

A NEW TRANSLATION OF LUCIAN'S DE DEA SYRIA
WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE CULT AT HIERAPOLIS

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
M.A.

in the Department
of
Classics

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

The University of British Columbia
September, 1967

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Date Sept 14, 1967.

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to provide a new translation of Lucian's De Dea Syria, and a discussion of the cult at Hierapolis. The translation is intended to be a clear and simple rendition of the text.

The location of Hierapolis, the city Lucian describes, in northern Syria makes it possible for the cult to be derived either from Asia Minor or from Syria. The discoveries of Ras Shamra, however, have provided a picture of a fertility cult of the second millennium B. C., and Hierapolis seems to exhibit a later version of this religious pattern. First of all, the names of the chief deities, Atargatis and Hadad, reflect a Syrian origin since both are Semitic. Second, the myths that Lucian relates of the Flood and of Stratonike and Kombabos also seem to derive from a Syrian or Mesopotamian background. Finally, the rites practised there fit in with the fertility cult of Syria satisfactorily.

The possibility of influence from Asia Minor, especially in later times, must always be considered, however, and the presence of the Galli at Hierapolis, as well as some of the structure of the spring feast, may be a result of influence from there. In the main, however, the cult seems basically Syrian, and there seems no need to search for a non-Syrian origin.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to present a new translation of Lucian's De Dea Syria with notes on the various Syrian cults he describes and their relationship to the cult of Hierapolis. In this way, I hope to shed some light on the possible background of the cult of Hierapolis. One of the essential sources for determining the background of Syrian cults is the Ras Shamra (Ugarit) material. This contains poems about the gods of Syria in the second half of the second millennium B. C., and presents a great deal of information about the background of the later cults in Syria. J. Garstang and H. Stocks (The Syrian Goddess, London, 1913) prepared a commentary and translation of the De Dea Syria, but could not use this material which was not discovered until 1929 and not widely published until the forties. The translation, moreover, is sometimes inaccurate. A. Harmon (The Works of Lucian, Vol. IV, London, 1925) translated the work into sixteenth century English in order to give the effect that the Ionic Greek of Herodotus would have had on the second century A.D. reader. His notes do not utilize the Ugaritic material, and, although they are sometimes very helpful, they are usually very brief. C. Clemen (Lukians Schrift über die Syrische Göttin, Der Alte Orient, XXXVII, 3/4, Leipzig, 1938) translated the work into German, but his commentary again does not seem to utilize the material of Ras Shamra sufficiently.

In this work I have attempted to provide a new translation and a commentary which makes use of the Ugaritic material as well as the work of the earlier commentators. My main contention is that the cult at Hierapolis seems simply and satisfactorily explained as Syrian, and that it is unnecessary to postulate non-Syrian origins for the cult.

For the translation I have used the text *Περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεᾶς* printed in A. W. Harmon, The Works of Lucian, Vol. IV, London, 1925, pp. 338-410, and have followed the reading of this version throughout. The translation is literal in nature and seeks to provide a clear and simple rendition of Lucian's work.

The authorship of the *De Dea Syria* has been questioned but most authorities feel that the work was composed by Lucian. G. Goossens (Hierapolis de Syrie, Louvain, 1943, p. 17.) lists the following who do so:

- M. Croisset, Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Lucien, Paris, 1882.
- O. Stahlin, Geschichte des Griechischenliteratur, II, 1, Munich, 1924.
- W. W. Baudissin, Adonis und Esmun, Leipzig, 1911.
- F. Cumont, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain, Paris, 1929.
- C. Clemen, Lukians Schrift über die Syrische Gottin, Leipzig, 1938.
- J. Frazer, Folk-lore in the Old Testament, London, 1919.
- R. Dussaud, "A propos du dieu syrien Hadad", Journal asiatique, 1910, II.
- J. Garstang and H. Strong, The Syrian Goddess, London, 1913.
- F. G. Allinson, "Pseudo-ionism in the second century A.D.", American Journal of Philology, VII, 1886.
- D. Pennick, Notes on Lucian's Syrian Goddess, Studies in Honor of B. Gildersleeve, Baltimore, 1902.

However H. Helm ("Lukianos", Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie

XIII, pp. 1760ff.) and M. Caster (Lucien et la pensée religieuse de son temps, Paris, 1937, pp. 360-64) reject his authorship. Their objection is based upon the fact that Lucian seems so credulous in some of his statements and not satirical at all. If the work is to be ascribed to Lucian, it must be satirical because of the nature of his other writings. Thus Caster does not accept Lucian as the author of the work because, for instance, the writer of the De Dea Syria tells us that he finds the wind that blows the red sand into the river Adonis a miraculous event (c.8) and that he himself has seen the statue of Apollo fly in the air (c. 37). Lucian, however, could be joking in such cases by his solemnity; a parody is often ironic. Anatole France's Le Jongleur de Notre Dame is an example.

If the work is by Lucian, it has limited value for determining historical situations since Lucian's genre was satire and thus he would not be reluctant to exaggerate or even to make up evidence about a religious cult he was satirizing. The work is an imitation of Herodotus and Lucian with tongue in cheek describes the extraordinary rites of Hierapolis and other places in Syria and Phoenicia. Thus it is difficult to justify the use of such a work in order to determine the historical reality of Syrian cults unless Lucian's statements are tested by outside sources of information. Presumably what Lucian satirizes has a background or basis of fact which can be confirmed by the help of this extraneous

material. Upon this assumption I have endeavoured in this thesis to determine the essential features of the cult of Hierapolis by making use of the other known sources of information concerning the cults of Syria.

Finally, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor H. Edinger for his careful (and many!) corrections of my translation, to Professor H. Kassis for his generous guidance in the preparation of the commentary, and to Miss Mary Russell and Miss Shirley Darcus for their assistance in typing the first draft.

SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIBING CANAANITE DIALECTS

The symbol ' represents the X or 'alef, the glottal stop. This letter is not a vowel, but a consonant, and merely indicates that the speaker closes his glottis before pronouncing whatever vowel follows. The word 'adōn, 'lord' begins with this letter.

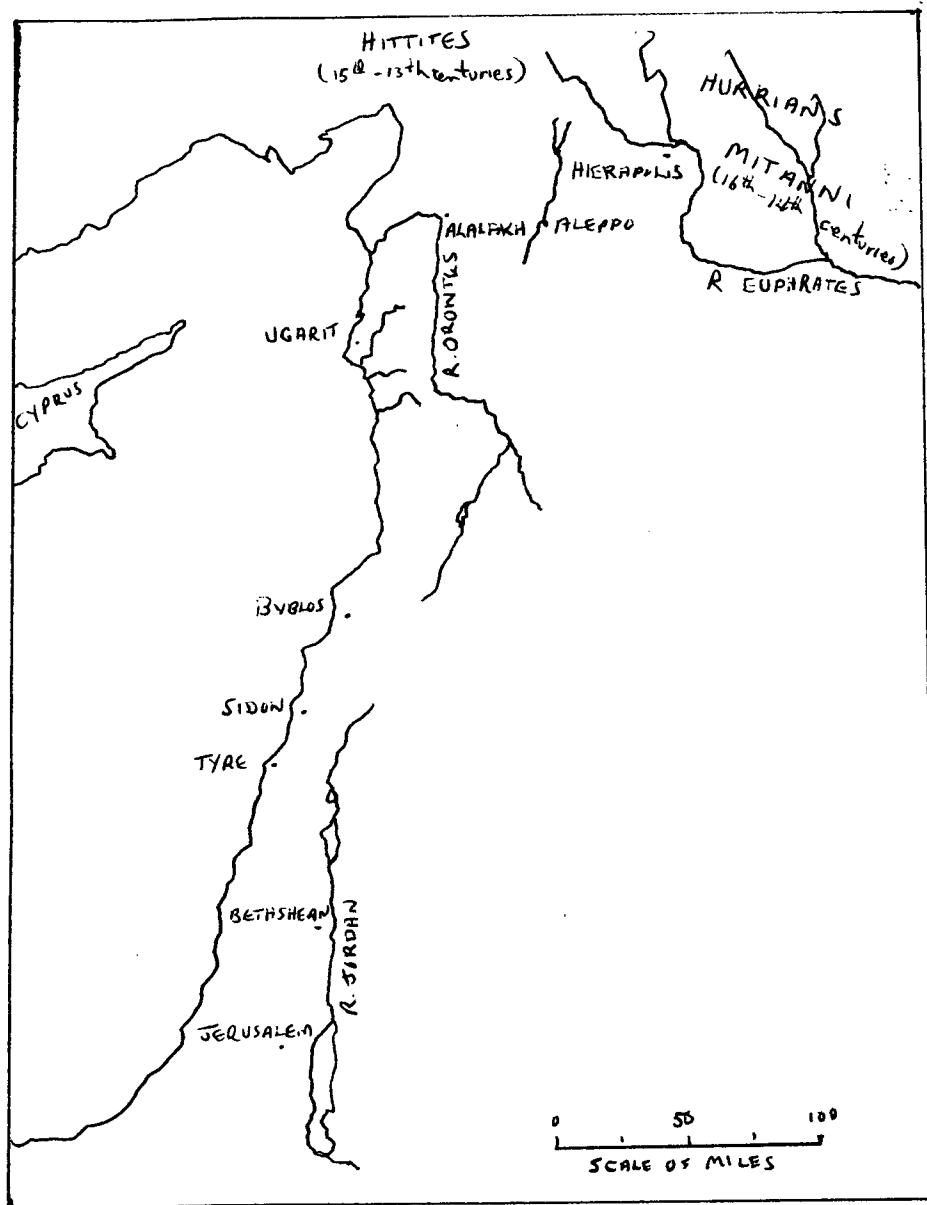
The symbol ' represents the Y or 'ayin. The sound involved is a voiced fricative laryngeal, and does not occur in Indo-European languages. This sound begins the names Anat, Ate, Ashtar, and Astarte, but is not usually transcribed.

The letter 'š', with the dot underneath, represents the X or šade, an emphatic voiceless dental fricative. It is the emphatic 's' sound similar to 'ts'. The dot denotes an emphatic.

The letter 's' with the curved line over it (š) represents a non-emphatic voiceless palato-alveolar fricative. In other words it is the 'sh' sound of the word 'shoe'.

The letter 't' with a line under it (t) represents the spirantized 'th' sound in the English 'thin'. The line under a letter represents spirantization.

The symbol 'ḥ' represents a strongly guttural 'h'.



INTRODUCTION

The main problem concerned with Lucian's De Dea Syria lies in determining the background and nature of the cult he describes. Lucian presents a picture of the cult at Hierapolis in the second century A. D., but his description is involved at a surface level either with interesting stories attached to the sanctuary or with details of its rites and architecture. His main purpose seems to have been to present an entertaining survey of the chief oddities of a religious cult in the style of similar descriptions found in Herodotus, rather than to produce a consistent or reasoned religious commentary. Viewed in this light, the work does not need a commentary to achieve its purpose, but from another point of view, the document presents a glimpse of ancient Syrian culture, and in this context we wish to present a fuller picture of the origin of the cult so that we may understand more fully the background of Lucian's description. Then if the author's general information can be illuminated, the details he gives in turn can be used to broaden our picture of Syrian culture in the Greco-Roman period.

The actual explication of the cult at Hierapolis has never been easy because of the lack of information concerning ancient Syrian religion. Moreover, the city's location in the north of Syria, if considered in itself, allows the hypothesis that the cult was derived from Asia

Minor and not from Syria at all. Consequently J. Garstang¹ in 1913 proposed that the cult reflected the Great Goddess and God of the Hittites. The discoveries, however, at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) on the coast of Syria have revealed a general picture of ancient Syrian religion, and the cult at Hierapolis seems to reflect this background more than that of Asia Minor. First, the names of the chief deities, Atargatis and Hadad, reflect a Syrian origin since both are Semitic. Second, the myths that Lucian relates of the Flood and of Stratonike and Kombabos also seem to derive from a Syrian or Mesopotamian background. Finally, the rites practised there seem to match the nature of the climate of Syria, and not of Asia Minor, and fit in with the fertility cult of Syria.

An examination of the myths and epics of Ugarit provides a broad basis for understanding the character of Atargatis and Hadad. The main epic concerns the death and reappearance of the vegetation god Baal-Hadad through the help of his sister-consort Anat. A picture of four important gods emerges from these texts. These are El, Baal-Hadad, Anat, and Mot.

The figure El is the head of the Ugaritic pantheon as the senior god and creator of the divine family. He is considered primarily as the establisher of the social order and as the father of the community. The word 'El' itself

¹J. Garstang, H. Strong, The Syrian Goddess, London, 1913.

is thought to derive from the root 'wl', 'to be strong, to be the leader'.² At Ugarit, however, El was really only the titular head of the pantheon. In the Ugaritic texts, the chief divinity is Baal-Hadad, and he played the most prominent role in the fertility cult and was the foremost god of reproduction.

One of the central episodes of the Ugaritic myths centres around the three gods Baal-Hadad, Anat, and Mot. Baal-Hadad was the chief god of the Ugaritic pantheon. The term 'baal' simply means 'lord', and the term became applied especially to the god Hadad who was the storm god of the Syrians, and hence the god of fertility since Syria depends on the rainfall for its crops.³

Although El is creator of the divine family and father of the important divinities at Ugarit, Baal nevertheless is not the son of El but of Dagon, the wheat god of the Amorites, that is, of the Semites of the west.⁴ The two temples excavated at Ugarit are ascribed to Baal and Dagon. Dagon, however, does not play a role in the myths, and from the fact that Baal is his son, Baal may have taken over his functions.⁵ This confusion in genealogy makes it very difficult to determine the origin of Baal-Hadad. In fact,

²M. Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities", in Le Antiche Divinità Semitiche, S. Moscati, ed., Rome, 1958, p. 74.

³Ibid., p. 76.

⁴R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu de Hierapolis de Syrie?", Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, CXXVI, 1942-43, II, pp. 128-49.

⁵J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, Leiden, 1957, p. 132.

one episode in the myths is concerned with the construction of a temple for Baal since he alone of the gods in the realm of El does not possess one. Thus it is thought that Baal-Hadad was introduced into the pantheon of Ugarit at a date sometime after its primary formation, but it is not certain from exactly what source. He shows similarities to the Indo-Aryan mountain god Teshub.⁶ On the other hand, Dagon and Hadad were important divinities in Mesopotamia and could well have entered the Ugaritic pantheon from this source.⁷

Baal's sister-consort is Anat, who is the goddess of fertility. She is called "the virgin", and seems to play a martial role similar to that of Athena.⁸ It is she who destroys Baal's enemy Mot (Death) who has captured Baal in the underworld and hence removed him from life. Anat seems to be the figure who allows Baal, the god of vegetation, to return from Mot's realm of death to fructify the earth.

Baal is lured into the underworld by his enemy Mot or Death. When Baal goes there, decay and sterility reign over the earth since Mot is ascendant.⁹ Mot then as the god of sterility and death in nature is the counter-principle of Baal.

In the myth concerning these three gods, Baal-Hadad, Anat, and Mot, Baal is overcome by Mot, but returns

⁶J. Gray, op. cit., p. 114.

⁷M. Dahood, op. cit., p. 77.

⁸J. Gray, op. cit., p. 127.

⁹Cf. T. H. Gaster, Thespis, New York, 1961, p. 221.

to life through the agency of Anat, his sister-consort. The myth reflects the vegetation cycle of growth and death in Syria. Baal-Hadad as the storm god brings life in nature through rain. In opposition to him Mot, the god of Death, gains mastery over the earth and usurps Baal. Anat, however, the war-like consort of Baal, defeats Mot and so effects the return of life to earth. These three gods formed then the real centre of the Canaanite fertility cult around the fifteenth century B. C. In modified form they also formed the basis of Syrian religion in the Greco-Roman period. In Hierapolis, Hadad and Atargatis ('Atar-'Ate) were the central figures of the cult.

The name Atargatis, which is the Greek form of the Aramaic ܐܬܪ ܐܬܝܬܐ ('Atar-'Ate), seems to be a combination of 'Attar and 'Ate.¹⁰ 'Ate was the Aramaic form of 'Anat,¹¹ and the name is found on coins of Hierapolis dated the fourth century B. C.¹² 'Attar(t) was Ashtart, Ishtar, or Astarte, the fertility goddess who was identified with the planet Venus.¹³ In the Ras Shamra texts, both 'Anat ('Ate) and 'Attart are independent and separate deities, although in fact their functions are very similar. 'Anat plays the major role of

¹⁰G. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford, 1903, (Reprint, University Microfilms, 1966) p. 267, gives an inscription of Palmyra dated 140 A. D. where in the bilingual text, 'Atar'ateh in Aramaic is Atargatis in Greek.

¹¹W. F. Albright, "The Evolution of the West Semitic Divinity 'An-'Anat-'Atta", American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, XLI, 1925, pp. 88-90.

¹²G. Goossens, Hierapolis de Syrie, Louvain, 1943, p. 61.

¹³M. Dahood, op. cit., p. 86.

fertility goddess and is consort of Baal, whereas 'Attart remains in the background. Still, 'Attart is mentioned as the hypostasis of Baal (šm b'l).¹⁴ Basically 'Attar was the divinity connected with the planet Venus. In South Arabia, 'Attar was not a goddess but a god, and Venus was conceived of as masculine. It seems that the Canaanites in the north may have conceived of the deity as androgynous since there are two personal names, 'ttr ab, ' 'Attar is father', and 'ttr um, ' 'Attar is mother', in the Ras Shamra texts.¹⁵

It is difficult to say when the two divinities 'Anat and 'Attar were identified with one another, but that they were so is evident. Moreover because of the background of the name, it is possible to conclude that a fertility cult of a god and goddess similar in pattern to that of Baal-Hadad and Anat was present at Hierapolis. There is also the evidence of the cults of other sites in Syria that Lucian mentions (Tyre, Byblos, Sidon) which tends to support this hypothesis since they too sometimes reflect more explicitly this basic pattern. In our notes, we will examine the cults of these places in Hellenistic times, and see what picture they give of Syrian religion. It will be fairly evident, I believe, that the basic elements of the Ugaritic fertility cult remained influential throughout the Syrio-Mesopotamian area, and are reflected in the cults of Tammuz in Mesopotamia

¹⁴J. Gray, op. cit., p. 129.

¹⁵M. Dahood, op. cit., p. 86.

and of Adonis in Byblos. Consequently, because of the names of the deities Atargatis and Hadad, and because of the nature of the myths and rites found at the city, there is good reason to include Hierapolis in this sphere. I hope that this contention will become clear in the notes and in the concluding chapter.

THE GODDESS OF SYRIA

In Syria there is a city not far from the Euphrates River which is called holy, and it is sacred to the Assyrian Here. I do not think the city had this name when it was founded, but that the old name was different. Afterwards, when the great ceremonies came into existence, the name was changed to this. Now I plan to relate every possible feature about this city; I will speak of the customs which they follow in their ceremonies, the festivals they keep, and the sacrifices they perform. I will also relate the accounts they give about those who established the sanctuary and how the temple came to be. I who write am an Assyrian, and some of the things I will explain I learned from my own observation, and some, concerning whatever I describe that was previous to my time, I learned from the priests.

2 Now the Egyptians are said to be the first that we know of mankind to develop an awareness of the gods, to found sanctuaries and enclosures, and to appoint festivals. They were the first to know the divine names and to relate sacred stories. Not long afterwards, according to the account of the Egyptians, the Assyrians came upon the gods. They founded sanctuaries and temples in which they placed statues and set up images. 3 However, by ancient practice, the Egyptians kept their temples without images. There are also temples in Syria which are almost equal in age to those of the

Egyptians. I have seen most of them, especially the temple of Heracles in Tyre. This is not that Heracles whom the Greeks praise in poetry, but another who I say is much older and a hero of Tyre.

4 There is also another large temple in Phoenicia which the Sidonians have. As they themselves say, it is Astarte's, and I think Astarte is Selenaiia. But according to the account of one of the priests, it is Europa's, the sister of Cadmus. She was the daughter of king Agenor. When she disappeared, the Phoenicians honoured her with a temple and related a sacred story about her, that Zeus desired her for her beauty, and, changing his appearance to a bull, he seized her and carried her off to Crete. I also heard this account from other Phoenicians, and the currency that the Sidonians use has Europa sitting upon Zeus as a bull. However they do not agree that this is the temple of Europa.

5 The Phoenicians have another temple which is not Assyrian but Egyptian. It reached Phoenicia from Heliopolis. I have not seen it myself but it is also large and old.

6 I also saw in Byblos the large temple of Aphrodite of Byblos in which they also celebrate the rites for Adonis. In addition I learned about the rites. Now they say that the attack on Adonis by the boar happened in their own country, and so every year they beat themselves in memory of his suffering and carry out the rites. Their deep mourning spreads over the country. When they stop their beating and wailing, first they make offerings to Adonis as to a dead person, then on

the next day they tell the sacred story that he is alive and they bring him out into the open. They have their heads shaved just as the Egyptians do when Apis dies. All those women who refuse to have their heads shaven have to fulfill the following penalty: on a certain day they stand on sale for their beauty. The market-place stands open only to strangers, and the profit becomes an offering for Aphrodite.

7 Some of the people of Byblos say that the Egyptian Osiris is buried among them, and that all the mourning and the rites are carried out not for Adonis but for Osiris. I will give the reason they think this is true: every year a head from Egypt reaches Byblos sailing the voyage between the two within seven days. The winds carry it along on a quick passage. It never turns aside but only comes to Byblos. This is the complete miracle. This happens every year and it came to pass when I was there, and I saw the head of Byblos.

8 There is also another wonder in the land of Byblos. A river from Mount Lebanon flows out into the sea, and is given the name Adonis. Every year the river becomes blood-red and, having lost its colour, it flows into the sea and dyes much of the brine red. It signifies suffering to the people of Byblos. They offer the explanation that on these days Adonis has been wounded upland on Mount Lebanon and his blood, mixing with the water, changes the river's colour and gives the stream his name. This is the common report. But a certain man at Byblos who appeared to be telling the truth attributed another cause to the incident. These are his words: "Stranger,

the river Adonis comes through the Lebanon, which has extremely red-brown earth. Therefore when the rough winds blow during that season, they carry this extremely red earth in the river which turns it blood-colour. And so not the blood as they say, but the terrain itself is responsible for this event."

So much the man of Byblos told me. If he told the truth, even the coincidence of the wind seems extremely miraculous to me.

9 I went up to Mount Lebanon from Byblos, a day's trip, having learned that there was an ancient temple of Aphrodite there which Kinyres built. I saw the temple and confirmed its age.

Those are the old and sizeable sanctuaries in Syria.

10 Being as they are, none of them seems to me to be larger than the ones in the holy city, nor is there another temple more holy, or any other district more sacred. In it are many expensive works, ancient votive offerings, many marvels and images fit for a god. Moreover the gods make their presence felt greatly among the people, for the images perspire among them, move, and utter oracles. A shout often rings out in the temple after the sanctuary has been locked, and many have heard it. What is more, I know it is the richest temple among them, for a great deal of money comes into their hands from Arabia, Phoenicia, Babylonia, as well as additional funds from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Assyria. I also know what is stored away privately in the temple, that is, a great quantity of raiment and everything else that is judged to be either gold or silver. Their great number of festivals and holidays

is accepted by no other group of men.

11 In my researches about the age of the sanctuary, and who they themselves think the goddess is, I received many accounts, some sacred, some common, and some extremely legendary; some were foreign, and others agreed with Greek accounts. I will relate all of these even though accepting none of them.

12 The majority say that Deukalion the Scythian founded the sanctuary, that is, the Deukalion upon whom the flood descended. In Greece I heard the story that the Greeks tell about Deukalion, and here it is.

 This present race of men was not the first, but there was a former that completely perished, so that men of today are of a second stock, which through Deukalion again grew into a multitude. They explain that those men were extremely violent and committed outrageous sins. They did not keep their oaths, receive strangers, or protect suppliants, and so in consequence the great catastrophe befell them. Suddenly the earth gave forth a great quantity of water; a heavy rainfall occurred, the swollen rivers came down, the sea's level surged up until everything was water and all were destroyed. Deukalion was the sole survivor of men into the second epoch because of his wisdom and holiness. This is how he was rescued: he owned a large chest upon which he embarked his wives, his children, and himself. As he was boarding, pigs, horses, the lion family, snakes, and everything else that feeds on land arrived all in pairs. He received them all and they did not

harm him, but a great friendship inspired by Zeus sprang up among them. They all sailed in one ark as long as the water prevailed. So tell the Greeks about Deukalion.

13 About subsequent events, the people in the sacred city tell a story that greatly merits wonder. In their country, they say, a great chasm opened and swallowed all the water. When this happened, Deukalion set up altars and erected a temple to Here over the chasm. I have seen the chasm; it is under the temple and is extremely small. Whether or not it was once large and then became like this, I do not know. But the one I saw is small.

They furnish the following proof of their account. Twice every year water from the sea arrives at the temple. Not only do the priests bring it, but all Syria and Arabia; even many people from across the Euphrates go to the sea. They all bring water which first they pour out in the temple and which afterwards flows into the chasm, and even though the chasm is small, it takes in a large quantity of water. In doing this, they say that Deukalion established this custom in the sanctuary as a memorial of the catastrophe and the good outcome.

Such is their ancient story about the sanctuary.

14 In the opinion of others, Semiramis the Babylonian, who has many monuments in Asia, founded this site also, not for Here, but for her own mother whose name is Derketo. I saw a likeness of Derketo in Phoenicia, an unusual wonder. Half is a woman, but from her thighs to the toes stretches the

tail of a fish. However in the holy city, she is completely a woman, and those who believe in that story are not very common. They consider fish as sacred things and never touch them. Moreover they eat most birds, but not the dove, because it is sacred to them. They observe the custom because of Derketo and Semiramis, first because Derketo has the shape of a fish, and then because Semiramis was finally turned into a dove. But for my part I suppose I will reluctantly believe that the temple is the monument of Semiramis. However I in no way believe it to be the sanctuary of Derketo, since there are Egyptians who do not eat fish, and they do not do this for the favour of Derketo.

15 There is another sacred account which I heard myself from a learned man, that the goddess is Rhea, and the sanctuary the work of Attes. Attes was a Lydian by birth and was the first to teach the rites for the worship of Rhea. Whatever rites the Phrygians, the Lydians, and the Samothracians perform, they all learned from Attes. When Rhea castrated him, he left off the life of a man and took on a woman's shape, put on women's clothes, and travelling to every land, he celebrated rites, telling of what he suffered and praising Rhea in song. During these wanderings, he also came to Syria. Because the people beyond the Euphrates would accept neither him nor his rites, he built the temple in this country. Here is the evidence. The goddess for the most part matches Rhea, for lions carry her, she has a drum, and on her head she wears a mural crown, the same kind of Rhea the Lydians make. He

also said that the Galli who are in the temple are never castrated for Here but rather for Rhea, and they imitate Attes.

This account seems plausible to me, but not true, since I heard a much more credible reason for their castration,¹⁶ and am satisfied by what those who agree for the most part with the Greeks say about the temple. They believe the goddess is Here and the monument the work of Dionysus, son of Semele. For doubtless Dionysus reached Syria on that journey he made to Ethiopia. There are many signs in the temple that Dionysus was the builder, among which are the foreign clothes, the Indian stones, and the tusks of elephants which Dionysus brought from Ethiopia. Moreover two extremely large phallic columns stand in the entrance upon which the following inscription is written:

These phalli I Dionysus set up for Here my step-mother

Now this seems sufficient evidence to me, and I will relate another rite of Dionysus in the temple. The Greeks raise up phalli for Dionysus, and over them they carry something like this: small men made from wood which have oversized sexual organs. These are called puppets. This rite is also in the temple. On the right of the temple is placed a small man in bronze displaying an oversized sexual organ.

17 Such are their stories about the founders of the temple. Now concerning the temple, I will discuss how its size came to be, and who did the actual building. They say that the present temple was not the original one, but the former one was destroyed at last by age, and the present one

is the work of Stratonike, the wife of the king of the Assyrians.

I think Stratonike was the woman who had a step-son who fell in love with her. It took the ingenuity of the doctor to discover his condition. When this misfortune occurred to the young man, he despaired over the seeming shamefulnes of it and quietly became ill. He lay there feeling no bodily pain, but his complexion changed entirely and his body wasted away from day to day. When the physician saw that he was weakened with no apparent reason, he realized that the disease was love. There are many signs of hidden love: weak eyes, the voice, complexion, and tears. After learning his condition, he acted. With his right hand, he touched the heart of the young man, and then summoned everyone of the household. The patient remained in a great calm while they all entered the room, but when his step-mother arrived, his complexion changed, he began to sweat, and was seized with trembling, and his heart leaped. These events made clear to the doctor the young man's passion, and he used the following remedy to cure him. 18 He summoned the extremely worried father of the youth and said, "This sickness your son suffers is not a disease but an unjust desire. This lad is not sick at all, he is befuddled with love. He loves what he will never get, my wife, and I will never give her up." He lied very wisely.

The father immediately begged his favour. "In the name of your medicine and learning," he said, "do not destroy my son. It is hardly his fault he was struck by this misfortune; the sickness is involuntary. Don't inflict pain on all the

kingdom with your jealousy, and since you are a doctor, do not enroll murder in your art."

In his ignorance, he made the request. The doctor answered, "You are promoting sacrilege by breaking up my marriage and using force on a doctor. How would you act, if he desired your wife, you who beg such things of me?"

The king replied that he would in no way be jealous of his wife and begrudge his son's health, if he somehow loved his step-mother. It is not the same sort of misfortune to lose a wife as to lose a son. As soon as the doctor heard this, he said, "Why are you putting entreaties to me? You see, your son really does desire your wife. All that I told you was not true."

The king believed this, left his son, both his wife and his kingdom, and went himself to Babylonia where on the Euphrates he built the city that bears his name. There he died. And so this is the way the physician recognized passion and healed it.

19 While Stratonike was still living with her former husband, she had a dream in which Here commanded her to build for her the temple in the holy city. If she should disobey, many evils would befall her. At first she did not trouble herself, but afterwards, when she had become very ill, she revealed the vision to her husband and appeased Here by promising to build the temple. As soon as she was well, her husband sent her to the holy city with a great deal of money and a large army, part to do the building and part to guard her.

He summoned one of his friends, an extremely handsome young man called Kombabos. "Kombabos," he said, "since you are so good, I love you most of all my friends and in every way praise your wisdom and the good will you have already demonstrated towards me. Now I have great need of your faithfulness. I want you to follow my wife and complete this task for me, carry out the rites and command the army. When you return, you will gain great honour from me."

Kombabos in reply immediately begged and pleaded with the king not to send him and entrust to him a fortune far greater than his own along with the queen and the sacred project. He dreaded that later the king would become jealous of Stratonike with whom Kombabos would set out alone. 20 Since the king would not listen to him, he made a second plea and asked the king to give him seven days, and then to send him away after he had done something that was completely necessary. Having easily gained his request, he returned to his own home where flinging himself on the ground, he wailed, "How could I be so unlucky? Why does he have to trust me? Why do I have this journey whose result I can see already? I am young and I am going to escort a beautiful woman. There will be a great disaster unless I remove every cause of danger. I will have to take the great step that will cure me of every fear."

So reasoning he made himself imperfect, and, after cutting off his testicles, he placed them in a small vessel with myrrh, honey and other spices. Then sealing it with a

signet ring he was carrying, he healed the wound. Later when he thought it time to set out, he went to the king and in front of many witnesses he gave him the vessel and said, "My lord, in my household this great treasure was stored which I greatly prize. Now since I am going on a long journey, I will place it with you. You keep it safe for me. This is more valuable to me than gold and worth no less than my life. When I return, I will carry it off safe." The king received it and marked it with another seal and then entrusted it to the stewards to guard.

21 After this event, Kombabos accomplished his journey in safety. When they arrived at the holy city, they built the temple with zeal. They were three years at the task during which occurred exactly what Kombabos had dreaded. Since Stratonike was together with him for such a long time, she began to desire him, and afterwards she was mad about him. The people of the holy city say that Here was the cause of the affair since she wished to make known the goodness of Kombabos and to punish Stratonike because she did not readily promise the temple.

22 At first Stratonike was restrained and concealed her passion. But when the evil would not allow her peace, she openly showed her affliction, and used to weep day by day and call out for Kombabos who was now everything to her. Finally helpless in her misfortune, she sought an honorable petition. She was careful not to reveal her love to anyone else, but she was afraid to try herself. Therefore she planned to become

drunk and go and talk to him. Boldness in speech comes to one with wine and failure is not especially shameful. Rather, everything done fades away into forgetfulness.

This seemed a good plan and she carried it out. After dinner she went to the house where Kombabos was lodged where she begged and implored him and revealed her passion. He received her revelation harshly, spurned her advance and accused her of being drunk. When she threatened to do herself some great evil, however, in fear he revealed the whole story by relating his own suffering and bringing the whole affair into the light. When Stratonike saw what she never expected, she gave up that madness, yet in no way did she escape from her passion, but in his presence she continued her advances for a love that could not be consummated. This kind of love occurs even now in the holy city. Women yearn for the Galli and the Galli are mad about women. No one is jealous and the practice is considered extremely holy.

23 What was going on in the holy city by no means escaped the notice of the king, since many people who returned made accusations and described what was happening. Suffering a great deal over these reports, he summoned Kombabos from the unfinished project.

Other people give an untrue version according to which Stratonike, after she failed in what she desired, wrote to her husband and accused Kombabos of assaulting her. Just as the Greeks tell about Stheneboia and Phaedra of Knossus, they say, so the Assyrians tell the tale about Stratonike.

I for one do not believe either Stheneboia or Phaedra did any such thing, if Phaedra really loved Hippolytus. But let those things be the way they were.

24 When the message came to the holy city, Kombabos realized its cause, but he was in good spirits because his defence was left at home. When he came, the king immediately had him bound and kept him under guard. Afterwards, standing him in the midst of those friends who were at hand when he had been sent away, he began to accuse him and charge him with adultery and licentiousness. Suffering the deepest anguish, he recalled their friendship and trust and charged that Kombabos had sinned in three ways: in adultery, in arrogance towards a plèdge, and in blasphemy against the goddess in whose service he did such things. Many of those present testified that they saw the two openly with one another. Finally everyone thought it right that Kombabos be put to death immediately since his deeds deserved that penalty.

25 All the while he stood there saying nothing. When he was being led to execution he spoke out and asked for his treasure. He protested that the king was killing him not because of arrogance or adultery, but because he desired what Kombabos stored with the king when he went away. In response to his request, the king summoned a steward and commanded him to bring what he entrusted to his care. When he brought it, Kombabos, after breaking the seal, showed its contents and described what he had suffered and then said, "My king, dreading what has happened when you sent me on this trip,

I went unwillingly. Since I was bound by your royal command, I did this, a thing advantageous to my master, but not lucky for me. And being in such a condition, I am charged with a man's crime."

26 Crying aloud at this, the king embraced him and in tears said, "O Kombabos, what atrocity have you committed? Why alone among men did you do such an unseemly act to yourself? I do not praise this at all. You fool, who dared to do what I would you had never suffered and I had never seen. I did not require such a defence. But since some god wished it, first you will have great retribution from me: your false accusers death, and afterwards great gifts, much gold, unlimited silver, Assyrian garments, and regal horses will be added. You will come into my presence without being announced, and no one will keep you from seeing me, even if I am in bed with my wife."

What he said he did. The others were led to execution, and Kombabos received the gifts and their friendship became greater. No other Assyrian was equal to Kombabos in wisdom and good fortune.

When afterwards he asked to finish the work at the temple --he had left it uncompleted-- he was sent out again and completed the temple. There he spent the rest of his life. The king allowed him to set up a statue of bronze of him because of his virtue and good conduct. Kombabos is still honoured in bronze in the sanctuary, the work of Hermocles of Rhodes. It is a woman in shape, but it has the dress of

a man.

It is said that those of his friends who were closest to him chose fellowship in the misfortune as consolation for his suffering. They castrated themselves and led the same way of life as his. On this point others give the sacred account that since Here loved Kombabos, she put the idea of castration into the minds of many people so that he would not mourn alone the loss of his manhood.

27 After this practice happened once, it lasted and remains even today. Many men every year are castrated and made like women in the sanctuary. Whether to comfort Kombabos or to please Here, they are at any rate castrated. They no longer keep the dress of men, but wear women's clothes and do women's chores. As I heard it, the reason for these things is also assigned to Kombabos. The following story is recounted about him. A foreign woman who came to the festival saw him with his good looks and still wearing male clothes, fell deeply in love with him. When she learned he was castrated, she killed herself. After this, Kombabos, despairing because he was cursed in matters of love, put on women's clothes so that never again would another woman make such a mistake. This is the reason for the feminine dress of the Galli.

This I think will suffice about Kombabos, and I will mention the Galli later on in my account: how they are castrated, how they are buried, and why they do not go into the sanctuary. First I want to talk about the site and size of the temple, and so will begin straight away.

28 The area itself in which the temple is situated is a crest of a hill right in the centre of the city. Two walls surround it, one of which is old and the other dates not much before our time. The entrance portal of the temple faces north, and it about 100 orguia in size. In the entrance area stand the phalli which Dionysus set up, and these are 300 orguia in height.

Twice each year a man goes up one of these and lives on the top of the phallus for seven days. The following reason is given for this ascent. Many think that on high he communicates with the gods and asks for prosperity for all Syria, and they hear his prayers from nearby. Others believe that this is done because of Deukalion in remembrance of that disaster when men fled to the mountains and to the tops of the trees in dread of the flood. These explanations are unconvincing to me. Rather, I think they perform the custom for Dionysus and I am convinced by the following reasons. Those who erect phalli for Dionysus also set wooden men on them, for what reason I will not say. I think this man goes up in imitation of this man in wood.

29 The ascent takes place as follows. First he throws a short cord around both the phallus and himself, and afterwards he climbs on to pieces of wood fastened to the phallus which are big enough to allow a toe-hold. As he climbs, he hoists the rope up at the same time on both sides just as if he were controlling reins. If anyone has not seen this, but has seen men climbing palms either in Arabia or Egypt or anywhere else,

he knows what I am talking about.

When he reaches the end of the ascent, he throws down another rope that he has, a long one this time, and draws up things that he wants, wood, clothing and equipment from which he fastens together and sets up an abode like a hut, and stays there for the period of days I mentioned. Many visitors come and some throw gold and silver, or, according to their custom, brass into a pot lying before them, each announcing his name which then another man standing there shouts up. The man receives the names and prays for each person and while he is praying, he shakes a brass object which rattles loud and harsh as it is moved. He never goes to sleep. If ever sleep does overtake him, a scorpion climbs up and wakes him and does unpleasant things which are constituted as the punishment for sleep. Thus they credit the scorpion with holiness and sanctity. If this is true I cannot say. It seems to me the fear of falling greatly contributes to the sleeplessness.

So much for those who climb phallic columns. 30

The temple faces the rising sun. In appearance and construction it is like the temples built in Ionia. A large platform rises from the earth two orguia high, upon which the temple is placed. An approach to it is made of stone, and is not very long. The front of the temple, decorated with gold, inspires great awe in one who approaches. Within, the temple shines from its abundance of gold, and the whole roof is gilded. A heavenly incense said to be from the land of Arabia comes from it and

casts an extremely pleasant scent to you as you approach from afar. If you go away again, it does not leave you, but your clothes retain the fragrance for a long time, and you will always remember it.

31 Inside, the temple is not a simple unit, but contains another room inside. The way up to this is short. It is not fitted with doors, but entirely open as you approach. Everyone enters the great temple, but only the priests the chamber, and then not all the priests, only those who are closest to the goddess and whose every care is the temple. In this room are placed the statues, both Here and the equivalent to Zeus whom they address by another name. Both are in gold and are seated. However, lions are carrying Here, and the other is seated on bulls.

The statue of Zeus certainly resembles Zeus in every way; head, clothing, and position, and you would be reluctant to identify him otherwise. 32 Here presents an extremely varied aspect to the onlooker. Although on the whole by true reasoning she is Here, still she has some quality of Athene, Aphrodite, Selenaiia, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis and the Fates. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a spindle. Upon her head she wears the rays and a mural crown and the embroidered belt with which Aphrodite alone is adorned. On the outside of the statue there is more gold and extremely valuable jewels, some white and some like water; many are wine-coloured and many like fire. There are numerous sardonyxes as well as sapphires and the emeralds which the Egyptians,

the Indians, the Ethiopians, the Medes, the Armenians and the Babylonians bring. There is something even more remarkable which I will describe. She wears a jewel upon her head called the "torch", and its name matches its effect. From this stone at night a bright flame shines forth and through it the whole temple is lighted as if by torches. During the day the light becomes weak, and appears like a flame. In the statue itself is another marvel. If you stand in front and look at it, it looks at you, and when you change your position, her gaze follows you. If anyone tries it from the other side, she likewise finishes with her gaze on him.

33 Between both of these stands another golden statue, by no means similar to the other statues. It does not have its own distinct shape, but bears the figures of the other gods. It is called the ensign by the Assyrians themselves, who give no particular name to it, and account for neither its origin nor appearance. Some attribute it to Dionysus, some to Deukalion and some to Semiramis. As a matter of fact on its crown sits a golden dove, and therefore they consider it the ensign of Semiramis. It departs twice every year to the sea for the provision of water that I described.

34 In the temple itself on the left as you enter, the throne of Sun is placed first, but his statue is not in it. Only of the Moon and the Sun do they not display images, and I learned the following concerning why they think this way. They say it is within the bounds of piety to make statues of the other gods, for their appearance is not clear

to everyone. The Sun and the Moon are completely visible, and everyone sees them. What reason is there then for creating statues for what is seen in the sky?

35 Behind this throne is placed an image of Apollo in an unusual representation. Everyone else believes that Apollo is a young man and represents him in the prime of his youth. Only these people display a statue of Apollo with a beard. Moreover they commend themselves for doing so, and criticize the Greeks and the rest who set up and worship Apollo as a youth. This is their explanation. They think it is a great silliness for imperfect statues of the gods to be made, and they consider youth still imperfect. They innovate in yet another matter for this Apollo of theirs. They are unique in adorning him with clothes.

36 I could tell many stories about the statue's miracles, but I will only describe what merits the greatest wonder. First I will mention the oracle. There are many oracles among the Greeks, many also among the Egyptians, some even in Lybia, and many in Asia. But these do not give utterance without priests or prophets. At this place, however, this Apollo moves by himself, and works out the prophecy himself completely. This is how he gives his answer. Whenever he wishes to give an oracle, first he moves about in his place, and the priests immediately lift him up. If they do not lift him, he breaks out in perspiration and still moves about even more. When they are under him and are carrying him, he leads them as he turns them about in every direction and jumps from one to

another. Finally the chief priest stands before him and questions him on every subject. If he does not want something to be done, he goes backwards; if he approves something, he drives those who are carrying him forward, like a charioteer. In this way they collect their oracles, and undertake no holy or private action without this god. He also speaks about the year and all its seasons, even when they do not ask, and tells when the ensign is to go on the travels that I mentioned.

37 I will relate something else he did when I was present. The priest had lifted and was carrying him when he left him below on the ground and carried himself along in the air.

38 After Apollo comes the statue of Atlas, then Hermes, then Eileithyia.

39 Such are the inner furnishings of the temple. Outside, a great bronze altar is placed and on it there are countless other bronze statues of kings and priests. I will mention what is most worth remembering. On the left of the temple, a statue of Semiramis stands pointing out the temple at her right. Here is why she stands there: she made a law for the people of Syria to worship her as a goddess, and neglect the other gods, even Here herself. And so they did. Afterwards when through divine agency, sickness, disasters and grief befell her, she desisted from that madness and admitted she was mortal and ordered her subjects to turn again to Here. Consequently so she still stands, advising those who arrive to worship Here and admitting she is no longer a

goddess but herself.

30

40 In the same place, I saw statues of Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector and Achilles. I also saw an image of Nereus, the son of Aglaia, then Philomel and Procne still as women, Tereus himself as a bird, another statue of Semiramis, also another one of Kumbabos whose story I have told. There was an extremely lovely one of Stratonike, and a good likeness of Alexander. Near him stands Sardanapallos with another shape and different dress.

41 In the courtyard large bulls pasture freely with horses, eagles, bears and lions; they never harm men, but are all sacred and tame.

42 Many priests are appointed by them, some of which slaughter the victims, some bear the liquid offerings; others are called fire bearers and others altar attendants. In my time more than three hundred came to the sacrifice. All of them had white robes, and conical felt hats on their heads. A different high priest is chosen every year, and he alone wears a purple outfit and is crowned with a golden tiara.

43 There is also another group of men who are flute players, pipers, and Galli. Then, too, there are mad, deranged women.

44 The sacrifice is performed twice every day and all attend it. For Zeus they sacrifice in silence without singers or flute players. When they begin the ceremonies for Here, however, they sing, play the flute, and rattle castanets. No one was able to explain this custom clearly to me.

45 There is a lake there, not far from the temple in

which many sacred fish of various types are reared. Some of them are extremely large. Moreover they have names, and come when they are called. In my time there was one who wore gold among them. On its fin a golden object was fastened. I saw the fish many times and it had the object.

46 The depth of the lake is great. I did not test it, but they say it is more than two hundred orguia. In the centre of it a stone altar rises up. At first glance you would think it was floating and supported by the water, and many in fact do think so. It seems to me that a large supporting pillar holds up the altar. It always has garlands and incense, and many people every day according to a vow swim to it bringing wreaths.

47 High festivals take place there which are called the descents to the lake, because in them all the sacred statues go down to the lake. Among them Here is first to arrive, for the sake of the fish. If Zeus sees them first, they say that they all perish. And to be sure, he comes trying to look, but she stands in front and wards him off, and after much entreaty, sends him away.

48 They also have high feasts which are customarily performed on the way down to the sea. However, I am unable to relate anything precise about these festivals, for I did not go myself or try out this journey. However, what they do after they arrive I saw and this I will relate. Each one carries a vessel filled with water which they have sealed with wax. They do not break the seal or pour out the water,

but there is a sacred cock which lives by the lake who, when he receives the vessels from them, looks at the seal, and, after accepting an offering, breaks the seal and destroys the wax. Many coins are gathered by the cock at this task.

From there they carry the vessels to the temple and pour the water as a libation. Then, after sacrifices, they return home.

49 Of all the feasts I know, they carry out the greatest at the beginning of spring. Some call it the feast of fire, others the feast of lamps. They perform the following sort of sacrifice in it: after chopping down tall trees, they stand them up in the courtyard, and afterwards, when they have gathered goats, sheep, and other live-stock, they hang them from the trees. They also include birds, garments, and gold and silver jewellery. When they have made everything complete, and have carried the sacred images around the trees, they throw on fire, and burn everything up at once. Many people come to this feast from Syria and all the countries round about, and each brings his own sacred images and each has symbols representing these. d/

50 On specified days the multitude gathers into the sanctuary, and the many Galli, whom I discussed, and who are holy men, carry out the rites. They cut their forearms and strike one another on the back. Many standing nearby play an accompaniment on the flute while many others beat kettledrums, or sing inspired and sacred songs. This rite occurs outside the temple, and those who perform it do not enter it.

51 Also during these days Galli are made. As others

are playing flutes and performing the rites, frenzy soon seizes many, and many who came for the spectacle afterwards do this thing. I will relate what they do. The young man for whom these things are in store tears off his clothes and with a great shout comes into the centre and lifts up a sword. This has stood there many years, I believe. Grasping it, he straightway mutilates himself and then runs through the city and carries what he has cut off in his hands. From the house into which he throws this, he takes feminine clothing and the ornaments of a woman. So they act in their castrations.

52 When they die, the Galli are not buried in the same fashion as the others, but when one dies, his companions lift him up and carry him to the area just outside the city and, laying him down with the bier on which they put him, they throw rocks over top, and when they are finished, they go back home. After observing a period of seven days, they then enter the temple. If they go in before, they commit sacrilege. 53 Here are some of their customs in these matters. If any of them sees a corpse, he does not go into the temple that day, but after cleansing himself, he enters the day following. Each one of the dead man's household observes a period of thirty days of mourning, and then enters the temple with his head shaven. It is sacrilegious for them to enter before doing this.

54 They sacrifice cattle, both bulls and cows, as well as sheep and goats. They consider only pigs to be unclean and neither sacrifice nor eat them. Others think they are

not unclean, but sacred. The dove seems the holiest of objects to them, and they do not think it right to touch them. If unwittingly they do touch one, they are unclean for that day. For this reason doves share life with them, enter their homes, and for the most part they feed on the ground.

55 I will now describe the customary actions of those who attend the festival. When a man is going to the holy city for the first time, he shaves his head and eyebrows. Then, after sacrificing a sheep, he cuts up and feasts on the edible parts; the fleece he puts on the ground and rests on it upon his knees. Then he lifts up the feet and the head of the beast onto his own head, and at the same time prays and asks that the present sacrifice be accepted, and promises a greater one later. After he finishes this, he garlands both his own head, and the head of each one who is coming on the journey. Then getting up, he travels from his home, using cold water for bathing and drinking, and sleeping everywhere on the ground. It is sacrilegious for him to go to bed before he has finished the pilgrimage and come back to his own home again.

56 In the holy city, a host receives him, although the pilgrim does not know him. You see, there are specified hosts for each city there, and the office is passed on by families from the father. These men are called teachers by the Assyrians because they explain everything to them.

57 They do not sacrifice in the temple itself, but when the pilgrim stands his offering beside the altar, he

pours a libation over its head, and leads it back alive again to his lodging, and after he arrives, he sacrifices it and prays by himself.

58 There is also the following other form of sacrifice. After garlanding the victims, they hurl them alive from the entrance hall of the temple, and what has fallen down is killed. Some even hurl their children from this spot, not in the same way as the beasts, but placing them in a sack, they toss them down by hand, and at the same time they mock them and say they are not children but cattle.

59 Everyone is tattooed, either on the wrist or on the neck, so that consequently all Assyrians bear tattoo marks.

60 They have another practice which of the Greeks only the people of Troezen follow. Here is what they do. The people of Troezen have made it law for their virgins and young men not to enter marriage in any way before cutting off a lock for Hippolytus. And so they do. This also takes place in the holy city. The young men shave off part of their beard, and on the youths they let sacred locks grow from the hour of birth. They do the cutting when they are in the temple and place these locks into pots, sometimes of silver, but mostly of gold, and after each one inscribes his name on it and fastens it up in the temple, he goes away. This I did when I was still young, and my lock and my name are still in the temple.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Lucian 1. Lucian of Samosata was born about 125 A. D. Samosata is on the western bank of the Euphrates in Syria. It was part of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, and was in the province of Commagene, which lay north of Cyrrhestica, the province to which Hierapolis belonged.¹ Later Samosata was ruled by independent Seleucid princes, and, still later, its seat of government was Hierapolis.² Because the distinction between Assyrian and Syrian was not made in Greek in Lucian's time, he uses the word Assyrian to designate the people we call Syrian.

Hierapolis was located about eighteen miles west of the Euphrates. The city was towards the south of a slight valley in a depression of land, and the temple was built on the hill nearby, around a spring which fed the sacred lake there.³ The city is situated at the northern curve of the fertile crescent, northeast of the Syrian desert.⁴

Hierapolis, the holy city, as Lucian states, was not the city's original name. Many cities of the ancient near east became known in Hellenistic times by Greek names, since the native ones were too strange and meaningless to the Greeks to be adopted. Some of the new names were created by royal

¹B. Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd ed., London, 1925, p. 777.

²J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 42, n. 4.

³G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴Ibid., p. 4.

decree, such as Seleucia, Antioch, and Apamea, but most developed through popular custom.⁵ The term Hierapolis was also applied to cities in Phrygia, Caria, and Crete. Aelian⁶ states that Seleucus I Nicator gave the Syrian Hierapolis this name, and he most likely bases his assumption upon the tradition that the temple was built by Stratonike, the wife of Seleucus I. The validity of Aelian's statement, however, has been questioned. First of all, the historian Appian (c. 95-165 A. D.) does not include Hierapolis in his list of cities in northern Syria whose names were changed by Seleucus.⁷ Second, although Lucian gives the story of how Seleucus's wife, Stratonike, undertook to rebuild the temple at Hierapolis, the central part of the story is concerned more with Kombabos, the young man appointed to escort her, and with his self-castration to avoid intercourse with the wife of his king. This type of story was a common literary theme in the ancient east,⁸ and so it is impossible to say exactly how historical was the background for this particular version of it. Consequently, since Aelian was writing after both Appian and Lucian, it has been suggested⁹ that Aelian relied on Lucian and deduced that Seleucus renamed the city, and that since Lucian's story is fictional, Aelian's statement has no basis. In support of Aelian's statement, however, there

⁵G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 6.

⁶Aelian, De natura animalium, XII, 2.

⁷Appian, Syrian Wars, 57.

⁸E. Benveniste, "La legende de Kombabos", Mélanges Dussaud, 2 vols., Paris, 1939, pp. 249-58.

⁹G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 189-92.

is the fact that even if the story of Stratonike and Kombabos were purely imaginary, nevertheless the tradition about her remained at Hierapolis, and this tradition may have had some cause. The tradition, however, would refer more to a rebuilding of the temple, and not to the renaming of the city; Lucian himself says that the name Hierapolis came about after the great religious ceremonies developed, but he does not say exactly how it was changed. In fact Seleucus seems to have been involved in an actual reconstruction of the temple, and thus he may also have had something to do with changing the name, but there is no way of knowing for sure.

As a matter of fact, the form 'Hierapolis' is actually later than 'Hieropolis', the priestly city.¹⁰ The Seleucid coins give 'Hieropolis',¹¹ and this name appears sporadically throughout the history of the city.¹² Most authors give 'Hierapolis'.¹³

The Aramaic name of the city was Manbug or Mabbog,¹⁴

¹⁰G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 7.

¹¹B. V. Head, op. cit., p. 777.

¹²Procopius, Persae, I, 6, 2; Codex Theodosianus, XIII, 11, 9.

¹³Aelian, De natura animalium, XII, 2; Strabo, XVI, 1, 27; Plutarch, Antonius, 37; Ptolemy, V, 15, 13; Zosimus, III, 12, 1; Procopius, Persae, I, 13, 11 and II, 6, 17; Theophylus, IV, 10, 9; Euagrius, VI, 9; Theodorus, Epistulae (Migne, Patrologie grecque, LXXXII, 12, 15.); Pliny, Naturalis Historia, V, 81; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, 2, 6; Codex Theodosianus XIII, 11, 9. Procopius and the Codex give both forms. This list is taken from G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 4, 8, 10.

¹⁴W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore, 1953, p. 194, n. 7.

and the Greeks used the form Manbog or Bambuke.¹⁵ The Arab name is Membidj.¹⁶

Albright¹⁷ suggests that the original name was Mabbigu, 'Fountain', and he connects the name Mabbigu with the Syriac 'nbg', 'gush forth' which is itself a partial assimilation of the Hebrew-Canaanite 'nbk', 'gush forth'. He finds support for his suggestion in that the Assyrian texts give Nap-pi-gi or Nam-pi-gi which is an Accadian form dissimilated from an original Mappigu or Mabbigu.

There is other evidence which supports Albright's suggestion that the root of Manbug or Mabbog was connected with the Syriac 'nbg' and to the Hebrew-Canaanite 'nbk'. In the Ugaritic texts, the word 'nbk' means 'well'.¹⁸ The word 'nbk' is also used in the Ugaritic texts with a preformative 'm' in the phrase 'mbk nhrm' which means 'the sources of the rivers' and which is used to describe the location of El's abode.¹⁹ The word 'mbk' is vocalized 'mabbiku' since the original was *manbiku ('m' plus 'nbk'.)²⁰ Thus the name of the city Manbug or Mabbog seems ultimately derived from the preformative 'm' form of 'nbk', that is, from 'mbk'. Consequently, the name likely developed as *Manbiku > Mabbiku > Mabbigu, and means source of water or fountain.²¹

¹⁵Strabo, XVI, 1, 27; Plutarch, Antonius, 37.

¹⁶G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

¹⁷W. F. Albright, op. cit., p. 194, n. 7.

¹⁸C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, Rome, 1965, p. 441.

¹⁹Loc. cit. Cf. Job 28, 11: מַבְקֵי נְהַרִּים, and W. Albright, op. cit., p. 72.

²⁰W. F. Albright, op. cit., p. 194, n. 7.

²¹Cf. M. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, II, Leiden, 1955, pp. 73-4.

Lucian 2. Since Lucian was Syrian, it is surprising for him to attribute the development of religion to the Egyptians and not to the Babylonians. This hypothesis of Lucian is, of course, incorrect, since cults developed from an early date in many places, but it was the common opinion of antiquity and can be found in Diodorus I, 9, 6.²² Since Lucian's work is an imitation of the style and approach of Herodotus, his opinion may be based on Herodotus's chapters on Egypt, especially chapters four and five.

Lucian 3. The god Heracles was called Melqart by the people of Tyre. His name, 'Mlk qrt', signifies 'King of the city'. His cult, like those of Adonis of Byblos and Eshmun, the health god of Sidon, appears relatively late.²³ He is also known as Baal Šor, the 'Lord of Tyre'.²⁴ In the genealogy of Philo of Byblos, he is reported to be the son of Demarus, who is the son of Dagon. Since in the Ugaritic texts, Baal-Hadad is called the son of Dagon, Melqart may in some way be

²²A. W. Harmon, "The Goddess of Surrye", The Works of Lucian, v. IV, (Loeb) London, 1925, p. 340, n. 1; J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 42, n. 5.

²³W. Röllig, "Melqart", Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient, Band I, Wörterbuch der Mythologie, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 297.

²⁴G. Cooke, A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford, 1903. Inscription 31, 1, p. 102 contains

𐤌𐤕𐤕 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕 𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤓𐤕

"To our lord ('dnn) Melqart, lord of Tyre."

connected with this god.²⁵ There is other evidence that Melqart had some connection with the dying-rising god of the vegetation cycle. In Josephus, Antiquities, VIII, 146, we hear that Hiram, the king of Tyre *πρώτος τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί*. This probably refers to the re-awakening of Heracles in Paritios, the fourth month of the Macedonian year, and the equivalent to February-March,²⁶ rather than to the construction of a temple of Heracles.²⁷ Then Eudoxus of Knidos in Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, IX, 47, 392 d/e, reports that Heracles, while on the road to Libya, was killed by Typhon, but Ialaos, by holding a (roasted) quail close to his nose, had revived him through its smell. Zenobius, Paroemiographi, V, 56, gives the same story with a few variations.²⁸ The stories are meant to explain why the Phoenicians sacrificed quails to Heracles, but they also reflect the theme of a dying-rising god. Typhon was the monster who tore Osiris's body into pieces; Osiris was the Egyptian god who was brought back to life.

Clemen²⁹ also sees similarities between Melqart and a vegetation god. Moreover, he points out that Melqart

²⁵E. Dhorme, Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie and R. Dussaud, Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens, Paris, 1949, p. 366.

²⁶W. Röllig, op. cit., p. 297.

²⁷R. Marcus, Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, (Loeb) London, v. V., p. 651, note a.

²⁸W. Röllig, op. cit., p. 298.

²⁹C. Clemen, Lukians Schrift über die Syrische Gottin, Der Alte Orient, XXXVII, 3/4, Leipzig, 1938, p. 31.

was connected with the sea. On coins he rides a sea horse. In Pausanias, Description of Greece, X, IV, 7-10, it is reported that Kleon of Magnesia had to leave the Phoenician island city of Cadiz along with other strangers when the rites of Heracles were celebrated. On his return he saw the effigy of a huge man burning on the shore. J. G. Frazer states:

The monster whom Cleon declares he saw burning on the shore may perhaps have been an effigy of Hercules (Melcart) such as was periodically burned on a pyre at Tarsus in Cilicia, a city which recognized Hercules as its founder. (Dio Chrysostom, Oration 33, 4, 7.)³⁰

He was burnt and then resurrected in spring to effect the changes of the season.

Not originally but apparently quite early Melqart was connected with the Sun, and this identification probably contributed to his association with Heracles.³¹ According to coins, the eagle and lion were holy to him, and outside his temple were two stone pillars like the ones at Hierapolis. These were pillars connected with the cult of the Sun.³² In his temple was an perpetual fire, and from this perhaps comes his association with the word 'reshef' (ršp-mlqrt), since 'ršp' means 'flame'.³³ He is also connected with Eshmun, the Syrian god of healing, (CIS I 16: סרפמלררט)³⁴ and with Šid, the hunter and fisher. (CIS I 256, 3f.)

³⁰J. G. Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece, New York, 1965, v. V, p. 222.

³¹W. Röllig, op. cit., p. 298

³²A. Audin, "Les piliers jumeaux dans le monde sémitique", Archiv Orientalni, XXI, 1953, pp. 430-2.

³³W. Röllig, loc. cit.

³⁴G. Cooke, op. cit., p. 37.

Lucian 4. Astarte. The Syrio-Mesopotamian fertility goddess was associated with both Venus and the moon. In the East, the dew from the night sky is important for fertility, and the outstanding representative of the night sky is the moon.³⁵ Moreover, since the sun tended to be a masculine diety in Syrian thought, by a tendency consistent in Semitic religion, the moon was the opposite sex.³⁶ Primarily, however, Astarte was Venus, the brightest star of the night sky.

Chez les Sémites le nom primitif de la planète Vénus est 'Athtar, ('tt) qui désigne une divinité male dans l'Arabie du sud. 'Athtar devient 'Ashtar dans la stèle de Méša. La disparition de la gutturale initiale a pour consequence la prononciation Eshtar en accadien, d'oū Ishtar en babylonien et Istar en assyrien. Chez les Sémites de l'ouest on ajoute la terminaison féminine d'oū 'Ashtart, 'Ashtoréth, (vocalisation péjorative d'après boshéth 'honte'), Astarté, etc...³⁷

Ishtar was both goddess of war and love, and the same way as Anat was in the Ras Shamra texts. Inanna-Istar was 'la dame des batailles'.³⁸ As goddess of love she ensured fertility. Atargatis was her counterpart in Hierapolis.

Ainsi la planète Vénus, déesse du soir, est l'astre qui rapproche les sexes. On sait que le mot 'ash-teroth, plural de 'ashtoréth, signifie les fécondations dans Deutéronome, VII, 13; XXVIII, 4, 18 and 51.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'insister sur la vogue dont jouit dans tout l'ancien Orient, le culte de l'Ishtar amoureuse, prototype d'Astarté, d'Aphrodite

³⁵C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 31.

³⁶H. Stocks, "Studien zur Lukiańs De Syria Dea", Berytus, IV, 1937, pp. 36-7.

³⁷E. Dhorme, op. cit., p. 89.

³⁸Ibid., p. 90.

celeste, de Virgo caelestis. C'est de Mésopotamie, comme nous le verrons, qu'essaimera le culte de Tammuz-Adonis, issu de celui de Dumuzi ou Dumu-zi-abzu, l'amant d'Ishtar.³⁹

Herodian (V, 6, 3-5) reports that the emperor Elagabalus as the Sun brought Astarte the Moon from Phoenicia to marry her.⁴⁰ Lucian 5. The Egyptian Temple. This was the temple of Baalbek, the Syrian Heliopolis. Originally it was a cult of Baal-Hadad and Astarte, and in Roman times we know that the gods there were Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercury. Baal-Hadad was often connected with the Sun, and at Baalbek, this aspect became emphasized. The cult was probably more Syrian than Egyptian since Macrobius⁴¹ says the god "ritu Assyrio magis quam Aegyptivo colatur", even though Macrobius does insist that the cult's image of Jupiter came from Egypt.⁴² The city's connection with Egypt probably results through a reform of the cult under the dynasty of the Ptolemies.⁴³ Lucian's sentence — *ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι φοινίκες ἵκόν..... τὸ ἐξ Ἡλίου πόλιος... ἐς τὴν φοινίκην ἀπίκετο* — seems to picture the temple building itself coming from Egypt to Heliopolis and is probably a joke.

Lucian 6. Adonis. At Byblos the cult was centred around Aphrodite and Adonis. Aphrodite was Baalat,⁴⁴ the lady of Byblos, and she was joined with Adonis in the celebration

³⁹E. Dhorme, op. cit., p. 90.

⁴⁰A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 341, n. 3.

⁴¹Macrobius, Saturnalis, I, 23, 11.

⁴²Macrobius, I, 23, 10.

⁴³R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu...", p. 148.

⁴⁴G. Cooke, op. cit., p. 20-1. The phrase *ἡ βαλὰτ ἡ βύβλος* (Ba'alat Gbl) simply means 'Mistress of Byblos'.

of his feast. In Alexandria, a hieros gamos of Aphrodite was carried out.⁴⁵

Basically the name Adōn, Adōni means 'lord' ('Adōn) or 'my lord' ('Adōni). The history of the word is disputed. The form 'Aduna' was found in the ancient city of Mari in Mesopotamia. (Cf. Syria, XIX, p. 109.) The text dates about 1750 B. C.⁴⁶ Albright interpreted it as containing the form 'adōn', 'lord'.⁴⁷ Gelb, however, points out that the element 'Aduna' in the Amorite area, that is, the area to the east of Palestine in Mesopotamia and also to the north of the fertile crescent, could not mean 'lord', since examples from Mari, Chagar Bazar, and Ugarit give the form 'adantum > adattum' for 'lady', and this form, 'adattum', for 'lady' implies the form 'adānum' for 'lord' in the Amorite area.

Thus the form 'Aduna' at Mari cannot mean 'lord', since 'lord' in this region would be 'adānum'. Rather, 'Aduna' means 'our adum', or 'our father'.⁴⁸ Since the long 'a' of the Amorite area shifts regularly to a long 'o' in the Canaanite area,⁴⁹ the change of 'adānum' to

⁴⁵J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 45, n. 11; A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 343, n. 3.

⁴⁶I. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples", Journal of Cuneiform Studies, XV, 1961, p. 39.

⁴⁷W. F. Albright, "Northwest Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the eighteenth century B. C.", Journal of the American Oriental Society, LXXIV, 1954, p. 228, n. 39.

⁴⁸The root then for 'Aduna' is not 'dn', but simply 'd'.

⁴⁹Z. Harris, Development of the Canaanite Dialects, New Haven, 1939, pp. 43-5.

'adōnum' would be expected.⁵⁰

The actual cult of Adonis is not attested until late, but it was widely spread, and the god seems very much similar to the Baal-Hadad figure of the Ras Shamra-Ugaritic texts.⁵¹

Adonis shares characteristics with the Egyptian Osiris, the Mesopotamian Tammuz, and the Asian Minor Attis. Pseudo-Melito of Sardis equates Adonis with Tammuz in a myth he relates. This myth is written in Greek, but is believed to be a translation of an original Syriac composition of the early third century A. D.⁵² It seems closely parallel to the other myths of Adonis and Aphrodite. It runs as follows:

The people of Phoenicia worshipped Balthi, queen of Cyprus, because she fell in love with Tammuz, son of Kuthar, king of the Phoenicians, and left her own kingdom, and came and dwelt in Byblos (Gebal), a fortress of the Phoenicians, and at the same time she made all the Cypriotes subject to the king Kuthar; for before Tammuz she had been in love with Ares, and committed adultery with him, and Hephaistes, her

⁵⁰I. Gelb, op. cit., p. 43. It is possible that 'ad and 'adānum in Amorite, and 'ad and 'adōn in Canaanite are related one to the other. Since ānu/ōnu is a hypocoristic ending, it may have been added to the root 'ad (father) and then become conventionalized in use with the gods.

Albright (JAOS, 1954, p. 228) feels that the etymologies of the forms 'adn' and 'ad' when these mean 'father' are different from the etymology of the form 'adn' when it means 'lord'. If we consider, however, that all three words, that is, 'ad' when it means 'father', 'adn' when it means 'father', and 'adn' when it means 'lord' to be related and to stem from either the root 'ad' alone or from 'ad' with the hypocoristic ānu/ōnu suffix, the need for a complicated etymology is removed. This seems fitting since the meanings of the words are actually very close.

⁵¹W. Röllig, op. cit., p. 234.

⁵²J. Quasten, Patrology, 3 vols., Westminster, Maryland, 1950, v. I, p. 247. Melito of Sardis was the bishop of Sardis in Lydia in the second half of the second century. Because the work cited above was written in the third century, Melito of course is not its author and thus I have used the term Pseudo-Melito.

husband, caught her and was jealous over her, and came and slew Tammuz in Mount Lebanon, while he was hunting wild boars; and from that time Balthi remained in Byblos (Gebal), and she died in the city Aphaqa where Tammuz was buried.⁵³

Also in connection with the equation of Adonis and Tammuz, the Septuagint in its translation of Ezek. VIII, 14,

ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲟⲛⲓⲁⲓ gives Ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ
ⲧⲟⲩ Ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ whereas the Vulgate gives "plangentes Adonidem". Although these identifications may be late, they nevertheless reveal the general character of Adonis as vegetation god, since Tammuz definitely had this role in Mesopotamia.

The earlier myths also reveal this character. Ovid, Metamorphoses, 10, 708-39, states that Aphrodite fell in love with Adonis, the hunter. Her jealous consort, Ares, took the shape of a wild boar and killed Adonis near Aphaca (the Aphaqa of Melito) in Lebanon. His blood, flowing into the source of the river Adonis (the present day Nahr Ibrahim, which flows from Aphaca), turned the water red. Aphrodite went to the underworld to free her beloved, but Persephone would only allow his return for half of each year. This version seems very close to that of the Tammuz myth, where the god is sought out in the underworld by his consort Inanna.⁵⁴

⁵³The only edition of Pseudo-Melito is W. Cureton, Spicilegium Syriacum, Containing Remains of Bardesan, Melito, Ambrose, and Mara Bar Serapion. London, 1855. This passage is copied from J. P. Brown, "Kothar, Kinyres, and Kythereia", Journal of Semitic Studies, X, 1965, p. 198.

⁵⁴T. Jacobsen, "Toward the Image of Tammuz", History of Religions, v. I, 1962, pp. 201-3.

His death at the hand of Ares suggests Baal's death at the hand of Mot, the god of sterility in the Ras Shamra texts. The fact that Adonis only returns for part of the year re-inforces the idea that Adonis is basically a vegetation god.

Rites for Adonis were also celebrated at Alexandria. There Adonis returned after a year's absence for a hieros gamos with Aphrodite. The following day the women carry him from the wedding chamber and place him in the sea.⁵⁵

The Adonis feast seems to have been celebrated in high summer, a strange time for a resurrection motif, since in Syria new life occurs in spring after the winter rains.⁵⁶ The following evidence is adduced for a summer feast. In Mesopotamia, the feast of Tammuz took place in June-July, in the month called Tammuz.⁵⁷ At Seville the feast of Adonis was celebrated at this time, and it is thought that the Syrians introduced the cult into Spain.⁵⁸ Finally Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII,9,14ff.) reports that the emperor Julian on his trip in the east was at Constantinople in June, and after several detours came to Antioch where the feast of Adonis was being

⁵⁵Theocritus, XV; A. Harmon, op.cit., p. 344.

⁵⁶H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 27.

⁵⁷P. Lambrechts, "La 'résurrection' d'Adonis", Mélanges Is. Levy, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie, d'Histoire Orientale et Slave de l'Université de Bruxelles, Vol. XIII, 1953, p. 218. He quotes W.W. Baudissin, Adonis und Esmun, 1911, p. 100ff.

⁵⁸P. Lambrechts, loc. cit. He quotes F. Cumont, Syria, VII, 1927, p. 330ff. and Syria, XVI, 1935, p. 46ff.

celebrated. This would probably have been mid-July.⁵⁹

At Athens, however, there seems to be evidence for a feast in June, a month of great heat, as well as for one in April.⁶⁰ Here there may have been two festivals, one in April and one in summer; the month of April was specially dedicated to Aphrodite. The reason for the two feasts may lie in the fact that the cult at Athens derived from Cyprus rather than Syria.⁶¹ However I do not see how this really explains anything, since the Cypriot cult must itself have come from Syria.

Lambrechts has suggested that since only in Lucian do we find explicit mention of a resurrection of Adonis at this festival, at Byblos, the conception was never basically associated with the feast, but rather it was one solely of mourning. This would fit in with its place in summer. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII, 9, 14) only records a mourning-feast at Antioch in July. Lambrechts regards the resurrection motif at Byblos as an Egyptian influence in connection with the Osiris myth.⁶² However the theme of a dying-rising god is not alien to Semitic religion, and its cults do not seem derivative.⁶³ Thus it seems best to regard the resurrection as an essential part of the cult. Lambrechts also finds no

⁵⁹P. Lambrechts, loc. cit.; he quotes J. Bidez, La Vie de l'Empereur Julien, p. 274ff. and p. 400 n.l.

⁶⁰P. Lambrechts, op. cit., pp. 219-20.

⁶¹P. Lambrechts, op. cit. He quotes A. Nock, Gnomon, X, 1934, p. 290.

⁶²P. Lambrechts, op. cit., p. 231-35.

⁶³cf. the myths of Adonis which have the dying-rising theme, as well as Tammuz and Baal Hadad.

resurrection in Theocritus XV, but does not explain the lines:

— ἔρπει, ὦ φίλ', Ἀδωνί, καὶ ἐνθάδε κῆρ' Ἀχέροντα —
 — ἡμιθίσων, ὡς Φαντί, μονώτατος. (ll. 136-137.)

Such is the problem involved in dating the feast Lucian describes. No definite answer can be given, but perhaps there is a solution in the fact that although the month of Tammuz was July in Mesopotamia, the feast of his resurrection was celebrated at New Year at the spring solstice.⁶⁴ Thus there seems to be two periods of the year connected with Tammuz, perhaps a feast of joy in spring and one of mourning in summer.

Now if the concept of resurrection is not an Egyptian influence, as Lambrechts suggests, but is indigenously Syrio-Mesopotamian, as the Baal-Hadad and Tammuz cycles show, it would be natural for it to occur in spring, not summer. Lucian gives no date whatsoever for the feast he describes, but he does state, however, that when the river Adonis turns red, they consider Adonis wounded by the boar (Luc. 8). It seems natural to connect this with the feast described in Lucian 6. The phenomenon has been observed on the seventeenth of March and at the beginning of February.⁶⁵ The windy season occurs at this time. It also occurs at the beginning of June, but not in summer. Thus it is possible that the feast Lucian describes occurred in spring.

⁶⁴T. Gaster, op. cit., p. 47.

⁶⁵J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 48, n. 18; C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

Lucian 6. Sacred Prostitution. This custom was carried out basically to ensure fertility. Herodotus mentions the similar custom in Babylon (I, 199), and Strabo (XI, XIV, 16) the one on Cyprus. There the women only had to fulfill the duty once in their life. In Byblos, however, since only strangers could hire them, it was a form of exogamy. Its purpose was to promote the fertility and vigour of the community.⁶⁶ The practice thus fits in well with a theme of the renewal of nature. Clemen feels that since they shaved their heads after the resurrection, it was not a sign of mourning as Lucian thought, but another fertility rite where a specially important part of the human body was offered.⁶⁷

Apis. Apis was the sacred bull of Memphis and was associated with the worship of Osiris. When it died, the animal was mummified and entombed, and the mourning for it lasted seventy days.⁶⁸

Lucian 7. Osiris. There was always a close connection between Egypt and Byblos, since from Byblos came the important pine pitch used in Egyptian embalming. Montet has shown that there was a very early connection in the Pyramid age. In texts from the sixth dynasty (c. 2300 B. C.) there is mention of a god called Khay-taou, with whom the pharaoh is identified. This god is located by these texts in the land of Byblos.

⁶⁶C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 32-3.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁸Cf. Diodorus Siculus, I, 21, 5-11.

Montet cites three texts from which he deduces an early myth of a god who is turned into a tree.⁶⁹ Then there seems an intermediate form of the Osiris myth coming between that version which Plutarch relates and these pyramid texts. In it the hero Bataou leaves Egypt when his brother wants to kill him. He flees to the valley of the pine and places his heart on top of the flower of the pine. Bataou's spouse, however, allows the Egyptian soldiers who have come to take her back to cut down the pine. Bataou falls dead. Bataou is only revived four years later when his brother has found his heart and has carried out rites which Bataou revealed to him before their separation. Bataou then changes into a bull and the two brothers, the one carrying the other, return to Egypt.⁷⁰

This myth seems a fore-runner of the myth told by Plutarch, where Osiris's brother Seth plots against him, and locks his brother in a coffer which he then flings into the Nile. The coffer floats to Byblos where it was enveloped in a tree. The king of Byblos later had it cut down and made it a pillar in his house. Osiris's sister and consort, Isis, meanwhile, had come searching for Osiris and begged for the pillar. She cut the coffer from it; the trunk she wrapped in fine linen and left it in Byblos where it was worshipped by the people of Byblos in the temple of Isis. She took the

⁶⁹P. Montet, "Le pays de Negaou, près de Byblos, et son dieu", *Syria*, IV, 1923, pp. 182-92.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 190; A. Audin, op. cit., p. 433.

coffer and sailed back to Egypt. Typhon, however, found the coffer, recognized the body, and rent it into fourteen pieces and scattered them around Egypt. Thus in Egypt there were many burial places of Osiris.

This is the myth as recounted by Plutarch,⁷¹ but Egyptian accounts report that when Isis found what had happened to the body, she mourned so intensely that the Sun-god Ra sent the jackal-headed god Anubis who found all the pieces of the body except the genitals and pieced them together. Then he performed the rites of the dead over it. Isis fanned the body and revived it. Osiris then reigned as king of the underworld.⁷²

Since the contacts between Byblos and Egypt were very ancient, P. Lambrechts has suggested that the Osiris myth contributed the idea of resurrection from the dead to the Adonis cult at a late date.⁷³ The complete Adonis myth, however, seems satisfactorily explained as Syrian in origin, since it reflects the theme of the vegetation cycle common in the cults of the Syrio-Mesopotamian area. The cult concept of resurrection, moreover, in the Osiris myth and in the Adonis myth seems quite different in each case. On the one hand, Adonis comes back to earth in a cyclical pattern every year in line with the renewal of nature. Osiris, however, reigns at all times as god of the underworld, presumably because

⁷¹J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Abridged ed., London, 1933, pp. 365-6; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 12-20.

⁷²J. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

⁷³P. Lambrechts, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

when he was brought back to life, his genitals were not found, and so this sterility associated him with the kingdom of death. The Egyptian concept of the immortality of the soul was well developed, whereas in the religion of Syria and Mesopotamia, it was never so consistently worked out. All in all, it is difficult to see a detailed connection between Osiris and Adonis except in so far as both were connected with the vegetation cycle.

Although the rite Lucian describes at Byblos can most likely be associated with Adonis, nevertheless Osiris had his cult there also.⁷⁴ As god of the underworld, part of Osiris's connection with Byblos would stem from the nature of the Egyptian Burial rites which used the pine resin from this region for embalming. Thus the temple of Astarte at Byblos was also considered the temple of Isis.⁷⁵

The head of Byblos. This is a pun in Greek since *Byβλίη* can also mean 'of papyrus', and the head would probably be of papier mâché. The 'head' may have been a diadem which was placed in the water off Byblos, since such diadems have been found.⁷⁶ Lucian, however, seems clear that it is a head, and there is no reason to reject what he says, although Clemen points out that whatever the object was, it was probably placed in the water just off the shore of Byblos. The current of the Nile, however, does reach right to the Phoenician

⁷⁴C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷⁵R. Dussaud, Religions des Phéniciens, des Syriens, pp. 308-9.

⁷⁶C. Clemen, loc. cit.

shore, and so it would not be entirely impossible for something to be floated across.⁷⁷ In Alexandria, the women sent a letter in a pot over the water to Byblos to announce that Aphrodite had found Adonis.⁷⁸

Lucian 7.

μὴν... εἰς τὸν ἕρμα πέμπουσιν

"fecchen him forth to the eyr." A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 344. He regards the phrase as equivalent to *ἔγω οἶον εὐμεν* in Theocritus, XV, 11, 132-3.

"exhibit his effigy to the sky." H. A. Strong, J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 46.

"schicken ihn in die Luft." C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 8. He adds "Statt τὸν ἕρμα liest Jacobs τῇν ἡϊόνα d. h. das Meeresufer (beach)."

The phrase seems to refer to the cultic reappearance of the image of Adonis.

Lucian 8. The River Adonis. The river Adonis is the present Nahr Ibrahim. Its source is near Aphaca, or Apheq, the place where Adonis is reported to have died. The root of Apheq, 'pq' was used in the names of several places in the near east: Apheq, Aphiq in the territory of Asher (Josh. XIX, 30; Jud. I, 31.), Apheq on the plains of Sharon (Josh. XII, 18.), and two cities called Apqu in Mesopotamia. The word seems to have a meaning connected with spring, source, or stronghold of water.⁷⁹

Aphaca or Apheq at the head of the river Adonis is

⁷⁷A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 345, n. 4.

⁷⁸C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷⁹M. Pope, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

the modern Khirbet Afqa in Syria, around twenty-three miles northeast of Beirut. The river itself issues from a cave on the west side of the mountain, Jebel el Munētīreh, and cascades into a deep gorge which has cliffs more than a thousand feet high on each side.⁸⁰ On the east side of the mountain from which the river flows, there is an intermittent lake, Birket el Yammūneh, at an elevation of fourteen hundred feet. This lake becomes very large in spring, but dries up in autumn after the hot summer. It is fed by a spring which erupts around the vernal equinox in a tremendous burst of water, and which dries up around the last day of Tammuz (July). This lake is also drained by a sink-hole in its basin, but during the rainy season, the supply of water far outmatches its capacity, and so the lake becomes quite extensive. Apparently the inhabitants feel that Aphaca on the other side of the mountain is the outlet of this sink-hole, and that the sink-hole is the beginning of a tunnel through the mountain.⁸¹

In connection with this lake, there is the late Phoenician legend that Aphrodite changed herself into a fish and dove into the lake of Aphaca in order to escape the amorous advances of the monster Typhon.⁸² This myth seems similar to those told about Atargatis and the lake at Ascalon. (See notes on Lucian 14 and 45.)

As has been stated, the phenomenon that Lucian records

⁸⁰M. Pope, op. cit., p. 76.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 77.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 79-80.

about the change of the river's colour to red occurs because of the wind and rain during the spring time.⁸³ This phenomenon was connected with the suffering and death of Adonis who reportedly was killed at Aphaca. At this place there was the famous temple of Aphrodite which in chapter nine Lucian tells us was founded by Kinyres.

Lucian 9. Kinyres. Tradition made Kinyres the father of Adonis,⁸⁴ whereas Kautar or Kothar was the father of Tammuz, the counterpart of Adonis in Mesopotamia.⁸⁵ Kautar or Kothar seems to have a background in the Ugaritic texts where in the myths of Baal, the god Ktr whss, the 'Adroit and Cunning one', played the role of the Canaanite Hephaestus.⁸⁶ Philo of Byblos, moreover, describes two brother gods, one of whom is Chousor (Χουσώρ) who Philo says cultivated speeches, magic spells, and modes of prophecy, and is also the equivalent of Hephaestus.⁸⁷ On examination, Kinyres seems to have a character very similar to Kothar/Kautar/Kuthor, or Philo's Chousor, and in fact may have been identical to these gods.

J. P. Brown⁸⁸ has made a detailed comparison of the

⁸³J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 48; C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

⁸⁴Apollodorus, III, 14, 3; Ovid, Metamor., X, 298ff.

⁸⁵Cf. the myth of Melito above.

⁸⁶M. Dahood, op. cit., p. 81

⁸⁷Philo of Byblos in Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, I, 10. (Jacoby, no. 790, frag. 2.) Quoted in J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 202.

⁸⁸J. P. Brown, op. cit., pp. 197-219.

three gods, Kinyres, Philo's Chousor, and the Ugaritic Ktr whss. Brown finds four ways in which he sees similarities between them. First of all, he feels that each of these gods is involved with a doublet or a twin. Philo says explicitly that Chousor has a brother who was the inventor of the technique of making brick walls, and the co-discoverer with Chousor of iron. This, however, is the only case where a brother is explicitly assigned to any one of these three gods. For the other two, Kinyres and Ktr whss, Brown makes the following speculations. Since the god Ktr whss (Adroit and Cunning) really has a double epithet for a name, Brown feels that the phrase may have come to denote two deities, since it is a tendency for each epithet of a god to acquire independent status.⁸⁹ This is possible, but there is no real evidence to confirm the development. He also suggests that although the third god Kinyres is not attested as a twin, the Greek twins Kastor and Polydeukes bear a resemblance to Ktr whss.⁹⁰ Again, however, the evidence is inconclusive.

More important for our purposes, Brown shows that the three gods, Chousor, Ktr whss, and Kinyres were all builder-gods.⁹¹ The Ugaritic Ktr whss was the god who built the temple for Baal.⁹² The brother of Chousor invented bricks, and Chousor himself was a co-discoverer of iron with his brother, and is equated by Philo with Hephaestus. Kinyres

⁸⁹J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 203.

⁹⁰Loc. cit.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 204.

⁹²J. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, 2nd ed., Princeton, 1955 p. 134a.

dealt in iron and silver since he made a breast plate for Agamemnon. (Iliad, XI, 24-5.)

Third, two of the gods are sailors. Ktr whss belongs to Caphtor, and gets there by water.⁹³ Apollodorus (III, 14, 3) says that Kinyres was born in Cilicia in the town of Kalendris, and later sailed to Cyprus and founded Paphos. Strabo (XVI, 2, 18) says Kinyres also had a royal residence at Byblos. Eustathius, a twelfth century A. D. commentator on Homer, states that Kinyres sent Menelaus fifty ships, one of which was real with real men, the other forty-nine made out of clay with clay figures.⁹⁴

Fourth there is some evidence to show that Kinyres, at least, was connected with music. Eustathius states that Kinyres, in his capacity of professional musician, lost his life by competing with Apollo in singing. He also states that he was called Kinyres after the word *κινύρα* 'lyre'.⁹⁵ Brown also quotes a passage from Pindar, Pythian 2, 15-17, which runs:

κελαδεόντι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πόλλας
 φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν δ' χρυσοχαῖτα προφρό-
 νως ἐφίλησ' Ἀπόλλων
 ἱερέα κλίτον Ἀφροδίτης

⁹³J. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 141b.

⁹⁴Eustathius on Iliad XI, 20; J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 205.

⁹⁵Eustathius, loc. cit.

The songs of the Cypriotes often resound for Kinyres, whom golden-hair Apollo graciously loved, the mild priest of Aphrodite.⁹⁶

Brown asks if this connection of Kinyres and Apollo was made because Kinyres was a musician. Brown also points out that Philo⁹⁷ says that Chousor had a descendant called Τεχνίτης, but surely this word means by itself merely 'craftsman'.

Although we feel that Brown does not really succeed in establishing a completely consistent pattern for the gods, Ktr whss, Chousor and Kinyres in all four respects, he nevertheless does show clearly their common role as craftsmen gods. Kinyres thus can be seen as a builder, a sailor, and a musician, and is probably the late Greek equivalent of Chousor (Kautar/Kothar) and Ktr whss.

The etymology of the word Kinyres has been disputed. It may be connected with the Hebrew word for lyre, קִינּוֹר kinnōr. Apparently the Septuagint was the first to use the word קִינּוֹר in its translation of kinnōr⁹⁸. Since the name Kinyres, however, is attested earlier than the date of the Septuagint, it may still have come from kinnōr, but there is no explicit evidence of this.

It has also been suggested⁹⁹ that the epic Greek word Κῑθάρη is derived from the name of the god Kothar.

⁹⁶J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 206.

⁹⁷Philo, in Eusebius, Praep. Ev., I, 10, 12.

⁹⁸J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 207.

⁹⁹H. L. Ginsberg, "Women Singers and Wailers among the Northern Canaanites", Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, LXXII, 1938, pp. 13-15.

This god Kothar, we have seen, shares a background very similar to that of Kinyres, in that he is a craftsman and father of a vegetation god (Kothar, the father of Tammuz, Kinyres, the father of Adonis.) Since Kothar was the Semitic counterpart of Kinyres, he is most likely to be connected with music. Thus it is thought that perhaps the Greeks in dealing with the craftsman god of Phoenicia, used the god's name (Kothar) for his instrument (κίθαρῖς), and his instrument (kinnōr) for his name, Kinyres. In the Iliad (XVIII, 569-70) we are told that the κίθαρῖς was used to sing the 'Linos' song, and Herodotus (II, 79) tells us Linos was a subject of song in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁰ Thus there may be some connection between early Greece and Iron age Phoenicia in terms of the etymology of the words κίθαρῖς and Kinyres, but the case is not clear.

Another etymology has been suggested from ^{the} Hittite area.¹⁰¹ In a text of Karatepe, a divinity called el-ku-ni-ir-sa is mentioned. The 'el' of the word points to a Semitic etymology since 'el' was the Canaanite word for 'god'. Otten compares the name el-ku-ni-ir-sa to the Phoenician $\chi\lambda\alpha\ \eta\ \beta\chi$ ('el qn 'rš), which means 'god, creator of earth',

¹⁰⁰J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 208.

¹⁰¹H. Otten, "Ein kanaanaischer Mythos aus Bogazkoy", Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, I, 1953, pp. 124-50; J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 208-9.

and finds them related. The problem now is to see how he finds the name Kinyres in the name el-ku-ni-ir-sa.

He argues that since there is a tradition that Kinyres came from Cilicia (Apollodorus, III, 14, 3) from the town of Kalendris, and since an inscription of Karatepe reading $\omega\gamma\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\delta\tau\iota\varsigma$ 'Lord of Krntrish (Kalendris)' is thought¹⁰² to refer to the god of Kalendris, there may be a connection between the 'Lord of Krntrish', and Kinyres, who came from Krntrish or Kalendris. Furthermore, the name Kinyres can be seen in the Semitic phrase el-ku-ni-ir-sa, if the first component 'el' is dropped, and the 'Ku-ni-ir-sa' fused. Since the phrase el-ku-ni-ir-sa means 'god, the creator of the earth', Kinyres, if derived from this word, would be a creator god.¹⁰³ The only evidence for this is that Kinyres seems a god like Hephaistos in Iliad XI,24. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the 'el' of el-ku-ni-ir-sa would drop. Thus the question of the etymology must remain open.

The temple Lucian attributes to Kinyres was at Aphaca in Lebanon, the death place of Adonis. Because the temple with its orgies, sacred prostitution¹⁰⁴ and self-emasculatation followed the Syrian fertility cult a little too enthusiastically, Constantine ordered the demolition of the

¹⁰²J. P. Brown, op. cit., p. 205, n.3.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁰⁴According to Clement of Alexandria (Protrepticus, II, 135) Kinyres had instituted sacred prostitution on Cyprus.

shrine.¹⁰⁵

Lucian 10. The Temple. H. Stocks made a close examination of the site of the sanctuary at Hierapolis, and from his description, I have made the following diagram.¹⁰⁶ The only difficulty raised by his report concerns the *χάσμα* or cleft.

Stocks locates it south of the temple where, by the plants there, a spring or well seem to be underneath the ground.

Lucian states that the temple was built ἐπὶ τῷ χάσματι (Lucian 13), and that he himself saw the cleft, and it was ὑπὸ τῷ νηῶ. The people who bring water to the temple τὸ (ὕδωρ) πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῷ νηῶ ἐκχέουσι, μετὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ χάσμα κατέρχεται. Stocks takes ἐπὶ to mean 'up from' and ὑπό 'down from', and places the *χάσμα* on a lower level outside the temple, at the spring or well.¹⁰⁷ This seems to be forcing the Greek. There may have been a cleft also in the temple floor which is now no longer evident.

Lucian 12. The Flood. Although Lucian says he has heard the story from the Greeks, the account he gives follows the Babylonian tradition rather than the Greek, which is found in Pseudo-Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, I, 7, 47ff.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, Buttman proposed Deukalion-Sisthes (Σισύθεα) instead of Deukalion the Scythian (Σκύθεα), since Siszythes is a possible variant of Xisuthros, the Babylonian flood hero of Berossos

¹⁰⁵M. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, Leiden, 1955, p.76; Eusebius, Vita Const. III, 55.

¹⁰⁶H. Stocks, op. cit., pp. 1-4. See page 65.

¹⁰⁷H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 328.

¹⁰⁸C. Clemens, op. cit., p. 36.

in Eusebius (Chronica, I, 5, 19ff.). However, since it ($\Sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha$) is in all manuscripts, and a tradition concerning the presence of Scythians in Palestine-Syria was preserved,¹⁰⁹ the reading $\Sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha$ may well be Lucian's word, even though it is still unlikely that a Scythian was connected by the people of Hierapolis with the flood.¹¹⁰ The mistake may be Lucian's own.¹¹¹

Lucian's account follows the Babylonian and Biblical traditions in the following ways.

In the Greek version, a great rain causes the flood, but in Lucian the earth also sends forth water from beneath. This recalls the Semitic picture of the world as a firmament with water both above and below it.¹¹² The Gilgamesh epic (XI, 101ff.) and Genesis (VII, 11) have the water pour in from above and below.

In the Greek account only Deukalion and his wife are saved, but in Lucian, Deukalion saves his wives and children. In the Gilgamesh epic, the hero, Utnapishtim, saves his whole family and kin. Noah saved his wife, his sons and their wives, and so Lucian seems more in this tradition.

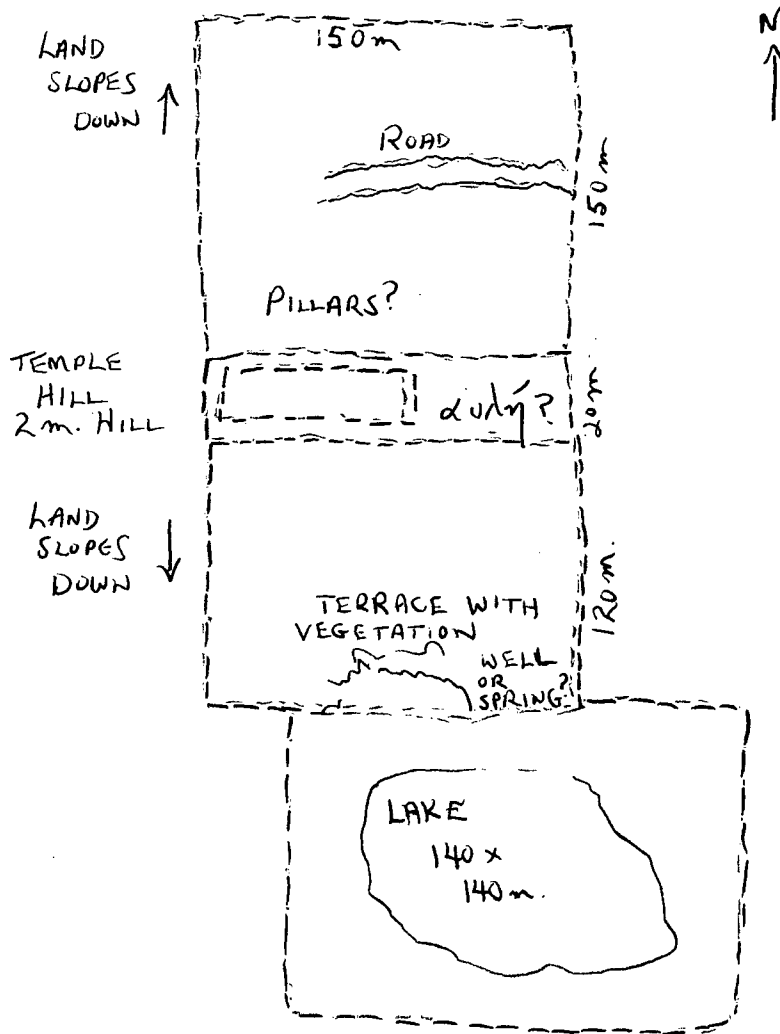
In the account of Pseudo-Apollodorus, no animals are saved, but in Lucian all the animals are taken on board.

¹⁰⁹M. Avi-Yonah, "Scythopolis" (Biblical Beth-Shean) Israel Exploration Journal, XII, 1962, pp. 123-34.

¹¹⁰H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 8.

¹¹¹A. Harmon, op. cit., pp. 350-1, n. 1.

¹¹²Cf. Genesis, I, 1-7.



In the Gilgamesh epic, only domesticated animals are saved, whereas in the Biblical account two traditions are given. In one, the Priestly, two of every animal are saved, and in the other, the Yahwist, seven of each sex are saved of the clean animals, and two of each sex of the unclean.¹¹³

Lucian speaks of the $\chiάσμα$ or cleft through which the flood water disappeared. This detail is not in the Semitic accounts, and may be a local tradition because of the cleft under the temple.¹¹⁴ However Pausanias (I, XVIII, 7) mentions a precinct of Olympian Earth, that is a sacred area of ground, southwest of temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, in which was a cleft through which the flood water was supposed to have run away. Every year the Athenians threw a cake of wheaten meal kneaded with honey into it.¹¹⁵ However the rite at Hierapolis where water was thrown into the cleft (Lucian 13 and 48) originally was not connected with the flood myth, but was probably a rite concerning prayers for rain.¹¹⁶ It is unlikely that the cult at Hierapolis was centred around the flood myth since the Deukalion story was only one of several concerned with the founder of the temple. Moreover, the geography of Hierapolis makes it unlikely that a flood occurred. If the rite were connected

¹¹³Genesis VI, 18 and VII, 2; E. A. Speiser, Genesis, New York, 1964, pp. 46-56 says Genesis VI, 18 is Priestly and Genesis VII, 2 is Yahwist.

¹¹⁴H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 8.

¹¹⁵J. Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece, Vol. II, p. 182.

¹¹⁶R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu..", p. 133; G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 70-2.

with the flood, it would be a petition for the end of moisture and not for its occurrence.¹¹⁷ Such a feast again would be strange in Hierapolis where it seldom rains.¹¹⁸

Lucian 14. Semiramis and Derketo. Derketo is a variation of Atargatis in Greek. The original Aramaic name, ܐܬܪܓܬܝܬ (atar- ateh) is difficult to transcribe into any non-Semitic language because of the ܝ, 'ayin, a sound which is like "incipient vomiting".¹¹⁹ Therefore the name was transcribed Ἀταργάτις, Ἀτεργάτις Adargatis, where the first 'ayin became a glottal stop and the second a 'g', or else it was transcribed Δερκέτω Derketō, where the first 'ayin dropped and the second became a 'k' instead of a 'g'.¹²⁰

The myth of Derketo and Semiramis is related in Diodorus, II, 4. In the myth, Derketo is said to have had intercourse with a young Syrian, her passion inspired by Aphrodite who was offended with her. Derketo bore a daughter, Semiramis, and then in shame over the whole affair, killed the young Syrian, exposed Semiramis, and threw herself into the lake of Ascalon. She was turned into a fish and for this reason, fish are holy to the Syrians. Semiramis, however, was nurtured by doves until she was found by shepherds. She was raised by Simmas, the keeper of the royal herds.

¹¹⁷C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 52.

¹¹⁸R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier...", p. 133.

¹¹⁹F. Rosenthal, A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, Wiesbaden, 1963, p. 7.

¹²⁰G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 58; G. Cooke, op. cit., p. 270.

Ascalon was a Syrian town where the cult of Atargatis was also carried out; there was a holy lake there just as at Hierapolis.

The name Semiramis itself is probably based upon the historical Sammu-ramat, who was queen-regent of Assyria at the beginning of the reign of her son Adad-Nirari III, 811-782 B. C.¹²¹ She was "a sort of Assyrian Catherine II, distinguished equally in war and for sensuality."¹²² Thus she later assumed attributes of Ishtar or Astarte in the stories told about her. Semiramis was connected with Ninus of Nineveh in myths about the foundation of Nineveh.¹²³

The myth about Derketo and Semiramis seems to include the theme of passion as a punishment, and thus fits in with the cult of Atargatis.¹²⁴ It also sets out to explain the sanctity of fish and doves. However, as Lucian points out, fish were not eaten because they were sacred to Derketo since the Egyptians also did not eat them. The real reason was probably hygienic.¹²⁵ Sacred fish were kept at Ascalon and Hierapolis, and when the cult spread through the Greco-Roman every sanctuary of Atargatis had a fishpond.¹²⁶

The dove was considered sacred by all the Semites (Xenophon, Anabasis, I, 4, 9). It was especially associated

¹²¹C. H. Oldfather, Diodorus Siculus, (Loeb) London, 1960, v. I, pp. 356-7, n. 2 on Diodorus, II, 3, 4.

¹²²W. How, J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, Oxford, 1928, v. I, p. 143, note on Herodotus I, 184.

¹²³J. Garstang, op. cit., pp. 52-3, n. 24.

¹²⁴G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 62.

¹²⁵C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 48.

¹²⁶G. Goossens, loc. cit.

with Astarte (Aelian, De natura animalium, IV, 2) and is represented on figurines from Phoenicia, Asia Minor, Rhodes, Delos, Athens and Etruria. There was no distinction, of course, between the dove and pigeon.¹²⁷

Lucian 15. Rhea-Attis. Because of the location of Hierapolis in the north of Syria, it was open to influences from Asia Minor. The Galli seem the clearest indication of this influence, although Lucian rejects such a view and explains their presence by the story of Kombabos and Stratonike. This story, however, is a literary theme which was popular at the time, and will be discussed in the note on chapter 17.¹²⁸

Lucian 16. Dionysus. Lucian finds Dionysus the most likely founder of the temple. However, the proofs he offers are, of course, valueless from our point of view. The columns really are Sun columns such as those found at Tyre for Melqart, and for Helios at Edessa.¹²⁹

These pillars are connected with the hammanim of the Old Testament. These hammanim were obelisks associated with the altars of Baal as a solar god. The Aramaic word hamma means sun.¹³⁰ Philo of Byblos reports that Sanchoniaton studied the wisdom of the Phoenicians on the texts of the ammouneon, and these have been identified with the hammanim. Moreover, the 'decreta astrorum' were engraved on the

¹²⁷J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 86, n. 66.

¹²⁸E. Benveniste, op. cit., pp. 248-58.

¹²⁹A. Audin, op. cit., p. 430

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 431.

columns of Heracles of Cadiz.¹³¹

Lucian 16. Marionettes. Herodotus (II, 48) gives an account of the use of puppets in the cult of Dionysus in Egypt.

To Dionysus on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives it to the swineherd who has sold it for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus, they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the village by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the body.¹³²

If these existed at the temple in Hierapolis there must have been some connection with Dionysus, even if the cult was not centred around him. It is known that in Syria the cult of Dionysus was widely adopted and joined with cults of local vegetation gods.¹³³ Something of the sort probably happened at Hierapolis.

Bronze statue. This statue may be connected with a motif on Syrian cylinder seals dating from the second millennium. On them is represented a nude man with emphasized sexual organs.¹³⁴ The statue has been also connected with the Egyptian god Bes whose cult penetrated Syria at an early date.¹³⁵

Lucian 17. Stratonike. The two stories which follow seem to

¹³¹A. Audin, op. cit., p. 432.

¹³²A. D. Godley, Herodotus, (Loeb) London, 1960, v. I, p. 335.

¹³³H. Seyrig, "Le grande prêtre de Dionysus à Byblos", Syria, XXXI, 1954, pp. 68-73; G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 135.

¹³⁴G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 113.

¹³⁵C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 45.

be basically literary rather than historical or cultic. Lucian identifies the Stratonike in the second story concerning Kombabos with the historical Stratonike, the wife of Seleucus I who later married her step-son Antiochus I of Syria.¹³⁶ Lucian's story, however, of exactly how the actual marriage occurred is probably fictional. In Lucian's tale, the diagnosis was attributed to Erasistratos who was born sometime between 310 and 300 B. C. He was the famous physician of Syria of this time. The historical marriage of Antiochus and Stratonike took place in 293 B. C., and so if Erasistratos was involved, he could not have been more than seventeen years old. According to Lucian, Seleucus I went away afterwards and founded a city called after him on the Euphrates, but Seleucia, the city in question, was founded in 300 B. C. Antiochus was co-regent with his father for thirteen years in the upper provinces of Asia Minor.¹³⁷

The story Lucian relates about Stratonike and Kombabos reflects a literary theme which became popular in the near east between the third century B. C. and the second century A. D. It involves a king's minister who is entrusted with the care of his lord's wife or concubines and who castrates himself secretly because he knows suspicion will fall on him later. Then after he has been accused, he brings forth

¹³⁶A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 361, n. 3.

¹³⁷G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 189-92. The story of Antiochus and Stratonike is also given in Appian, Syrian Wars, 59-61; Plutarch, Demetri vita, 38; Valerius Maximus, V, 7; Pliny refers to Erasistratos in Naturalis Historia, XXIX, 3.

the evidence of his innocence.¹³⁸

Lucian offers the story to explain the rebuilding of the temple in Hierapolis after the old one had been destroyed by age.¹³⁹ The story is also intended to explain the statue of a woman in man's clothing, and the presence of the Galli at Hierapolis.¹⁴⁰ It is generally assumed that the temple at Hierapolis was rebuilt by the historical Stratonike, the second wife of Seleucus I, and that Seleucus renamed the city Hierapolis.¹⁴¹ In our discussion of the name of the city, however, we pointed out that since the basic story of Stratonike and Kombabos was non-historical, Goossens¹⁴² rejects its worth for determining historical evidence. It does seem likely, however, that some historical situation gave rise to this story, just as the historical marriage between Stratonike and her step-son Antiochus gave rise to the romantic story of how it happened.¹⁴³ The main factor in determining the historical value of the Stratonike and Kombabos story will be the amount of extraneous evidence. Since we do not possess much archaeological data, however, we can only try to glean hints from the rest of Lucian's text.

It is interesting to note that Lucian accepts the

¹³⁸E. Benveniste, "La légende de Kombabos", pp. 249-58, gives versions of the story from Parthia, the Sassanide empire, and India.

¹³⁹Lucian 17.

¹⁴⁰Lucian 26.

¹⁴¹F. Cumont, in Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, v. IV, 2, p. 1591.

¹⁴²G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 189-92.

¹⁴³Cf. notes on Lucian 1.

temple as being built by the historical Stratonike, since he states that he himself identifies the Stratonike of the Stratonike-Kombabos story with Stratonike, the wife of Seleucus.¹⁴⁴ In addition, Lucian states that of the two walls that surround the temple, one is not very old.¹⁴⁵ Goossens¹⁴⁶ feels that this statement indicates that the temple itself was really rebuilt recently in the first century A. D., at which time temples were also rebuilt at Palmyra and Heliopolis. It is true that Lucian does talk of the wall as quite recent, but it is difficult to see why he did not mention the temple as recent also if in fact it were so. He seems to have no doubt that the temple goes back to the time of the historical Stratonike, the second wife of Seleucus.¹⁴⁷

The story of Stratonike and Kombabos is also connected with the presence of the Galli at Hierapolis. However, it really does not explain anything about them. In the story Kombabos castrates himself secretly in order to establish his innocence in advance. At Hierapolis the Galli were castrated in a state of frenzy in a rite obviously similar to the Rhea-Attis cult in Asia Minor.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴Lucian 17.

¹⁴⁵Lucian 28.

¹⁴⁶G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁴⁷E. Benveniste (op. cit., p. 249.) feels that Lucian has Stratonike build the temple at Hierapolis in expiation of her marriage with her step-son. Lucian, however, expressly states that she was living with her former husband at the time (c. 19), and does not connect the two stories by any common theme beyond the mere identification of the two Stratonikes.

¹⁴⁸E. Benveniste, op. cit., p. 256.

The word Kombabos seems to have connections with *κυβέβης*, Gallus and *κύβηβος, ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν* in Hesychios, and the word probably was used in the story because of its connotations.¹⁴⁹

The statue by Hermocles of Rhodes, who is only mentioned here in classical literature, was probably not of Kombabos. J. Garstang suggests it was a statue of an Amazon, but nothing can be said with certainty.¹⁵⁰

Lucian 27. The Clothing of the Galli. Lucian tells us the story of the young woman who killed herself to explain why the Galli wore feminine attire, but of course tells us very little about the reason for the custom. The explanation for this dress probably^{lay} originally in the psychology of homosexuality, but castration was regarded at a very early date in ancient society as an aid to fertility because, I suppose, one offered one's sexual organs to the divinity involved.¹⁵¹ Later castration was part of the search for sexual purity, and became part of asceticism. Clemen associates the mad, possessed women in Lucian 43 with the women who are empassioned by the Galli, and thinks this relationship could be part of an asceticism in search of a pure love.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 39; Kombabos has also been associated with the monster Humbaba, Humwawa in the Gilgamesh epic, (A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 366, n. 1.), but this connection is very unlikely. The two characters are completely dissimilar.

¹⁵⁰G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 112; J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 65, n. 36.

¹⁵¹G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁵²C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 55-6.

Lucian 28. The orguia measured six feet, one inch. Thus Lucian's measurements seem a trifle exaggerated. Lucian states here that the entrance faces north, but later on in chapter 30 he states that the temple faces east. This entrance on the north side may have been a secondary side entrance, since Stocks locates the courtyard of chapter 41 to the east of the temple.¹⁵³ On the other hand, there is the fact that a road passed east to west through the field on the north side of the temple, and, since this road was the principal artery of the city, the temple may have had its principal entrance located in relation to it.¹⁵⁴

In addition, Semitic temples were usually constructed so that the inner sanctuary could not be seen by one passing outside the temple. Thus in the typical Canaanite temple, the entrance was located on the side of the building.¹⁵⁵ This plan survived at Palmyra and Hierapolis may also represent the same pattern.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 3; C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁵⁴G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 110.

¹⁵⁵G. Ernest Wright, Biblical Archaeology, Philadelphia, 1957, p. 114; see also this author's review of Lachish II: The Fosse Temple by Olga Tufnell, Charles Inge, and L. Harding in the American Journal of Archaeology, XLV, 1937, p. 634.

¹⁵⁶For the temple plan of Palmyra see K. Michalowski, "Palmyra", Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, vol. V., p. 904. G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 53-4, feels that the plan of the temple reflects a survival of Hurrian culture. Little is known of their cult, except that it was often fused with that of the Hittites. However, the cult at Hierapolis seems to be explained satisfactorily as Semitic because of the gods found there. The Semitic idea of a 'Holy of Holies' also seems to be there.

Lucian 28. The Pillar Climber. The first reason Lucian gives is the correct explanation. The Semites climbed pillars because they believed they would be nearer the gods and could be more easily heard. The noise made attracted the gods' attention to the requests the climber offered in the name of the people.¹⁵⁷

The reason for the rite in the worship of Dionysus which Lucian blushes to tell is found in two Christian authors, Arnobius, Adversus Nationes, V, 28, and Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, II, 30.¹⁵⁸

No one knows what is meant by the scorpion. The scorpion was sacred in the religion of Mithra,¹⁵⁹ but this fact probably has not much to do with the cult here at Hierapolis. Lucian may be joking.¹⁶⁰

Lucian 31. The Inner Sanctuary. The description of the statues in the inner sanctuary seems fairly clear, and the description of Lucian's Hera and Zeus matches the representations of Atargatis and Hadad on coins. On a coin of Alexander Severus¹⁶¹ dated 225 A. D. from Hierapolis, Atargatis is seated and faces front, dressed, with mural crown, her upper arms

¹⁵⁷C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 46. Stocks, op. cit., p. 2, feels that since the ascent of the pillar took place twice a year, and since the trip to the sea also took place twice a year, the two feasts were connected; the trip to the sea Stocks connects with the flood and the cult of Deukalion. Thus he connects the ascent of the pillar with the flood also. However, the trip to the sea is probably not connected with the flood, but was probably a prayer for moisture. Thus the pillars are probably not connected with Deukalion.

¹⁵⁸Goossens, op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁵⁹H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁶⁰C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁶¹J. Garstang, op. cit., fig. 7, p. 70.

down and her forearms stretched out horizontally. In the right hand is a sceptre and in the left, a short stick with a small sphere on the end (the spindle?). She is seated on a throne which has the head of a lion on each of its arms. Hadad is pictured seated with the head of a bull with the calathos, and his throne has the head of a bull on each of its arms. The Abd-Hadad (Slave of Hadad) coins from 332 B. C. from Hierapolis in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris show the high priest on one side and the bust of Atargatis on the other.¹⁶² Then a statue found in Hierapolis represents Atargatis holding her breasts, and thus she is to be connected with Astarte.¹⁶³

Atargatis is also represented in connection with the fertility goddess of Asia Minor. On one of the two Caracalla coins (c. 200-217 A.D.) of the British Museum, she is sitting on her lion throne with sceptre in her right hand and Rhea's tambourine in the other. On another Caracalla coin she is in Greek dress riding on a lion. She wears the calathos and in her right hand she holds a sceptre.¹⁶⁴

In an inscription of the third century A. D. found in Britain. (CIL, VII, 750) Atargatis is identified with Pax, Virtus, Ares, the mother of the gods (Rhea), and the constellation of the Virgin.¹⁶⁵ In Apuleius (Metmorphoses

¹⁶²B. V. Head, op. cit., p. 777; H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁶³F. Cumont, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Vol. IV, 2, p. 1591.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 1593.

¹⁶⁵C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 42.

VIII, 25) she is called all powerful and all-creative.

Lucian 33. The Ensign. The nature of the semeion has been much disputed. R. Dussaud believes that at Hierapolis there was a triad at the centre of the cult which consisted of Zeus-Hadad as the senior or father god, Atargatis as the mother goddess, and a Simios as a young fertility god. The word semeion would then refer to a statue of Simi ~~or~~ Simios, just as the word adonion could refer to a statue of Adonis.¹⁶⁶

The main defence for maintaining the existence of a god called Simios and hence of a triad at Hierapolis rests upon this interpretation of the object called the semeion. In addition, there is also a reference to a goddess Simi at Hierapolis. Pseudo-Melito of Sardis¹⁶⁷ states that the magi at Hierapolis commanded Simi, the daughter of Hadad, to draw some water from the sea and pour it down the well there to keep an evil spirit from coming up.¹⁶⁸

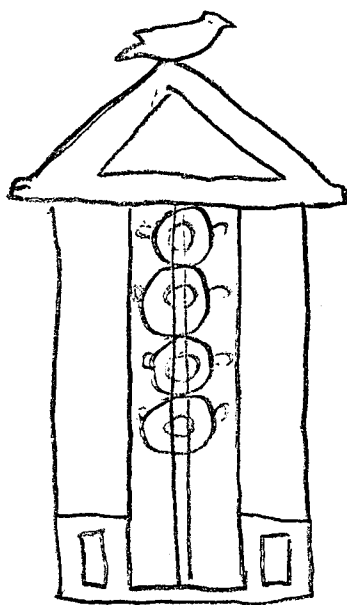
Outside Hierapolis, there was a goddess Sima venerated at Beyrut, and a goddess Semea at Emesene. Finally an inscription found in Nebo Kefer in the mountains around Antioch dated 223 A. D. mentions a god Simios.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶R. Dussaud, Religions des Phéniciens et des Syriens, pp. 394-5; and also in "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu de Hierapolis", p. 130. C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 43, follows his opinion.

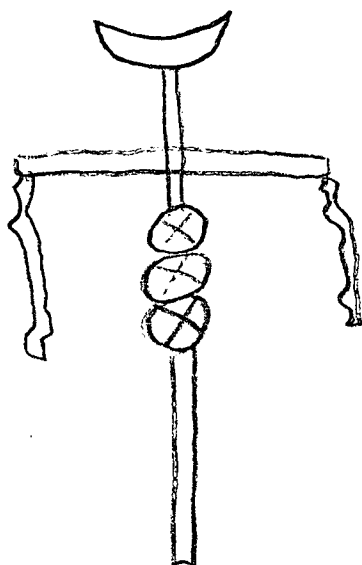
¹⁶⁷cf. note on Adonis.

¹⁶⁸H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 20; H. Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", Syria, XXXVII, 1961, p. 243; A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 353, n. 3, gives this particular text of Melito.

¹⁶⁹H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 20.



SEMEION PICTURED BETWEEN HADAD AND ATARGATIS
ON COIN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS, A.D. 225. THIS
SEEMS TO BE AN AEDICULA WITH A ROMAN ENSIGN.



SEMEION PICTURED BETWEEN FIGURES OF HADAD
AND ATARGATIS ON BAS RELIEF OF DURA-
EUROPA.

The supposition that there was a triad consisting of Hadad, Atargatis, and Simios is open to doubt first because of the scantiness of the evidence for his existence, and, second, because of inconsistencies in the evidence. Do we have a father, mother, son (Simios) triad, or a father, mother daughter, (Simi) triad, since only the goddess Simi is attested explicitly at Hierapolis? The god Simios in the inscription from Nebo Kefer is the chief of the triad mentioned in the inscription and is probably the equivalent of Hadad.¹⁷⁰ Simios may well be a Greek form of the Aramaic ŠMŠ, shemesh, 'sun' or ŠMI, shemay, 'heaven', since both words were epithets of Baal Hadad.

Thus it seems likely that Lucian's ensign was exactly what he said it was: an ensign. On the coin of Alexander Severus mentioned above and on a bas-relief at Dura-Europas, a Roman military ensign is represented between the figures of Hadad and Atargatis. On the coin from Hierapolis¹⁷¹ the ensign between the two figures is a small shrine with a rectangular roof which forms a gable. In this shrine stands a pole with four hollow rings attached to it.¹⁷² The rings are attached vertically to the front of the pole, that is, so that the

¹⁷⁰H. Seyrig, "Dieux de Hierapolis", p. 244.

¹⁷¹J. Garstang, op. cit., f. 7, p. 70.

¹⁷²See also H. Stocks, op. cit., pp. 16-9.

pole passes up behind them, and does not pass through the inside of the rings. Thus the four form a sequence upwards. The whole ensign is placed between Hadad and Atargatis in the coin in the same way Lucian says it stood in the inner chamber of the temple.

On the relief at Dura-Europos, a different type of ensign occurs. Between the figures of Hadad and Atargatis, a pole rises topped by a crescent moon attached on its back. Down a little from the top of the pole is a cross bar with a ribbon or a band of cloth hanging down each end of the bar. Below the crossbar, three solid discs are attached to the pole.¹⁷³

These two forms of ensign probably go back just to the Romanization of Syria, but the custom of using an ensign obviously must have gone back earlier, since it occupied such an important place in the cult.¹⁷⁴ Lucian probably did not see this form of ensign,¹⁷⁵ but the one he saw was probably similar to those ensigns pictured on Syrian cylinder seals of the second millennium B. C. Seyrig cites many examples of these. Each of them is a long staff with the visage of at least one deity on it. If there are two faces, one is at the top of the staff, and the other is half way down. Seven

¹⁷³H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁷⁴H. Seyrig, "Dieux de Hierapolis", p. 239.

¹⁷⁵J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 70, n. 3.

specimens have a bird placed on top of them. Of the sixteen examples Seyrig lists, thirteen are of Syrian origin, and three are from Kanesh in Syria-Cappadocia. Seyrig dates them from 1900-1300 B. C.¹⁷⁶

Seyrig believes that these sacred objects were probably used in processions to ensure the presence of the gods. Thus at Hierapolis we find the ensign is taken on the trip to the sea.¹⁷⁷ Lucian says the ensign has no shape of its own, but bears $\tau\omega\nu \ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\nu \ \Theta\epsilon\omega\nu \ \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha$. The word $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha$, in light of the early Syrian ensigns seems to mean the shapes or visages of the other gods, that is, of Atargatis and Hadad.¹⁷⁸

Because of the evidence of the ancient Syrian religious ensigns on the one hand, and because of the lack of real evidence for the existence of the god called Simios, it seems best to take the word semeion in its simplest meaning. Consequently, the cult at Hierapolis was not centred around a triad of gods, but around Atargatis and Hadad. This conclusion seems to fit in with the history of Syrian

¹⁷⁶H. Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", p. 236.

¹⁷⁷H. Seyrig, op. cit., pp. 245-46. C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Nouveaux témoignages du culte de El et de Baal à Ras Shamra-Ugarit et ailleurs en Syrie-Palestine", Syria, XLIII, 1966, pp. 1-19, points out that in the cult of El, the senior god of the Ugaritic pantheon, during the second half of the second millennium B. C., a small statue of a bull was carried on top of a staff presumably in religious processions.

¹⁷⁸H. Seyrig, op. cit., pp. 238-9.

religion and also with the other testimony in Lucian.¹⁷⁹

Lucian 34. The Sun and the Moon. Lucian's reason for the absence of the statues of the sun and moon is debateable.

Goossens feels this absence of statues reflects a repugnance on the part of the Syrians to represent the divine in material form,¹⁸⁰ but such a repugnance is hard to substantiate.

Probably the empty throne of the sun was in reality the throne of Apollo who stood behind it.¹⁸¹

Apollo. The bearded Apollo seems by his description to represent Reshef, the Syrian god of fire and the plague. Macrobius, in his description of the Apollo of Hierapolis (Saturnalia, I, 17, 66) states he is wearing armour and is carrying a spear in his right hand and so he seems to be a war god. Reshef was worshipped in Cyprus and Carthage as the god of flame, heat, and lightning.¹⁸²

In northern Syria, his worship was of early date.¹⁸³ Because the word רשף rshf, means flame, lightning flash (Ps. 78, 48;

¹⁷⁹

H. Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", p. 240. According to another interpretation of this passage, when Lucian says that the people of Hierapolis call the object semeion themselves, he means they call the statue by an Aramaic word which sounds very much like semeion. A. Caquot, "Note sur le semeion et les inscriptions araméennes de Hatra", Syria, XXXII, 1955, pp. 59ff., has found an Aramaic root SYM that means 'image, sign'. However, this interpretation seems rather forced, since the Greek makes good sense as it stands.

¹⁸⁰G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 134.

¹⁸¹J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 74, n. 47; C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁸²G. Cooke, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁸³Ibid., inscription 61, 2, 3, p. 161.

Cant. 8, 6), the god is identified with Apollo¹⁸⁴ who as
 ἑκϑόλος and ἑκταϑόλος (Iliad I, 50ff.)
 was the author of pestilence.

Reshef's function as an oracle giver is only known from this passage in Lucian. Clemen feels that actually the main function of the priests at the temple in Hierapolis was to give oracles, even though Lucian assures us Apollo was perfectly capable of it himself.¹⁸⁵

Lucian 38-40. The Statues. An explanation of the minor statues really seems impossible. Harmon suggests that the three in chapter 38 are another version of the triad (Hadad,

¹⁸⁴Cf. G. Cooke, op. cit., inscription 30, pp. 88-9, (CIS I 89) where in a bilingual inscription,

הוּרִשְׁףִּי יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

l'adni lrshf, 'to my lord Reshef'
 'to Reshef' is translated תַּרְשִׁיף אֱלֹהֵינוּ

¹⁸⁵C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 54. A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 390, n. 2, identifies the bearded Apollo of Hierapolis with Nebo, the Babylonian god of science and learning. Now in his discussion of Hierapolis, Pseudo-Melito says that the god the people of Hierapolis call Nebo is really Orpheus. His identification of Nebo with Orpheus is explained by statues of a god with a cithara that have been found in Syria with the name 'Nebo' inscribed on them. Since Apollo is also associated with music, Nebo could be identified with Apollo rather than with Orpheus. Conversely, if Lucian described the statue of a god with a cithara, and called him Apollo, we could identify him with Nebo. However, Lucian is not describing a statue of Apollo with a cithara to us. Our bearded Apollo is a warrior, and thus Reshef seems clearly indicated. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu...", pp. 148-9 identifies him with El because of the beard and his importance in the cult. Reshef again, however, seems better attested because of the traditional association with Apollo. Goossens identifies him with Kombabos, but surely this is unlikely. (G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 115.)

Atargatis, and Simios) of the inner sanctuary, but since it is fairly likely that there was not any triad of the inner sanctuary, this thesis breaks down. Simios would be equivalent to Hermes-Nebo-Mercury.¹⁸⁶ Goossens regards Hermes (Mercury) of chapter 38 as Nebo, the Babylonian god of science, since Nebo was also connected with the planet Mercury.¹⁸⁷ However, he points out that temples were littered with statues.¹⁸⁸ In connection with chapter 38 also, Stocks feels that Atlas is Kronon (El), that Hermes is Mercury, perhaps Nebo, and that Eileithyia is Aphrodite or Venus; these three he connects with the cult of the stars.¹⁸⁹ Clemen, however, feels that the statues are Greek, not Syrian, and in fact statues of the three gods Lucian mentions were in the temple of the Syrian goddess at Rome.¹⁹⁰

Clemen feels that the statue of Semiramis was really that of a high priestess, since the historical Semiramis had nothing to do in the building of the later temple.¹⁹¹ Stocks feels that because Hera reportedly afflicted both Semiramis and Stratonike with sickness, they are really the same person.¹⁹² However there is nothing to indicate such a view really since sickness sent by a god was a common theme.

Stocks feels that the statues of Semiramis, Helene, Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, and Achilleus point to an

¹⁸⁶A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 392, n. 2.

¹⁸⁷G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 56-7.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁸⁹H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁹⁰C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁹¹Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁹²H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 11.

Asian Minor influence,¹⁹³ and Clemen is inclined to agree.¹⁹⁴

Stocks feels that the statues of Sardanapallos,¹⁹⁵ the second Semiramis, Kombabos and Stratonike belong in the circle of the Attis-Cybele cult because of the "mannweibischen und weibmannischen Gestalten".¹⁹⁶ However, this is not clear. Stocks also connects the statues of Tereus, Procne and Philomele with the Dionysus cult.¹⁹⁷ G. Goossens, on the other hand, feels that the statues of Nereus, Philomele, Procne and Tereus were identified by Lucian as such because of their representations as half human, half animal. He points out the Hurrian predilection for sphinxes, griffins and other combinations of man and animals. He also thinks the statues of Helen, Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, and Achilleus can be connected with Hurrian iconography found at Tell Halaf.¹⁹⁸

His explanation seems as good as any other because there are simply no facts.

Lucian 41. Animals. Keeping horses, eagles, bears and lions (even tame ones) together is very difficult.¹⁹⁹

Lucian 42. Priests. The high priest was elected yearly

¹⁹³H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁹⁴C. Clemen, Tempel und Kult in Hierapolis, Pisciculi Fr. J. Duelger dargeboten, Munster, 1939, p. 69.

¹⁹⁵Sardanapallos was based on Ashurbanipal, ruler of Nineveh 668-626 B. C. G. B. Gulick, Athenaeus Deipnosophistae, (Loeb), Vol. V, p. 387; Athenaeus XII, 528.

¹⁹⁶H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁹⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁸G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁹⁹cf. J. W. Darcus, My Life on the Happy Farm, Vancouver, 1963 (privately printed), pp. 37-43. Lucian may be joking and referring to statues.

here as in Delos.²⁰⁰ The pilos was a conical felt hat. It is to be noted that the Galli are part of the minor clergy. Goossens feels they were subordinated with the arrival of the Aramaeans,²⁰¹ but the cult before them was Semitic and Galli were not common in their religion. They are probably a result of influence from Asia Minor. However eunuchs were associated in a minor way with the rites of Ishtar in Mesopotamia.²⁰²

Lucian 44. Sacrifices. Clemen suggests that the worship of Zeus was conducted in silence because he had become less important than Atargatis.²⁰³ In fact, by Hellenistic times, Hadad seems to have taken second place since the goddess was the cause of fertility.²⁰⁴ It is true Macrobius states that Atargatis was subordinated to Hadad, but his statement is not to be trusted too far since he mentions Hadad only as a proof of his theory of solar monotheism.²⁰⁵ The sacrifice was probably performed in the morning and at evening.²⁰⁶

Lucian 45-6. The Lake. The authorities have reported some remarkable things about the lake. H. Stocks reports that it is

²⁰⁰Clemen, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁰¹G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 72; he feels that the Galli were part of the Hurrian culture basically, and that the Hittites borrowed from the Hurrians (p. 52). Thus since the Hurrians would have had this cult at first, the Galli would be the chief clergy. However, Galli were late even in Asia Minor and there seems no real evidence of Hurrian background at Hierapolis. (cf. R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu," p. 137.

²⁰²E. Dhorme, Les Religions de Babylonie et D'Assyrie, p. 211.

²⁰³C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁰⁴G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 65.

²⁰⁵Macrobius, I, 23, 18. Hunc (Hadad) ergo ut potentissimum adorant deum, sed subiungunt eidem deam nomine Adargatin.

²⁰⁶C. Clemen, loc. cit..

south of the ²⁰⁷ which is itself on the east side of the temple. Thus it would seem to be south and a little east of the temple. A. Schmidt, on the other hand, says the temple hill is "tout près et justement à l'ouest du lac sacré."²⁰⁸ Thus the lake is to the east of the temple. H. Stocks rejects the identification and thinks Schmidt's hill is the "green spot" in the terrace-like promontory south of the temple and north west of the lake.²⁰⁹ Thus the two opinions seem at least in the same frame of reference. However, the two hills have not been excavated, and so it is not absolutely sure upon which hill the temple rested. Stock's hill is two metres high, and much larger than the terrace to the south; Lucian says (c. 30) that the temple is on a hill of that height.

Contrary to these opinions, G. Goossens states:

A l'ouest des ruines du temple, près de l'enceinte de la ville, on trouve un étang d'une centaine de mètres de diamètre.²¹⁰

Thus the lake is now on the west of the temple, in exactly the opposite place from Stocks' plan. However, there does seem to be an explanation. Goossens cites M. Maundrell, a traveller in the last year of the seventeenth century in Syria,²¹¹ who says the lake is at the west side of the city wall. He says the temple building is nearby it. Now Pocock, writing in

²⁰⁷H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 6. "An den sudlichen Teil der ²⁰⁷... schliesst sich die ²⁰⁷....

²⁰⁸A. Schmidt, "La Grotte de Hierapolis Menbidj", Syria, X, 1929, pp. 78-9.

²⁰⁹H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 28.

²¹⁰G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 118.

²¹¹M. Maundrell, A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, Dublin, 1749; the relevant text is extract I in J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 91.

the eighteenth century agrees that the lake is at the west side of the city wall. However he, unlike Maundrell, locates the temple site at the east side of the city. He states:

Around two hundred spaces within the east gate there is a raised ground, on which probably stood a temple.²¹²

Goossens accepts Pocock's description,²¹³ and thus for him the lake must be west of the temple. But on close examination this could not be the case. Both Pocock and Maundrell say that the circumference of the walls of the city is two or three miles. Thus if the temple were on the east side, and the lake on the west, they could not be, as Lucian says, close to one another (Lucian 45). It is better to follow Maundrell, Stocks and Lucian, and locate the temple and lake together. As to the temple site on the east side of town, Colonel Chesney tells us that there were two temple sites within the city walls.²¹⁴

Clemen cites Pocock's estimate that the temple front was 200 feet long.²¹⁵ However, Pocock is talking about the site on the east side of the city, and thus cannot be referring to our temple.

Remarkable things have also been reported about the depth of the lake. Lucian says it is two hundred orguia deep.

²¹²Pocock's Description of the East, Vol. II, pt. 1, 1747. Extract II in J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 92.

²¹³G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 110.

²¹⁴The Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris, by Colonel Chesney, London, 1850, Vol. I, Extract III in J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 95.

²¹⁵C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 40.

Maundrell stated it was shallow, and Pocock merely saw a dry basin. Cumont said it was fairly deep, and Stocks reports a depth of 1.75 metres. Herr Schlumberger in September 1925 waded around it, and only in the middle found no ground. The stone altar is no longer there.²¹⁶ Stocks, however, found a similar altar in a lake at Amrit at Tartus.²¹⁷

Lucian 45. Fish. Sacred fish were kept in several places in Syria.²¹⁸ Xenophon (Anabasis, I, IV, 9) refers to tame fish at Aleppo. There were also ponds at Ascalon, Edessa and Smyrna. According to Pliny (Nat. Hist., 32, 17) the fish came when called and let themselves be touched. Aelian says they swam in regular formation after a leader. (De natura animalium, 12, 2) The sanctity of fish in Syria apparently lasted until modern times.²¹⁹

Lucian 47. The Descent to the Lake. This descent to the lake probably was a lavatio after a hieros gamos between Hadad and Atargatis. Zeus is probably sent away really because he is not supposed to watch Atargatis.²²⁰

There are several myths connecting Atargatis with sacred fish. Pseudo-Hyginus (Fabulae 197, and Poetae astron. II, 30) tells us that an egg fell from heaven into the Euphrates. The fish pushed it ashore and it was hatched by

²¹⁶C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 47.

²¹⁷H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 6.

²¹⁸J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 81, n. 56; A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 398.

²¹⁹A. Harmon, loc. cit.

²²⁰C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 48.

a dove. Aphrodite, the Syrian goddess, came forth and later asked Zeus to make fish holy.²²¹

Athenaeus, following Xanthos the Lydian (Deipnosophistae, VIII, 346 e), says that Mopsus, a Lydian, had thrown Atargatis and her son Ichthys into the lake of Ascalon because of their ^{υβρις}. The fish ate them.

Then there is the note in Diodorus II, 4, 3 where Derketo, because of her shame over intercourse with a young Syrian, threw herself into the lake of Ascalon and was turned into a fish.

Also in Pseudo-Eratosthenes (Catasterismi, rec. Oliveri, Leipzig, 1897, 9, p. 11ff; p. 43ff.) Derketo falls into the lake at Hierapolis (Bambyke) and is saved by a huge fish that lived there.²²² These myths are, of course, all aetiological and purport to explain the sanctity of the fish of Atargatis. The real reason perhaps lay in the fact that Atargatis, as the goddess of fertility, was especially the goddess of living water. Her rite then was closely connected with sacred lakes and fish, and petitions for rain.²²³

Lucian 48. Trip to the Sea. This feast was probably a prayer for rain. It is unlikely, as Stocks believes, that it was done in memory of a flood, since the climate is dry

²²¹H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 33.

²²²Ibid., pp. 34-5.

²²³G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 64.

and flooding unlikely.²²⁴ Since it is a long distance from Hierapolis to the Mediterrean, it has been suggested that by *Θάλασσα* 'sea', Lucian is referring to the Euphrates. The Aramaic *ܐܝܢܐ* 'body of water', could refer to both.²²⁵ However, if Lucian is writing and thinking in Greek²²⁶ and not merely translating, the Mediterrean seems to be meant.²²⁷ The semeion would be taken along as a symbol of the gods.

The rooster is another enigma. It is suggested that the Aramaic word *ܪܝܬܐ* which can either mean rooster or overseer is behind Lucian's word.²²⁸ Moreover, since a rooster in Latin is 'gallus', it is suggested in a different interpretation that Lucian is playing on the word gallus or eunuch.²²⁹ On an urn in the Lateran Museum there is a cock used as an emblem of a priest-eunuch of Attis, and hence as a pun on the word 'gallus'.²³⁰ There does not seem, however, to be any indication of a pun in the text. Lucian himself says that he saw the rites at the temple and thus he presumably saw a rooster. He may be joking by

²²⁴H. Stocks, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-8; R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu...", p. 133.

²²⁵J. Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 58. Cf. Philostratus, *Vita Apolloni*, I, 20: *ὡς ἐπὶ Θάλατταν τε καταβαίνειν φασκεῖν ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς βαδίζοιεν.* These rivers are the Tigris and Euphrates. (G. Goossens, *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

²²⁶On Lucian's language, Goossens, *op. cit.*, p. 18, quotes Lucian's statement that "il était 'barbare de langage, vêtu uniquement d'un candys à la mode assyrienne' Bis Accusatus 27. Mais comme le mot 'assyrien' n'a aucun sens précis dans l'Antiquité, nous n'en pouvons rien conclure; et cette 'langue barbare' n'était peut-être rien d'autre qu'un patois grec, fort différent de la langue classique qu'il écrivait plus tard."

²²⁷C. Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 51

²²⁸R. Dussaud, Review of Clemen's article, *Syria*, XIX, 1938, p. 367.

²²⁹J. Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 82, n. 59.

²³⁰H. Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

exaggeration, or else the animal may have been trained to do this trick.²³¹ If, however, there is a pun, it must be a conscious one, and not as Dussaud suggests, a confusion between an Aramaic and a Greek word. The author of the work seems well in control of the language.

A rooster actually played a role in the Attis-Cybele *cult*, but it is not understood how.²³² It also played a part in a ceremony in which rain was prayed for in Jerusalem. An old woman had to beat the rooster until it crowed.²³³

Lucian 49. The Spring Festival. The fire feast which Lucian describes seems to bear traces of the Attis cult. H. Stocks points out that the other name of the feast, λαμπάς seems to refer to the λαμπάδην Φορίαν of Attis, which was celebrated around the spring solstice.²³⁴ The Calendar of Philocalus on an inscription of Rome²³⁵ gives the sequence of rites of the spring feast of Attis.

XI Kal. Apr.	(22 March)	Arbor intrat
IX Kal. Apr.	(24 March)	Sanguem
VIII Kal. Apr.	(25 March)	Hilaria
VII Kal. Apr.	(26 March)	Requietio
VI Kal. Apr.	(27 March)	Lavatio

In the rite of Attis, a pine tree was cut down in memory of the pine under which Attis castrated himself. Its branches were wreathed with violets and its trunk wound around with

²³¹C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 51.

²³²Loc. cit.

²³³H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 24.

²³⁴Ibid., p. 29. He uses Hepding, Attis, Seine Mythen und sein Kult.

²³⁵CIL, I, 2, p. 312; H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 29.

wool binding. On it the instruments of Attis, cymbals, tympanon, syrinx, and flutes were hung. The tree was brought into the sanctuary and the whole was burnt after a year. Julian (Oration V) says the tree was cut down on the day of the solstice.²³⁶

The twenty-fourth of March, the dies sanguinis, was the day of high mourning. This was the third day after the death of Attis. On this day the Galli put themselves into a frenzy through music and dancing. They wounded themselves and sprinkled blood on the altar. It is thought that the new Galli were castrated on this day in the cult of Attis. In Asia Minor, the αἰδοῖα were dedicated to the goddess and played a role in the secret rites of the mysteries. In Hierapolis, however, the Galli did not perform the castration in the temple.²³⁷

After the dies sanguinis in the cult of Attis, and before the Hilaria the next day, the night was spent in festival since after the day, Attis returned from the dead. This feast was the παννυχίς the λαμπάδηφορία during which the priest announced

Θαρρῆτε μύσται, τοῦ Θεοῦ σεσωσμένου,
ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.

²³⁶H. Stocks, op. cit., pp. 29-30; W. C. Wright, The Works of the Emperor Julian, (Loeb) London, 1954.

²³⁷Ibid., p. 30. It is thought (Goossens, op. cit., p. 37) that the Galli were excluded completely from the temple at Hierapolis. However, it appears that they did go in since Lucian (c. 52) states that after the burial of a Gallus, his companions had to wait seven days before entering the temple.

The day following, the Hilaria was celebrated with masquerades and banquets. The day following, the twenty-sixth of March, the requietio or hieros gamos took place and the next day the lavatio of ritual purification. Aelian (De natura animalium, XII, 30) states that the Syrian Hera bathed after intercourse with Zeus, and thus the descent to the lake in Lucian 47 seems to reflect such a rite.²³⁸

There seems to be some parallels between the rite of Attis at Rome and that of the spring feast at Hierapolis. Both take place at the same time of year. There are trees involved in both, although the tree of Attis is burnt a year later whereas at Hierapolis several trees are burnt with animals and other objects hung upon them apparently as part of a sacrifice. If in the rite of Attis, the Galli are castrated on the day when they wound themselves, the dies sanguinis, the rite seems different from that of Hierapolis where Lucian says that on more than one day, the Galli work themselves into a frenzy (ἐν ῥητῇσι δὲ ἡμέρησι Lucian 50) and that during these days (ἐν ταύτησι τῇσι ἡμέρησι Lucian 51) the Galli are made. Then in the Attis cult the αἰδοῖα were preserved, but in Hierapolis, there seems to have been an extraordinary rite connected with them.

R. Dussaud feels that the semeia which the people have at the feast (Lucian 51) are the same as the gold and silver ποιήματα which they hang on the trees, since images of gods have been found at Ras Shamra imprinted on thin amulets of gold. In all likelihood, the semeia were something similar to this, since Lucian states that they were made in

²³⁸H. Stocks, op. cit., pp. 30-1.

imitation of the ^{l /} $\rho\alpha$ that is, of the idols.²³⁹ However, there is no need to identify them with the gold and silver objects hung on the trees.

It must be asked for whom this spring rite was celebrated. It is not stated by Lucian. It seems to have some similarities to the rite of Attis, but there are also differences. Most likely it was celebrated in connection with the fertility goddess Atargatis and god Hadad. They are the foremost gods in the cult, and this theory seems to fit most satisfactorily the known data about Hadad and Atargatis, and such gods as Melqart, Adonis, and Astarte.

Lucian 52-3. Burial of Galli. Clemen suggests that the rocks were piled on the corpse outside the city to prevent the return of the spirit of the Gallus to the temple.²⁴⁰ In the Old Testament (Leviticus 21, 1-3; Ezek., 44, 25) the pollution connected with death is mentioned.²⁴¹ Shaving the head was a customary sign of penance; it was shaved to remove the uncleanness that might be in it.²⁴²

Lucian 54. Swine and Doves. Whether the pig was polluted or holy was disputed in Syria. In Hebrew religion, of course, they were unclean. However in a sect in Harran, nearby Hierapolis, they were sacrificed and eaten once a year.

²³⁹R. Dussaud, Syria, 1938, p. 367.

²⁴⁰C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 56.

²⁴¹A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 404, n. 2.

²⁴²C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 50.

Moreover in Isaiah 66, 3, an Aramaic sect is described as offering swine blood.²⁴³

The dove, of course, was sacred to Astarte. (Aelian, De natura animalium, IV, 2) The dove was also holy among the Hebrews, (Leviticus 1,⁴⁷; Numbers 6,¹⁰) so much so that they were not eaten in famine. (II Kings 6, 25)

Lucian 55. The Pilgrimage. The head and eyebrows were shaved for the pilgrimage in order that the uncleanness resting in the hair might be taken away. The suppliant placed the head of the sheep onto his in order to gain the vigour of the animal into which the power of the god had passed when it was sacrificed.²⁴⁴ The suppliant also thus identified himself with the offering and partook of its sanctity.²⁴⁵ In order not to lose this communion or inspiration, the suppliant only washed with cold water, and slept on the ground, since if he slept in a bed, it would be made unfit for ordinary use because the presence of the god would pass into it.²⁴⁶

Lucian 58. Sacrifices. Stocks feels that since the level of the ground in the front of the temple (the north side) is not very much below the temple, the hill being only two metres high, the animals may have been sacrificed by being thrown down a well to the south of the temple, possibly the well of Simi in Pseudo-Melito.²⁴⁷ However, there could have

²⁴³C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁴⁴Ibid., p. 50

²⁴⁵A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 407, n. 3.

²⁴⁶C. Clemen, loc. cit.

²⁴⁷H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 24.

been some structure for the sacrifice built in the entrance with stairs leading up to it.

This form of child sacrifice is unusual. Animals were sacrificed instead of humans, not humans in place of animals.²⁴⁸ C. Clemen thinks they were called animals because of the emerging objection to human sacrifice. The emperor Hadrian tried to abolish the practice.²⁴⁹ Thus to mitigate the horror, the children were put into sacks so that their blood would not spill nor their cries be heard.²⁵⁰ Child sacrifice was common among the Semites. It is documented in Palestine, Moab, Phoenicia, and Carthage.²⁵¹

Lucian 59-60. The tattoo, like the religious amulet, insured the presence and protection of the divinity. Similarly, hanging up pieces of one's hair was also intended to establish a connection with the gods. Shaven hair or finger nails remain part of the person according to the primitive idea, and so he can be influenced through them.²⁵²

248G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 74.

249A. Harmon, op. cit., p. 408, n. 1.

250C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 50.

251G. Goossens, loc. cit.

252C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 57; G. Goossens, op. cit.,

CONCLUSION

In examining the cult at Hierapolis, we must remember the city's location in the north of Syria. Thus if the cult derives basically from Asia Minor, we will not be surprised if we find Syrian and Mesopotamian influences. Conversely, if the cult is basically Syrian, nevertheless influences or practices from Asia Minor will not be entirely unexpected. In actual fact, the cult seems essentially Syrian or Canaanite rather than Anatolian in origin because of the gods worshipped there. To clarify this statement, we will discuss briefly the important deities found at Hierapolis.

Lucian (c. 31) states that the temple at Hierapolis contained an inner chamber or 'holy of holies' where the statues of Here and Zeus, the central gods of the cult, were kept. The goddess Here is Atargatis, the Syrian goddess of fertility, and Zeus is Baal-Hadad, the thunder and storm god of Syria, as well as the vegetation god in the Ugaritic lore.¹ In Hellenistic times, Atargatis seems to be the outstanding figure of the cult.²

An object called the *σημῆιον* also stood in this inner chamber between the statues of Here and Zeus.

¹The coins show that these were the two deities of Hierapolis. Cf. B. V. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 777.

²G. Goossens, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 65.

This object has been thought to be a statue of a god called Simi or Simios,³ but more likely it was a religious ensign carried in processions.⁴

Outside this inner chamber stood the statue of the god whom Lucian identifies with Apollo. His main function, from Lucian's account, was to give oracles, and, by Greco-Roman times at least, the god had an important place in the cult. The name of Apollo occurs five out of nine times in the inscriptions at Hierapolis, and Goossens suggests that this name appears in approximately one third of the onomastica of the city.⁵ Lucian (c. 35) notes that the god's representation with a beard and with clothes is unusual for a statue of Apollo. It is thought that this god may really be the Canaanite god of illness, Reshef, who was traditionally identified with Apollo. 'Reshef' means 'flame' and since Apollo was regarded as the cause of pestilence⁶ the two were very similar.⁷

These three main gods at Hierapolis seem satisfactorily explained as Syrian-Canaanite in origin. In his work Lucian also describes several myths and rites connected with

³C. Clemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3; R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu...", pp. 130-1.

⁴H. Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", pp. 233-51. See note on Lucian 33.

⁵G. Goossens, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁶Cf. *Iliad*, I, 50ff.

⁷G. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

these gods. Let us now discuss Lucian's description of these myths and rites and see what background they seem to reflect.

Lucian (c. 12) relates a version of the myth of the Flood which is mainly Syrio-Mesopotamian in origin, in spite of the fact that he uses the Greek flood hero Deucalion for his main character.⁸ Furthermore the feast called the Hydrophoria (Lucian 13, 48) seems close to certain rites for praying for rain in the Semitic world.⁹ The cult of Atargatis, it must be remembered, was originally one of fertility both of vegetation and human reproduction.

This myth and this rite seem to point to a Syrio-Mesopotamian background for the temple. Lucian, however, through his own observation, believes that Dionysus was the founder of the cult. (c. 16.) He also sees Attis as a possible founder, but favours Dionysus mainly because of the columns he saw at the temple which he tells us bore the inscription:

These phalli I Dionysus set up for Here my stepmother. Thus if we are to accept Lucian's view, the temple probably originated from Asia Minor. Lucian may not be serious in his argument but even if he were, it is argued that the columns he saw were basically dedicated to the Sun in the Syrian and Mesopotamian world, and that one may find evidence for this in Sumer.¹⁰ Thus Lucian really does not have any basis for his conjecture. Moreover, it is clear because of the divinities

⁸C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 36-7.

⁹H. Stocks, op. cit., pp. 23-6; C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 50-2; R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon...", p. 133.

¹⁰A. Audin, "Les piliers jumeaux dans le monde sémitique", pp. 430-2.

at Hierapolis, that neither Attis nor Dionysus were central to the cult. It is true that Lucian was told that the Galli in the temple were not castrated for Here (Atargatis) but for Rhea (Cybele) in honour of Attis, and in actual fact, since the Galli played such a prominent, though late, role in the cult of Attis-Cybele in Asia Minor¹¹ the presence of the Galli at Hierapolis might be a result of influence from there. In the cult of Cybele, however, the Galli were the main clergy, whereas at Hierapolis they were only minor clergy.¹² Consequently, if the Galli did derive from Asia Minor, their role must have been modified at Hierapolis.

It is also important to note that eunuchs did play a role in the cult of Ishtar in Mesopotamia¹³ and that castration was also practised at the temple of Astarte at Aphaca above Byblos,¹⁴ so that a case could be made that since the Galli were minor clergy at Hierapolis, their presence was a result of the nature of Syrian religion. Any definite decision between the two alternatives seems impossible, and the cult of Hierapolis may have been influenced by both areas.

After discussing the founders of the cult, Lucian

¹¹H. Stocks, op. cit., pp. 29-33; E. Dhorme and R. Dussaud, Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie (Dhorme) et les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites des Phéniciens et des Syriens (Dussaud), pp. 341-2.

¹²Lucian 43.

¹³E. Dhorme, op. cit., p. 211.

¹⁴M. Pope, op. cit., p. 73.

(c. 17ff.) relates the story about Kombabos and Stratonike to explain the construction of the second temple after the first one had been destroyed by age. At first glance, the story seems to have connections with the Attis-Cybele myth. The name Kombabos seems to be related to the word Cybele who was also called $\kappa\upsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\beta\eta$ according to Hesychius.¹⁵ Moreover the word $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\beta\eta$ meant a Gallus, and denoted a person possessed by Rhea. There was a tradition at Hierapolis that Here had loved Kombabos,¹⁶ and this version might be a reflection of an original Rhea-Attis theme.

The story as we have it, however, where a young man castrates himself in order not to yield to temptation with his master's wife, and to prove his innocence when suspicion has fallen upon him, reflects a literary theme popular in the literature of the ancient east.¹⁷ The story Lucian relates seems based upon this literary tradition rather than on the myth of Rhea-Attis. In his account, the young man castrates himself to protect himself from his master's suspicion and vengeance, whereas in the Attis myth, the young man castrates himself in a fit of madness which Adgistis (Cybele) inspires because he is about to marry someone else.¹⁸

¹⁵G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 36; C. Clemen, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁶Lucian 26.

¹⁷E. Benveniste, "La légende de Kombabos", pp. 249-58. Cf. the "Tale of the Two Brothers", in J. Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 23-5.

¹⁸Pausanias, Description of Greece, VII, XVII, 5.

Finally Lucian describes a feast of spring called the feast of fires or lamps¹⁹ which seems to have connections with those spring rites celebrated for Attis. The central idea of the feast was not the castration of new Galli, but the renewal of vegetation. Castration was part of the rite of fertility,²⁰ but was not essential to such a rite since even in Asia Minor the institution of Galli seems to have been fairly late,²¹ whereas the concept of a spring festival is very ancient. In Mesopotamia the new year began with the return of Tammuz in spring from the underworld. In the Ras Shamra texts, the fertility god Baal-Hadad dies and nature with him, but his return in the spring ushers in a new year and a return of life to the fields. Thus once again it is impossible to determine from Lucian's account the exact origin of the feast at Hierapolis, since the basic idea of such a feast was common to both areas. The cult of Baal-Hadad as a vegetation god was primary in ancient Syrian religion, and so the rite may be explained in this way.

In relation to this question of the origin of the cult, however, Garstang relates Hierapolis directly with Asia Minor since there in ancient times the two chief gods resembled Hadad and Atargatis. In Asia Minor there was a thunder god and his consort, the Great Mother.²² The god's chief symbol was the bull, and the goddess is represented by the lion.

¹⁹Lucian 49.

²⁰G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 37; C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 55-6.

²¹R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu", p. 137.

²²J. Garstang, op. cit., pp. 5-12.

Garstang wrote his essay before the discovery of Ras Shamra which indicated that the cult could be explained most simply and satisfactorily as basically Semitic and Syrian. Moreover, although the parallel with Asia Minor is striking, it is not exact. Dussaud points out that the Indo-European Hittites had no developed religion of their own, but adopted that of the land they settled in. They settled in Asia Minor in the second millennium. The original inhabitants there in the third millennium did not have an Indo-European language, but one designated as Asianic, that is, neither Semitic nor Indo-European.

In the mountainous places of west Asia there seems from earliest times to have been the concept of a storm god. Thus the Indo-European Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia east of the Hittites adopted the local storm god Teshub and his consort Hebat who is similar to Anat. When the Semites on their part moved into Syria, they may also have found the mountain god who later developed into Baal-Hadad. Thus there seems to be some connection between the two areas, but it is really very difficult to go beyond generalities. For instance, from very early times the chief deity in the Hittite pantheon was not the male god, but his consort the sun goddess.²³ In Syria, however, Baal-Hadad was as important as Anat and it was he who later became identified with the sun.

²³R. Dussaud, Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites des Phéniciens et des Syriens, pp. 334ff.

Thus the cult at Hierapolis seems basically to be Syrian with perhaps certain Asia Minor influences in its mythology and rites. In Syria the Baal-Hadad deity related to the renewal of vegetation seems closely parallel to the Attis theme. However, there are important differences. In Hittite religion there was a triad of the thunder and mountain god, his consort, the sun goddess who actually occupied first place in the pantheon, and a young son-god. This son-god eventually took precedence over the father-thunder god and developed into the later Attis.²⁴ The pantheon of Syria is not parallel. There the senior god was El and Baal-Hadad and his sister-consort were young gods. Baal is not the son of El. Baal-Hadad seems to have been identified later as Zeus because of his role as a thunder-mountain god. However, he was also a vegetation god, apparently unlike the thunder god of Asia Minor. Thus we do not really have a triad in ancient Syrian religion of father-mother-son where the son takes over from the father and becomes the consort of his mother. Baal-Hadad himself was the young god, the vegetation god. In actual fact in later times the goddess (Anat, later Atargatis) seems to stand foremost in the fertility cult, at least at Hierapolis.

In contrast to J. Garstang, G. Goossens feels that the cult derived not from the Hittites of Asia Minor, but from the Hurrians, another Indo-European people who settled in the north of Syria and east of the Hittites in the second millennium.

²⁴R. Dussaud, Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourittes des Phéniciens et des Syriens, pp. 338-41.

He argues in the following way. First he sees in the myth of Stratonike and Kombabos a reflection of the Asian Minor Cybele-Attis cult whose priests were eunuchs. Thus, since this is the myth of foundation at Hierapolis, at this city then originally there would have been a Great Goddess and a young god as counterparts to Cybele and Attis.²⁵ Then this original Cybele-goddess was replaced later by the Phoenician Ashtart or else the Babylonian Ishtar, who, in turn, was replaced by the similar goddess Anat or Ate of the Aramaeans who came into Syria in the eleventh century B. C.²⁶ Thus 'Atar'ateh would mean 'Atar ('Ashtart)' who has become subordinated to 'Ate ('Anat)'.

Thus Goossens feels that the original goddess at Hierapolis was the Great Goddess of the Hittites. However, he feels that the Hittite Great Goddess herself may in fact have come originally from the Hurrians.²⁷ Thus the Great Goddess of Hierapolis would be originally Hurrian rather than Hittite, since the Hittite goddess was herself a derivative. Goossens presents this thesis as a possibility, and adduces in support of its likelihood the triad of the Hurrians: Teshub, the great storm god, Khepet, the great fertility goddess, and Simike, the young solar god, which are very like the three main gods

²⁵G. Goossens, op. cit., p. 43.

²⁶Ibid., p. 61.

²⁷Ibid., p. 53.

of the Hittites.²⁸ He also finds a triad at Hierapolis, Hadad, Atargatis, and Simios, and equates the three Hurrian gods with these. As additional evidence, he feels that the temple architecture of Hierapolis reflects that of the Hurrian temple at Tell Halaf.²⁹

There are many objections to this theory. First the Cybele-Attis myth and cult were a later development, and were not basic to Hittite religion in the second millennium.³⁰ The Hurrian triad is quite different from the gods of Hierapolis. There we probably only have two central gods, Hadad and Atargatis. There is not explicit mention of a young god, and the existence of Simios is quite doubtful. (See note on Lucian 33.). Then the myth of Stratonike is not really about marriage and fertility (see note on Lucian 17.). Finally there is simply no evidence that Ate (Anat) superseded Ashtar at Hierapolis. In fact, Anat seems to be the foremost fertility goddess of Ras Shamra-Ugarit in the fourteenth century B. C. It is difficult to see how Anat could be thought of as a later goddess than Ashtar in Syria. It really seems best not to enter into the question of who preceded whom at Hierapolis. The name Atargatis seems satisfactorily explained as simply an identification of 'Attar (Ashtar, Astarte) with Ate (Anat). In his argument, Goossens makes use of the idea that at Hierapolis there was a triad, Hadad, Atargatis, and Simios,

²⁸G. Goossens, op. cit., pp. 53-4

²⁹Ibid., p. 54.

³⁰R. Dussaud, Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourrites., pp. 341-2. In "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu", p. 137, he quotes Hepding, Attis, Seine Mythen und sein Kult, who states that the institution of the Galli was late.

who were respectively a father, mother and a young god, usually called the son, who is supposed to be the young vegetation god. As we have stated Dussaud and Clemen³¹ really first postulated this triad. The name Simios was connected with the *σημῖον* standing between Hadad and Atargatis in the inner sanctuary. H. Seyrig, however, has shown that the existence of such a triad is not at all certain.³² Lucian explicitly says that the *σημῖον* is not a statue of a god, and by the archaeological evidence, the word *σημῖον* seems well explained in the obvious way.

The problem then arises with the bearded Apollo. Since he plays such an important role at Hierapolis, is he to be substituted as the young god of the triad? Let us list the triads that have been postulated in various cities in Syria and see first of all whether they are really triads and if Apollo matches the role of some god in them.³³

Proposed Triads: Father-Mother-Young God

Byblos	El-Kronos	Baalat	Adonis
Sidon	Baal of Sidon	Astarte	Eshmun
Beyrut	Poseidon	Astarte	Eshmun
Tyre	Zeus	Astarte	Heracles
Baalbek	Jupiter-Hadad	Venus	Mercury

A close examination of these triads reveals several inconsistencies. The three of Byblos, El-Kronos, Baalat, and Adonis, are not

³¹C. Clemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3; R. Dussaud, "Peut-on identifier l'Apollon barbu", pp. 130-1.

³²H. Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", pp. 241-51. See note on Lucian 33.

³³List given in Seyrig, "Questions heliopolitaines", *Syria*, XXXI, 1954, p. 87; and "Les dieux de Hierapolis", p. 248 ff.

do not really form a father-mother-son triad at all. Baalat is Aphrodite or Astarte, the consort of Adonis, not of El.³⁴ In the myths, Adonis is the son of Kinyres.³⁵

In the next two triads, the god Eshmun appears. He certainly plays a role as a god of renewal, and is associated with healing.³⁶ Here is an examination of the facts about the rest of the triads, and the Hellenistic equivalents of the third member. The geographical location of the cities is also given.

Sidon: on coast. Baal, Astarte, Eshmun.

These three are never mentioned together in one inscription or text. (Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", p. 249.)

Eshmun=Dionysus on coins. (Seyrig, "Questions heliopolitaines", p. 72.)

=Asclepios on an inscription (Röllig, "Heilgotter", op. cit., p. 286.)

Beyrut: on coast. Poseidon, Astarte, (Astronoe) Eshmun.

These three are never mentioned together in one inscription. (Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hierapolis", p. 249.)

Damascius relates a myth about Astronoe and Eshmun in which Astronoe falls in love with the youth Eshmun.

He flees from her and castrates himself and dies. By the warmth of the goddess, however, he is recalled to life and deified. (Röllig, "Heilgotter", p. 286.)

³⁴Cf. G. Cooke, op. cit., pp. 20-1.

³⁵W. Röllig, op. cit., p. 234.

³⁶W. Röllig, loc. cit. J. Gray, op. cit., p. 133; H. Stocks, op. cit., p. 16.

Eshmun=Asclepios (inscription) (Röllig, p. 286.)

=Dionysus on coins of Beyrut (Seyrig, "Questions heliopolitaines", p. 72.)

Tyre: on coast. Zeus (Baal-shamin), Astarte, Melqart.

This is the only triad listed explicitly as a family of father, mother and son by Eudoxos of Knidos in Athenaeus, IX, 47, 392d. Zeus in Eudoxos is thought to be Baal-shamin, who, according to Dussaud, Religions des Phéniciens, p. 360, is an El figure. Seyrig, however, sees him as Baal. ("Dieux de Tyr", Syria, XL, 1963, pp. 19-28.) Philo of Byblos says that Melqart is the son of Demarus, who is the son of Dagon, and so there seems to be^a different genealogy in existence.

Astarte=Astronoe on inscriptions (Seyrig, "Dieux de Tyr", p. 22.)

=consort of Baal-shamin (Seyrig, "Dieux de Tyr", pp. 19-28.)

=consort of Melqart (Dussaud, "Melqart", Syria, XXV, 1948, p. 213.)

The case of Tyre seems very much unclear. Seyrig rejects the idea of Syrian triads, but in his article on Tyre³⁷ he supports the proposition that Eudoxos' statement reflects the late genealogy of the people of Tyre. However this question is unclear. Melqart³⁸ was thought of as a vegetation god,

³⁷H. Seyrig, "Dieux de Tyr", Syria, XL, 1963, pp. 19-28.
³⁸C. Clemen, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

however, and it seems natural to unite him with the Astarte or Aphrodite of Tyre.

In all these cases, the young god seems to reflect the nature of a vegetation god. Moreover, just as Adonis is associated with Dionysus, so are they. By the connection with Asclepios, the young god also seems to have had some function as a healer. In the case of Beyrut and Byblos it is fairly clear that the young god's consort was his 'mother' Astarte. Nothing is known about Sidon, and Tyre is unclear. Thus the basis for such triads now seems debatable.

Next we come to the case of Baalbek. Here the triad is Jupiter-Hadad, Venus, and a god called Mercury. This triad is well attested, although it is late. At Baalbek, Jupiter-Hadad was identified with the Sun and Astarte with Venus. Mercury, however, has as his symbol a lamb, and this is quite extraordinary in Syrian iconography. The god apparently was also a vegetation god and was later associated with Dionysus.³⁹ Dussaud feels that this young god was a rustic god and was the equivalent of Simios of Hierapolis.⁴⁰ But, as we have said, Simios very likely did not exist. Thus the god Mercury at Baalbek seems a special case. Family relationship between the three gods there is never given. In the picture of them, Mercury is without a beard at the left of Jupiter; Venus is at Jupiter's right.⁴¹

³⁹H. Seyrig, "Questions heliopolitaines", p. 84.

⁴⁰R. Dussaud, "Temples et cultes de la triade heliopolitaine à Baalbek", *Syria*, XXIII, 1943, p. 76.

⁴¹H. Seyrig, "Questions heliopolitaines", p. 84.

Thus the existence of father-mother-son triads as such in Syria seems doubtful. The relationship between the gods at the various sites does not seem to be worked out so explicitly or consistently that one set familial connection always exists between any two specific gods. Thus it is doubtful whether Apollo could be thought to be the third god of a family triad at Hierapolis.

Apollo seems to be a special god for special purposes, and so his statue marks him out. He is bearded and dressed. Macrobius describes him in armour.⁴² Stocks feels that he is the warrior god, Reshef, the god of flame, heat and pestilence. By the statues of Reshef, and by the fact that in Cyprus he is identified with Apollo, this identification seems highly likely.⁴³

In the Ras Shamra texts, the myth of Baal centres around Baal, Anat, and Mot. Baal is the vegetation god in conflict with Mot, the god of sterility and death. Anat acts as the agent in effecting Baal's return and so provides in a way the stimulation for the renewal of nature. The myth of Adonis reflects a similar conflict among three gods. There Adonis is killed by Ares and Aphrodite wins from Persephone his return to earth for half of every year. In stead of a father-mother-son or young god triad, there seems to be a triad of a male and female who strive for productivity against a male who is in opposition to their efforts.

⁴²Macrobius, I, 17.

⁴³H. Stocks, *op. cit.*, p. 33; cf. R. Dussaud, "Kinyras, Etude sur les anciens cultes chypriotes", *Syria*, XXVII, 1950, p. 74.

At Hierapolis, Atargatis and Hadad seem to play the roles of Anat and Baal. Since Apollo or Reshef was known as the god of the plague and hence as a god of destruction, it can be asked whether he played a role similar to Mot in the Ugaritic texts and to Ares in the Adonis myth. We have no explicit evidence that these three main gods at Hierapolis were so conceived, but it seems a possible inference on the basis of the other cults. Thus Atargatis and Hadad would form a sort of triad with Reshef, but it would be radically different from a father-mother-son triad.

In this examination of the cults of Syria, I hope I have been able to show that Hierapolis basically was Syrian in origin. The gods of the city were probably the descendants of the deities of the second millennium. The myths of the Flood and of Stratonike seem to reflect a Syrian or Mesopotamian origin, and the rites carried out at the temple also reflect this background. All in all, there seems to be a good basis for including the cult Lucian describes within the Syrian framework.

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