ascribe the words *καὶ γὰρ . . . οἱ πάλαι*? Holl was inclined to regard them as a note by Lydus,¹⁴¹ Reitzenstein as part of the quotation from Messala.¹⁴² If this were so, the festival would be as old as the reordering of the Egyptian calendar in 26/5 B.C. But there is a crucial difficulty. As Reitzenstein saw, if the remark comes from Lydus, *οἱ πάλαι* should refer to Rome; there is an alternative, equally impossible, that it should refer to the general practice of early humanity.¹⁴³ Lydus was capable of gross blunders but he was not the man to write *οἱ πάλαι* for *οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*. Nor is it likely that an antiquarian writer of the time of Messala would

¹⁴⁰ IV 1 p. 64. 6.

¹⁴¹ *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, II 150 f.

¹⁴² *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 212.

¹⁴³ Lydus uses *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* of ancient or supposedly ancient writers of the Pythagorean school, e.g. II 11 p. 32. 7 of the number six *ὅθεν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι γάμον καὶ ἀρμονίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν*, with which compare the Pythagorean placitum in Stobaeus I proem 10 p. 22. 3 Wachsmuth *τὴν δὲ ἐξάδα Γάμον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην*. I would refer to a similar source, III 12 p. 54. 17 *ἢ νεομηρία κεφαλὴ μηνὸς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων προσαγορεύεται*, comparing Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, II p. 178. 10 ff. for Orphic circumlocutions, and G. Meyer, *Die stilistische Verwendung der Nominalkomposition* (*Philologus*, Supp. XVI 3) 192 ff. *πάλαι, παλαιός* do not necessarily imply a great interval of time; so IV 102 p. 142. 16 *παλαιός* of a man of the second Punic war in relation to the time of Julius Caesar.

show this knowledge of the date of an Alexandrian festival,¹⁴⁴ if indeed the facts about the calendar equation were accessible to him and if he lived till 26/5.¹⁴⁵ At least I know no parallel. Again Ovid, who used Verrius — and Verrius drew upon Messala — says of Janus (*Fasti* I 90) ‘nam tibi par nulum Graecia numen habet.’ The cosmological view of Janus appears in Ovid and was commonplace. It seems to me certain that Messala was thinking of Aion as philosophical abstraction and had no knowledge of any cultdeity of the name. The quotation in Macrobius is good evidence.

If we return to the context in Lydus, we see that *καὶ γὰρ . . . οἱ πάλαι* is not very logical in its context. This might be due to the ruthless curtailment to which the text was subjected. Itself a collection of excerpts, it has suffered from a continuation of the process which gave it birth. Now, while changes may have been in the main subtractions, there are clear traces of interpolation also; it is very convenient to interpolate a commonplace book.¹⁴⁶ I would therefore venture to suggest that this is an addition by an erudite scribe or scholiast, who had learned of the Aion festival from Epiphanius at first or second hand.¹⁴⁷ With such an origin the vague phrase *οἱ πάλαι* becomes fully intelligible. In any case, I submit that it is not wise to treat this passage as evidence for the Aion festival in the first century B.C.

I can conclude only that the attribution of the festival to Aion was a fairly late innovation. For this there are parallels. We know for instance the reorganization of the mysteries at Andania in 92 B.C., and again the complete reshaping by Alexander of Abonutichus of an old cult into the brilliant ceremonies and mystery drama of Glycon; the formation of a half Christian

¹⁴⁴ The date of Demophilos, *Περὶ τῶν παρ’ ἀρχαίους θυσίων καὶ ἑορτῶν*, while unknown, is certainly later (A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller*, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XV i, 11, 214): the content of Nicomachus *Περὶ ἑορτῶν Αἰγυπτίων* is unknown apart from the fragment in Athenae. XI 55 p. 478 A. Writings with the dates of festivals appear to have been local or national in scope. It is unlike the adducing of native rites to illustrate foreign rites, as in Plutarch *Isis and Osiris*, 69, p. 378.

¹⁴⁵ C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 234 makes an attractive conjecture that he died in 27/6 B.C.; but I do not wish to lean on this.

¹⁴⁶ Fr. Börtzler, *Philologus*, LXXVII, 1921, 364 ff. may go too far in this direction, but there is no doubt that interpolation was liable to happen; cf. for one R. Harder, *Gnomon*, IV, 1928, 648. Cumont, *Byz. Zeit.*, XXX 31 ff. has shown that light is thrown on the text by an examination of its use in the *Hexaemeron* of Anastasius Sinaita. Unfortunately there appears to be no trace of his having known this passage.

Börtzler has recently treated this chapter in his *Janus und seine Deuter* (*Abhandl. u. Vortr. hrsgb. v. d. Bremer wiss. Ges. Heft 3/4; Jahrg. 4, Juni 1930, 103 ff.*). He argues that there has been dislocation and ascribes the reference to the festival to Longinus. This would not be inconsistent with my view of the date of its origin, but I am inclined to think that the explanation given above of the sentence is more probable.

¹⁴⁷ There is a quotation from this passage of the *Panarion* in the scholia of Cosmas of Jerusalem upon Gregory Nazianzen; Cumont, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1911, 292 ff.

community at Berytus;¹⁴⁸ the probably late introduction of the diamastigosis at Sparta¹⁴⁹ — not to mention the intelligible but rare transference of a priesthood at Orchomenus from hereditary to elective tenure, in Plutarch's time.¹⁵⁰ Such an innovation would often be sanctioned by an oracle or by a supposed personal revelation, like that on the strength of which Pacullia Annia was said to have revolutionized the Bacchanalia.¹⁵¹

The name Aion was in the air and as we have seen emotion gathered around it; in Egypt Aion appeared under Antoninus Pius in 138/9 as a coinlegend with a representation of a phoenix to celebrate the opening of a new Sothic cycle.¹⁵² Was this the occasion for the introduction? If so, we could understand the failure to copy it throughout the land, since there was now no corporate action by the priesthood. In any case, the time is appropriate. It is the age of Basileides, whose followers celebrated the baptism of Christ, some on January 10, some of January 6.¹⁵³ Hippolytus quotes the Naassenes as interpreting the story of Kore's child as being Αἰὼν Αἰώνων. There is further evidence for the popularity of Aion in the hymns ascribed to Mesomedes, a Cretan poet of the time of the Antonines. The first is directed to Physis. After the first fourteen lines the speaker turns to the sun, and says

σὺ δ' ὦ λαμπραῖς ἀκτίσιν
γαῖαν πᾶσαν πυρσεύων
Αἰὼν ἀσβέστων φλογμῶν
ταῖς σαῖς δέρκευ με γλήναις
ὄλβον χεύων εὐαγῆ
τῷ σῷ, Παιάν, βακχεύτα
. . . . Τιτάν¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Described by the Arian historian printed by J. Bidez at the end of his edition of Philostorgius, p. 214.

¹⁴⁹ R. C. Bosanquet, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, XII, 1905/6, 314 ff.; H. J. Rose, in *Artemis Orthia* ed. R. M. Dawkins (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Supp. V), 405. At Athens a sacrifice to Asclepius was introduced in the Aianteia (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 228).

¹⁵⁰ *Quaest. Gr.* 38, discussed by Halliday ad loc. 164 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Liv.*, XXXIX 13. 9.

¹⁵² J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I 115.

¹⁵³ *Clem. Al. Stromata I* 21, p. 90 Stählin.

¹⁵⁴ Ed. Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, 596 f.; K. Horna, *Die Hymnen des Mesomedes*, *Sitzungsberichte Wien*, 207 i, 1928.

“Thou that with bright flames does light all earth, Aion of unquenched flames, look on me with thy eyes, pouring blest wealth on thy reveller, Paian . . . Titan.” It may be that the festival was due to some learned or speculative man interested in Egyptian tradition who happened to hold high office. We know, for instance, of L. Julius Vestinus who was such a man and in the time of Hadrian held office as ‘high priest of Alexandria and of all Egypt.’¹⁵⁵ In any case, the tendency to blend religious concepts was strong at Alexandria.

This excursus has been necessary, because the identification of Helios as Aion is so important for our determination of the mental atmosphere of the writer of our text and because it makes it probable that the Alexandrian festival did not influence him. We have seen our closest analogies in the magic papyri and it is probably from somewhere in that world that the idea was taken. Yet I do not press this, for in the second century of our era celestial deities were widely worshipped as eternal,¹⁵⁶ as the sun and other gods had been called from of old in Egypt.¹⁵⁷ Now it was possible to pass from an adjective to a noun. There is an instructive passage in Epictetus, II 5. 13. We must, he says, put up with circumstances; “I am not eternity, but a man, a part of the whole as an hour is of a day. I must come into being like an hour and pass like an hour.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, I 59: Claudius Julianus (not identified) was *Idios Logos* and probably in control, A.D. 135–40 (ib., I 174).

¹⁵⁶ Cumont, *Pauly-Wissowa*, I 696 f. In *deus aeternus, numen aeternum* used without any specific divine name we may perhaps see some trace of a feeling for the effective vagueness of such descriptive circumlocution: for this in the magic papyri, cf. Bell-Nock-Thompson, *Magical Texts from a bilingual papyrus in the British Museum* (Proc. Brit. Acad. XVII), 34, 37. The epithet is in the nature of a *Pathosformel*. cf. n. 111 above.

¹⁵⁷ Thus in the hymns to the Pharaonic diadem edited by A. Erman, *Abh.*, Berlin, 1911, we read p. 28 ‘*Herrin der Ewigkeit.*’

¹⁵⁸ So *Corpus Hermeticum*, XI 20, where the soul is exhorted to make itself equal to God to infinite magnitude, *παντὸς σώματος ἐκπηδήσας καὶ πάντα χρόνον ὑμεράρας αἰῶν γενοῦ, καὶ νοήσεις τὸν θεόν*. R. Reitzenstein, *Gnomon*, III, 1927, 282 and Zepf, *Archiv*, XXV, 1927, 243 write *Αἰών* and hold that the reference is to this concrete conception. But compare mystical parallels in W. Scott, *Hermetica*, II 329 ff. — Cf. an Arab saying quoted by Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum*, 128, ‘wer darauf lauscht in Wahrheit, Wahrheit wird,’ and Evagrius *Ep.* 29, ed W. Frankenberg, *Abh.*, Göttingen, XIII 2 p. 587 ἡ δὲ ἀγία τριάς γνώσις οὐσιώδης ἐστὶν ἀνεξιχνιάστος τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτος.

Before we return to the exegesis of the other elements in our text, I should like to emphasize once more that there was not under the Empire a wellknown and influential complex of ideas about Aion. This is at times assumed, but cannot be substantiated. The word was widespread and clearly exercised a certain fascination. But it did not carry with it any very definite connotation, and to call Helios Aion was not concrete, as it was to call Isis Tyche. Aion does not appear in the Praises of Isis at Cyme and elsewhere, except as a conventional word for 'time,' as again ἐγὼ τύραννος Εἰσις αἰῶνος μόνη, in l. 4 of the Cyrene hymn.¹⁵⁹ In all the literature which speaks of the unity of the fundamental substratum of men's beliefs, in all the attempts of Christian apologists to show that paganism at its best was essentially monotheistic, there is not a word of Aion — with the exception of so-called 'Oracles of the Greek gods,' which quote the Clarian oracle, but do not enlarge upon it.¹⁶⁰ Artemidorus knows the personification of nature, Physis, as one of the deities whom a man might see in his dreams (III 39), but he does not mention Aion. We cannot expect of so detached an observer as Plotinus any great interest in popular notions and beliefs, but it is perhaps significant that he says (III 7. 5) that eternity is an august thing and identical with God, and might fairly be called a god. It is ἀν λέγοιτο, and not λέγεται.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros*, 129.

¹⁶⁰ K. Buresch, *Klaros*, 97 f.

¹⁶¹ We must here consider one supposed testimony to the worship of Aion; Philo. *Quaest. in Gen.*, I 100, preserved in Armenian and commonly quoted from Aucher's Latin translation, includes the sentence 'Secundo tempus (ut Cronus uel Chronus) ab hominum pessimis putatur deus, volentibus Ens essentielle abscondere.' What Aucher gives in brackets consists, as Professor Casey informs me, of words which he thought it necessary or desirable to supply. The content in itself indicates that 'tempus' corresponds to *καιρός*, and Dr. H. Lewy has drawn my attention to the fact that the Greek original is extant in two independent excerpts, made by Joannes Damascenus and by Procopius of Gaza (*J. Rendel Harris, Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, 19; *P. Wendland, Neu entdeckte Fragmente Philos*, 50 f.). Both give *καιρός*. The allegorical deification of *Kairos* is well known, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II 859 ff., and it may be that Philo speaks of this as a habit of the worst of men in view of its appropriateness to the character of opportunists.

VII. THE FORM OF THE RECORD

We see at once in this text that it combines superficial errors of spelling and vocalization with language of an exalted and literary character. It is instructive to compare it with a number of hymns to the sun from late Hellenistic and Roman times.¹⁶² There are three inscriptional instances of interest. One was found inscribed at Susa, and is at latest of the first century B.C. It is like the hymn of Maximus (p. 59, above) in its fairly recondite metre — in this case glyconics and pherecrateans — which however it combines with the invocation *Μαρά θεέ*, in which *Mara* is Semitic and *θεέ* a vocative absent from classical Greek and confined to Jewish and Christian texts and to the magic papyri, where it probably shows Jewish influence, — and in its giving of the dedicant's name both explicitly and in an acrostic. It is like our text in its creedlike character, shown in vv. 28/9. "Therefore peoples and cities have consecrated thine eye of many names, for thou alone wast revered of all."¹⁶³ The two hymns of Nikon inscribed in marble at Pergamon are notable for the emphasis on cosmic order, for the presence in one of the Stoic etymology for ouranos, and for the giving of the number-equivalence in letters of the dedicant's name.¹⁶⁴ We know also Mesomedes, X and I 15 ff.; Statius, *Thebaid*, I 696 ff.; hymns in *P. gr. mag.*, I 296 ff., IV 436 ff. (and copies); Orphic hymn 8 (to Helios), 34 (to Apollo); Proclus hymn I; Anon. in Abel, *Orphica*, p. 285; *Anthologia Latina* 389; and in prose Menander Rhetor, *On epideictic speeches*, 16, (*On Sminthiac Apollo*),¹⁶⁵ and Martianus Capella, II 191.

¹⁶² Our text is not a hymn: it lacks the normal element of petition at the end. For hymn structure, cf. K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft, II, 1932); H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg, 1933).

¹⁶³ Cumont, *Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Perse*, XX, 1923, 89 ff.; dating ap. Nilsson, *Archiv* XXX, 164 n. 3. On *θεέ*, cf. Nock, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XV, 223; Bell-Nock-Thompson, 36; on *Μαρά*, cf. Cumont, *C. R. Ac.-Inscr.*, 1930.

¹⁶⁴ M. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, II 245 f. n. 333; H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, 356 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Edited by Bursian, *Abh. Munich*, XVI, 1882.

In all these we find similar accumulations of epithets and the statement of the sun's activities. In the Susa hymn Apollo is *παντόπτης, ὕπατος* [θεῶν] (l. 31); in Orph. H. 8 *μάκαρ, πανδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα, Τιτὰν χρυσαυγῆς . . . κοσμοκράτορ . . . χρόνου πάτερ, ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ*; in Orphic H. 34, *μάκαρ . . . Μεμφίτα . . . Τιτὰν . . . πανδερκὲς ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα . . . ἄνακτα*. In Mesomedes, X the coming of Helios is expected; I 15 was quoted earlier (p. 97). The 'Division of epideictic speeches' by Menander Rhetor or Genethlius gives directions for the composition of hymns, a title then commonly used of prose glorifications. One category is that of *physikoi*, such as were held in esteem by Parmenides and Empedocles, dealing with the nature of Apollo or of Zeus.¹⁶⁶ Menander later illustrates this by the examples of a hymn to Apollo in which we say that he is the sun and speaks about the sun's nature, a hymn to Hera in which we speak of her as air, and one to Zeus, in which we speak of him as warmth.¹⁶⁷ The work 'On epideictic speeches' gives hints for the praising of Apollo Smintheus, opening with a prayer that Apollo may give power to the word which is to be spoken. After the proem is to follow "O Sminthian Apollo, how shall I address thee? As the sun, the dispenser of light and spring of this heavenly radiance, or as mind, as say those who tell gods' praises (*ὡς ὁ τῶν θεολογούντων λόγος*), mind that passes through the regions of heaven and goes through ether to earth? Or as the maker of all things, or a second power? . . . But I leave these questions to the meditation of the sons of the wise." He passes to the birth story, saying, "This story is not altogether uncongenial to thee, for it had the truer knowledge as a thing concealed within itself."¹⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that the physical explanation is regarded as suitable for a public and popular discourse. Later he says "If we are to tell also the more veiled story honored by the sons of the philosophers" and speaks of the notion that the sun moves according to musical law and governs the universe by harmony.¹⁶⁹ It is to be remarked for the end of our text that he states that the praise

¹⁶⁶ P. 32.¹⁶⁷ P. 36.¹⁶⁸ Pp. 143 f.¹⁶⁹ P. 148.

of the speaker's country as dear to Apollo is appropriate;¹⁷⁰ *είκότως δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεός, ἰδὼν αὐτὴν κάλλιε διαφέρουσαν*, which is parallel to *ἦν ὁ ἥλιος Μανδούλις ἀγαπᾷ, τὴν ἱερὰν Τάλμιν*. The end of the hymn celebrates Apollo as called by many names, as ruler of every race, as Mithras, Horus, Dionysus, as lord of the stars according to the Chaldaeans, and prays a blessing upon the city and the festival. The composition of such hymns was practised by men of high literary standing and, as astrological writers inform us, conferred social prestige.¹⁷¹

The hymn in P. gr. mag., I 296 ff. invokes Apollo as *θεὸν αἰώνιον Αἰῶνά τε πάντων*; another hymn found four times in these papyri invokes Helios as lord of the elements, *μάκαρ, ἄφθιτε, δεσπότη κάσμου*, and asks him if he enters the chasm under the earth to send a spirit desired for the determining of the future.¹⁷² An invocation of Apollo in II 81 ff. bids him descend, *μάκαρ . . . Τιτάν . . . Διὸς γαιηόχον ὄμμα, παμφαῆς . . . χρυσομίτρη . . . χρυσήμιε χρυσοκέλευθα*, glorifies him in respect of the hours of the day, and tells of his supremacy over the whole world. *Τιτάν* we find again in Proclus and (as well as *βασιλεύς*) in the anonymous hymn; *Ἥλιε Τιτάν* also in P. gr. mag., XXIII 5 (the hymn in the Kestoi of Julius Africanus). There is therefore abundant and illuminating analogy for our text among Greek hymns to Helios and the obvious pleasure taken by its writer in long compound epithets is exactly like what we find in the Orphic hymns and in the hymns in the magic papyri.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ P. 145. For the honor paid by a god to his home cf. Keyssner, op. cit., 60. 70. The Cyme version of the praises of Isis ends *χαῖρε Αἴγυπτε θρέψασά με* (Peek 124); compare the numerous inscriptions on autonomous coins struck under the Empire glorifying cities.

¹⁷¹ Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, III 5. 33 'facit uel cultores [deorum] diuinorum simulacrorum uel ornatores deorum uel fabricatores templorum aut hymnologos et qui laudes deorum cum iactantiae ostentatione decantent, ex quibus rebus gloriam et honores habebunt; Rhetorius in *Cat. codd. astr. gr.*, VIII iv p. 165. 12 f.

¹⁷² Br. Kuster, *De tribus carminibus papyri Parisinae magicae* (Diss. Königsberg, 1911), 18 ff.

¹⁷³ Cf. G. Meyer, *Nominalkomposition*, 64 ff.

VIII. THE SPIRIT OF THE RECORD

Our writer had thus literary models before him and he and his fellows who thus recorded their piety belong to the interesting category of men of the people who sought to approximate to literary form.¹⁷⁴ And yet his expression of feelings is something more. It is a confession of faith. As such it is not unique, and there is one parallel which deserves quotation because it comes from a similar or only somewhat higher social level and the same intellectual attitude. At Carvoran on the Roman wall in England there is this inscription

imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ
 spicifera, iusti inuentrix, urbium conditrix,
 ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos.
 ergo eadem mater diuum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,
 dea Syria, lance uitam et iura pensitans.
 in caelo uisum Syria sidus edidit
 Libyae colendum. inde cuncti didicimus.
 ita intellexit numine inductus tuo
 Marcus Caecilius Donatianus militans
 tribunus in praefecto dono principis.¹⁷⁵

They are both statements of belief, and statements which like Peter's confession to Jesus are thought to be possible only by some supernatural aid.¹⁷⁶ Ancient paganism was untheological but there was at times in the recognition of deities the self-surrender and the acceptance of what was thought to be revelation, which can be called faith. Such a picture is presented in the Heroicus of Philostratus.

In such documents as this we see the temper which could turn to enthusiastic adherence to Christianity. We see also certain features which contributed to the special characteristics

¹⁷⁴ This deserves further study; thus there is a marked resemblance between the structure of P. Oxy. 1381 and the hymn of Aristides to Zeus; cf. Nock, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XVIII, 1932, 81.

¹⁷⁵ *Carm. lat. epigr.* 24. The tone of these expressions is quite different from acclamations of the *εἰς θεός* type: but Kaibel *Epigrammata graeca* 1139 (an amulet) approximates: *εἰς Βαῖτ, εἰς Ἀθῶρ, μὴ τῶν (μὴ ἀτῶν = ἀνθρώπων)*: S. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, X, 1932, 155) *βλα, εἰς δὲ Ἀκωρι χαῖρε πᾶτερ κόσμου, χαῖρε τρίμορφε θεός*; cf. on it W. Spiegelberg, *Archiv*, XXI, 1922, 225 ff. (dating it 1-2 cent. A.D.).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum* 135 ff. for the power to praise God regarded as a special gift of God.

of Christianity in Egypt. The tendency to seek seclusion has been remarked earlier; so has the belief in the efficacy of ascetic practice as a preliminary to the attempt to receive revelations, and the desire to obtain a revelation to settle a question. We see the forerunner of some of the men of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, who of set purpose sought revelations to answer doubts as to the change of the species in the Eucharist, or the question whether Melchizedek was the son of God.¹⁷⁷ Like them, our writer had had contact with ideas from a milieu above his own which laid hold upon his imagination because of a certain pictorial content which they possessed. He had also an absolute conviction of the reality of the supernatural powers to which he addressed himself. This quest for gnosis, this faith in self-denial, and this conviction sometimes seem to us artificial and literary in the Hermetic writings and in the *Lausiaca* History. The inscriptions in this temple may suggest to us that there was in them something deeprooted. What was sought under the new religion was not the same, but the spirit in which it was sought was not wholly different. "Quand il n'y en aura plus, il y en aura encore."

¹⁷⁷ Cotelier, I 421, 423. Cf. the beginning of the *Thaleia* of Arius as quoted by Athanasius, *Contra gentes*, I 5; *τούτων* (his predecessors) *κατ' ἴχνην ἦλθον ἐγὼ βαίνων ὁμοδόξως ὁ περικλυτός, ὁ πολλὰ παθὼν διὰ τὴν Θεοῦ δόξαν, ὑπὸ τε Θεοῦ μαθὼν σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν ἐγὼ ἔγγνων.*