

School of Theology at Claremont



1001 1330594

# DE OEA SYRIA

EDITED BY HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE  
& ROBERT A. ODEN

BL  
1060  
L7813




The Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
AT CLAREMONT

WEST FOOTHILL AT COLLEGE AVENUE  
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2021 with funding from  
Kahle/Austin Foundation

The Syrian Goddess

(De Dea Syria)

Society of Biblical Literature  
Text and Translations  
Graeco-Roman Religion Series

Edited by  
Edward N. O'Neil  
and  
Hans Dieter Betz

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS 9  
GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGION SERIES 1

THE SYRIAN GODDESS

(DE DEA SYRIA)

by

HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE

AND

ROBERT A. ODEN

---

SCHOLARS PRESS  
MISSOULA, MONTANA

BL  
1060  
L7813

The Syrian Goddess

(De Dea Syria)

Attributed to Lucian

by

Harold W. Attridge

and

Robert A. Oden

Published by

SCHOLARS PRESS

FOR

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
AT CLAREMONT  
California

BL  
1060  
L7813

Distributed by

SCHOLARS PRESS  
University of Montana  
Missoula, Montana 59801

THE SYRIAN GODDESS

(DE DEA SYRIA)

ATTRIBUTED TO LUCIAN

by

Harold W. Attridge

and

Robert A. Oden

Copyright © 1976

by

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING IN PUBLICATION DATA  
Lucianus Samosatensis.

The Syrian goddess=(De dea Syria).

(Graeco-Roman religion series) (Texts and translations ; 9)

I. Hierapolis, Asia Minor — Religion. 2. Cultus — Hierapolis, Asia Minor. I. Title. II. Series.

III. Series: Society of Biblical Literature. Texts and translations ; 9.

BL1060.L7813      299'.275'691      76-135  
ISBN 0-89130-073-2

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
1 2 3 4 5

Printing Department  
University of Montana  
Missoula, Montana 59801

## PREFACE

A preliminary version of this translation was prepared for a class in ancient religious literature at Harvard Divinity School, when it became apparent that no useable translation of the *De Dea Syria* was available. The Loeb edition, with text and translation by A. M. Harmon is an interesting attempt to render some of the flavor of the Ionic dialect of the piece by utilizing an archaizing English. The results, however, leave something to be desired from the point of view of readability. This edition should make this interesting and important document more generally and readily accessible.

The translation has been the primary responsibility of Mr. Attridge; the introduction, of Mr. Oden, although both contributed to the whole project. Prof. Edward N. O'Neil, of the University of Southern California, deserves a special word of appreciation. He made many valuable suggestions on both text and translation and saved the authors from numerous errors and infelicities. Our thanks also to Prof. H. D. Betz for accepting this piece for the Texts and Translations series.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
TEXT . . . . .	10
TRANSLATION . . . . .	11



## INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to overstate the case for the importance of *The Syrian Goddess* to the student of ancient religion. After guiding us on a Cook's Tour through various renowned shrines of Phoenicia, the work's author leads his readers to Hierapolis (ancient Mabbūg, modern Mambij), whose myths he recounts and whose temple and cult he describes in detail. The accounts and descriptions, claims the author, are based upon information he obtained himself in visiting the "Holy City" and in questioning the city's inhabitants, some of whom were well versed in the city's holy lore. It is in this claim to a firsthand knowledge of Hierapolis' religious traditions, a claim substantiated by other accounts ancient and modern,<sup>1</sup> that the unique value of *The Syrian Goddess* lies. Other roughly contemporary descriptions of the religion of Hierapolis, or of the pagan religion of Phoenicia and Syria in general, are usually based upon material with a long and complex history of transmission. For example, the Phoenician theology attributed to Sakkunyaton, which is valuable despite the material's problems, as Eissfeldt, Albright, and others have seen,<sup>2</sup> is preserved only in Eusebius' collection of material from Philo Byblios. The intriguing euhemeristic account of various Near Eastern cults, including that of Mabbūg/Hierapolis, in the *Apology* attributed to Melito of Sardis, is plainly a distinct and originally Greek section of this Syriac work.<sup>3</sup> Other descriptions of the mythic traditions of Phoenicia and Syria in material from the first four or five centuries of the present era--one thinks especially of Jacob of Sarug's Syriac homily *On the Fall of the Idols*, or Moschus' Phoenician theogony as reported by Damascius<sup>4</sup>--have a similarly complex history of transmission. *The Syrian Goddess* is both much fuller and more immediate than any of these; and hence its claim upon the attention of the student of ancient religion.

### Authorship

Along with eighty-one other pieces, *The Syrian Goddess* is attributed to the second-century satirist and rhetorician Lucian, who was born in Samosata, the capital of the province of Commagene, but whose literary career carried him throughout the Mediterranean basin. It has become common to stigmatize Lucian as unoriginal if not plainly second rate; but his *Death of Peregrinus* and *True Story* are masterful, and the latter was a model for Erasmus, Swift, and others. Though the manuscript tradition is unanimous in ascribing *The Syrian Goddess* to Lucian, and though the work's Lucianic authorship was long unquestioned, the past two centuries have witnessed numerous assaults on the work's traditional authorship. Of the criteria used to distinguish *The Syrian Goddess* from the (certainly genuine) works of Lucian, two stand out: (1) *The Syrian Goddess* is composed in Ionic Greek, a dialect distinct from Lucian's usual Attic and elsewhere paralleled among lengthy works attributed to Lucian only by the *Astrology*, which many deny to Lucian;<sup>5</sup> and (2) Lucian's irrepressible satire is either skillfully hidden in, or entirely absent from, *The Syrian Goddess*. It is possible to answer both of these objections, since the pseudo-Ionic revival of the second century<sup>6</sup> could well have been the butt of Lucian's satire, perhaps in deliberate parody of Herodotus, and since there are passages in *The Syrian Goddess* which many have read as typically Lucianic satire. In the nineteenth century, Jakob Burckhardt defended the work's authenticity on just these grounds,<sup>7</sup> and Burckhardt's authoritative voice persuaded Theodor Nöldeke,<sup>8</sup> Franz Cumont,<sup>9</sup> and others; but within the past few years Hans Dieter Betz, for example, has argued that the supposed hidden satire of *The Syrian Goddess* is hidden indeed, too much so for the work to be considered Lucianic.<sup>10</sup> The question of authorship is, then, unsettled. Still, the dialect of *The Syrian Goddess* does suggest a date of composition in the second century; and the author's

familiarity with the several levels of tradition at Hierapolis may indicate a knowledge of Aramaic and thus perhaps his upbringing in the Near East.

### *Trustworthiness*

The basic trustworthiness of the observations related in *The Syrian Goddess* is supported by a multitude of evidence and stands independent of the question of authorship. This is true even if the work is a Lucianic satire, for effective satire may well have a factual basis, even if that basis is then exaggerated or fancifully elaborated. Many of the accounts in *The Syrian Goddess*, even those which seem most absurd to a modern reader, are confirmed by parallel descriptions given by Aelian, Macrobius, and others in antiquity. For example, the bearded, seated figure in the lesser shrine of the Hierapolis temple is described similarly in *The Syrian Goddess* and in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (1.17.66-70); and both authors relate that the city's inhabitants call this deity Apollo. Also, the presence of sacred fish in the cult of Atargatis, who is to be identified with the Syrian Goddess, is recounted in *The Syrian Goddess* and finds literary confirmation in Aelian's *On the Nature of Animals* (12.2) and in epigraphic and archaeological evidence from other Atargatis cult sites. Visitors to Hierapolis/Mambij in this century have remarked on the similarity of the sacred area as described in *The Syrian Goddess* to the traces of this area as visible in modern times.<sup>11</sup> Especially instructive are coins from Hierapolis. The fourth-century B.C. 'bd-hdd coinage portrays the Hierapolis priests with their dress as described in *The Syrian Goddess*.<sup>12</sup> And third-century A.D. Hierapolis coins of Caracalla and Severus portray the scene of the inner chamber (*thalamos*) precisely as described in *The Syrian Goddess*.<sup>13</sup> The work's evidence, then, can be confirmed and is to be relied upon in reconstructing the religion of Hierapolis.

*The Religion of Hierapolis*

In keeping with the classical ethnographic tradition, all of the deities of Hierapolis are given Greek names by the author of *The Syrian Goddess*. Thus we read of the divine pair Hera and Zeus, of a bearded Apollo, of Hermes, Atlas, and others. But the author himself admits that the god he labels Zeus is not called Zeus by the natives; and behind each of the other deities named in the work stands a native, Syrian deity. As we know from a host of other testimony, the goddess responsible for the title and named Hera elsewhere in the work is Atargatis. Her name and attributes encompass at least two ('Aštart and 'Anat) and probably all three ('Ašerah, 'Aštart, and 'Anat) major Canaanite goddesses. Her consort Zeus is Ba'l Haddu, one of the lead actors in the Ugaritic myths; and the bearded Apollo is most likely 'Ēl,<sup>14</sup> the grand patriarchal deity of Canaanite religion whose divine decrees are a necessary prelude to the undertaking of any major action. This, at least, is the growing consensus of scholarly opinion, though Strong and Garstang<sup>15</sup> near the beginning of this century and Stocks<sup>16</sup> somewhat later argued for the Anatolian, perhaps originally Hittite, character of the religion of Hierapolis. In any case, despite the Greek names given the deities, the Near Eastern nature of this religion is clear. A steward named Kombabos figures largely in a tale related here; and his name is surely the same as that of Humbaba, the guardian of Ištār's cedar forest in the epic of Gilgameš. The flood legend of *The Syrian Goddess* finds its closest parallels with Semitic deluge myths, especially that of the Hebrew Bible. We have in *The Syrian Goddess* a reliable account in Greek dress of the religion of an important pilgrimage site in the Hellenistic Near East; thus, the work is a source of major significance for the study of the religion of Syria near the beginning of the present era.

*Bibliographical Note:* Among the lengthier treatments of *The Syrian Goddess*, the most noteworthy are H. Stocks, "Studien zur Lukians 'De Syria Dea,'" *Berytus* 4 (1937)

1-40, and Carl Clemen's *Lukians Schrift über die syrische Göttin* (Der Alte Orient vol. 37 part 3/4; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1938), both of which contain full references to earlier studies of the document. There is an excellent bibliography of studies relating both to *The Syrian Goddess* and to Lucian in Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur vol. 76; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961) 218-251. See also Robert A. Oden, Jr., "Studies in Lucian's *De Syria Dea*" (Harvard 1975), forthcoming in the Harvard Semitic Monograph Series.



## NOTES

1. See 3-4 below for references to a number of the accounts which confirm this claim. An invaluable collection of material relating to the goddess worshipped at Hierapolis and elsewhere is now available in Paul-Louis van Berg, *Répertoire des sources grecques et latines: Sauf le De Dea Syria* (Corpus Cultus Deae Syriae, 1. Les sources littéraires, première partie; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972).

2. See Otto Eissfeldt, *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums vol. 4; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1939), especially 67-71 and 75-95, and *Sanchunjaton von Berut und Ilumilku von Ugarit* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums vol. 5; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1952); and William Foxwell Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968) 223-226, 244-247, and 259-263, with the references cited there.

3. The Syriac text of (Pseudo-) Melito's *Apology*, from a sixth- or seventh-century manuscript now in the British Museum, together with an English translation, can be found in William Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum* (London: Rivington, 1855). The case for the Greek origin of this *Apology's* section on pagan religion is argued in detail in the dissertation of Robert A. Oden, Jr. ("Studies in Lucian's *De Syria Dea*," Harvard, 1975).

4. The text of the former was edited by M. l'Abbé Martin, "Discours de Jacques de Saroug sur la chute des idoles," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29 (1875) 107-147. For Moschus, see, e.g., Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* 222-223.

5. A summary statement of the arguments against the authenticity of the *Astrology* is offered by Hans Dieter Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur vol. 76; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961) 25.

6. This revival is reviewed by Francis G. Allinson, "Pseudo-Ionism in the Second Century A.D.," *American Journal of Philology* 7 (1886) 203-217.

7. *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1853) 182.

8. "Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*," *ZDMG* 42 (1888) 473, n. 4. Nöldeke says specifically that it was the reasoning of Burckhardt that persuaded him of the work's authenticity.

9. *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* 4th ed. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929) 12, n. 23.

10. *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament* 24, n. 4. Betz labels the author of *The Syrian Goddess* "der fromme Verfasser" (24).

11. D.G. Hogarth, "Hierapolis Syriae," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 14 (1907-1908) 197; and H. Stocks, "Studien zu Lukians 'De Syria Dea,'" *Berytus* 4 (1937) 1-13.

12. Stocks, "Studien," 5. For a comprehensive study of this coinage, see S. Ronzevalle, "Les monnaies de la dynastie de 'Abd-Hadad et les cultes de Hiéropolis-Bambycé," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth* 23 (1940) 1-82.

13. Drawings of these two coins can be seen perhaps most conveniently in Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914) 586, figs. 448-449, though anyone wishing to see more accurate representations should consult the collections of F. Imhoof-Blumer and Joseph Pellerin, referred to by Cook (586, nn. 4-5). The coins are also pictured or discussed in most modern studies of *The Syrian Goddess*, for which see the Bibliographical Note above.

14. This identification was first suggested by René Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu de Hiéropolis de Syrie?," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 126 (1943) 147-148, and is now supported by additional evidence about Canaanite 'Ēl.

15. John Garstang and Herbert A. Strong, *The Syrian Goddess* (London: Constable, 1913), especially 11-12.

16. "Studien," 1-40.

## TEXT

The text reprinted here is basically that of the third edition by K. Jacobitz in the Teubner series (Leipzig, 1910-12). MSS variants and emendations recorded are those listed in that edition and in the edition of A. M. Harmon in the Loeb series (London, New York, 1913). Only variants significant for the translation have been included here. For more recent study of the textual tradition of Lucian, cf. M. Wittek, "Liste des manuscrits de Lucien" *Scriptorium* 6 (1952) 309-23, and the new edition in the Oxford Classical Texts series by M. D. MacLeod (Oxford, 1972), in which the *De Dea Syria* has not yet appeared.

The MSS cited are:

Γ	Vaticanus 90	saec. X
E	Harleianus 5694	saec. X
N	Parisinus 2957	saec. XV

The editions cited are:

Leh.	= Lehmann,	Leipzig, 1822-31
Dind.	= Dindorf,	Leipzig, 1858
Frit.	= Fritzsche,	Rostoch, 1860-82
Jac.	= Jacobitz,	Leipzig, 1910-12
Harm.	= Harmon,	London and New York, 1913

Eds. = Dind. Harm. Jac.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΗΣ ΘΕΟΥ.

1. Ἔστιν ἐν Συρίῃ πόλις οὐ πολλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ, καλέεται δὲ Ἰρή καὶ ἔστιν ἰρή τῆς Ἑρῆς τῆς Ἀσσυρίας. δοκέει δέ μοι, τόδε τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἅμα τῇ πόλει οἰκειομένη ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἄλλο ἦν· μετὰ δὲ σφίσι τῶν ἰρῶν μεγάλων γιγνομένων ἐς τόδε ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἀπίκετο. περὶ ταύτης ὧν τῆς πόλιος ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὁκόσα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐστίν· ἐρέω δὲ καὶ νόμους, τοῖσιν ἐς τὰ ἰρὰ χρέονται, καὶ πανηγύριας τὰς ἄγουσι καὶ θυσίας τὰς ἐπιτελέουσιν. ἐρέω δὲ ὁκόσα καὶ περὶ τῶν τὸ ἰρὸν εἰσαμένων μυθολογέουσι, καὶ τὸν νηὸν ὅπως ἐγένετο. γράφω δὲ Ἀσσύριος ἑὼν, καὶ τῶν ἀπηγέομαι τὰ μὲν αὐτοψίῃ ἔμαθον, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἰρέων ἐδάην, ὁκόσα ἑόντα ἐμεῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐγὼ ιστορέω.

2. Πρῶτοι μὲν ὧν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἐννοίην λαβεῖν καὶ ἰρὰ εἴσασθαι καὶ τεμένεα καὶ πανηγύριας ἀποδέξαι. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα ἰρὰ ἔγνωσαν καὶ λόγους ἰροῦς ἔλεξαν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλοστῷ χρόνῳ παρ' Αἰγυπτίων λόγον Ἀσσύριοι ἐς θεοὺς ἤχουσαν καὶ ἰρὰ καὶ νηοὺς ἤγειραν, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔθεντο καὶ ξόανα ἐστήσαντο. 3. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἀξόανοι νηοὶ ἔσαν. καὶ ἔστιν ἰρὰ καὶ ἐν Συρίῃ οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἰσοχρονέοντα, τῶν ἐγὼ πλεῖστα ὄπωπα· τό γε τοῦ Ἑρακλέος τὸ ἐν Τύρῳ, οὐ τούτου τοῦ Ἑρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες αἰείδουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγὼ λέγω, πολλὸν ἀρχαιότερος, καὶ Τύριος ἦρως ἐστίν.

## THE SYRIAN GODDESS

1           In Syria there is a city not far from the Euphrates River. It is called "Hire" (Holy) and it is the Holy City of the Assyrian Hera.<sup>1</sup> I think that this was not the name of the city when it was founded, and the ancient name was different. Later, when their rites became important, the name was changed to the present one. Concerning this city I am going to describe whatever is in it. I will tell of the customs which they observe in connection with the rites, the festivals which they hold and the sacrifices which they perform. I will also relate whatever stories they tell about those who founded the sanctuary and about how the temple came into being. I write as an Assyrian, and some of the things I relate I learned firsthand, but what happened before my time I have learned from the priests.

2           Now then, the Egyptians are supposedly the first men who formed a conception of gods, established sanctuaries and sacred precincts and instituted festivals. They were also the first to conceive of holy names and to tell sacred tales. Not long afterwards, the Assyrians heard an account about gods from the Egyptians, and they established sanctuaries and temples in which  
3 they placed images and set up statues.--In antiquity, however, temples among the Egyptians were without a sanctuary. --In Syria, too, there are sanctuaries almost as old as the Egyptian ones. Most of these I have seen, in particular the one of Heracles at Tyre. This is not the Heracles whom the Greeks celebrate in song. The one I mean is much older and is a Tyrian hero.

---

1. The word for holy, ἱερός, and the name of the goddess would have been pronounced virtually the same.

4. ἓνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν ἐν Φοινίκη μέγα, τὸ Σιδώνιοι ἔχουσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Ἀστάρτης ἐστίν· Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι· ὡς δέ μοί τις τῶν ἱρέων ἀπηγέετο, Εὐρώπης ἐστὶ τῆς Κάδμου ἀδελφεῆς. ταύτην δ' ἐοῦσαν Ἀγήνορος τοῦ βασιλῆος θυγατέρα, ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφανῆς ἐγεγόνεεν, οἱ Φοίνικες τῷ νηῷ ἐτιμήσαντο καὶ λόγον ἱρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔλεξαν, ὅτι ἐοῦσαν καλὴν Ζεὺς ἐπόθει καὶ τὸ εἶδος εἰς ταῦρον ἀμειψάμενος ἤρπασε, καὶ μιν εἰς Κρήτην φέρων ἀπίκετο. τάδε μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Φοινίκων ἤκουον, καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, τῷ Σιδώνιοι χρέονται, τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐφεζομένην ἔχει τῷ ταύρῳ τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ νηὸν οὐκ ὁμολογέουσιν Εὐρώπης ἔμμεναι.

5. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο Φοίνικες ἱρὸν, οὐκ Ἀσσύριον, ἀλλ' Αἰγύπτιον, τὸ ἐξ Ἡλίου πόλιος εἰς τὴν Φοινίην ἀπίκετο. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ ὄπωπα, μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε καὶ ἀρχαῖόν ἐστίν.

6. εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Βύβλῳ μέγα ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης Βυβλίης, ἐν τῷ καὶ τὰ ὄργια εἰς Ἄδωνιν ἐπιτελέουσιν· ἐδάην δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄργια. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ ὧν τὸ ἔργον τὸ εἰς Ἄδωνιν ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ σφετέρῃ γενέσθαι καὶ μνήμην τοῦ πάθους τύπτονταί τε ἐκάστου ἔτεος καὶ θρηνέουσι καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπιτελέουσιν καὶ σφίσι μεγάλα πένθη ἀνά τὴν χώραν ἴσταται. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνταί τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσωνται, πρῶτα μὲν καταγίζουσι τῷ Ἀδώνιδι ὅπως εἶναι νέκυι, μετὰ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ζῶειν τέ μιν μυθολογέουσι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἡέρα πέμπουσι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ξυρέονται ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι ἀποθανόντος Ἄπιος. γυναικῶν δὲ ὀκῶσαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι ξυρέεσθαι, τοιήνδε ζημίην ἐκτελέουσιν·

4           There is another great sanctuary in Phoenicia, which the Sidonians possess. According to them, it belongs to Astarte, but I think that Astarte is Selene. One of the priests, however, told me that it is a sanctuary of Europa, the sister of Cadmus; that she was the daughter of Agenor the king, and when she disappeared, the Phoenicians honored her with a temple and told a holy tale about her, namely that Zeus desired her since she was beautiful, that he assumed the form of a bull, seized her, and carried the girl off with him to Crete. I heard the same tale from the other Phoenicians as well, and the coinage which the Sidonians use depicts Europa sitting on the bull, which is Zeus, but they do not agree that the temple is that of Europa.

5           The Phoenicians have yet another sanctuary, not Assyrian but Egyptian, which came<sup>1</sup> to Phoenicia from Heliopolis. I have not seen it, but it is both large and ancient.

6           I did see, however, in Byblos a great sanctuary of Aphrodite of Byblos in which they perform the rites of Adonis, and I learned about the rites. They say, at any rate, that what the boar did to Adonis occurred in their territory. As a memorial of his suffering each year they beat their breasts, mourn, and celebrate the rites. Throughout the land they perform solemn lamentations. When they cease their breast-beating and weeping, they first sacrifice to Adonis as if to a dead person, but then, on the next day, they proclaim that he lives and send him into the air.<sup>2</sup> They also shave their heads, as do the Egyptians when Apis dies. The women who refuse to shave pay this

---

1. The verb ἀπικνεόμαι occurs in the text frequently and sometimes with odd meanings.

2. On this ambiguous phrase, cf. R. de Vaux, "Sur quelques rapports entre Adonis et Osiris" *Revue Biblique* 42 (1933) 43-47. It can refer to a resurrection or an apotheosis.

έν μιῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ πρήσι τῆς ὥρης ἴστανται, ἡ δὲ ἀγορὴ μούνοισι ξείνοισι παρακέεται καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην θυσίῃ γίγνεται. 7. εἰσὶ δὲ ἔνιοι Βυβλίων, οἳ λέγουσι παρὰ σφίσι τεθάφθαι τὸν Ὀσιριν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τὰ πένθεα καὶ τὰ ὄργια οὐκ ἐς τὸν Ἀδωνιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Ὀσιριν πάντα πρήσσεσθαι. ἐρέω δὲ ὁκόθεν καὶ τάδε πιστὰ δοκέουσι. κεφαλὴ ἐκάστου ἔτεος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὴν Βύβλον ἀπικνέεται πλώουσα τὸν μεταξὺ πλόον ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων, καὶ μιν οἱ ἄνεμοι φορέουσι θείῃ ναυτιλίῃ· τρέπεται δὲ οὐδαμὰ, ἀλλ' ἐς μούνην τὴν Βύβλον ἀπικνέεται. καὶ ἔστι τὸ σύμπαν θωῦμα. καὶ τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> ἐκάστου ἔτεος γίγνεται, τὸ καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐμεῦ παρεόντος ἐν Βύβλῳ ἐγένετο· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐθεησάμην Βυβλίνην. 8. ἔνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο θωῦμα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ Βυβλίῃ, ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τοῦ οὖρεος ἐς τὴν ἄλα ἐκδιδοῖ· οὖνομα τῷ ποταμῷ Ἀδωνις ἐπικέεται. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκάστου ἔτεος αἰμάσσεται καὶ τὴν χροίην ὀλέσας ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ φοινίσσει τὸ πολλὸν τοῦ πελάγεος καὶ σημαίνει τοῖς Βυβλίοις τὰ πένθεα. μυθέονται δὲ ὅτι ταύτησι τῆσιν ἡμέρησιν ὁ Ἀδωνις ἀνὰ τὸν Λίβανον τιτρώσκεται καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρχόμενον ἀλλάσσει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῷ ῥόφῳ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην διδοῖ. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ τις ἀνὴρ Βύβλιος ἀληθέα δοκέων λέγειν ἐτέρην ἀπηγέετο τοῦ πάθεος αἰτίην. ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε· ὁ Ἀδωνις ὁ ποταμὸς, ὃ ξεῖνε, διὰ τοῦ Λιβάνου ἔρχεται· ὁ δὲ Λίβανος κάρτα ξανθόγεός ἐστιν· ἄνεμοι ὧν τρηχέες ἐκείνησι τῆσιν ἡμέρησιν ἰστάμενοι τὴν γῆν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπιφέρουσι ἐοῦσαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μιλτώδεα, ἡ δὲ γῆ μιν αἰμώδεα τίθησι· καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πάθεος οὐ τὸ αἷμα, τὸ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ χώρα αἰτίη. ὁ μὲν μοι Βύβλιος

---

1. καὶ τοῦτο - τὸ καὶ N: added to ΓΕ by a later hand.

penalty: For a single day they stand offering their beauty for sale. The market, however, is open to foreigners only and the payment becomes an offering to Aphrodite.

7        There are some inhabitants of Byblos who say that the Egyptian Osiris is buried among them and that all the laments and the rites are performed not for Adonis but for Osiris. I will also tell you on what grounds they consider this account to be reliable. Each year a head comes from Egypt to Byblos, making the voyage in seven days, and the winds carry it by divine guidance. It does not turn aside in any direction, but comes only to Byblos. This is quite miraculous. It occurs every year; indeed, it happened while I was present in Byblos and I saw the "Byblian" head.<sup>1</sup>

8        There is also another marvel in the land of Byblos. A river from Mount Lebanon empties into the sea. Adonis is the name given to the river. Each year the river becomes blood red and, having changed its color, flows into the sea and reddens a large part of it, giving a signal for lamentations to the inhabitants of Byblos. They tell the story that on these days Adonis is being wounded up on Mt. Lebanon and his blood, as it goes into the water, alters the river and gives the stream its name. This is the general version, but a certain man of Byblos, who seemed to me to be telling the truth, recounted another reason for the phenomenon. This is his account: "The River Adonis, stranger, comes through the Lebanon and Mt. Lebanon has a quite ruddy soil. Then strong winds come up on these days and deposit the earth, which is quite red, in the river, and the soil makes it blood red. The cause of this phenomenon is not the blood, as people say, but it is the land." This is the account which

---

1. There may be an untranslatable pun in these words: They can mean "the head that came from Byblos," or "the head made of papyrus."

τοσαῦτα ἀπηγέετο· εἰ δὲ ἀτρεκέως ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν  
 δοκέει κάρτα θεΐη καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ἢ συντυχίη. 9. ἀνέβην δὲ  
 καὶ ἐς τὸν Δίβανον, ἐκ Βύβλου ὁδὸν ἡμέρης, πυθόμενος  
 αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἔμμεναι, τὸ Κινύρης εἶσατο,  
 καὶ εἶδον τὸ ἱρὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἦν. τάδε μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 Συρίῃ ἀρχαῖα καὶ μεγάλα ἱρά. 10. τοσοῦτων δὲ ἐόντων ἐμοὶ  
 δοκέει οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ πόλι μεῖζον ἔμμεναι οὐδὲ νηὸς  
 ἄλλος ἀγιώτερος οὐδὲ χώρα ἄλλη ἱροτέρη. ἔνι δὲ καὶ ἔργα  
 ἐν αὐτῷ πολυτελέα καὶ ἀρχαῖα ἀναθήματα καὶ πολλὰ θύματα  
 καὶ ξόανα θεοπρεπέα, καὶ θεοὶ δὲ κάρτα αὐτοῖσιν ἐμφανέες·  
 ἰδρῶει γὰρ δὴ ὦν παρὰ σφίσι τὰ ξόανα καὶ κινέεται καὶ  
 χρησμηγορέει· καὶ βοή δὲ πολλάκις ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ νηῷ  
 κλεισθέντος τοῦ ἱροῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν. ναὶ μὴν καὶ  
 ὄλβου πέρι ἐν τοῖσιν ἐγὼ οἶδα πρῶτόν ἐστι· πολλὰ γὰρ  
 αὐτοῖσιν ἀπικνέεται χρήματα ἔκ τε Ἀραβίης καὶ Φοινίκων  
 καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἄλλα ἐκ Καππαδοκίης, τὰ δὲ καὶ Κίλικες  
 φέρουσι, τὰ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι. εἶδον δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ νηῷ  
 λάθρη ἀποκέαται, ἐσθῆτα πολλὴν καὶ ἄλλα ὀκίσα ἐς ἄργυρον  
 ἢ ἐς χρυσὸν ἀποκέκριται· ὄρται μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύριες  
 οὐδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοισιν ἀνθρώπων τοσαῖδε ἀποδεδέχαται.  
 11. ἱστορέοντι δέ μοι ἐτέων πέρι, ὀκίσα τῷ ἱρῷ ἐστὶ, καὶ  
 τὴν θεὸν αὐτοῖ ἦντινα δοκέουσι, πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέγοντο, τῶν  
 οἱ μὲν ἱροί, οἱ δὲ ἐμφανέες, οἱ δὲ κάρτα μυθώδεις, καὶ  
 ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, οἱ μὲν τοῖσιν Ἑλλησιν ὁμολογέοντες, τοὺς  
 ἐγὼ πάντας μὲν ἐρέω, δέκομαι δὲ οὐδαμά.

the man of Byblos gave me, but even if his version is correct, I consider the chance intervention of the wind quite divine.

9           Then I went up onto the Lebanon, a day's journey from Byblos, upon learning that an ancient sanctuary of Aphrodite, which Cinyras founded, was there. I saw the sanctuary, and it is an ancient one. These then are the ancient and great sanctuaries in Syria.

10           But even if they are like this, it seems to me that none of them is greater than those in the Holy City, nor could any other temple be more sacred nor any other region more holy. In the temple are many expensive artifacts and ancient offerings, many marvelous things and statues befitting the gods. Moreover, gods are readily manifest to the inhabitants. For the statues among them sweat and move about and give oracles, and a shouting often occurs in the temple when the sanctuary is locked, and many have heard it. Certainly in regards to wealth it is foremost among the places which I know about. For many treasures come to them from Arabia, Phoenicia and Babylonia and still more from Cappadocia. The Assyrians as well as the Cilicians bring some. --I saw also what is secretly stored in the temple, much clothing and other items separated into silver or gold. --For in the matter of feasts and festivals, among no other peoples have so many been designated.

11           When I enquired about the age of the temple and whom they consider its goddess to be, I heard many accounts. Some of them were sacred, some profane, some quite fabulous. Some were barbarian, and some agree with what the Greeks tell. I will tell them all, but in no way do I accept them.

12. οἱ μὲν ὧν πολλοὶ Δευκαλίωνα τὸν Σισύθεα<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἱρὸν εἴσασθαι λέγουσι, τοῦτον Δευκαλίωνα, ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐγένετο. Δευκαλίωνος δὲ περί λόγον ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἤκουσα, τὸν Ἑλληνες ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ μῦθος ὧδε ἔχει· ἦδε ἡ γενεὴ οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι οὐ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ γενεὴ πάντες ὦλοντο. οὔτοι δὲ γένεος τοῦ δευτέρου εἰσί, τὸ αὖτις ἐκ Δευκαλίωνος ἐς πληθὺν ἀπίκετο. ἐκείνων δὲ περί τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάδε μυθέονται· ὑβρισταὶ κάρτα ἐόντες ἀθέμιστα ἔργα ἔπρασσον, οὔτε γὰρ ὄρκια ἐφύλασσον οὔτε ξείνους ἐδέκοντο οὔτε ἱκετέων ἠνεύχοντο, ἀντ' ὧν σφίσιν ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὴ ἀπίκετο. αὐτίκα ἡ γῆ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ ὄμβροι μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ κατέβησαν μέζονες καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέβη, ἐς ὃ πάντα ὕδωρ ἐγένοντο καὶ πάντες ὦλοντο, Δευκαλίων δὲ μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐλίπετο ἐς γενεὴν δευτέραν εὐβουλίας τε καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβέος εἶνεκα. ἡ δὲ οἱ σωτηρίῃ ἦδε ἐγένετο· λάρνακα μεγάλην, τὴν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἐς ταύτην ἐσβιβάσας παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐωυτοῦ ἐσέβη· ἐσβαίνοντι δὲ οἱ ἀπίκοντο σύες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ λεόντων γένεα καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἄλλα ὀκτώσα ἐν γῆ νέμονται, πάντα ἐς ζεύγεα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἐδέκετο, καὶ μιν οὐκ ἐσίνοντο, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μεγάλη διόθεν φιλίη ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐν μιῇ λάρνακι πάντες ἔπλευσαν,

---

1. Σισύθεα Buttmann, Dind. Jac.: Σκύθεα MSS, Harm.

12 Well then, the majority say that Deucalion, called Siszythes,<sup>1</sup> founded the sanctuary. This is the Deucalion in whose lifetime the flood occurred. About Deucalion I have heard an account among the Greeks, which the Greeks tell about him.<sup>2</sup> The story goes as follows:

This race, the men of the present time, was not the first. As for that previous race, all in it perished. These current men are of the second race, which multiplied again from Deucalion. Concerning those earlier men they say the following. They were extremely violent and committed lawless deeds, for they neither kept oaths nor welcomed strangers nor spared suppliants. As punishment for these offences the great disaster came upon them. Suddenly the earth poured forth a flood of water. Heavy rains fell, rivers rushed down in torrents, and the sea rose on high, until everything became water,<sup>3</sup> and all the people perished. Deucalion alone among men was left for the second race because of his prudence and piety. This was the manner of his salvation: He embarked his children and his wives into a great ark which he possessed and he himself went in. As he boarded, pigs and horses, species of lions, snakes and every kind of creature that grazes on earth came to him, all of them in pairs. He welcomed all, and none harmed him. Instead, from some divine source, there was great friendship among them, and in a single ark all sailed

---

1. The MSS here read Σκυθία, i.e. Deucalion, the Scythian. The emendation is a possible form of Xisouthros, found in Berossus for Sumerian Ziusudra, the flood hero. Cf. *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie* IX.2, 2135-38.

2. The Greek style is awkward, in this phrase and frequently in the following section.

3. For πάντα ὕδωρ ἐγένοντο, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1:292: omnia pontus erant. [O'Neil].

ἔστε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεκράτεε. τὰ μὲν Δευκαλίωνος πέρι Ἕλληνες ιστοροῦσι. 13. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου λέγεται λόγος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἰρῆ πόλι μεγάλως ἄξιος θαυμάσαι, ὅτι ἐν τῇ σφετέρῃ χώρῃ χάσμα μέγα ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ κατεδέξατο. Δευκαλίων δέ, ἐπεὶ τάδε ἐγένετο, βωμούς τε ἔθετο καὶ νηὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χάσματι Ἥρης ἅγιον ἐστήσατο. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ χάσμα εἶδον, καὶ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τῷ νηῷ κάρτα μικρόν. εἰ μὲν ὦν πάλαι καὶ μέγα ἔον νῦν τοιόνδε ἐγένετο, οὐκ οἶδα. τὸ δὲ ἐγὼ εἶδον, μικρόν ἐστι. σῆμα δὲ τῆς ιστορίας τόδε πρήσσουσι. δις ἐκάστου ἔτεος ἐκ θαλάσσης ὕδωρ ἐς τὸν νηὸν ἀπικνέεται. φέρουσι δὲ οὐκ ἰρέες μῦνον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα Συρίη καὶ Ἀραβίη, καὶ πέρηθεν τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔρχονται καὶ πάντες ὕδωρ φέρουσι, τὸ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐκχέουσι, μετὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ χάσμα κατέρχεται, καὶ δέκεται τὸ χάσμα μικρόν ἔον ὕδατος χρῆμα πολλόν. τὰ δὲ ποιέοντες Δευκαλίωνα ἐν τῷ ἰρῆ τόνδε νόμον θέσθαι λέγουσι συμφορῆς τε καὶ εὐεργεσίας μνήμα ἔμμεναι. ὁ μὲν ὦν ἀρχαῖος αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἀμφὶ τοῦ ἰροῦ τοιόσδε ἐστί. 14. ἄλλοι δὲ Σεμίραμιν τὴν Βαβυλωνίην, τῆς δὴ πολλὰ ἔργα ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐστί, ταύτην καὶ τόδε τὸ ἔδος εἶσασθαι νομίζουσιν, οὐκ Ἥρη δὲ εἶσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μητρὶ ἑωυτῆς, τῆς Δερκετῶ οὔνομα. Δερκετοῦς δὲ εἶδος ἐν Φοινίκη ἐθεησάμην, θέημα ξένον. ἡμισέη μὲν γυνή, τὸ δὲ ὀκόσον ἐκ μηρῶν ἐς ἄκρους πόδας ἰχθύος οὐρὴ ἀποτείνεται. ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἰρῆ πόλι πᾶσα γυνή ἐστι. πίστιες δὲ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῖσι κάρτα

as long as the flood prevailed. This, then is the story which Greeks tell about Deucalion.<sup>1</sup>

13       What happened after this, however, is the subject of a story told by the inhabitants of the Holy City, and we may rightly be amazed at it. They say that in their land a great chasm was formed and it took in all the water. When this happened, Deucalion set up altars and built over the chasm a temple sacred to Hera. I myself saw the chasm. It is beneath the temple and quite small. Whether it was large of old, and now such a size as it is, I do not know. In any case, the one that I saw is small.

As a symbol of this story they do this: Twice each year water from the sea is carried to the temple. Not only priests, but the whole of Syria and Arabia brings it and from beyond the Euphrates many men come to the sea and all bring water. First they pour it out in the temple. Afterwards it goes down into the chasm, and the chasm, though small, takes in a great deal of water. In doing these things they claim that Deucalion established this custom in the sanctuary as a memorial both of the disaster and of the divine favor. Such is their traditional account about the sanctuary.

14       Others, however, think that Semiramis the Babylonian, whose deeds in Asia are many, also founded this site and that she founded it not for Hera, but for her own mother, whose name was Derketo. I saw a likeness of Derketo in Phoenicia, a strange sight! It is a woman for half its length, but from the thighs to the tips of the feet a fish's tail stretches out. The Derketo in the Holy City, however, is entirely a woman, and the grounds for their account are not very

---

1. This is not what our Greek sources relate. Cf. Frazer's notes to Apollodorus in the Loeb edition, Vol. I, 50-56.

έμφανέες· ἰχθύας χρῆμα ἱρὸν νομίζουσι καὶ οὐκοτε ἰχθύων ψαύουσι, καὶ ὄρνιθας τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σιτέονται, περισ-  
 τερὴν δὲ μούνην οὐ σιτέονται, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν ἦδε ἰρή. τὰ  
 δὲ γιγνόμενα δοκέει αὐτοῖσι ποιέεσθαι Δερκετοῦς καὶ  
 Σεμιράμιος εἵνεκα, τὸ μὲν, ὅτι Δερκετὸν μορφὴν ἰχθύος  
 ἔχει, τὸ δέ, ὅτι τὸ Σεμιράμιος τέλος ἐς περιστερὴν ἀπί-  
 κητο. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν νηὸν ὅτι Σεμιράμιος ἔργον ἐστὶ,  
 τάχα κού δέξομαι. Δερκετοῦς δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔμμεναι οὐδαμὰ  
 πείθομαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' Αἴγυπτίων ἐνίοισιν ἰχθύας οὐ  
 σιτέονται, καὶ τάδε οὐ Δερκετοῖ χαρίζονται. 15. ἔστι  
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἱρός, τὸν ἐγὼ σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα,  
 ὅτι ἡ μὲν θεὴ Ἰρέη ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἱρὸν Ἄττεω ποίημα.  
 Ἄττης δὲ γένος μὲν Λυδὸς ἦν, πρῶτος δὲ τὰ ὄργια τὰ ἐς  
 Ἰρέην ἐδιδάξατο. καὶ τὰ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Σαμόθρακες  
 ἐπιτελέουσιν, Ἄττεω πάντα ἔμαθον· ὡς γάρ μιν ἡ Ἰρέη  
 ἔτεμε, βίου μὲν ἀνδρηίου ἀπεπαύσατο, μορφὴν δὲ θηλέην  
 ἠμείψατο καὶ ἐσθῆτα γυναικικήν ἐνεδύσατο καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν  
 γῆν φοιτέων ὄργιά τε ἐπετέλεε καὶ τὰ ἔπαθεν ἀπηγέετο καὶ  
 Ἰρέην ἠειδεν. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ ἐς Συρίην ἀπῆκετο. ὡς δὲ  
 οἱ πέρην Εὐφρήτεω ἄνθρωποι οὔτε αὐτὸν οὔτε ὄργια ἐδέκοντο,  
 ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ τὸ ἱρὸν ἐποίησατο. σημήια δέ· ἡ θεὸς τὰ  
 πολλὰ ἐς Ἰρέην ἐπικινέεται.<sup>1</sup> λέοντες γάρ μιν φέρουσι καὶ  
 τύμπανον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πυργοφορέει, ὀκοίην Ἰρέην  
 Λυδοὶ ποιέουσιν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ Γάλλων πέρι, οἳ εἰσιν ἐν  
 τῷ ἱρῷ, ὅτι Γάλλοι Ἡρη μὲν οὐδαμὰ, Ἰρέη δὲ τέμνονται  
 καὶ Ἄττεα μιμέονται. τὰ δέ μοι εὐπρεπέα μὲν δοκέει  
 ἔμμεναι, ἀληθεῖα δὲ οὐ· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς τομῆς ἄλλην αἰτίην  
 ἤκουσα πολλὸν πιστοτέραν.

---

1. ἐπικινέεται Leh., eds.: ἐπικιέεται ΓΕ: ἀπικιέεται Ν.

clear.<sup>1</sup> They consider fish something sacred and they never touch one. They eat all other birds, apart from the dove. For them this is sacred. They think that these customs came about on account of Derketo and Semiramis, the first because Derketo has the form of a fish, and the second because Semiramis ultimately became a dove. Well, perhaps I accept the temple as a work of Semiramis, but I certainly cannot believe that the sanctuary belongs to Derketo. For among the Egyptians, some people do not eat fish, and they do not do this to honor Derketo.

15        There is another sacred account, which I heard from a wise man, that the goddess is Rhea, and the sanctuary is a creation of Attis. Attis was a Lydian by birth, and he first taught rites pertaining to Rhea. All the rites which Phrygians, Lydians and inhabitants of Samothrace perform, they learned from Attis. When Rhea castrated him, he ceased his male life-style. He took on instead a feminine form and donned female clothing. He went out into every land, performed the rites, related his sufferings and sang the praises of Rhea. On these journeys he came to Syria. Since the men beyond the Euphrates accepted neither him nor the rites, he established the sanctuary in this place. Here is the proof: The goddess is similar in many ways to Rhea, for lions carry her, she holds a tympanum and wears a tower on her head, just as the Lydians depict Rhea. The wise man<sup>1</sup> also said about the Galli<sup>2</sup> who are in the temple, that Galli never castrate themselves for Hera, but they do for Rhea and they also imitate Attis. This explanation seems plausible to me but untrue, since I heard another reason for the castration which is much more believable.

---

1. The following is another case of rather simple and awkward Greek.

2. Galli: the title of certain eunuch priests.

16. ἀνδάνει δέ μοι τὰ λέγουσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πέρι τοῖσιν Ἑλλησιν τὰ πολλὰ ὁμολογέοντες, τὴν μὲν θεὸν Ἥρην δοκέοντες, τὸ δ' ἔργον Διονύσου τοῦ Σεμέλης ποίημα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ Διόνυσος ἐς Συρίην ἀπίκετο κείνην ὁδὸν τὴν ἦλθεν ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίην. καὶ ἔστι πολλὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Διονύσου ποιητέω σήματα, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ ἐσθῆτες βάρβαροι καὶ λίθοι Ἰνδοὶ καὶ ἐλεφάντων κέρα, τὰ Διόνυσος ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἤνεικε, καὶ φαλλοὶ δὲ ἐστᾶσιν ἐν τοῖσι προφυλαίοισι δύο κάρτα μεγάλοι, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπίγραμμα τοιόνδε ἐπιγέγραπται, "τούσδε φαλλοὺς Διόνυσος Ἥρην μητρικὴν ἀνέθηκα."

Ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν καὶ τάδε ἀρκέει.<sup>1</sup> ἔρέω δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ νηῷ Διονύσου ὄργιον. φαλλοὺς Ἕλληνες Διονύσῳ ἐγείρουσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ τοιόνδε τι φέρουσιν, ἄνδρας μικροὺς ἐκ ξύλου πεποιημένους, μεγάλα αἰδοῖα ἔχοντας· καλέονται δὲ τάδε νευρόσπαστα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν δεξιῇ τοῦ νηοῦ κἀθηται σμικρὸς ἀνὴρ χάλκειος ἔχων αἰδοῖον μέγα. 17. τοσάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τῶν οἰκιστέων τοῦ ἱεροῦ μυθολογέουσιν. ἤδη δὲ ἔρέω καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ πέρι θέσιός τε ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ὅστις μιν ἐποίησατο. λέγουσι τὸν νηὸν τὸν νῦν ἔοντα μὴ ἔμμεναι τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένον,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν κατενεχθῆναι χρόνῳ ὕστερον, τὸν δὲ νῦν ἔοντα Στρατονίκης ἔμμεναι ποίημα, γυναικὸς τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλῆος. δοκέει δὲ μοι ἡ Στρατονίκη ἐκείνη ἔμμεναι, τῆς ὃ πρόγονος ἠρήσατο, τὸν ἦλεγξε τοῦ ἰητροῦ ἐπινοίη· ὡς γὰρ μιν ἡ συμφορὴ κατέλαβεν, ἀμηχανέων τῷ κακῷ αἰσχυρῷ δοκέοντι κατ' ἡσυχίην ἐνόσεεν. ἔκειτο δὲ ἀλγέων οὐδέν, καὶ οἱ ἦ τε χροίη πάμπαν ἐτρέπετο καὶ τὸ σῶμα δι' ἡμέρης ἐμαραίνετο. ὃ δὲ

1. τάδε ἀρκέει MSS: τόδε ἀρκέει Harm.

2. μὴ - γεγενημένον Ald. eds.: ΓΕ lacuna.

16 I like what they say concerning the sanctuary, since they agree in most respects with the Greeks in considering the goddess Hera and the construction a creation of Dionysus, son of Semele. For Dionysus came to Syria on that journey which he made to Ethiopia, and in the temple there are many indications that Dionysus is the founder. Among them are the foreign clothes and the Indian gems and the tusks of elephants, which Dionysus brought from Ethiopia. In addition, two quite large phalli stand at the gateway. On them is an inscription: "These phalli I, Dionysus, dedicated to Hera, my stepmother." As far as I am concerned, this is sufficient proof, but I will tell of another holy object<sup>1</sup> of Dionysus which is in the temple. Greeks erect phalli to Dionysus on which they have something of this sort: small wooden men with large genitals. These are called puppets. This, too, is in the sanctuary. In the right part of the temple sits a small man of bronze with a large penis.

17 These are the tales which they relate about the founders of the sanctuary. Now I shall speak also of the founding of the temple, how it came to be and who built it. They say that the present temple is not the one which was there in the beginning. That was destroyed at a later time, and the present one is the work of Stratonice, the wife of the king of Assyria.

I think that this Stratonice is the woman whom her stepson loved. A physician's strategem brought his condition to light, for when the misfortune overtook him, he was unable to cope with the ailment, which seemed shameful, and he lay quietly ill. He suffered no pain, but his complexion changed completely and his body grew weaker day by day. When the

---

1. The word ὄργιον here is odd. It usually appears in the plural referring to rites. The fact that it here refers most probably to an object may explain the singular. For examples of the singular, cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. ὄργια, II. 2; Suppl., p. 110, s.v.

ἰητρὸς ὡς εἶδέ μιν ἐς οὐδὲν ἐμφανὲς ἀρρωστέοντα, ἔγνω τὴν νοῦσον ἔρωτα ἔμμεναι. ἔρωτος δὲ ἀφανέος πολλὰ σημήια, ὀφθαλμοὶ τε ἀσθενέες καὶ φωνὴ καὶ χροιοὶ καὶ δάκρυα. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίηε· χειρὶ μὲν τῇ δεξιῇ ἔχε τοῦ νεηνίσκου τὴν καρδίην, ἐκάλει δὲ τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκίην πάντας· ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐσιόντων πάντων ἐν ἡρεμίῃ μεγάλην, ὡς δὲ ἡ μητριὴ ἀπίκετο, τὴν τε χροιοὶν ἠλλάξατο καὶ ιδρώειν ἄρξατο καὶ τρόμφ ἔχετο καὶ ἡ καρδίη ἀνεπάλλετο· τὰ δὲ γιγνόμενα ἐμφανέα τῷ ἰητρῷ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐποίηε.

18. καὶ μιν ᾧδε ἰήσατο· καλέσας τοῦ νεηνίσκου τὸν πατέρα κάρτα ὀρρωδέοντα, Ἦδε ἡ νοῦσος, ἔφη, τὴν ὁ παῖς ᾧδε ἀρρωστέει, οὐ νοῦσός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀδικίη· ᾧδε γάρ τοι ἀλγέει μὲν οὐδέν, ἔρως δὲ μιν καὶ φρενοβλαβεῖη ἔχει. ἐπιθυμέει δὲ τῶν οὐδαμὰ τεύξεται, φιλέων γυναῖκα ἐμήν, τὴν ἐγὼ οὔτι μετήσομαι. ὁ μὲν ᾧν τοιάδε σοφίη ἐψεύδετο. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐλίσσετο, Πρὸς τε σοφίης καὶ ἰητρικῆς μή μοι παῖδα ὀλέσης· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλων ταύτη συμφορῇ ἔσχετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἡ νοῦσος ἀεικουσίη. τῷ σὺ μηδαμὰ ζηλοτυπέων πένθος ἐγεῖραι πάση βασιληίῃ μηδὲ ἰητρὸς ἐὼν φθόνον προξενέειν<sup>1</sup> ἰητρικῇ. ὁ μὲν ᾧδε ἀγνῶς ἐὼν ἐδέετο. ὁ δὲ μιν αὖτις ἀμείβετο, Ἀνόσια σπεύδεις γάμον ἐμὸν ἀπαρεόμενος ἡδὲ ἰητρὸν ἄνδρα βιώμενος. σὺ δὲ κῶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔπραξας, εἴ τοι σὴν γυναῖκα ἐπόθεεν, ἐμεῦ τάδε δεομένου<sup>2</sup>; ὁ δὲ πρὸς τάδε ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἂν κοτε γυναικὸς ἐφείσατο οὐδὲ παιδὶ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνεεν, εἰ καὶ οἱ μητριῆς ἐπεθύμεεν· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίην συμφορὴν ἔμμεναι γαμετὴν ἢ παῖδα ὀλέσαι. ὡς δὲ τάδε ὁ ἰητρὸς ἤκουσε, Τί τοι, ἔφη, ἐμὲ λίσσεαι; καὶ γὰρ τοι σὴν γυναῖκα ποθέει· τὰ δὲ ἔλεγον ἐγὼ, πάντα ἔην ψεύδεα.

1. προξενέειν eds.: προξένεις N: ΓΕ lacuna.

2. δεομένου cj. Attridge: δεόμενος MSS, eds.

physician saw that he was ill for no apparent reason, he realized that the ailment was love. There were many symptoms of concealed love, dulled eyes, voice, complexion, tears. Once he realized the situation, he acted as follows: He held his right hand over the heart of the youth and called everyone in the household. The youth remained quite peaceful as all the others came in, but when his stepmother arrived, his complexion changed, he began to sweat, he was seized with trembling and his heart pounded. These reactions made his love obvious to the physician, and he healed  
18 him in the following manner. He called the youth's father, who was exceedingly anxious, and said, "This ailment from which this lad suffers is not a disease, but rather guilt. He is suffering no pain. No, love and frenzy possess him, and he desires things which he will never obtain, since he loves my wife whom I will not give up." Now, of course, he told such lies cleverly.

Then the king immediately begged him, "By your wisdom and medical skill, do not destroy my son! For he has against his will suffered this misfortune. His disease is involuntary. Do not, then, out of spite bring grief to the whole kingdom and do not, as a physician, introduce murder into your medical practice." He requested these things in ignorance.

The physician replied immediately, "You insist on unholy acts, trying to destroy my marriage and using force on a man of medicine. How would you have acted if he desired your wife and I made this request of you?"

The king replied that he would not spare his wife, nor would he begrudge his son's recovery even if he desired his stepmother. For losing a wife would not be a disaster equal to losing a son.

When the physician heard this he said, "Why then do you beseech me? For he does indeed desire your wife. Everything I said to you was false."

πείθεται μὲν τουτέοισι, καὶ τῷ μὲν παιδί λείπει καὶ  
 γυναῖκα καὶ βασιληίην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν  
 ἀπίκετο καὶ πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφρήτῃ ἐπώνυμον ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίη-  
 σατο, ἔνθα οἱ καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ ἐγένετο. ὧδε μὲν ὁ ἱητρὸς  
 ἔρωτα ἔγνω τε καὶ ἰήσατο. 19. ἦδε δὲ ὢν ἡ Στρατονίκη  
 ἔτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ συνοικέουσα ὄναρ τοιόνδε ἐθεήσατο,  
 ὥς μιν ἡ Ἥρη ἐκέλευεν ἐγεῖραί οἱ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἰρῇ πόλι  
 νηόν, εἰ δὲ ἀπειθέοι, πολλά οἱ καὶ κακὰ ἀπείλεεν. ἡ  
 δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐδεμίην ὥρην ἐποιέετο, μετὰ δὲ ὥς μιν  
 μεγάλη νοῦσος ἔλαβε, τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπηγήσατο καὶ  
 τὴν Ἥρην ἰλάσκετο καὶ στήσειν τὸν νηὸν ὑπεδέξατο. καὶ  
 αὐτίκα ὑγιέα γενομένην ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἰρὴν πόλιν ἔπεμπε,  
 σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὴν πολλήν, τοὺς μὲν  
 οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλέος εἶνεκα. καλέσας δὲ  
 τινα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ φίλων, νεηνίην κάρτα καλόν, τῷ οὔνομα  
 ἦν Κομβάβος, Ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κομβάβε, ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα  
 φιλέω τε μάλιστα φίλων ἐμῶν καὶ πάμπαν ἐπαινέω σοφίης  
 τε καὶ εὐνοίης τῆς ἐς ἡμέας, τὴν δὲ ἐπεδέξασθε. νῦν δὲ  
 μοι χρειῶ μεγάλης πίστιος, τῷ σε θέλω γυναικὶ ἐμῇ  
 ἐσπόμενον ἔργον τέ μοι ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἰρὰ τελέσαι καὶ  
 στρατιῆς ἐπικρατέειν. σοὶ δὲ ἀπικομένῳ ἐξ ἡμέων τιμὴ  
 μεγάλη ἔσσεται. πρὸς δὲ τάδε ὁ Κομβάβος αὐτίκα λίσσετο  
 πολλὰ λιπαρέων μὴ μιν ἐκπέμπειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οἱ τὰ  
 πολλὸν ἑωυτοῦ μέζονα χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ ἔργον ἰρόν.  
 τὰ δὲ ὀρρώδεε μὴ κοτέ οἱ ζηλοτυπίη χρόνῳ ὑστέρω ἐς τὴν  
 Στρατονίκην γένοιτο, τὴν μούνος ἀπάξειν ἔμελλεν.  
 20. ὥς δὲ οὐδαμὰ ἐπείθετο, ὁ δὲ ἰκεσίης δευτέρης ἄπτεται  
 δοῦναί οἱ χρόνον ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων, μετὰ δὲ ἀποστεῖλαί μιν  
 τελέσαντά τι τῶν

The king heeded this advice. He left both his wife and his kingdom to his son. He himself went off to the land of Babylon and built on the Euphrates a city named after himself. There he met his end. Thus did the physician diagnose and cure love.

19 This Stratonice, while she was still living with her first husband, had a dream. In it Hera ordered her to build her a temple in the Holy City and threatened her with many dire consequences if she disobeyed. Stratonice paid no attention at first, but afterwards, when a serious illness afflicted her, she described the vision to her husband, propitiated Hera, and promised to erect the temple. Immediately she became healthy, and her husband sent her to the Holy City. Along with her he sent funds and a large escort, some members of which were to do the building while others were for security. He summoned one of his friends, an exceedingly handsome youth by the name of Combabus and said, "Combabus, among my friends I have special affection for you, since you are indeed a noble man. I have nothing but praise for your wisdom and the goodwill which you have shown us. Now I have a mission which requires great trust; therefore I want you, in company with my wife, to accomplish a task for me, to perform the sacrifices, and to lead the escort. When you return you will receive great honor from us."

In response to these words Combabus immediately made many prayers and begged the king not to send him nor to entrust to him a sum of money much too great for him, along with his wife and the holy task. He dreaded that at some later time he would be the victim of jealousy because of Stratonice, whom he was going to escort alone.

20 But when the king was not at all persuaded, Combabus tried a second request. He asked the king to give him a delay of seven days time and then to send him out after he had performed a task of utmost

μάλιστα ἐδέετο. τυχὼν δὲ ῥηιδίως ἐς τὸν ἑωυτοῦ οἶκον ἀπικ-  
 νέεται καὶ πεσὼν χαμάξε τοιάδε ὠδύρετο· ὦ δεῖλαιος, τί μοι  
 ταύτης τῆς πίστιος; τί δέ μοι ὁδοῦ, τῆς τέλος ἤδη δέρ-  
 κομαι; νέος μὲν ἐγὼ καὶ γυναικὶ καλῆ ἔψομαι. τὸ δέ μοι  
 μεγάλη συμφορὴ ἔσσεται, εἰ μὴ ἔγωγε πᾶσαν αἰτίην κακοῦ  
 ἀποθήσομαι. τῷ με χρῆν μέγα ἔργον ἀποτελέσαι, τό μοι  
 πάντα φόβον ἰήσεται. τάδε εἰπὼν ἀτελέα ἑωυτὸν ἐποίηε,  
 καὶ ταμῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐς ἀγγήιον μικρὸν κατέθετο σμύρνη  
 τε ἅμα καὶ μέλιτι καὶ ἄλλοισι θυώμασι καὶ ἔπειτα  
 σφρηγῖδι τὴν ἐφόρει σημηνάμενος τὸ τρῶμα ἰῆτο. μετὰ  
 δὲ ὡς μιν ὁδοιπορέειν ἐδόκειεν, ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸν βασι-  
 λῆα πολλῶν παρεόντων διδοῖ τε ἅμα τὸ ἀγγήιον καὶ λέγει  
 ὧδε· ὦ δέσποτα, τόδε μοι μέγα κειμήλιον ἐν τοῖσιν οἰ-  
 κηίοισιν ἀπεκέετο, τὸ ἐγὼ κάρτα ἐπόθειον· νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ  
 μεγάλην ὁδὸν ἔρχομαι, παρὰ σοὶ τόδε θήσομαι. σὺ δέ μοι  
 ἀσφαλέως ἔχειν· τόδε γάρ μοι χρυσοῦ βέλτερον, τόδε μοι  
 ψυχῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιον. εὔτ' ἂν δὲ ἀπίκωμαι, σῶον αὖτις  
 ἀποίσομαι. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ἑτέρῃ σφρηγῖδι ἐσημαίνετο καὶ  
 τοῖσι ταμίησι φρουρέειν ἐνετείλατο. 21. Κομβάβος μὲν  
 νυν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀσφαλέα ὁδὸν ἦνυεν· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν ἱρὴν πόλιν σπουδῆ τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδόμεον καὶ σφίσι  
 τρία ἔτεα ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγένετο, ἐν τοῖσιν ἀπέβαινε τάπερ  
 ὁ Κομβάβος ὀρρώδεεν· ἡ Στρατονίκη γὰρ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὸν  
 συνόντα μιν ποθέειν ἄρχετο, μετὰ δὲ οἱ καὶ κάρτα  
 ἐπεμήνατο. καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ πόλι τὴν Ἥρην  
 τουτέων αἰτίην ἐθέλουσαν γενέσθαι, Κομβάβον ἐσθλὸν μὲν  
 ἐόντα λαθέειν μηδαμὰ, Στρατονίκην δὲ τίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐ  
 ῥηιδίως τὸν νηὸν ὑπέσχετο.

importance. He readily obtained this request, went home, fell on the floor and lamented, "O wretch, why have I been given this assignment, why have I to go on this journey, whose result I already see? I am young and about to escort a beautiful woman. It will be a great disaster for me unless I remove every cause of mischief. So I must commit a great deed which will cure all my fears."

Saying this, he unmanned himself.<sup>1</sup> When he had cut off his genitals, he put them into a small container with myrrh, honey and other fragrances. Then he sealed it with a signet which he carried and treated the wound.

Later, when he felt that he was ready to make the journey, he came to the king and with many people present he gave him the container and at the same time said, "Your majesty, this great treasure, for which I have special affection, was stored in my house. Now, since I am going on a long journey, I will entrust this to you. Keep it safe for me, for it is more precious than gold, and worth my life to me. When I return, I will take it back in safety."

The king accepted it, sealed it with another signet and ordered his stewards to keep it.

21 So Combabus, after this, made a safe journey. When they reached the Holy City, they eagerly proceeded to build the temple. They spent three years at the task, and during this time precisely what Combabus had feared happened. For Stratonice began to desire the man who was with her so much of the time, and after a while she became quite mad for him. Those in the Holy City say that the cause of it was Hera, who did not want the noble Combabus to go unnoticed and wanted to punish Stratonice because she had not readily promised the temple.

---

1. This expression may be a pun on ἀτελής. Combabus made himself both incomplete and exempt (i.e. from fear or evil).

22. ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσωφρόνεε καὶ τὴν νοῦσον ἔκρυπτεν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τὸ κακὸν μέζον ἠσυχίης ἐγένετο, ἐς ἐμφανὲς ἐτρύχετο κλαίεσκέ τε δι' ἡμέρης καὶ Κομβάβον ἀνεκαλέετο καὶ οἱ πάντα Κομβάβος ἦν. τέλος δὲ ἀμηχανέουσα τῇ συμφορῇ εὐπρεπέα ἱκεσίην<sup>1</sup> ἐδίζητο. ἄλλω μὲν ὦν τὸν ἔρωτα ὁμολογέειν ἐφυλάσσετο, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν αἰδέετο.<sup>2</sup> ἐπινοέει ὦν τοιάδε, οἷνφ ἐωυτὴν μεθύσασα ἐς λόγους οἱ ἐλθεῖν· ἅμα δὲ οἷνφ ἐσιόντι παρρησίη τε ἐσέρχεται καὶ ἡ ἀποτυχίη οὐ κάρτα αἰσchrή, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρησσομένων ἕκαστα ἐς ἀγνοίην ἀναχωρέει. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐκ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, ἀπικομένη ἐς τὰ οἰκήια, ἐν τοῖσι Κομβάβος αὐλίζετο, λίσσετό τε καὶ γούνων ἄπτετο καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα ὁμολόγεεν· ὁ δὲ τὸν τε λόγον ἀπηνέως ἀπεδέκετο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀναίνετο καὶ οἱ τὴν μέθην ἐνεκάλειεν. ἀπειλούσης δὲ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐωυτὴν ἐργάσασθαι, δείσας πάντα οἱ λόγον ἔφηνε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πάθην ἀπηγήσατο καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς ἐμφανὲς ἤνεικεν. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ Στρατονίκη τὰ οὔκοτε ἔλπετο, μανίης μὲν ἐκείνης ἔσχετο. ἔρωτος δὲ οὐδαμὰ ἐλήθετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα οἱ συνεοῦσα ταύτην παραμυθίην ἐποιέετο ἔρωτος ἀπρήκτιοιο. ἔστιν ὁ ἔρωτος οὔτος ἐν τῇ ἰρῇ πόλι καὶ ἔτι νῦν γίγνεται· γυναῖκες Γάλλων ἐπιθυμέουσιν καὶ γυναιξὶ Γάλλοι ἐπιμαίνονται, ζηλοτυπέει δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ σφίσι τὸ χρῆμα κάρτα ἰρὸν νομίζεται. 23. τὰ δ' ὦν ἐν τῇ ἰρῇ πόλι ἀμφὶ τὴν Στρατονίην οὐδαμὰ τὸν βασιλῆα λέληθεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἀπικνεόμενοι κατηγόρεον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀπηγέοντο. ἐπὶ τοῖσι περιαλγέων ἐξ ἀτελέος τοῦ ἔργου Κομβάβον μετεκάλειεν. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι λόγον οὔτι ἀληθέα, τὴν Στρατονίην, ἐπειδὴ ἀπέτυχε τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὴν γράψασαν ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ Κομβάβου κατηγορέειν πείρην οἱ ἐπικαλέουσιν, καὶ τὸ Ἕλληνες Σθενεβοίης πέρι λέγουσι καὶ Φαίδρης τῆς Κνωσσίας, ταυτὶ καὶ Ἀσσύριοι

1. ἱκεσίην MSS: ἀκεσίην Dind.

2. αἰδέετο Leh., Jac., Harm.: ἠδέετο N: ἐδέετο Γ: ἠδέετο Dind.

22           Stratonice at first was discreet and kept her ailment concealed. When, however, the trouble became too great for her peace of mind, she suffered openly. All day she wept and kept calling for Combabus, and Combabus was everything to her. Finally unable to cope with her misfortune, she sought a decent way to petition him. She was reluctant to confess her love to anyone else, and she was ashamed to make an attempt herself. So she devised this plan: to get drunk on wine and get into conversation with him. For when wine flows in, so does bold speech, and failure is not very shameful, because what happens is forgotten.

Once she had decided, she acted. When they were coming from dinner, she came to the place where Combabus was lodged. She begged him, grasped his knees and confessed her love. He received her words harshly, denounced her action and accused her of drunkenness. When she threatened to do herself some great harm, he became afraid and told her his whole story. He described all his suffering and he exposed his deed. When Stratonice saw what she never expected, she ceased from her frenzy, but in no way did she forget her love. Instead, she was always in his company as a consolation for unfulfilled love. This sort of love exists in the Holy City even to this day. Women desire the Galli and the Galli go mad for a woman. Yet, no one is jealous, for they consider the matter quite holy.

23           The affairs of Stratonice in the Holy City did not escape the attention of the king. Many who came made accusations and told him what was happening. He was upset by these reports and recalled Combabus from the unfinished task. Others tell a quite erroneous story. They say that Stratonice, when she failed to get what she wanted, herself wrote to her husband and denounced Combabus, accusing him of making an attempt on her. The story which the Greeks tell about Sthenoboea and about Phaedra of Knossos the Assyrians also

ἐς Στρατονίην μυθολογέουσιν. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν οὔτε Σθενε-  
 βοίην πείθομαι οὔτε Φαίδρην τοιάδε ἐπιτελέσαι, εἰ τὸν  
 Ἰππόλυτον ἀτρεκέως ἐπόθει Φαίδρη. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐχέτω  
 ὄκως καὶ ἐγένετο. 24. ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἐς τὴν ἰρὴν πόλιν  
 ἀπίκετο ἔγνω τε ὁ Κομβάβος τὴν αἰτίην, θαρσέων τε ἦεν,  
 ὅτι οἱ ἡ ἀπολογία οἴκοι ἐλείπετο, καὶ μιν ἐλθόντα ὁ βα-  
 σιλεὺς αὐτίκα μὲν ἔδησέ τε καὶ ἐν φρουρῇ ἔχε. μετὰ δὲ  
 παρεόντων οἱ τῶν φίλων, οἳ καὶ τότε πεμπομένῳ τῷ Κομ-  
 βάβῳ παρεγένοντο, παραγαγὼν ἐς μέσον κατηγορεῖν ἄρχετο  
 καὶ οἱ μοιχηίην τε καὶ ἀκολασίην προὔφερε· κάρτα δὲ  
 δεινοπαθέων πίστιν τε καὶ φιλίην ἀνεκαλέετο λέγων τρισσὰ  
 Κομβάβον ἀδικεῖν μοιχόν τε ἐόντα καὶ ἐς πίστιν ὑβρίσαντα  
 καὶ ἐς θεὸν ἀσεβέοντα, τῆς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοιάδε ἔπραξε·  
 πολλοὶ δὲ παρεστεῶτες ἤλεγχον, ὅτι ἀναφανδὸν σφέας  
 ἀλλήλοισι συνεόντας εἶδον. πᾶσι δὲ τέλος ἐδόκεεν αὐτίκα  
 θνήσκειν Κομβάβον θανάτου ἄξια ἐργασμένον. 25. ὁ δὲ  
 τέως μὲν ἔστηκε λέγων οὐδέν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη ἐς τὸν φόνον  
 ἦγετο, φθέγγατό τε καὶ τὸ κειμήλιον αἵτεε λέγων, ὡς  
 ἀναιρέει μιν οὐκ ὑβριος οὐδὲ γάμων εἶνεκα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων  
 ἐπιθυμέων, τὰ οἱ ἀπιῶν παρεθήκατο. πρὸς τὰδε ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 καλέσας τὸν ταμίην ἐκέλευεν ἐνεῖναι τὰ οἱ φρουρέειν  
 ἔδωκεν· ὡς δὲ ἦναικε, λύσας τὴν σφρηγῖδα ὁ Κομβάβος τὰ  
 τε ἐνεόντα ἐπέδειξε καὶ ἐωυτὸν ὀκοῖα ἐπεπόνθειεν, ἔλεξέ  
 τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰδε τοι ἐγὼ ὀρρωδέων, εὔτέ με ταύτην  
 ὁδὸν ἔπεμπες, ἀέκων ἦιον, καὶ ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκαίη μεγάλη  
 ἐκ σέο κατέλαβε, τοιάδε ἐπετέλεσα, ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐς δεσπότηα,  
 ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχέα· τοιόσδε μέντοι ἐὼν ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' ἀδικίην  
 ἐγκαλέομαι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰδε ἀμβώσας<sup>1</sup> περιέβαλέ τέ μιν καὶ  
 δακρύων ἅμα ἔλεγεν, ὦ Κομβάβε, τί

---

1. ἀμβώσας eds: θαμβώσας MSS.

tell about Stratonice. Now, I myself believe that neither Stheneboea nor Phaedra did such things, especially if Phaedra truly loved Hippolytus. But let things be as they in fact happened.

24 When the message reached the Holy City, Combabus knew the cause and went back confident because his defense had been left at home. As soon as he arrived, the king had him bound and held under guard. Later, in the presence of the same friends who had also been there when Combabus was sent forth, he brought him forward, began to denounce him and charged him with adultery and licentiousness. With deep emotion he recalled his trust and friendship, saying that Combabus was guilty on three counts, as an adulterer, as one who had abused a trust, and as one who acted impiously toward the goddess in whose service he had committed such acts. Many present testified that they had seen the two of them openly in one another's company. In the end all voted that Combabus should die immediately, since he had done things deserving of death.

25 During all this he stood in silence, but as he was being led off to execution, he spoke up and called for his treasure, saying that the king was doing away with him not because of his insolence or because of any seduction, but because he desired what Combabus had deposited with him on his departure. In response, the king summoned his steward and ordered him to bring what he had given him to guard. When he brought it, Combabus broke the seal, revealed both what was in the box and all that he himself had suffered. Then he said, "Your majesty, I went unwillingly when you sent me, because I feared this very thing. Since, however, you forced me, I did something which was noble toward my master, but unfortunate for me. Nevertheless, even in this condition, I am accused of a man's crime.

In response the king cried out, embraced him and said tearfully, "O Combabus, why did you do this

μέγα κακὸν εἰργάσαο; τί δὲ σεωυτὸν οὕτω ἀεικέλιον ἔργον  
 μοῦνος ἀνδρῶν<sup>1</sup> ἔπραξας; τὰ οὐ πάμπαν ἐπαινέω, ὦ σχέτλιε,  
 ὅς τοιάδε ἔτλης, οἷα μήτε σὲ παθέειν μήτε ἐμὲ ιδέσθαι  
 ὄφελεν· οὐ γάρ μοι ταύτης ἀπολογίης ἔδεεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
 δαίμων τοιάδε ἤθελε, πρῶτα μὲν σοι τίσις ἐξ ἡμέων ἔσσε-  
 ται, αὐτέων συκοφαντέων ὁ θάνατος, μετὰ δὲ μεγάλη δωρεὴ  
 ἀπίξεται χρυσός τε πολλὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἄπλετος καὶ  
 ἐσθῆτες Ἀσσύριαι καὶ ἵπποι βασιλήιοι. ἀπίξεται δὲ παρ'  
 ἡμέας ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος οὐδέ τις ἀπέρξει σε ἡμετέρης  
 ὄψιος, οὐδ' ἦν γυναικὶ ἅμα εὐνάζωμαι. τάδε εἶπέ τε ἅμα  
 καὶ ἐποίηε· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς φόνον ἤγοντο, τῷ δὲ τὰ  
 δῶρα ἐδίδοτο καὶ ἡ φιλίη μέζων ἐγεγόνεεν. ἐδόκειε δὲ  
 οὐδεὶς ἔτι Ἀσσυρίων Κομβάβη σοφίην καὶ εὐδαιμονίην  
 εἶκελος. 26. μετὰ δὲ αἰτησάμενος ἐκτελέσαι τὰ λείποντα  
 τῷ νηῷ -- ἀτελέα γάρ μιν ἀπολελοίπεεν -- αὐτίς ἐπέμπετο,  
 καὶ τὸν τε νηὸν ἐξετέλεσε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν.  
 ἔδωκε δὲ οἱ βασιλεὺς ἀρετῆς τε καὶ εὐεργεσίης εἴνεκα ἐν  
 τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστάναι χάλκεον· καὶ ἔτι ἐς τιμὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
 Κομβάβος χάλκεος Ἑρμοκλέους τοῦ Ῥοδίου ποίημα μορφήν  
 μὲν ὀκοίη γυνή, ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἀνδρηίην ἔχει. λέγεται δὲ  
 τῶν φίλων τοὺς μάλιστά οἱ εὐνοέοντας ἐς παραμυθίην τοῦ  
 πάθεος κοινωνίην ἐλέσθαι τῆς συμφορῆς· ἔτεμον γὰρ  
 ἑωυτοὺς καὶ δίαιταν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ διαιτέοντο. ἄλλοι  
 δὲ ἱρολογέουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ πρήγματι λέγοντες ὡς ἡ Ἥρη  
 φιλέουσα Κομβάβον πολλοῖσι τὴν τομὴν ἐπὶ νόον ἔβαλεν,  
 ὅπως μὴ μοῦνος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνανδρηίῃ<sup>2</sup> λυπέοιτο. 27. τὸ δὲ  
 ἔθος τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο, ἔτι νῦν μένει καὶ πολλοὶ  
 ἐκάστου ἔτεος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τάμνονται καὶ θηλύνονται εἴτε  
 Κομβάβον παραμυθεόμενοι εἴτε καὶ Ἥρη χαρίζονται·  
 τάμνονται δ' ὦν, ἐσθῆτα δὲ οἶδε οὐκέτι

---

1. οὕτω - ἀνδρων N: added to ΓΕ by a later hand.

2. ἀνανδρηίη Dind., Jac.: ἀνδρηίη Harm.

terrible deed? Why did you, of all people, do so unseemly a deed to yourself? I do not approve of this at all. O wretch, to dare what you should not have suffered and what I should not have seen! I certainly did not require this defense. Since, however, some divine power caused this, our first repayment to you will be the death of the false accusers. Then will come a great boon, a quantity of gold, silver in abundance, Assyrian raiment and royal steeds. You will also have access to us without any to announce you, nor will anyone bar you from our sight, not even if I am in bed with my wife." No sooner said than done. The accusers were led off immediately to execution, while the gifts were given to Combabus and his friendship with the king became greater. No one of the Assyrians any longer seemed equal to Combabus in wisdom or good fortune.

26        Later, when he asked permission to complete the rest of the temple--for he had left it unfinished--he was again sent forth. He completed the temple and remained there for the rest of his life. Because of his virtue and his service the king allowed him to erect a bronze statue in the sanctuary. A bronze Combabus in his honor is still in the temple, a creation of Hermocles of Rhodes. In form it is like a woman, but it wears a man's clothing.

The story goes that his dearest friends chose to share in his misfortune as a consolation for his suffering, for they castrated themselves and followed his life-style. Others give a religious account of the matter, saying that Hera, out of love for Combabus, suggested the idea of castration to many so that he might not grieve over the loss of manhood alone.

27        This custom, once it began, has remained even to the present and each year in the sanctuary many castrate themselves and become womanish either as a consolation for Combabus or as an honor to Hera. In any case, they are castrated. These people no longer wear

ἀνδρηίην ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ εἴματά τε γυναικῆια φορέουσι καὶ ἔργα γυναικῶν ἐπιτελέουσιν. ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ ἤκουον, ἀνακίε-  
ται καὶ τουτέων ἐς Κομβάβον ἢ αἰτίη· συνενείχθη γάρ οἱ  
καὶ τάδε. ξείνη γυνὴ ἐς πανήγυριν ἀπικομένη ἰδοῦσα  
καλὸν τε ἐόντα καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἀνδρηίην ἔχοντα ἔρωτι με-  
γάλῳ ἔσχετο, μετὰ δὲ μαθοῦσα ἀτελέα ἐόντα ἐωυτὴν διειρ-  
γάσατο. ἐπὶ τοῖσι Κομβάβος ἀθυμέων, ὅτι οἱ ἀτυχέως τὰ  
ἐς Ἀφροδίτην ἔχει, ἐσθῆτα γυναικῆιην ἐνεδύσατο, ὅπως  
μηκέτι ἑτέρη γυνὴ ἴσα ἐξαπατέοιτο. ἦδε αἰτίη Γάλλοισι  
στολῆς θηλέης. Κομβάβου μὲν μοι τοσάδε εἰρήσθω· Γάλ-  
λων δὲ αὖτις ἐγὼ λόγῳ ὑστέρῳ μεμνήσομαι τομῆς τε αὐτέων,  
ὅπως τάμνονται, καὶ ταφῆς ὀκοίην θάπτονται, καὶ ὄτευ  
εἴνεκα ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν οὐκ ἐσέρχονται· πρότερον δὲ μοι θυμὸς  
εἶπεῖν θέσιός τε πέρι τοῦ νηοῦ καὶ μεγάρους, καὶ δῆτα  
ἔρέω. 28. ὁ μὲν χῶρος αὐτός, ἐν τῷ τὸ ἱρὸν ἴδρυται,  
λόφος ἐστί, κέεται δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλιος μάλιστα,  
καὶ οἱ τείχεα δοιὰ περικέαται. τῶν δὲ τειχέων τὸ μὲν  
ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν ἡμέων πρεσβύτερον. τὰ δὲ  
προπύλαια τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐς ἄνεμον βορέην ἀποκέκλιται<sup>1</sup> μέ-  
γαθος ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων· ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι προ-  
πυλαίοισι καὶ οἱ φαλλοὶ ἐστᾶσι, τοὺς Διόνυσος ἐστήσατο,  
ἡλικίην καὶ οἶδε τριηκοσίων<sup>2</sup> ὀργυιέων. ἐς τουτέων τὸν  
ἕνα φαλλόν<sup>3</sup> ἀνὴρ ἑκάστου ἔτεος δις ἀνέρχεται οἰκέει τε  
ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ φαλλῷ χρόνον ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων. αἰτίη δὲ οἱ τῆς  
ἀνόδου ἦδε λέγεται· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν ὅτι ὑψοῦ  
τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὀμιλέει καὶ ἀγαθὰ πάση Συρίῃ αἰτέει, οἱ  
δὲ τῶν εὐχωλέων ἀγχόθεν ἐπαῖουσιν. ἄλλοισι δὲ δοκέει  
καὶ τάδε Δευκαλίωνος εἴνεκα ποιέεσθαι ἐκείνης ξυμφορῆς  
μνήματα, ὁκότε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τὰ οὖρεα καὶ ἐς τὰ περι-  
μήκεια τῶν δενδρέων ἦεισαν τὸ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ὀρρωδέοντες.  
ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν καὶ τάδε ἀπίθανα. δοκέω γε μὲν

1. ἀποκέκλιται Dind., Jac.: ἀποκέκριται MSS, Harm.

2. τριηκοσίων MSS, Harm: τριήκοντα Dind., Jac.

3. ἕνα φαλλόν N: added to GE by a later hand.

male clothing. Instead, they don feminine garments and do the work of women. As I heard it, the reason for this, too, is attributed to Combabus. For it once happened to him that a foreign woman came to a festival, saw him, handsome and still wearing male clothing, and fell madly in love. But when she later learned that he was not a whole man, she slew herself. As a result of this, Combabus, depressed because he was unlucky at love, donned female clothing, so that no other woman would be likewise deceived. This is the reason for the female garment of the Galli.

This is all I have to say about Combabus. I will discuss the Galli again in a later section, telling how they perform their castration, and how they are buried and why they do not enter the sanctuary. First, however, my spirit moves me to speak about the situation of the temple and of its size, and I shall so speak.

28 The site itself, where the sanctuary is built, is a hill. It lies right in the center of the city and double walls surround it. One of the walls is ancient, the other is not much older than we are. The entryway of the temple faces the north and its height is about 600 feet. In the gateway stand the phalli which Dionysus set up; they are 1800 feet high.<sup>1</sup> A man climbs up one of these phalli twice each year and lives on the tip of the phallus for a period of seven days. This reason is given for the ascent. The populace believes that he communes with the gods on high and asks for blessings on all Syria, and the gods hear the prayers from nearby. Others think that this, too, is done because of Deucalion, as a memorial of that disaster when men went to the mountains and the highest of the trees out of terror at the flood. Now, these explanations seem unbelievable to me. I think

---

1. On this absurdly large number see Harmon's note, *ad loc.*

Διονύσῳ σφέας καὶ τάδε ποιέειν, συμβάλλομαι δὲ τουτέοισι· φαλλοὺς ὅσοι Διονύσῳ ἐγείρουσιν, ἐν τοῖσι φαλλοῖσι καὶ ἄνδρας ξυλίνους κατίζουσιν, ὅτε μὲν εἵνεκα ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐρέω. δοκέει δ' ὦν μοι, καὶ ὅδε ἐς ἐκείνου μίμησιν τοῦ ξυλίνου ἀνδρὸς ἀνέρχεται. 29. ἡ δὲ οἱ ἄνοδος τοιήδε· σειρῆ μικρῆ<sup>1</sup> ἐωυτόν τε ἅμα καὶ τὸν φαλλὸν περιβάλλει, μετὰ δὲ ἐπιβαίνει ξύλων προσφυῶν τῷ φαλλῷ ὀκίσον ἐς χώραν ἄκρου ποδός· ἀνιῶν δὲ ἅμα ἀναβάλλει τὴν σειρὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὀκωσπερ ἠνιοχέων. εἰ δὲ τις τόδε μὲν οὐκ ὄπωπεν, ὄπωπε δὲ φοινικοβατέοντας ἢ ἐν Ἀραβίῃ ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ ἄλλοθί μου, οἶδε τὸ λέγω. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐς τέλος ἵκηται τῆς ὁδοῦ, σειρὴν ἑτέραν ἀφείς τὴν αὐτὸς ἔχει μακρὴν ταύτην, ἀνέλκει τῶν οἱ θυμός, ξύλα καὶ εἴματα καὶ σκεύεα, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔδρην συνδέων ὀκοίην καλιὴν ἰξάνει, μίμνει τε χρόνον τῶν εἶπον ἡμερέων. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπικνεόμενοι χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, οἱ δὲ χαλκόν, τὰ νομίζουσιν, ἐς ἐχῖνον πρόσθε κείμενον κατιᾶσιν,<sup>2</sup> λέγοντες τὰ οὐνόματα ἕκαστος. παρεστεῶς δὲ ἄλλος ἄνω ἀγγέλλει, ὃ δὲ δεξάμενος τοῦνομα εὐχολὴν ἐς ἕκαστον ποιέεται, ἅμα δὲ εὐχόμενος κροτέει ποίημα χάλκειον, τὸ αἰίδει μέγα καὶ τρηχὺ κινεόμενον· εὔδει δὲ οὐδαμά· ἦν γάρ μιν ὕπνος ἔλη ποτέ, σκορπίος ἀνιῶν ἀνεγείρει τε καὶ ἀεικέα ἐργάζεται, καὶ οἱ ἦδε ἡ ζημία τοῦ ὕπνου ἐπικέεται. τὰ μὲν ὦν ἐς τὸν σκορπίον μυθέονται, ἰρά τε καὶ θεοπρεπέα, εἰ δὲ ἀτρεκέα ἐστίν, οὐκ ἔχω ἐρέειν. δοκέει δέ μοι, μέγα ἐς ἀγρυπνίην συμβάλλεται καὶ τῆς πτώσιος ἢ ὀρρωδίῃ. φαλλοβατέων μὲν δὴ πέρι τοσάδε ἀρκέει. ὃ δὲ νηὸς ὀρέει μὲν ἐς ἠέλιον ἀνιόντα.

---

1. μικρῆ Kuster, eds.: μακρῆ MSS.

2. τὰ νομίζουσιν ἐς ἐκεῖνον (ἐχῖνον Harm.) πρόσθε κείμενον κατιᾶσιν ΓΕ: νομίζουσιν, εἶτ' ἀφέντες ἐκείνου πρόσθε κείμενα ἀπίασι N, Dind. Jac.

that they do this as well for Dionysus. I make the conjecture for these reasons: Whoever erects phalli to Dionysus sets on them wooden men--for what reason I will not say. At any rate, it seems to me that the man climbs up in imitation of this wooden man.

29       The ascent is like this: The man ties a short cord around himself and the phallus; then he goes up on pieces of wood attached to the phallus, large enough for his toes. As he ascends, he throws the cord up on both sides as though he were handling reins. If someone has not seen this but has seen those who climb the date palms either in Arabia or in Egypt or in some other place, then he knows what I mean.

When he reaches the end of his climb, he lets down another cord which he has. This is a long one, and with it he hauls up what he wants, wood and clothes and utensils, from which he puts together a dwelling like a nest, settles there and remains for the number of days I mentioned. Many come and deposit gold and silver, others deposit bronze, which they use as coin,<sup>1</sup> into a large jar which sits in front and each person says his name. Someone else stands by and calls up the name. The climber receives it and makes a prayer for each person. As he prays, he shakes a bronze device which sounds loud and sharp when it is moved. He never sleeps. If sleep ever does overtake him, a scorpion climbs up, wakes him and treats him unpleasantly. This is the penalty imposed on him for sleeping. They tell holy and pious stories about the scorpion. Whether they are accurate, I am unable to say. It seems to me that one thing that contributes greatly to wakefulness is the fear of falling. This is enough said about the Phallus-Climbers.

---

1. For the text here, cf. A.M. Harmon, "An emendation in Lucian's *Syrian Goddess*," *Classical Philology* 19 (1924) 72-74.

30. εἶδος δὲ καὶ ἐργασίην ἐστὶν οἰκίους νηοὺς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ ποιέουσιν. ἔδρη μεγάλη ἀνέχει ἐκ γῆς<sup>1</sup> μέγαθος ὀργυιέων δυοῖν, ἐπὶ τῆς δὲ νηὸς ἐπικέεται. ἀνοδος ἐς αὐτὸν λίθου πεποίηται, οὐ κάρτα μακρῆ. ἀνελθόντι δὲ θωῦμα μὲν καὶ ὁ πρόνηος μέγα παρέχεται θύρησί τε ἤσκηται χρυσέησιν. ἔνδοθεν δὲ ὁ νηὸς χρυσοῦ τε πολλοῦ ἀπολάμπεται καὶ ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα χρυσέη. ἀπόζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁδμὴ ἀμβροσίη οἰκίη λέγεται τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης, καὶ σοι τηλόθεν ἀνιόντι προσβάλλει πνοιὴν κάρτα ἀγαθὴν, καὶ ἦν αὖτις ἀπίης, οὐδαμὰ λείπεται, ἀλλὰ σευ τὰ τε εἶματα ἐς πολλὸν ἔχει τὴν πνοιὴν καὶ σὺ ἐς πάμπαν αὐτῆς μεμνήσεαι. 31. ἔνδοθεν δὲ ὁ νηὸς οὐκ ἀπλόος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ θάλαμος ἄλλος πεποίηται. ἀνοδος καὶ ἐς τοῦτον ὀλίγη. θύρησι δὲ οὐκ ἤσκηται, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀντίον ἅπας ἀναπέπταται. ἐς μὲν ὦν τὸν μέγαν νηὸν πάντες ἐσέρχονται, ἐς δὲ τὸν θάλαμον οἱ ἱρέες μοῦνον, οὐ μέντοι πάντες οἱ ἱρέες, ἀλλὰ οἱ μάλιστα ἀγχίθεοί τε εἰσι καὶ οἷσι πᾶσα ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν μέλεται θεραπευίη. ἐν δὲ τῷδε εἶναι τὰ ἔδεα, ἧ τε Ἥρη καὶ τὸν αὐτοὶ Δία ἐόντα ἐτέρω οὐνόματι κληίζουσιν. ἄμφω δὲ χρύσειοί τε εἰσι καὶ ἄμφω ἔζονται. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φέρουσιν, ὁ δὲ ταύροις ἐφέζεται. καὶ δῆτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἐς Δία πάντα ὀρη καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ εἶματα καὶ ἔδρην, καὶ μιν οὐδὲ ἐθέλων ἄλλως εἰκάσεις. 32. ἡ δὲ Ἥρη σκοπέοντί σοι πολυειδέα μορφήν ἐκφανέει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ξύμπαντα ἀτρεκέϊ λόγῳ Ἥρη ἐστίν. ἔχει δέ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Σεληναίης καὶ Ῥέης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Νεμέσιος καὶ Μοιρέων. χειρὶ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρῃ σκῆπτρον ἔχει, τῇ ἐτέρῃ δὲ ἄτρακτον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνάς τε φορέει καὶ πύργον καὶ κροστὸν, τῷ μούνην τὴν οὐρανίην κοσμέουσιν.

---

1. γῆς Longolius, eds.: τῆς MSS.

30           The temple faces the rising sun. In its form and structure, it is like the temples which they build in Ionia. A large platform rises above the ground to a height of 12 feet and on this the temple rests. A ramp up to it is made out of stone and is not very long. When one has ascended, the front hall of the temple presents a marvelous sight, for it is furnished with doors of gold. From within, the temple gleams with a great quantity of gold and the roof is all gold. An ambrosial fragrance comes from it, such as they say comes from the land of Arabia. And as you approach even from a distance it sends forth a scent that is very pleasant. And as you depart, it does not leave you. Your clothes retain the scent for a long time, and you remember it forever.

31           In the interior, the temple is not a single unit, for a second chamber has been made in it. The entry ramp to it is also short. It is not furnished with doors, but on the front it is completely open. All enter the large part of the temple, but into the chamber only priests go, and not even all the priests, but only those who are particularly close to the gods and to whom the overall service of the temple is entrusted. In this chamber are set statues of gods. One is Hera and the other is Zeus, whom, however, they call by another name. Both are of gold and both are seated, but lions support Hera, while the god sits on bulls.

          The statue of Zeus certainly looks like Zeus in every respect: his head, clothes, throne. Nor will you, even if you want to, liken him to anyone else.

32           As one looks at Hera, however, she presents many different forms. On the whole, she is certainly Hera, but she also has something of Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis and the Fates. In one hand she holds a scepter, in the other a spindle. On her head she bears rays and a tower and she wears a girdle with which they adorn only celestial Aphrodite.

ἔκτοσθεν δέ οἱ χρυσός τε ἄλλος περιέεται καὶ λίθοι κάρτα πολυτελέες, τῶν οἱ μὲν λευκοί, οἱ δὲ ὑδατώδεις, πολλοὶ δὲ οἰνώδεις, πολλοὶ δὲ πυρώδεις. ἔτι δὲ ὄνυχες οἱ Σαρδῶοι πολλοὶ καὶ ὑάκινθοι καὶ σμάραγδοι, τὰ φέρουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Αἰθίοπες καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι. τὸ δὲ δὴ μέζονος λόγου ἄξιον, τοῦτο ἀπηγήσομαι· λίθον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ φορέει, λυχνὶς καλέεται, οὔνομα δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἔργου ἢ συντυχίη. ἀπὸ τούτου ἐν νυκτὶ σέλας πολλὸν ἀπολάμπεται, ὑπὸ δὲ οἱ καὶ ὁ νηὸς ἅπας οἶον ὑπὸ λύχνοισι φαίνεται· ἐν ἡμέρῃ δὲ τὸ μὲν φέγγος ἀσθενεῖ. ἰδέην δὲ ἔχει κάρτα πυρώδεα. καὶ ἄλλο θυμαστόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ξόανῳ· ἦν ἐστεῶς ἀντίος ἐσορέης, ἐς σὲ ὀρῆ καὶ μεταβαίνοντι τὸ βλέμμα ἀκολουθεῖ, καὶ ἦν ἄλλος ἐτέρωθεν ἐσορέη,<sup>1</sup> ἴσα καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἐκτελέει. 33. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἔστηκε ξόανον ἄλλο χρύσειον οὐδαμὰ τοῖσιν ἄλλοισι ξόανοισιν ἴκελον. τὸ δὲ μορφὴν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν εἶδεα. καλέεται δὲ σημήιον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων, οὐδέ τι οὔνομα ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἔθεντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γενέσιος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδος λέγουσι· καὶ μιν οἱ μὲν ἐς Διόνυσον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐς Δευκαλίωνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σεμίραμιν ἄγουσι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὤν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ περιστερὴ χρυσὴ ἐφέστηκε. τοῦνεκα δὲ μυθέονται Σεμιράμιος ἔμμεναι τόδε σημήιον. ἀποδημέει δὲ δις ἐκάστου ἔτεος ἐς θάλασσαν ἐς κομιδὴν τοῦ εἶπον ὑδατος. 34. ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ νηῷ ἐσιόντων ἐν ἀριστερῇ κέεται πρῶτα μὲν θρόνος Ἡελίου, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔδος<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἔνι· μούνου δὲ Ἡελίου καὶ Σεληναίης ξόανα οὐ δεικνύουσιν. ὅτευ δὲ εἴνεκα

1. ἐσορέη Du Soul, Dind., Jac.: ἱστορέη MSS, Harm.

2. ἔδος eds.: εἶδος MSS.

On the surface of the statue is an overlay of gold and very costly gems, some of which are white, some the color of water, many have the hue of wine and many are fiery. There are also many sardonyxes and sapphires and emeralds, which the Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians and Babylonians bring.

I will tell what is worthy of a longer discussion. Hera bears a stone on her head. It is called a ruby light, and its name conforms with its function.<sup>1</sup> A great light shines from this by night, and the whole temple is illumined by it as if by lamps. By day its glow is weak, although the gem still has a very fiery quality. There is also another wondrous feature in the statue. If you stand opposite and look directly at it, it looks back at you and as you move its glance follows. If someone else looks at it from another side, it does the same things for him.

33 Between the two statues stands another golden image, not at all like the other statues. It does not have its own particular character, but it bears the qualities of the other gods. It is called "Sign" by the Assyrians themselves, and they have not given it any particular name, nor do they speak of its origin or form. Some attribute it to Dionysus, others to Deucalion, still others to Semiramis. Indeed, on its head stands a golden dove. For this reason, then, they say that this "Sign" belongs to Semiramis. Twice each year the statue journeys to the sea to fetch the water which I mentioned previously.<sup>2</sup>

34 In the temple itself, on the left of those entering, there is placed first the throne of Helios, but his image is not on it. For only of Helios and Selene do they not display statues. The reason for this

---

1. The word for the gem, *λυχνίς*, is associated with the word for lamp *λυχνός*.

2. See section 13.

ὧδε νομίζουσιν, ἐγὼ καὶ τόδε ἔμαθον. λέγουσι τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσιν ὅσιον ἔμμεναι ξόανα ποιέεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ σφέων ἐμφανέα πάντεσι τὰ εἶδεα. Ἡέλιος δὲ καὶ Σεληναίη πάμπαν ἐναργέες καὶ σφέας πάντες ὀρέουσι. κοίη ὧν αἰτίη ξοανουργίης τοῖσιν ἐν τῷ ἡέρι φαινομένοισι; 35. μετὰ δὲ τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον κέεται ξόανον Ἀπόλλωνος, οὐκ οἶον ἐώθεε ποιέεσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἀπόλλωνα νέον τε καὶ πρωθήβην ποιέουσι, μοῦνοι δὲ οὗτοι Ἀπόλλωνος γενειήτεω ξόανον δεικνύουσι, καὶ τάδε ποιέοντες ἐωυτοὺς μὲν ἐπαινέουσιν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ κατηγορέουσι καὶ ἄλλων, ὀκῶσοι Ἀπόλλωνα παῖδα θέμενοι ἰλάσκονται. αἰτίη δὲ ἦδε. δοκέει αὐτέοισιν ἀσοφίη μεγάλη ἔμμεναι ἀτελέα ποιέεσθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰ εἶδεα. τὸ δὲ νέον ἀτελές ἔτι νομίζουσιν. ἐν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τῷ σφετέρῳ Ἀπόλλωνι καινουργέουσι. μοῦνοι Ἀπόλλωνα εἴμασι κοσμέουσιν.

36. ἔργων δὲ αὐτοῦ πέρι πολλὰ μὲν ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ἐρέω δὲ τὸ μάλιστα θαυμάζειν ἄξιον. πρῶτα δὲ τοῦ μαντηίου ἐπιμνήσομαι. μαντήια πολλὰ μὲν παρ' Ἑλλησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ δὲ Ἀσίῃ πολλά ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὔτε ἰρέων ἄνευ οὔτε προφητέων φθέγγονται, ὅδε δὲ αὐτός τε κινέεται καὶ τὴν μαντηίην ἐς τέλος αὐτουργέει. τρόπος δὲ αὐτῆς τοιόσδε. εὔτ' ἂν ἐθέλη χρησμηγορέειν, ἐν τῇ ἔδρῃ πρῶτα κινέεται. οἱ δὲ μιν ἰρέες αὐτίκα ἀείρουσιν. ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀείρωσι, ὁ δὲ ἰδρώει καὶ ἐς μέζον ἔτι κινέεται. εὔτ' ἂν δὲ ὑποδύντες φέρωσιν, ἄγει σφέας πάντη περιδινέων καὶ ἐς ἄλλον ἐξ ἐτέρου μεταπηδέων. τέλος ὁ ἀρχιρεὺς ἀντιάσας ἐπερέεταί μιν περὶ ἀπάντων πρηγμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἦν τι μὴ ἐθέλη ποιέεσθαι, ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέει, ἦν δὲ τι ἐπαινέη, ἄγει ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοὺς προφέροντας ὀκωσπερ ἠνιοχέων. οὕτως μὲν συναγείρουσι τὰ θέσφατα καὶ οὔτε

custom I also discovered. They say it is right to make images for the other gods, for their forms are not visible to everyone, but Helios and Selene are completely visible and all see them. So, what reason is there to make statues of those gods who appear in the open air?

35 Behind this throne stands a statue of Apollo, but not as it is usually made. For all others think of Apollo as young and show him in the prime of youth. Only these people display a statue of a bearded Apollo. In acting in this way they commend themselves and accuse the Greeks and anyone else who worships Apollo as a youth. They reason like this. They think it utter stupidity to make the forms of the gods imperfect, and they consider youth an imperfect state. They make yet another innovation in their Apollo, for they alone adorn Apollo with clothing.

36 About his deeds I could say a great deal, but I will describe only what is especially remarkable. I will first mention the oracle. There are many oracles among the Greeks, many among the Egyptians, some in Libia and many in Asia. None of the others, however, speaks without priests or prophets. This god takes the initiative himself and completes the oracle of his own accord. This is his method. Whenever he wishes to deliver an oracle, he first moves on his throne, and the priests immediately lift him up. If they do not lift him, he begins to sweat and moves still more. When they put him on their shoulders and carry him, he leads them in every direction as he spins around and leaps from one place to another. Finally the chief priest meets him face to face and asks him about all sorts of things. If the god does not want something done, he moves backwards. If he approves of something, like a charioteer he leads forward those who are carrying him. In this manner they collect the divine utterances, and without

ἶρον πρῆγμα οὐδὲν οὔτε ἴδιον τούτου ἄνευ ποιέουσι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἔτεος περί και τῶν ὠρέων αὐτοῦ πασέων, καὶ ὁκότε οὐκ ἔρονται.<sup>1</sup> λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σημηίου περί, κότε χρή μιν ἀποδημέειν τήν εἶπον ἀποδημίην. 37. ἐρέω δὲ και ἄλλο, τὸ ἐμεῦ παρεόντος ἔπρηξεν. οἱ μὲν μιν ἰρέες ἀείροντες ἔφερον, ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν γῆ κάτω ἔλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μοῦνος ἐφορέετο. 38. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλ- λωνα ξόανόν ἐστιν Ἄτλαντος, μετὰ δὲ Ἑρμέω και Εἰ- λειθυίης.

39. Τὰ μὲν ὧν ἐντὸς τοῦ νηοῦ ὧδε κειοσμέαται· ἔξω δὲ βωμός τις κέεται μέγας χάλκeos. ἐν δὲ και ἄλλα ξόανα μυρία χάλκea βασιλέων τε και ἰρέων· καταλέξω δὲ τῶν μάλιστα ἄξιον μνήσασθαι. ἐν ἀριστερῇ τοῦ νεῶ Σεμιράμιος ξόανον ἔστηκεν ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν νηὸν ἐπιδεικνύουσα. ἀνέστη δὲ δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε· ἀνθρώποισιν, ὁκόσοι Συρίην οἰκέουσι, νόμον ἐποιέετο ἐωυτὴν μὲν ὁκως θεὸν ἰλάσκεσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων και αὐτῆς Ἥρης ἀλογέειν. και ὧδε ἐποίειον. μετὰ δὲ ὧς οἱ θεόθεν ἀπίκοντο νοῦσοί τε και συμφοραὶ<sup>2</sup> και ἄλγea, μανίης μὲν ἐκείνης ἀπεπαύσατο και θνητὴν ἐωυτὴν ὠμολόγεε και τοῖσιν ὑπηκόοισιν αὐτὶς ἐκέ- λευεν ἐς Ἥρην τρέπεσθαι. τούνεκα δὴ ἔτι τοιήδε ἀνέστηκε τοῖσιν ἀπικνεομένοισιν τὴν Ἥρην ἰλάσκεσθαι δεικνύουσα και θεὸν οὐκέτι ἐωυτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην ὁμολογέουσα.

40. εἶδον δὲ και αὐτόθι Ἑλένης ἄγαλμα και Ἐκάβης και Ἀνδρομάχης και Πάριδος και Ἑκτορος και Ἀχιλλέως. εἶδον δὲ και Νιρέως ἔδος<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Ἀγλαΐης και Φιλομήλην και Πρόκνην ἔτι γυναῖκας, και αὐτὸν Τηρέα ὄρνιθα, και ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Σεμιράμιος και Κομβάβου τὸ κατέλεξα, και Στρατονίκης κάρτα καλὸν και Ἀλεξάνδρου

1. ἔρονται Frit., eds.: ἔσονται MSS.

2. συμφοραὶ N, Du Soul, eds.: συμφορὴ ΓΕ.

3. ἔδος Dind., Jac.: εἶδος MSS, Harm.

this ritual they conduct no religious or personal business. The god also speaks of the year and of all its seasons, even when they do not ask. He also talks about the "Sign," when it must make the journey which  
 37 I have mentioned.<sup>1</sup> I will tell something else which he did while I was present. The priests were lifting him up and beginning to carry him, but he left them below on the ground and went off alone into the air.  
 38 Behind the statue of Apollo is one of Atlas, and behind that is one of Hermes and one of Eileithyia.

39 The objects within the temple are arrayed in the way we have described. Outside stands a large bronze altar. Also there are myriads of other bronze statues of kings and priests. I will enumerate the especially memorable ones. On the left of the temple stands a statue of Semiramis indicating the temple on her right. She was set up for this reason: She established a law for the inhabitants of Syria that they should worship her as a goddess and that they should ignore the other deities, even Hera herself, and this they did. Later, when the diseases, disasters and sorrows sent by the gods came upon them, she ceased from her madness, admitted her mortality, and ordered her subjects to turn once again to Hera. Therefore she still stands like this, demonstrating to those who come that they should worship Hera, and confessing that she is no longer a goddess but that the other is.

40 I also saw there statues of Helen, Hecabe, Andromache, Paris, Hector and Achilles. I also saw an image of Nereus, son of Aglaie, and of Philomele and Procne, when they were still women, and of Tereus himself as a bird and another statue of Semiramis and the one of Combabus which I have described,<sup>2</sup> and a very beautiful image of Stratonice, and one of Alexander

---

1. See section 33.

2. See section 26.

αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ Ἴκελον. παρὰ δέ οἱ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἔστηκεν ἄλλη μορφῇ καὶ ἄλλη στολῇ. 41. ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐλῇ ἄφετοι νέμονται βόες μεγάλοι καὶ ἵπποι καὶ αἰετοὶ καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμὰ σίνονται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἱροὶ τέ εἶσι καὶ χειροθήρες. 42. ἱρέες δὲ αὐτοῖσι πολλοὶ ἀποδεδέχονται, τῶν οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱρήια σφάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ σπονδηφορέουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ πυρφόροι καλέονται καὶ ἄλλοι παραβώμιοι. ἐπ' ἐμεῦ δὲ πλείονες καὶ τριηκοσίων ἐς τὴν θυσίην ἀπικνέοντο. ἐσθῆς δὲ αὐτέοισι πᾶσα λευκή, καὶ πῖλον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσιν. ἀρχιρεῦς δὲ ἄλλος ἐκάστου ἔτεος ἐπιγίγνεται, πορφυρέην τε μοῦνος οὔτος φορέει καὶ τιάρη χρυσῆν ἀναδέεται. 43. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἱρῶν αὐλητέων τε καὶ συριστέων καὶ Γάλλων, καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιμανέες τε καὶ φρενοβλαβέες. 44. θυσίη δὲ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐπιτελέεται, ἐς τὴν πάντες ἀπικνέονται. Διὶ μὲν ὦν κατ' ἡσυχίην θύουσιν οὔτε αἰείδοντες οὔτε αὐλέοντες. εὔτ' ἂν δὲ τῇ Ἥρῃ κατάρχωνται, αἰείδουσί τε καὶ αὐλέουσι καὶ κρόταλα ἐπικροτέουσι. καὶ μοι τούτου πέρι σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἶπεῖν ἐδύναντο. 45. ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίμνη αὐτόθι, οὐ πολλὸν ἐκὰς τοῦ ἱροῦ, ἐν τῇ ἰχθύες ἱροὶ τρέφονται πολλοὶ καὶ πολυειδέες. γίνονται δὲ αὐτέων ἔνιοι κάρτα μεγάλοι. οὔτοι δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα ἔχουσι καὶ ἔρχονται καλεόμενοι. ἐπ' ἐμεῦ δὲ τις ἔην ἐν αὐτέοισι χρυσοφορέων, ἐν τῇ πτέρυγι δὲ ποίημα χρύσεον αὐτέφ ἀνακέετο. καὶ μιν ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐθεησάμην, καὶ εἶχε τὸ ποίημα. 46. βάθος δὲ τῆς λίμνης πολλόν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐπειρήθην, λέγουσι δ' ὦν καὶ διηκοσίων ὀργυιέων πλέον ἔμμεναι. κατὰ μέσον δὲ αὐτῆς βωμὸς λίθου ἀνέστηκε. δοκέοις ἂν ἄφνω ἰδὼν πλώειν τέ μιν καὶ τῷ ὕδατι ἐποχέεσθαι, καὶ πολλοὶ ὧδε νομίζουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει στῦλος ὑφεστεῶς<sup>1</sup> μέγας ἀνέχειν

---

1. ὑφεστεῶς Gesener, eds.: ἐφεστεῶς MSS.

very much like him. Next to him stood Sardanapallus in an unusual form and with unusual clothing.

41 In the courtyard large bulls, horses, eagles, bears and lions graze at will. They do not harm men at all. Rather all are sacred and tame.

42 Many priests have been appointed for the inhabitants, some of whom slaughter the sacrificial beasts, and some bear the libations. Others are called "Fire-bearers" and others "Altar Attendants." While I was there more than three hundred attended the sacrifice. Their robes are entirely white, and they wear a pilos<sup>1</sup> on the head. A different high priest takes office each year. He alone wears purple and is crowned with  
43 a golden tiara. There is also another group of holy men, flute players, pipers and Galli, as well as women, who are frenzied and deranged.

44 Sacrifice is performed twice each day, and everyone comes to it. They sacrifice to Zeus in silence, neither singing nor playing the flute, but when they begin the ceremony to Hera, they sing and play flutes and shake rattles. They were unable to give me a clear explanation about this custom.

45 There is also a lake there, not far from the sanctuary. In it many sacred fish of different kinds are raised. Some of them become quite large. These fish have names and come when they are summoned. When I was there, there was one among them wearing gold. On its fin rests a golden artifact. I often saw the fish, and it always had the object.

46 The depth of the lake is great. I did not test it, but they say that it is more than 1200 feet deep. In its middle stands an altar of stone. At first glance you might think it is adrift and floating on the water and many actually believe that it is, but I think that a great pile stands beneath it and supports

---

1. This was a tall felt cap traditionally worn by eastern priests.

τὸν βωμόν. ἔστεπται δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ θυώματα ἔχει. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκάστης ἡμέρης κατ' εὐχὴν ἐς αὐτὸν νηχόμενοι στεφανηφορέουσι. 47. γίνονται δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ πανηγύριές τε μέγισται, καλέονται δὲ ἐς τὴν λίμνην καταβάσιες, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῆσιν ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὰ ἰρὰ πάντα κατέρχεται, ἐν τοῖσιν ἡ Ἥρη πρώτη ἀπικνέεται τῶν ἰχθύων εἵνεκα, μὴ σφέας ὁ Ζεὺς πρῶτος ἴδῃται· ἦν γὰρ τόδε γένηται, λέγουσιν ὅτι πάντες ἀπόλλυνται. καὶ δῆτα ὁ μὲν ἔρχεται ὀψόμενος, ἡ δὲ πρόσω ἰσταμένη ἀπέργει τέ μιν καὶ πολλὰ λιπαρέουσα ἀποπέμπει. 48. μέγισται δὲ αὐτέοισι πανηγύριες, αἷ ἐς θάλασσαν νομίζονται. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τουτέων πέρι σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον αὐτὸς οὐδὲ ἐπειρήθην ταύτης τῆς ὁδοιπορίας. τὰ δὲ ἐλθόντες ποιέουσιν, εἶδον καὶ ἀπηγήσομαι. ἀγγήϊον ἕκαστος ὕδατι σεσαγμένον φέρουσι, κηρῷ δὲ τάδε σεσήμανται· καὶ μιν οὐκ αὐτοὶ λυσάμενοι χέονται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀλεκτρυῶν ἰρός, οἰκέει δ' ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ, ὅς ἐπεὰν σφέων δέξηται τὰ ἀγγήια τὴν τε σφρηγῖδα ὀρῆ, καὶ<sup>1</sup> μισθὸν ἀρνύμενος ἀνά τε λύει τὸν δεσμὸν καὶ τὸν κηρὸν ἀπαιρέεται, καὶ πολλαὶ μνῆες ἐκ τουτέου τοῦ ἔργου τῷ ἀλεκτρυόνι ἀγείρονται. ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς τὸν νηὸν αὐτοὶ ἐνεΐκαντες σπένδουσί τε καὶ θύσαντες ὀπίσω ἀπονοστέουσιν.

49. Ὀρτέων δὲ πασέων τῶν οἷδα μεγίστην τοῦ εἴαρος ἀρχομένου ἐπιτελέουσι, καὶ μιν οἱ μὲν πυρὴν, οἱ δὲ λαμπάδα καλέουσι. θυσίην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τοιήνδε ποιέουσι· δένδρεα μεγάλα ἐκκόψαντες ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἐστᾶσι, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες αἰγὰς τε καὶ οἷας καὶ ἄλλα κτήνεα ζῶα ἐκ τῶν δενδρέων ἀπαρτέουσιν· ἐν δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες καὶ εἵματα καὶ χρύσεια καὶ ἀργύρεα ποιήματα. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐντελέα πάντα ποιήσωνται,

---

1. καὶ del. Dind. Jac.

the altar. It is always garlanded and has incense, and each day many people, to fulfill a vow, swim out carrying garlands.

47 At that spot great festivals also take place, and they are called "Descents to the Lake," because on these occasions all the sacred objects go down to the lake. Among them Hera goes first, for the sake of the fish, for fear Zeus see them first. For if this happens, they say that all the fish perish. He does come to have a look, but she stands in front of him, holds him off and with many entreaties sends him away.

48 Their greatest festivals are those customarily observed by the sea. About these I have no reliable information to give, for I did not attend the festival myself, nor did I attempt this pilgrimage. I did see what they do when they have returned and I will describe it. Each person brings a vessel filled with water and these are sealed with wax. They themselves do not break the seal and pour out the water. Instead, there is a sacred cock,<sup>1</sup> which lives by the lake. He receives the vessels from them, inspects the seal, and, when he receives a fee, breaks the bond and takes away the wax. Much money is collected by the cock as a result of this activity. Then they carry the water into the temple, pour libations and once they have sacrificed, they return home.

49 Of all the festivals I know about, however, the greatest is the one they hold at the beginning of spring. Some call it "Fire-Festival," others "Lamp Festival." During the festival they sacrifice like this: They chop down large trees and stand them in the courtyard. Then they drive in goats, sheep and other livestock and hang them alive from the trees. In the trees are also birds, clothes, and gold and silver artifacts. When they have made everything ready, they

---

1. This "cock" might well have been a priest dressed as a bird. Cf. Betz, Lukian, 30f.

περιενείκοντες τὰ ἱρὰ περὶ τὰ δένδρεα πῦρ<sup>1</sup> ἐνιαῖσι, τὰ  
 δὲ αὐτίκα πάντα καίονται. ἐς ταύτην τὴν ὀρθὴν πολλοὶ  
 ἄνθρωποι ἀπικνέονται ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ τῶν πέριξ χωρέων  
 πασέων, φέρουσί τε τὰ ἐσωτῶν ἱρὰ ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ σημήια  
 ἕκαστοι ἔχουσιν ἐς τάδε μεμιμημένα. 50. ἐν ῥητῆσι δὲ  
 ἡμέρησι τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν ἀγείρονται, Γάλλοι δὲ  
 πολλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἔλεξα ἱροὶ ἄνθρωποι τελέουσι τὰ ὄργια,  
 τάμνονταί τε τοὺς πήχεας καὶ τοῖσι νώτοισι πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 τύπτονται. πολλοὶ δὲ σφίσι παρεστεῶτες ἐπαυλέουσι,  
 πολλοὶ δὲ τύμπανα παταγέουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ αείδουσιν ἔνθεα  
 καὶ ἱρὰ ᾄσματα. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐκτὸς τοῦ νηοῦ τότε γίγνεται,  
 οὐδὲ ἐσέρχονται ἐς τὸν νηὸν ὁκόσοι τότε ποιέουσιν.  
 51. ἐν ταύτησι τῆσιν ἡμέρησι καὶ Γάλλοι γίγνονται· ἐπεὰν  
 γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι<sup>2</sup> αὐλέωσί τε καὶ ὄργια<sup>3</sup> ποιέωνται, ἐς πολλοὺς  
 ἤδη ἡ μανίη ἀπικνέεται, καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ ἐς θῆην ἀπικόμενοι  
 μετὰ δὲ τοιάδε ἔπραξαν. καταλέξω δὲ καὶ τὰ ποιέουσιν· ὁ  
 νεηνίης, ὅτῳ τάδε ἀποκείαται, ῥίψας τὰ εἴματα μεγάλη βοῆ  
 ἐς μέσον ἔρχεται καὶ ξίφος ἀναιρέεται· τὸ δὲ πολλὰ<sup>4</sup> ἔτεα,  
 ἐμοὶ δοκέει, διὰ τοῦτο<sup>5</sup> ἔστηκε. λαβὼν δὲ αὐτίκα τάμνει  
 ἐσωτὸν θέει τε διὰ τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῆσι χερσὶ φέρει τὰ  
 ἔταμεν. ἐς οἰκίην δὲ οἰκίην τάδε ἀπορρίψει, ἔκ ταύτης  
 ἐσθῆτά τε θηλέην καὶ κόσμον τὸν γυναικῆιον λαμβάνει.  
 τάδε μὲν ἐν τῆσι τομῆσι ποιέουσιν. 52. ἀποθανόντες δὲ  
 Γάλλοι οὐκ ὁμοίην ταφὴν τοῖσιν ἄλλοισι θάπτονται, ἀλλ'  
 ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃ Γάλλος, οἱ ἑταῖροί μιν αείραντες ἐς τὰ  
 προάστεια φέρουσι, θέμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ φέρτρον,

---

1. πῦρ Zucker, O'Neill: πυρὴν MSS, eds.

2. οἱ ἄλλοι MSS, eds.: οἱ Γάλλοι Frit.

3. ὄργια Du Soul, eds.: ὄρκια MSS.

4. τὸ δὲ πολλὰ Harm: τὰ δὲ πολλὰ MSS, Dind. Jac.

5. διὰ τοῦτο Dind., Jac.: καὶ τοῦτο Harm.

carry the sacred objects around the trees and throw fire<sup>1</sup> in, and everything is immediately burnt. Many men come to this feast from Syria and all the surrounding lands. Each group brings its own holy objects and each has a "Sign" made in imitation of the one here.

50 On appointed days, the crowd assembles at the sanctuary while many Galli and the holy men whom I have mentioned perform the rites. They cut their arms and beat one another on the back. Many stand about them playing flutes, while many others beat drums. Still others sing inspired and sacred songs. This ceremony takes place outside the temple and none of those who performs it enters the temple.

51 On these days, too, men become Galli. For while the rest are playing flutes and performing the rites, frenzy comes upon many, and many who have come simply to watch subsequently perform this act. I will describe what they do. The youth for whom these things lie in store throws off his clothes, rushes to the center with a great shout and takes up a sword, which, I believe, has stood there for this purpose for many years. He grabs it and immediately castrates himself. Then he rushes through the city holding in his hands the parts he has cut off. He takes female clothing and women's adornment from whatever house he throws these parts into. This is what they do at the Castration.

52 At death Galli do not receive a burial like other men. Instead, whenever a Gallus dies, his companions lift him up and carry him to the outskirts of the city. They set him down along with the bier with

---

1. Πυρὴν as object of ἐνιᾶσιν makes no sense. See the discussion by F. Zucker, *Orientalia*, n.s. 8 (1939). 383: If one keeps ἐνιᾶσι, one should read πῦρ ἐνιᾶσι (sc. τοῖσι δένδροισι); πυρὴν may be due to a confusion with the name of the festival. If, however, one keeps πυρὴν, ἐνιᾶσι must be changed; Zucker proposes to change it to ἐναύουσι ("they set on fire").

τῷ ἐκόμισαν, ὑπερθε λίθους βάλλουσι, καὶ τάδε πρήξαντες ὀπίσω ἀπονοστέουσι. φυλάξαντες δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ἀριθμὸν οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐσέρχονται· πρὸ δὲ τουτέων ἦν ἐσέλθωσιν, οὐκ ὄσια ποιέουσι. 53. νόμοισι δὲ ἐς ταῦτα χρέωνται τουτέοισιν· ἦν μὲν τις αὐτέων νέκυν ἴδῃται, ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν οὐκ ἀπικνέεται, τῇ ἐτέρῃ δὲ καθήρας ἑωυτὸν ἐσέρχεται. αὐτέων δὲ τῶν οἰκηίων τοῦ νέκυος ἕκαστοι φυλάξαντες ἀριθμὸν ἡμερέων τριήκοντα καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ξυράμενοι ἐσέρχονται, πρὶν δὲ τάδε ποιῆσαι, οὐ σφίσιν ἐσιέναι ὄσιον. 54. θύουσι δὲ βόας ἄρσενάς τε καὶ θήλεας καὶ αἴγας καὶ ὄϊας· σύας δὲ μούνας ἐναγέας νομίζοντες οὔτε θύουσιν οὔτε σιτέονται. ἄλλοι δ' οὐ σφέας ἐναγέας, ἀλλὰ ἱρούς νομίζουσιν. ὀρνίθων τε αὐτέοισι περιστερὴ χρῆμα ἱρότατον καὶ οὐδὲ ψαύειν αὐτέων δικαιοῦσι· καὶ ἦν ἀέκοντες ἄψωνται, ἐναγέες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην εἰσί. τοῦνεκα δὴ αὐτέοισι σύννομοί τε εἰσι καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκήια ἐσέρχονται καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν γῆ νέμονται.

55. Λέξω δὲ καὶ τῶν πανηγυριστέων τὰ ἕκαστοι ποιέουσιν· ἀνὴρ εὔτ' ἂν ἐς τὴν ἱρὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἀπικνέηται, κεφαλὴν μὲν ὄδε καὶ ὄφρύας ἐξύρατο, μετὰ δὲ ἱρεύσας ὄϊν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρεουργεῖ τε καὶ εὐωχέεται, τὸ δὲ νάκος χαμαὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τούτου ἐς γόνυ ἔζεται, πόδας δὲ καὶ κεφαλὴν τοῦ κτήνεος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἀναλαμβάνει, ἅμα δὲ εὐχόμενος αἰτέει τὴν μὲν παρεοῦσαν θυσίην δέκεσθαι, μέζω δὲ ἐσαῦτις ὑπισχνέεται. τελέσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀκόσοι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀπικνέονται. ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ὁδοιπορέει ὕδασί τε ψυχροῖσι χρεόμενος λουτρῶν τε καὶ πόσιος εἶνεκα καὶ ἐς πάμπαν χαμαικοιτέων· οὐ γὰρ οἱ εὐνῆς ἐπιβῆναι ὄσιον, πρὶν τὴν τε ὁδὸν

which they carried him. Then they pile up stones upon him and after completing this task they return home. They observe a period of seven days, then enter the sanctuary. If they enter before this time, they com-  
 53 mit a sacrilege. In such matters they abide by the following customs: If anyone of them sees a corpse, he does not enter the sanctuary that day. On the following day, after purifying himself, he enters. When the corpse is that of a relative, they observe thirty days, shave their heads and then enter the temple. It is sacrilegious for them to enter sooner.

54 They sacrifice bulls and cows as well as goats and sheep. Swine alone they consider polluted, neither sacrificing nor eating them. Other people consider them holy, not polluted. Among birds they believe the dove to be something most holy and they do not think it right even to touch one. Indeed, if they touch one inadvertently, they are under a curse for that day. Consequently, doves are their associates. They come into their homes and often feed on the floor.

55 Now I will tell what each of the pilgrims does.<sup>1</sup> Whenever someone is about to come to the Holy City, he shaves his head and his eyebrows. Then after sacrificing a sheep, he carves it and dines on the other parts. The fleece, however, he lays on the ground and kneels upon it, and the feet and the head of the animal he puts on his own head. When he prays, he asks that the present sacrifice be accepted and promises a larger one for the next time. After finishing these activities he puts a garland on his own head and those of everyone making the same pilgrimage. Then he sets out from his own country and makes the journey, using cold water both for bathing as well as drinking, and he always sleeps on the ground, for it is a sacrilege for him to touch a bed before he

---

1. Cf. section 48.

ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ αὐτις ἀπικέσθαι. 56. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἱρῇ πόλι ἐκδέκεται μιν ἀνὴρ ξεινοδόκος ἀγνοέοντα· ῥητοὶ γὰρ δὴ ὧν ἐκάστης πόλιος αὐτόθι ξεινοδόκοι εἰσί, καὶ τόδε πατρόθεν οἴκοι δέκονται. καλέονται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων οἷδε διδάσκαλοι, ὅτι σφίσι πάντα ὑπηγέονται. 57. θύουσι δὲ οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν παραστήσῃ τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἱρήιον, ἐπισπείσας, αὐτις ἄγει ζῶν ἐς τὰ οἰκήια, ἐλθὼν δὲ κατ' ἑωυτὸν θύει τε καὶ εὔχεται. 58. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλης θυσίης τρόπος τοιόσδε· στέψαντες τὰ ἱρήια, ζῶὰ ἐκ τῶν προφυλαίων ἀπιᾶσι, τὰ δὲ κατενειχθέντα θνήσκουσι. ἐνιοι δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἑωυτῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιᾶσιν, οὐκ ὁμοίως τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς πῆρην ἐνθέμενοι χειρὶ κατάγουσιν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτέοισιν ἐπικερτομέοντες λέγουσιν ὅτι οὐ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ βόες εἰσί. 59. στίζονται δὲ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι στιγματηφορέουσι. 60. ποιέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο μούνοισιν Ἑλλήνων Τροιζηνίοισιν ὁμολογέοντες. λέξω δὲ καὶ τὰ κείνοι ποιέουσι. Τροιζηνιοὶ τῆσι παρθένοισι καὶ τοῖσιν ἡιθέοισι νόμον ἐποίησαντο μὴ σφιν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως γάμον εἶναι, πρὶν Ἰππολύτῳ κόμας κείρασθαι· καὶ ὧδε ποιέουσι. τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ πόλι γίγνεται. οἱ μὲν νεηνία τῶν γενείων ἀπάρχονται, τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι<sup>2</sup> πλοκάμους ἱρούς ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπιᾶσι, τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ γένωνται, τάμνουσί τε καὶ ἐς ἄγγεα καταθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀργύρεα, πολλοὶ δὲ χρύσεια ἐν τῷ νηῷ προσηλώσαντες ἀπίασιν

---

1. μὴ σφιν Jac.: μὴ μιν MSS, Dind., Harm.

2. τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι Du Soul, Dind., Jac.: τοῖς δὲ νέοισι MSS Harm.

completes the journey and returns to his own country.

56 In the Holy City a host whom he does not know receives him, for there are specified hosts there for each city and they inherit this family duty. These men are called by the Assyrians "Instructors," because they explain everything to the pilgrims.

57 People do not sacrifice in the sanctuary itself, but when each has brought the sacrificial animal to the altar and has made a libation, he leads it off again alive to his own dwelling. Once there, he sacrifices it and prays by himself.

58 There is another form of sacrifice here. After putting a garland on the sacrificial animals they hurl them down alive from the gateway<sup>1</sup> and the animals die from the fall. Some even throw their children off the place, but not in the same manner as the animals. Instead, having laid them in a pallet, they lower them down by hand. At the same time they mock them and say that they are oxen, not children.

59 All people are marked, some on their wrists and some on their necks. For this reason all Assyrians carry a mark.

60 Another thing they do resembles a custom which occurs among the Greeks only at Troezen. I will tell what these Greeks do. The people of Troezen have a custom for their virgins and young men that they do not marry at all until they cut their locks in honor of Hippolytus, and this they do. This occurs also in the Holy City. The young men make an offering of their beards, while the young women let their "sacred locks" grow from birth and when they finally come to the temple, they cut them. When they have placed them in containers, some of silver and many of gold, they nail them up to the temple, and they depart after each

---

1. Victims may have been thrown from atop the gateway, or, more likely, from the platform at the gateway. Cf. sections 28 and 30.

ἐπιγράψαντες ἕκαστοι τὰ οὐνόματα. τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ νέος  
ἔτι ὦν ἐπετέλεσα, καὶ ἔτι μευ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος  
καὶ τὸ οὔνομα.

inscribes his name. When I was still a youth I, too, performed this ceremony and even now my locks and name are in the sanctuary.





D-8148  
5-13





BL  
1060  
L7813

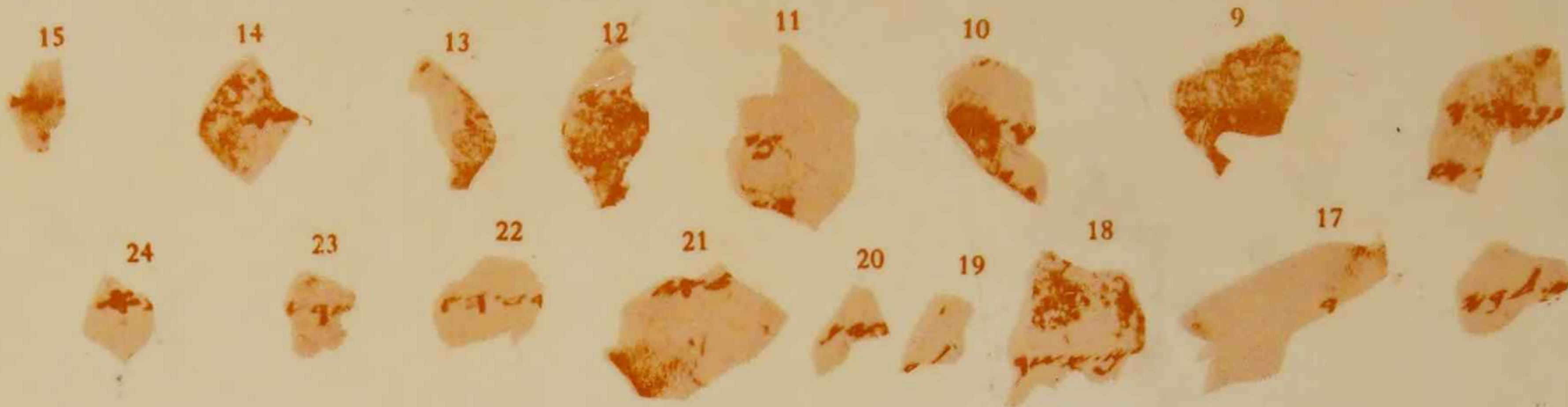
Lucianus Samosatensis.  
The Syrian goddess (De dea Syria). Attributed  
to Lucian by Harold W. Attridge and Robert A.  
Oden. [Missoula, Mont.] Pub. by Scholars Press  
for the Society of Biblical Literature [c1976]  
61p. 24cm. (Graeco-Roman religion series, 1)  
(Society of Biblical Literature. Texts and  
translations, 9)

Greek text and English translation on opposite pages.

1. Hierapolis, Asia Minor--Religion. 2. Cultus--Hierapolis,  
Asia Minor. I. Attridge, Harold W. II. Oden, Robert A.  
III. Title. IV. Series. V. Series.

CCSC/sk

# TEXTS & TRANSLATIONS 9



# GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGION

