ODYSSEUS AND KIRKE ON A BOEOTIAN VASE.

[PLATE IV.]

THE vase of which an illustration is given on Plate IV. is one that has lately been acquired by the British Museum, and is in many ways of exceptional interest. It is a specimen of a peculiar class of local vases, which first became known through excavations made in 1888 on the site of the Kabeirion at Thebes. A full account of these excavations and their results was given by Dr. Winnefeld and other writers in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* for 1888, Vol. xiii. pp. 81, 412 ff.¹

The vase under discussion is not the only one of this kind in the Museum; two similar vases were acquired in 1889, one of which is illustrated in the *Museum Catalogue of Vases* (1893), p. 75. These two vases (numbered B 77—8) are skyphoi of the same shape and technique as our present one, and bear designs of a very similar character, though not of such great interest.

The remains of pottery discovered in the Kabeirion are not confined to this local class; vases and fragments covered with plain black varnish were found, and a fair number of examples of Athenian pottery or imitations of the same, mostly with red figures. None of these however present such interest as the local fabric. The majority of the designs appear to have reference to the cult of the Kabeiroi, and are of a Dionysiac character; many of them, as might be expected from the fact of their being found on the site of the temple, bear dedicatory inscriptions to the presiding deities.²

The material is a tolerably fine clay of a reddish-yellow colour, on which the designs are painted with a dark varnish, varying from yellow-brown to the deep shiny black of Attic vases of the best period. Occasionally, though not on our vase, accessory pigments of white and purple are employed for details; incised lines are used pretty generally, but as a rule they are confined to the inner markings of figures, the outlines being painted; in a few cases white paint takes the place of incised lines (as in *Athen. Mittheil.* 1888, Pl. 9).

¹ See also *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1888, p. 14, and *Athen. Mittheil.* xii. (1887), p. 269.

² For these I would refer the reader to

Dittenberger's *Inscriptiones Graeciae Septentrionalis*, Vol. i. 3575—4126, and *Athen. Mittheil.* 1890, p. 396 ff.

The shape is confined almost entirely to one variety of the skyphos, a variety not previously known, with large deep body, not tapering gradually towards the bottom, as the Athenian or Corinthian skyphos; the sides bulge slightly outwards and almost form a right angle with the base, so that the width at the foot is almost as great as at the top. The handles are peculiar; they are broad, thin, and ring-shaped, and vertically placed, just below the rim. They are often formed of two or three ribs, and have projections by which the vase may be supported with the finger.

The decorative ornaments are simple, with little variety, and mostly drawn from the vegetable world: vine-wreaths, ivy-wreaths, myrtle and olive are the most common; the wave-pattern is also employed.

Turning to the subjects depicted on the vases, we find that their chief characteristic is one which is not met with except on the late vases of Southern Italy: I mean intentional caricature. Many archaic vases appeal very strongly to a sense of humour, from the helplessness or *naïveté* of the

FIG. 1.

drawing, but in the vases under consideration there seems to be no doubt that the subjects have been drawn with a deliberate attempt at grotesqueness. The reason of this however will be discussed later.

With regard to date, the technique, though it is that of the black-figured style, betrays certain indications of a later date, probably the end of the fifth century B.C. The rudeness of drawing is not the result of inability, but is intended for actual caricature; while there is at the same time a considerable amount of freedom in conception and execution which would not have been possible before the middle of the fifth century B.C. As in the case of the Panathenaic amphorae, these vases retained the older technique and methods down to a much later time, for ceremonial reasons.³

Thus much having been said by way of introduction, I turn to the particular instance before us. Judging from its present condition, the vase

³ See *Journal*, Vol. xi. p. 348.

must have been found in fragments, and put together, but though much mended it is practically complete. The reverse, instead of a subject as is usually the case, has only a vine-wreath painted upon it, as is also the case on the reverse of one of the other Museum vases (B 78).

On the obverse the subject would speak for itself even if one of the figures were not inscribed. The subject, Kirke offering the potion to Odysseus, is illustrated in a very different manner on a vase published by Miss Sellers in this number of the *Journal* (Pl. II. p. 7), and it may be interesting to compare the two representations, Athenian and Boeotian, of this scene. With these two we may join a third vase, also belonging to this class, and presenting a variation of the subject on our vase. It was purchased for Oxford from M. van Branteghem's collection, and is illustrated in Froehner's *Sale Catalogue* of that collection, No. 210 (see below Fig. 2).

The element of caricature is to be seen on other vases from the same source;⁴ in the present case Kirke in particular is very strongly caricatured. The moment represented (as also in the other two cases) is that described in the *Odyssey*, x. 314 ff. :

εἶσε δέ μ' εἰσαγαγούσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου,
καλοῦ, δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνυς ποσὶν ἦεν·
τεῦξε δέ μοι κυκεῶ χρυσέῳ δέπα', ὅφρα πίοιμι·
ἐν δέ τε φάρμακον ἦκε, κακὰ φρονέουσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δῶκέν τε καὶ ἔκπιον, οὐδέ μ' ἔθελξεν,
ραβδῷ πεπληγυῖα ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν, κ.τ.λ.

The conception differs in all three. In our vase on the extreme left we see Kirke holding out a large skyphos which contains the *κυκεῶν*, or potion, which Homer tells us was composed of

τυρόν τε καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν

mingled with Pramnian wine, and baneful drugs, *φάρμακα λυγρά*.⁵ Her figure is squat and dumpy, and she has a receding forehead, snub nose, and protruding lips and chin. Her hair is covered with a netted cap or *κεκρύφαλον*, and she wears a chiton and himation, the folds of the latter being represented by rudely-incised lines. Above her head is the inscription ΚΙΡΚΑ in the Boeotian dialect and alphabet, and there are faint indications of inscriptions over the other two figures, the loss of which is much to be regretted. Before her stands Odysseus leaning on a knotty staff, his right leg drawn back. He has a somewhat scanty beard, but his profile is not so grotesquely rendered as that of Kirke. Over his left arm hangs a chlamys, and on his head is the familiar *pileus*, shaped like a modern pith helmet. A sword hangs at his left side, but is shortly to be drawn from its sheath, ὥστε κτάμεναι μενεαίνων.⁶ Meanwhile his open hands seem to express his

⁴ *Athen. Mittl.* xiii. (1888), Pls. 9—12.

⁵ *Od.* x. 234.

⁶ *ibid.* 322.

readiness to receive the tempting draught, against which he has been fortified by the agency of Hermes and the herb moly, the

Circae pocula...

Quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.⁷

Behind Odysseus is seen the loom of Kirke, whereon she wrought 'delicate and pleasing and splendid works, as is the manner of goddesses.' It is not easy however to picture to ourselves from this representation the goddess as Homer describes her :

ἀειδούσης ὀπὶ καλῇ,
ἰστὸν ἐποικομένης μέγαν, ἄμβροτον οἶα θεάων
λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα πέλονται.⁸

A few words on the form of the loom as here represented may not be out of place. The primitive loom had only one cross-bar at the top, but later a second one was added ; in the present case the upper bar represents the yarn-beam or *iugum*, round which the threads were rolled ; the lower is the cloth-beam. The uprights are known as the *ἰστόποδες*. I am not sure whether the bar immediately below the cloth-beam is or is not intended for the *κανών* or piece of wood which was passed horizontally through the loom, alternately at the front and back of the threads. The threads end in loops (*καῖροι*), which are held down by weights (*ἀγνῦθες* or *λείαι*), as here indicated.⁹

The scene is completed on the right by the figure of one of Odysseus' transformed companions, who in this case appears to have taken the form of a boar ; in most representations of this myth the heads alone are transformed, but here the metamorphosis is nearly complete, and our artist has adhered more closely to the words of Homer (*Od.* x. 239) :

οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε
καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὥς τὸ πάρος περ.

The legs however remain human, and as the attitude is that of a seated animal, they are drawn up in an awkward fashion owing to their disproportionate length.¹⁰ He is squatting on his haunches, with upturned snout, but though his mind is 'steadfast as afore,' the expression of sadness at his changed lot which the metamorphosed companions wear in other representa-

⁷ Horace, *Epist.* i. 2, 23.

⁸ *Od.* x. 221.

⁹ See Art. 'Tela' in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* ³ II. p. 764.

¹⁰ In the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysikrates the transformed pirates still retain their human legs, though their bodies are converted into dolphins.

tions ¹¹ is somewhat wanting, and he appears rather to be content with his new form.

There are two small points in connection with this representation which I would wish to note, as giving some indication that this is later than the ordinary black-figured vases. Firstly, Odysseus wears the *pileus* which, as far as I know, is not found in archaic art; ¹² secondly, the eye in the case of each figure appears to be represented in profile, not, as is invariable on archaic vases, as if seen from the front.

Let us now turn to the two other representations of this incident, the van Branteghem vase (Fig. 2) and the lekythos figured on Plate II.

FIG. 2.

The former vase is a skyphos, but not of the same shape as our vase; it is more like an ordinary Athenian skyphos, with horizontal handles and slightly tapering body. It is moreover covered throughout with black varnish, except for a small panel on each side, on which the designs are painted. The representation of Odysseus and Kirke is curiously like the one just described but, if anything, more strongly caricatured. Odysseus is apparently recoiling in terror from the draught which Kirke holds out to him with an air of determination, stirring it in the meanwhile with a pestle or some other instrument. She resembles our Kirke very closely. Behind her is the loom, similarly depicted, with the addition of a shuttle. The transformed companion however is wanting, nor are the figures inscribed. The other side of the vase has a curious representation of Odysseus traversing the sea on a raft formed of two amphorae; behind him is seen the head of Boreas impelling him along with a blast of wind; both figures are inscribed.

The lekythos with this subject has already been fully described in this volume. The most interesting points of comparison are: (1) the presence of

¹¹ As on (4) and (5) in the list given below.

¹² This head-gear may however be meant for the petasos, and the same doubt arises as to whether he is wearing a petasos or pileus on the

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van Branteghem vase. According to Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 108, Nikomachos was the first to represent Odysseus with the *pileus*. His date is 360 B.C.

one of the transformed companions; (2) Kirke holds out the skyphos to Odysseus much in the same manner as on the Oxford vase. Her expression on the lekythos is not terrifying as in the two former cases, but rather reassuring. Odysseus however draws back and refuses to be beguiled. The loom is absent; in fact I am not aware of its occurrence in any other instance.

Miss Harrison in her *Myths of the Odyssey* has collected and illustrated a large number of monuments which may relate to the Kirke myth.¹³ It may however be worth while to repeat them here, as I am able to add a few more to her list. The different scenes represented are as follows:—

I. Odysseus shooting the stag on his arrival in the island (*Od.* x. 157):

(1) A carnelian scarab recently discovered in a tomb at Corneto, inscribed $\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ (Uthuze, the Etruscan form of 'Οδυσσεύς , cf. Corssen, *Etrusk. Sprache*, i. p. 840). See *Notizie dei Lincei*, May 1892, p. 155.

II. Arrival of Odysseus at the palace:

(2) A scene on the chest of Kypselos. Pausanias, v. 19, 7.

(3) Obverse of a r.f. amphora at Parma. *Mon. Inst.* v. Pl. 41.

III. Transformation of Odysseus' comrades:

(4) R.f. amphora in Dresden. *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, Pl. 194, Figs. 1, 2.

(5) R.f. amphora in Berlin (*Cat.* 2342). *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, Pl. 14.

(6) B.f. oinochoe in Brit. Mus. (B 503). Unpublished.

(7) Etruscan sard scarab in St. Petersburg. Harrison, *Myths of Odyssey*, Pl. 20c.

(8) Etruscan sarcophagus at Volaterrae. Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.* Pl. 32, 5.

(9) Similar sarcophagus at Florence. Brunn, *I rilievi dell' urne Etr.* Pl. 88, 1.

(10) Sarcophagus found near Clusium. *Ann. Inst.* 1847, Pl. D.

(11) R.f. lekythos (Naples 3353). Harrison, *op. cit.* Pl. 20a.

(12) R.f. hydria in St. Petersburg. Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. 40, 3.

The two last are doubtful examples.

IV. Odysseus with the herb moly:

(13) Carnelian engraved gem in Millin, *Gal. Myth.* 103, 636, and Inghirami, *Gall. omerica*, iii. 49.

V. Odysseus and Kirke:

(14) B.f. Boeotian skyphos in Brit. Mus. *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. 4.

(15) B.f. Boeotian skyphos at Oxford. *Van Branteghem Sale Cat.* 210.

(16) B.f. lekythos (white ground) in Athens. *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. 2.

(17) B.f. lekythos in Berlin (*Cat.* 1960). *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, Pl. 15.

(18) R.f. amphora (rev. of 3). (Bolte's B. See p. 8 of this volume.)

(19) Pompeian wall-painting, now destroyed. Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompéii*, ii. Pl. 43.

(20) Etruscan mirror in the Louvre. Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel*, 403, 2, and Froehner, *Musées de France*, Pl. 24.

¹³ See also Bolte, *de Monum. ad Odys. pert.* p. 21.

(21) A similar mirror in Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.* Pl. 32, 15, and Gerhard, *op. cit.* 403, 1.

(22) Roman lamp. *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, Pl. 194, 4.

(23) Reverse of a *contorniatius*, *ibid.* Pl. 194, 3.

(24) An engraved sard formerly in the Pourtalès Collection (*Cat.* 1260).

VI. Kirke driving forth the swine:

(25) Relief in the Rondanini palace. Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.* Pl. 32, 3.

Two scenes are represented also in the Esquiline fresco, Harrison, *op. cit.* autotype V, and Woermann, *Die antiken Odysseelandschaften vom Esquilinischen Hügel zu Rom*, 1876, Pl. 5.

Of these, the vase-paintings present the greatest and most varied interest, but none more so than the three on which I have dwelt at length; the other monuments are nearly all of late date. In (2) and (6) we may note that Kirke is represented as dwelling in a cave, not a palace. In some cases, such as (17), other transformations than into swine are depicted. With the exception of the chest of Kypselos, none of these monuments appear to be older than the end of the sixth century B.C.

It is a noticeable fact that art-representations which have reference to the myths of the *Odyssey* are very much fewer than those which may be referred to the *Iliad*, to say nothing of the other cyclic poems connected with the siege of Troy. And yet the *Odyssey* is far more varied in incident than the *Iliad*, and might have been expected to offer a much wider field to the painter in search of new subjects. As it is however, the few that we have are nearly all taken from Books vi. and ix.—xii., the others being almost entirely neglected. The reason for this is not easy to see, unless it was that the *Odyssey* had a much less firm hold on the minds of the Greeks than the *Iliad*, which was essentially a national epic, whereas the *Odyssey* was a stirring romance, but no more; and further, it was probably compiled at a later date than the *Iliad*.

Another point that may be noted in passing is that scenes which may be referred to the *Odyssey* adhere much more closely to the details of the Homeric text than those which may be referred to the *Iliad*. With regard to our vase I have by quotations sufficiently shown this to be the case, in spite of the fact that the subject is caricatured, and that therefore more liberty of conception might have been expected. At the same time a Greek artist was never a mere illustrator of Homer; and though the art-tradition seems to have been stronger in respect of the *Iliad*, variations from the Homeric version are not seldom to be found in scenes from the later poem. This is not the case however with Graeco-Roman art. Art-traditions were worn out, and all power of original conception was lost; and thus we find that frescoes, reliefs, and other works of art reproduce with slavish fidelity all the details of the Homeric text.

As far as I know, these two vases are the only ones of the Kabeirion group which represent Homeric subjects; but Winnefeld gives two interesting mythological scenes in the *Athen. Mittheil.* for 1888, p. 421: Kephalos hunting a fox with his hound Lailaps, and Bellerophon with

Pegasos slaying the Chimaira (*op. cit.* Pl. 11.). Both scenes are caricatures. It has been suggested to me by Mr. C. R. Peers that the subject on the obverse of the skyphos in the British Museum, B 77, represents Peleus bringing the young Achilles to Cheiron; I think this interpretation is probably correct. A favourite subject is that of Pigmies in contest with cranes (rev. of B 77 in Brit. Mus. and *Athen. Mittheil.* Pl. 12). On Plate 9 Winnefeld publishes a remarkably interesting representation of the deity Kabeiros apparently holding a symposium, with attendant figures. All have their names inscribed above them: Kabeiros, Pais, Pratolaos, Mitos and Krateia; Mitos and Pratolaos are strongly caricatured. On the reverse of the same vase is a female head inscribed Σατύ[ρα]; and another interesting fragment shows a train of worshippers approaching the Kabeiros, somewhat in the style of reliefs of Asklepios. The scene published by Winnefeld recalls very strongly the Dionysiac scenes on the black-figured vases; in fact, were not the reclining figure inscribed, one would identify him with Dionysos. It would seem then that Kabeiros held the same position in this local Theban cult that Dionysos held in the Athenian religion, and it is worth while endeavouring to trace to what extent this is true.

The worship of the Kabeiroi appears to have originated in north-west Asia Minor, though various authorities mention other sites of their worship; still they appear to have been indigenous to Asia Minor. The first place apparently to which the worship was transferred was the island of Lemnos, which being of a volcanic nature had been an ancient seat of the Hephaistos-cult. The Kabeiroi seem to have been sons of Hephaistos and Kabeira; they appear as πρόπολοι of the former deity, and as personifications of his power and works.¹⁴ Nonnus calls them δαίμονες ἐσχαρεῶνος. At the same time they are genii of the fecundity of the sun fed by subterranean fires, especially in the production of the vine. In the mysteries they had secret names, but they were generally known as Θεοὶ μεγάλοι, or δυνατοί. Hephaistos in the mysteries appears to have been *primus inter pares*, the Kabeiros *par excellence*. Nonnus gives the names of the other two as Alkon and Eury-medon.¹⁵

In Samothrace their worship was closely connected with that of Hermes, who was also known as Κάσμεϊλος. We find Dionysos associated here with Hermes and Hephaistos in the Kabeiric worship, while on one of the coins of Hephaistia a bunch of grapes occurs, which may indicate that he was associated with them in Lemnos also. In Samothrace the Kabeiroi are cosmic deities of the first rank, and have not sunk to the position of mere local genii. As in Lemnos their names were kept secret, and they were spoken of as Θεοὶ μεγάλοι, χρηστοί, δυνατοί. The secret however is profanely betrayed by Mnaseas of Patara and Dionysodoros, who give their names as Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersa, and Kasmilos. Apparently Axieros

¹⁴ Some authorities derive the name Κάβειρος from καίω (Κάβειρος = καίφειρος); and there seems to be authority for the form Κάφειρος.

¹⁵ Cf. coin of Hephaistia, with two Kabeiroi on rev. and head of Hephaistos on obv.

is equivalent to Demeter, Axiokersa to Persephone, Axiokersos to Hades or Dionysos, and Kasmilos to Hermes; so that here we have at once a connection with the Hellenic deities. Different theogonies however are given by other authors. Another system is given by the Chablais marble in the Vatican,¹⁶ which is a term with three faces—Axiokersos, Axiokersa, and Kasmilos. In character these resemble Dionysos, Kore, and Hermes. Below each head is the figure of a Greek deity, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Eros. The three statues of Phaethon, Aphrodite, and Pothos, made by Skopas for Samothrace (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 25) seem to have been a similar Greek translation of the deities of the mysteries.

A remarkably interesting representation of the Kabeiric deities is given by an Apulian vase in the British Museum (F 116),¹⁷ published in the *Musée Blacas*, Pls. vii. and viii. Orpheus is represented as *μυσταγωγός* to an ephebos in the Samothracian mysteries, the latter being accompanied by a *παιδαγωγός*; Orpheus holds back Kerberos by a chain. In front of him are a term and a tree. Eurydike is seated on the right of the scene, as if waiting to be conducted from Hades. But the chief interest of the picture for our purpose is in the upper row of figures. On the left of the scene is Pan, who here takes the place of Skopas' Phaethon; in Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* Pl. 59, a figure undoubtedly intended for Pan is inscribed *Φάος καλός*. Facing him sits Hermes or Kasmilos, and on the right of the scene are Aphrodite and Eros corresponding as shown above to Axiokersa and Axiokersos. A figure of Axiokersa occurs on a krater from Southern Italy, *Arch. Zeit.* 1850, Pl. 16, Figs. 1, 2, inscribed *Ἀξιο* . . .; she resembles Persephone or Aphrodite. On the same vase is represented the infant Dionysos, with his name inscribed.

The essential feature of the grouping of the Kabeiric deities is then: *a goddess, simple or double, between two male gods*. These deities were surrounded by a *cortège* of *πρόπολοι* acting as intermediate between gods and men (see Strabo x. 470). The correspondence of Kabeiric to Hellenic deities in different places where they were worshipped is clearly shown in a table given on p. 762 of Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiqs.* (Vol. i.).

But what of the Kabeiric worship at Thebes? Of this we have some account given by Pausanias (ix. 25, 5), who tells us that three miles from Thebes he saw a grove of Demeter Kabeiria and Kore, which only the initiated might enter, and nearly a mile distant lay the temple of the Kabeiroi, the one in fact of which the site has been recently discovered and excavated. 'But as to who the Kabeiroi are,' says he, 'and what sort of ceremonies (*δρώμενα*) are performed to them and to the Mother, I hope the eager student will pardon me if I keep silence.' However his religious scruples allow him to go so far as to give the origin of these *δρώμενα*. There was on this site originally a city inhabited by people known as Kabeiroi; to one of these, Prometheus, and his son Aitnaios Demeter committed some

¹⁶ Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 41.

¹⁷ Lenormant's interpretation in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiqs.* i. p. 766, to

which I am indebted for much information on this subject.

trust. Here again Pausanias feels compelled to keep silence, as to the nature of this trust; but whatever it was, Demeter is supposed to have granted to them the privilege of celebrating mysteries, as a reward for hospitality tendered to her in her wanderings. It is probable that the 'trust' consisted of sacred objects or ἄρρητα preserved in a *cista mystica*. The sacred orgies which they then instituted were ever afterwards associated with Demeter, and were administered by these men and their descendants, forming the sacerdotal family of the Kabeiroi, down to the time of the Epigoni. They were then expelled for a time, but were re-established by Pelarge daughter of Potneus and her husband Isthmiades, in a place called Alexiarous. Afterwards one Telondes persuaded the family to return to its original place, certain honours and sacrifices being decreed to Pelarge. Pausanias concludes his account by showing the awful results of rousing the wrath of the Kabeiric deities, as the people of Naupaktos did by setting up δρώμενα in imitation of those in Thebes, or as the Persians under Mardonius who rashly entered the temple and were all seized with madness and threw themselves into the sea. Again when Alexander conquered Thebes, some Macedonians who penetrated into the temple were struck by lightning or otherwise slain. In the time of Epaminondas we are told that there was a great revival of the ceremonies in the Kabeirion. They were definitely re-established by Methapos of the sacerdotal family of Lykomides (Paus. iv. 1, 5), who appears to have been a kind of travelling hierophant who went about reviving old mysteries; Pausanias tells us how he did so at Andania in Messenia.

We must not suppose with K. O. Mueller that Boeotia was really the cradle of the Kabeiric cult, though even in Boeotia it goes back to Pelasgic times; but there is no doubt that Kern's view of its Oriental origin is the correct one.¹⁸ The same association of Demeter and Kore with the Kabeiroi is found at Anthedon (Paus. ix. 22, 5): 'Ανθηδονίοις δὲ, μάλιστα που κατὰ μέσον τῆς πόλεως, Καβείρων ἱερὸν, καὶ ἄλλος περὶ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ πλησίον δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ναὸς, καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθου λευκοῦ. Διούσου τε ἱερὸν πεποιήται καὶ ἄγαλμα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ.

As Hephaistos was the centre of this worship in Lemnos, and Hermes in Samothrace, so was Dionysos its centre at Thebes, and, as we see from the inscribed fragment mentioned above (*Athen. Mittheil.* 1888, Pl. 9), he was here the Kabeiros *par excellence*. Kern notes the fact that all the dedicatory inscriptions are in the singular: Κάβιρος, τοῖ Καβίροι, το(ῦ) Καβίρο(υ), and so on. The Pais on the above-mentioned fragment may be one of the πρόπολοι or attendant inferior deities, but as an inscription has been found τῷ Καβείρῳ καὶ τῷ παιδί τοῦ Καβείρου, it is more natural to suppose with Kern that the youthful Dionysos is intended, or perhaps Dionysos-Zagreus, under the influence of the Orphic mythology which just at this time appears to have been permeating Thebes.¹⁹ He answers to Kasmilos, as did Eros in the group by Skopas. The other inscribed names on this fragment,

¹⁸ *Hermes*, 1890, p. 1 ff.

¹⁹ *J.H.S.* xi. p. 348; on this subject see also

O. Crusius, *Beitr. zur Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 10 ff.

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Pratolaos, Mitos and Krateia, are to be explained in the same way. Pratolaos is the first representative of mankind; Krateia is of course strength personified; while *μῖτος* in the Orphic writings is used as a synonym for *σπέρμα*, agriculture being regarded as a method of weaving. Mitos is then the personified principle of reproduction.

The Orphic character of the Kabeiric worship at Thebes in the fifth century has been sufficiently discussed by Kern, and by Mr. Cecil Smith in the number of the *Journal* already referred to. I wish however to add a few concluding words on the *δράμενα* of which Pausanias speaks, in order to weave together the two main threads of this paper.

Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. cxviii., has pointed out that many art-types were derived from the actual representations of myths on the stage, in performances which must have corresponded very closely to the medieval miracle-play. It is no doubt something of the kind that Pausanias means by the expression *δράμενα*. Now the grotesque or ribald representation of myths was an essential part of the Orphic ceremonies, and was transferred to the Kabeiric rites by the wave of influence which spread from Athens to Boeotia in the fifth century B.C. If then part of the Kabeiric ceremonies consisted in a burlesque of mythological scenes, and further it was the habit of the vase-painter to draw his inspiration from these burlesque representations, it is easy to understand why we find these caricatures of mythological subjects on the vases which were connected with the worship of the Kabeiroi. The range of subjects was, as I have indicated, very varied; besides the Kabeiros and his attendant deities, we have Bellerophon and the Chimaira, Kephalos and Lailaps, Peleus bringing the young Achilles to Cheiron, and lastly our two subjects from the *Odyssey*, as shown on the Oxford vase. There does not seem to be any special reason why Kirke should be associated with the Kabeiric worship, so that we have ground for congratulation that, among the few mythological subjects that have come to light among these vase-fragments, two such interesting instances of this particular myth should have been preserved.

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