

Divine protection for shepherd and sheep Apollon, Hermes, Pan and their christian counterparts st. Mamas, st. Themistocles and st. Modestos

by

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Fig. 1. Athens, Archaeological National Museum inv. no. 54, Hermes Kriophoros (LIMC vol. V (1990) 313 s. v. Hermes no. 289).

Abstract:

The article presents an overview over pagan Greek and Christian pastoral deities: The Greek gods are mainly Apollon, Hermes and Pan with specific epicleses as well as minor shepherd deities such as Aristaios, Daphnis or the mythological shepherd Endymion.

The Christian protectors in the Greek area are St. Mamas, St. Themistocles and - for cattle - St. Modestos, whereas in northern Europe the main shepherd saints are St. Bartholomy and St. Wendelin.

In southern Italy the shepherd patron is St. Michael. Of these, St. Mamas is presented here in particular, because his cult is the most widely spread one until today. The origin of his cult lies in Cappadocia, from where it spread to Byzance, Cyprus, Armenia, Georgia,

Libanon, and Russia. The crusaders brought it into Italy, Germany, France and the Spanish peninsula. Finally, some common elements between the ancient classical and the Christian traditions related to these patrons are summarized.*

Shepherds have at all times sought divine protection for flocks and pastures, because their only source of income is easily afflicted by epidemic diseases, wild beasts, such as dogs and wolves, or natural disasters in the form of draughts and floods. A special concern for the well-being of animals and pastures is only to be expected in societies that depend on pastoral products for clothing and nutrition (wool and leather, milk, cheese, meat et al.). The importance of pastoral products for everyday life in antiquity can hardly be overestimated. Their commercial value becomes evident, for instance, by the reference in the tariff laws of Palmyra in Syria (137 AD),¹ of Zarai in Numidia,² and of course in the price list edited by Diocletian in 301 AD.³ Apart from prices for the animals themselves (goats, sheep, mutton, lambs), fixed prices were also given there for meat, hide, leather and wool. From Diocletian's edict we even learn about the wages set up for shepherds (20 denarii per day) and the sheep-shearers (2 denarii per animal). Milk and cheese were not mentioned in these tariffs, but they represented of course a rather large share of daily nutrition.

Another group of inscriptions that throw light on pastoral life in the classical period, are the regulations for the use of pastoral land owned by sanctuaries. Such inscriptions are preserved from Tegea, Tamynai on Euboea and Ios.⁴ From these we learn that pastures were the object of detailed law regulations. At Tegea, for instance, the priest was allowed to keep only 27 sheep, a pair of draught animals and one goat on the land of the sanctuary for free - an amount that can have covered only the immediate needs of the household set up by the priest in the sanctuary. The priest was obliged to pay for any animals beyond that number, if he wanted to pasture them on the land of Alea. The other regulations foresee payments per animal in case foreign animals grass illegally

on the land of a sanctuary or even warn that the animals will duly be confiscated in that case. This kind of regulation shows the high value of pasture land in general and one can assess that many detailed oral agreements with shepherds were regulating every day life in the poleis and the land around in a similar way throughout antiquity. In short, a large part of daily life was connected to and dependent on the well-being of pastures and shepherds. It is clear, therefore, that cult for pastoral deities must have been performed largely.

In order to understand the interaction between pastoral-dependent societies and the cult of pastoral deities, it is necessary in the first place, to investigate which of the gods and saints had the capacity of protecting shepherds, pastures and animals and where they once were and still are honoured.

The Pastoral Pantheon

In the classical period, there were several gods that specifically cared for the well-being of flocks and pastures.⁵ The principal deities were Zeus, Apollon, Hermes and Pan, all linked by family bonds: Apollon and Hermes being half-brothers and Pan being the son of Hermes. In addition, there were also local gods and mythological shepherds. The names of the gods were specified with the epicleses related to their pastoral function. According to mythology, all of these gods were working - at least occasionally - as shepherds themselves.

In some places, two or more of these gods were venerated together, for instance at Gythion, there were cults for Zeus Ammon,⁶ Apollon Karneios and Pan; or at Troizen, where cults of Hermes Epimelios, Pan and Aristaios are recorded; or in the Carnasian grove at Oechalia next to the plain of Stenyclerus in northern Messenia, where Apollon Karneios and Hermes Kriophoros had a joint cult (Pausanias 4, 33, 4).

There are two epicleses that single out Zeus as a pastoral god. He may have acquired this function in connection with his being in charge of rain and vegetation:⁷ Zeus Ammon is represented bearded and with ram's horns, but his function as a pastoral god was less important than his capacity as an oracle deity.⁸ Zeus Lykaeos was worshipped in the Arcadian mountains, as protector of the sheep from wolves.⁹ Zeus could obviously protect herds and pastures, but fathering Apollon and Hermes, his sons seem to have been credited with more potential in the pastoral field.

Apollon¹⁰ had of course various other spheres of responsibility, but three major epicleses single out his capacity to protect shepherds and sheep: Apollon Epimelios,¹¹ that is: "guardian of the flock", Karneios,¹² "the ram god" and Nomios,¹³ "the protector of pastures and shepherds". Less common is the epiclesis Poimnios,¹⁴ "he who cares for the herds". Similar to Zeus, the epithet Lykeios¹⁵ shows that Apollon keeps wolves away from the herds. Macrobius (1,17,45) also includes the epithet Arnokomes, "with hair like sheepwool", in his



Fig. 2. Paris, Louvre CA 626 Boeotian terracotta statuette of Hermes carrying a ram (after LIMC vol. V no. 271 a).

comments on pastoral cults on Naxos. Apollon's pastoral aspect is also emphasized by the fact that sacred flocks were held as property by the sanctuaries of Helios-Apollon (see, for example, Herodotus 9, 93 about the flock of sheep that was sacred to the sun at Apollonia and its shepherd Euenios). Apollon Karneios¹⁶ had greater responsibilities than the other deities, being the Dorian ram-god with yearly festivities at Sparta and elsewhere. He also obviously played an important rôle in male rites of passage, but nevertheless, he never lost his important pastoral function. Cult places for Apollon Karneios were for example at the Triopion, the central Dorian sanctuary on the Knidos peninsula,¹⁷ as well as in the above-mentioned Carnasian Grove, the central sanctuary of the Dorian dynasty of the Kresphontes in northern Messenia. The annual Karneia were celebrated at Sparta in his honor for nine days in the month of August.¹⁸ The name of the month derived from this festival. That time of the year is an important season for shepherds: Transhumant herds come down from their summer pastures towards the valleys and plains, and, even more importantly, the mating season falls into that period or lies immediately ahead, for which fertility is expected and prayed for. We shall see, that it is the time when festivities honouring pastoral patrons are held until today.



Fig. 3. Kos, Museum inv. no 91. Statue of seated Hermes and a ram (Photo V. Scheunert).

Apollon Karneios is represented on coins as a beardless youth with rams horns.¹⁹ He was also venerated in Crete (Knossos and Gortyn), in Kyrene and on Cyprus as well as on the Peloponnesus, in Laconia (Gythion, Las,²⁰ Pharai, Sparta),²¹ on the Mani peninsula (Oitylon and Leuktra) and at Sikyon (Paus. 2,10,2).

Apollon is rarely represented with pastoral attributes and it is difficult to identify the figures of the god holding the horns of a goat or sheep²² or the head of a hegoat²³ with one of the above-mentioned pastoral epicleses.

Hermes's²⁴ pastoral function is stressed by the epithets Epimelios, Nomios²⁵ and Kriophoros,²⁶ "the ram bearer" as well as by the less common Melosoos,²⁷ "he who rescues sheep". Hermes is a son of Zeus and the nymph Maia, who lived on the Arcadian Mt. Kyllene. Hermes was born in a cave. According to myth, Hermes invented the lyre, but gave it to his brother Apollon in exchange for a shepherd's rod. Apollon also passed extensive pastoral responsibilities on to Hermes.²⁸

His cult as a pastoral god was especially wide-spread in Arcadia and Boeotia. Many myths center round the god in his pastoral function. In many representations as a pastoral god, Hermes is shown young and beardless. In red figure and black figure vases, he is occasionally shown riding a ram.²⁹ Hermes Epimelios³⁰ had altars on the agora of Boeotian Koroneia and at Troizen. Hermes Kriophoros,³¹ the ram carrying god (Fig. 1), was especially worshipped at Tanagra in Boeotia, where Kalamis had created his cult statue (Paus. 9, 22,1). According to



Fig. 4. Athens, Kerameikos, inv. no. T 1057. Terracotta statuette representing Pan, H: 9.5 cm (Photo J. Stroszeck).

myth, the god saved the city from a disease by carrying a ram on his shoulders around the city walls - an event remembered and repeated annually by the most beautiful ephebe in the city during the festival in honour of the god.

Another iconographical type is represented in the Hermes statue set up in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia by the Arcadians from Pheneos. It showed the god wearing a pilos and carrying a ram under his left arm. This statue was made by the sculptor Onatas from Aegina and his pupil or son Kalliteles (Paus. 5, 27, 8). This type was especially wide-spread in terracotta and bronze figurines from Boeotia and Arcadia (Fig. 2).³²

Out of the variety of statues showing Hermes with a ram, there is one other type to be singled out: it is the statue Pausanias saw along the street from Korinth to Lechaion (Paus. 2, 3,4): It showed the seated god and next to him a standing ram. Coins from Korinth (2nd cent. AD) and a marble statue at Kos might reproduce this statue (Fig. 3).³³ Pausanias quotes Homer (Il. 14, 490f.) in order to underline the capacity to protect and enlarge the herds credited to Hermes.

Pan or Pan Nomios³⁴ is a son of Hermes and the Nymph Penelope (Nonnos, Dionysiaka, 14, 67; 5). He

was originally worshipped in Arcadia. His cult spread all over Greece and especially in Attica after the battle at Marathon in 480 BC, where he is said to have helped the Greeks to conquer the Persians.³⁵ With his goat's head and feet he is the only Greek god perceived as a mixed creature, half hegoat and half human (Fig. 4). His cult is often practised in mountain caves, where he apparently is thought to live (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11, 139; 14, 513), for example in Athens, at Marathon (Paus. 1, 32, 7), at Vari, Daphni and Phyli. Many relief anathems show Pan in a cave.³⁶ His attributes are the syrinx which he plays while guarding the sheep, and the lagobolon. A marble statuette from Gythion shows youthful Pan carrying a ram on his shoulders. It is, therefore, the only Pan Kriophoros known so far.³⁷ Pan Lykaios had a special cult on the Arcadian Mt. Lykaion, closely connected to his power of keeping away wolves from the herds. Also, he and Zeus Lykaios have common cult places.³⁸

Faunus³⁹ became the Roman counterpart of Pan. He had a temple on the Tiber island in Rome. On the same island stands today the main basilica for the Christian shepherd saint, St. Bartholomew.

Lesser gods⁴⁰

Aristaios⁴¹ was a local god worshipped by the shepherds at Troizen. He is said to be a son of Apollon and the nymph Kyrene. Other mythological shepherds had minor local cult places in the country, like Aegeus, the father of Theseus, Amphion, who is raised by a shepherd and plays the lyre, Daphnis,⁴² Endymion, Eumolpos,⁴³ Napaïos,⁴⁴ Orpheus and, last but not least, there are also female protectresses for sheep, namely the nymphs like Kyrene,⁴⁵ the mother of Aristaios, who herded her sheep on the banks of the Peneios, Nomia⁴⁶ and a group of nymphs called Epimeliades (Paus. 8,4,1f.) as well as Hekate (Hesiod, Theog. 444-447).

Christian Saints

Many features of shepherd life and the positive qualities connected to the profession influenced Christian terminology and were incorporated in the cult. A few examples must suffice:

The birth of Christ in a cave or a barn is first noticed by the shepherds and they, according to Lucas 2, 7ff., are the first to see the newborn child and to spread the good news.

Christ is referred to as the Good Shepherd according to Psalm 23, and the Christians used the iconographic scheme of a shepherd carrying a ram on his shoulders to symbolize Christ. This image was used to represent the characteristic features of a good shepherd for the growing Christian community: Jesus cares for the Christians individually like a shepherd for the animals entrusted to him. This idea has been passed on into the Christian churches and is still today used for bishops⁴⁷ and the pope (the bishop's scepter resembling the curved shepherd's rod).

On the other hand, Christ himself was identified with a lamb (Joh. 1, 29). The qualities of the animal (purity and harmlessness) are used here as a symbol for the sacrifice Christ made to humanity. This image was also widely accepted in antiquity, because the use of sheep as offerings to the gods was a common practice (comp. the story of Phrixos, who was saved by a ram when he was about to be sacrificed in Apollonios Rhodios II 1141-56 and the story of Abraham sacrificing Isaak in 1. Moses 22, 9-14).

In addition, shepherds obviously required their own special saints who would know about their needs, having being shepherds themselves, just as the pagan pastoral deities. Their place was taken over by Christian saints. In the 3rd century AD, two shepherds suffered martyrdom and consequently they became the new protectors for Christian shepherds. The most important one is Saint Mamas, less common is Saint Themistokles. A third one, Saint Modestos, became the protector of cattle and other domesticated animals as well as the patron saint of modern veterinarians.

St. Mamas

Although the name Mamas sounds unfamiliar to us, it was quite a common name in antiquity, already recorded in the 3rd century BC in Sicily and widely used in Roman Asia Minor.⁴⁸

Legend

There are several legends of St. Mamas and also local versions as well as miracles that round up the story. The most popular version of his legend runs as follows:⁴⁹

The parents of Mamas, Theodotos and Rufina, were Roman citizens and lived at Gangra in Paphlagonia. During the prosecution of Christians exercised by the Roman Emperor Aurelianus (270-275) they were arrested for proclaiming to be Christian, the mother being highly pregnant. They were transferred to Caesarea in Kappadokia in order to stand trial there. Mamas was born in prison, and both his parents died there. A rich woman called Ammia raised the boy. She died when the boy was 15, leaving her fortune to him. In the meantime, Mamas had declared his Christian faith and, therefore, in his turn, he was called in front of the governor at Caesarea.

He was tortured for refusing to sacrifice to pagan gods but resisted wild beasts and fire. When threatened of being drowned, he escaped with the help of an angel who ordered him to remain on the mountains near Caesarea. Mamas lived there in a cave, developing power over the wild animals, to whom he read the gospel. Deer and goat came to him voluntarily and let him use their milk⁵⁰ from which he made cheese that he gave to the poor at Caesarea. When called in again by the governor on the charge of being a magician, Mamas was tortured and at last speared by a soldier. Despite his wounds, Mamas managed to get out of town to a mountain cave where he died. Soon afterwards this cave was turned into a church and from there his cult spread rapidly.



Fig. 5. Andros, Northern church of St. Mamas (Photo J. Stroszeck).

The much more recent Cypriot version of the legend makes him a monk living in a cave near Morphou. He was accused of tax avoidance. Being led to court by the police, a lion chasing a sheep crossed his way. On the call of the saint, the lion came to him and let him ride to court on his back, the saint holding the sheep in his arm. When the judge saw this, Mamas was released and freed of his tax obligations. Thus, Mamas became the patron of tax evaders and in that respect he came close again to his ancient predecessor, Hermes who also protected thieves.

Cult

The great church fathers Dionysios and Basilios from Caesarea and Gregor from Nazianz held panegyric speeches about the martyr and made him known to the Christian world. During the 4th century, his cult spread from Cappadocia to Georgia, Libanon and Cyprus and of course also to Greece. After first translations in the early 9th century to Lyon,⁵¹ the Crusaders brought the worship of St. Mamas to northern Italy, especially to the Veneto and the Bassano regions. From there it spread to France and Spain. There are also churches in Germany, at Finningen and Thalfingen in Bavaria.

Today, the most numerous churches of Saint Mamas are found on Cyprus (about 60). In Greece they are confined to rural areas in Crete, the Peloponnesos and Boeotia as well as the islands and Macedonia (ca. 30 have been counted so far). With very few exceptions, they are erected in the countryside, far away from villages and cities and often very difficult to reach (Fig. 5). Some of them clearly were erected on old transhumance routes. They are small apsidal churches with perhaps a bell hung somewhere in a nearby tree. Many are surrounded by large trees and have an area close by, where, every year on Sept. 2nd, the day of Saint Mamas is celebrated with a joint meal of the shepherds. The time of the year and the way these festivals are celebrated with a huge meal under shady trees are reminiscent of the classical Arneia at Argos or the Karneia at Sparta, rural festivals taking place in August and celebrated by the ancient shepherds with meals under *skiades* and with sacrifices of a ram for Apollon Karneios.⁵²

Recently, many of the churches of St. Mamas have been restored. On the newly painted white walls of the



Fig. 6. Leuktra (Boeotia), Church of St. Mamas (Photo J. Stroszeck).

churches at Kos and Leuktra in Boeotia (Fig. 6), there are brown stripes visible that are due to sheep gathering around the building and rubbing their coat against the walls.

The oldest churches are, of course at Caesarea in Cappadocia⁵³ (built in the 4th century under Julian Apostata, *331-363), and at Byzance⁵⁴ (at least since the 5th century). The church at Ehden in the Libanon⁵⁵ has a dedication inscription from 749 AD, whereas in Greece the one at Naxos (9th cent.) seems to be the oldest one preserved.

In most areas, the main celebration day for St. Mamas is in August or September⁵⁶ (17th August in Germany, Italy, France and Spain, 2nd September in Greece, 15th, September in Russia), while in Persia he is celebrated on the 20th November and in Cyprus as late as the 26th of December.

Iconography

The earliest preserved representation of St. Mamas is the part of a fresco dated to the 7th century at S. Maria Antiqua in Rome. The head of the saint is identifiable by the inscription.⁵⁷ Other representations in the form of wall paintings are preserved in Cappadocian rock-cut churches, in Greece and on Cyprus. Recent Greek icons are simple expressions of rural faith reflecting a standard repertoire: They show three main types of St. Mamas, while a lot of variants do occur.

1. To begin with, a non-specific icon has him standing with a palm branch in one hand, the cross in the other, wearing a tunic with a broad, embroidered rim and a red cloak. This depiction is used for a lot of saints that were martyrs. One characteristic of this and all the other Mamas types is the youthful face, in this case with combed but curly hair.

2. The second type shows St. Mamas standing with the shepherds' stick or a cross in the right hand and a lamb on his left arm, again in tunic and red cloak. His long hair curls messily around the young face. He is sometimes depicted in a mountainous landscape with sheep gathered around his feet and drinking from a small river; sometimes he is wearing the *fasciae crurales*, strips of cloth wound around the calves, reminiscent of the ancient shepherd's outfit (Fig. 7). In a variant he is



Fig. 7. Kos, Icon of St. Mamas standing between mountains, Type 2 (Photo V. Scheunert).

holding a lamb and stick in the left and the cross in the right hand.

3. Mamas is also shown riding a lion,⁵⁸ a representation used frequently in Cypriot churches of the 14th, 15th and 16th century (Fig. 8). The origin of this representation of the youthful Mamas might also go back to pagan iconography: Erotes are sometimes shown riding a lion in the thiasos of Dionysos. The Cappadocian fertility goddess Kybele or Ma is occasionally represented riding a lion.⁵⁹ She may have played a certain rôle in the developing of this type.

The oldest preserved representation of this type seems to be a round lead medaillon from Cappadocia dated to the 6th century.⁶⁰ Also a silver tondo from Gelati in Georgia, dated to the 11th century, shows Mamas riding the lion.⁶¹ Mamas rides either in side-saddle or sits astride. He is turned towards the viewer and holding a lamb or a deer on his left arm, while his right hand holds a shepherd's stick. Usually he is riding to the right, in some rare cases to the left.

Scenes of his life

There also are scenes of the martyrdom of Mamas, as in frescoes in the monastery churches at Meteora.⁶² Book illustrations add various shepherd scenes to the figure of Mamas, which mainly go back to the Hellenistic and Roman iconographical repertoire.⁶³

The story of St. Mamas was also a topic of western Renaissance art: In Venice, the early Renaissance artist Michele Giambono (1420-1462) painted a cyclis of five



Fig. 8. Cyprus, Palaichori, Church of Metamorphosis tou Sotirou. St. Mamas riding the lion, Type 3 (Photo J. Stroszeck).

frescoes with scenes from the life of St. Mamas,⁶⁴ while a whole cycle of eight tapestries with his legend was made in 1543 for the church of Langres by Jean Coussin the Elder (ca. 1500- ca. 1560).⁶⁵

St. Themistocles

Themistocles, a minor Greek orthodox shepherd saint, was born at Myra in Asia Minor. According to the legend,⁶⁶ he lived there as a shepherd during the time of the Roman Emperor Decius who prosecuted the Christians in 253 AD. When the Roman soldiers were searching for another Christian called Dioskurides, they met Themistocles - herding his sheep - who had hidden the man. He said he had no idea where Dioskurides was and at the same time voluntarily confessed to being a Christian himself. For this admission he was tortured and died on the spot (in a second version, he was beheaded).

Icons show him with a lamb in his left and the shepherd's stick in the right. He is bearded and wearing a white Dalmatica with a red cloak (Fig. 9). In the western tradition, he is also wearing shepherd's gear and an iron shackle around his ankle. His festival day is December, 21st.

St. Modestos

St. Modestos is a saint who protects cattle and other domestic animals. He is famous for curing animals.⁶⁷ Modestos was born in Sebasteia in Asia Minor at the beginning of the 4th century and became bishop of Jerusalem after living for some time in Attica as an ascete herding sheep; later he lived on mount Sina in Egypt. He is represented as an old, bearded monk (Fig. 10). St. Modestos is celebrated on December, 16th.

St. Bartholomy⁶⁸ and St. Wendelin,⁶⁹ Christian protectors of sheep in northern Europe, should briefly be mentioned here as well as the archangel St. Michael, who is traditionally a pastoral patron in southern Italy. The Christian church also has female shepherd saints: St. Agata, St. Agnes and St. Genoveva.



Fig. 9. Athens, Icon of St. Themistokles (Photo J. Stroszeck).

Conclusions

An important element of the pagan gods and the Christian saints that protect flock is that they - according to myth or the history of the saints - have led the life of shepherds themselves.

In Greece, St. Mamas and Modestos are often worshipped in rural areas and in places where one or more of the pagan gods had previously had their cults: For example on Crete, in Cyprus, in Boeotia, in Macedonia and on the islands, such as Naxos, Skyros etc. Also, it is quite common for pagan herding gods and Christian herding saints to be worshipped together.

Living and being worshipped in or near mountain caves is also a feature common to Pan, Hermes and the Christian orthodox saints, esp. St. Mamas. This could be due to the fact that up to today, shepherds use caves as shelters,⁷⁰ and their patrons are supposed to understand their living-conditions from their own experience.

There are unchanged prerequisites for the well being of the herds: good pastures and water supply represent the basic conditions. It is the function of religion to assist in providing these conditions and to guarantee their lasting. Thus, pastoral festivals are celebrated at decisive points in the pastoral year: The time when the herds come down from their summer pastures for the winter, the time when they move up again, the seasons of wool-shearing, bathing and, most important, mating. It is surely no coincidence that the main festivals of pastoral deities, as well as those of Christian saints were and are being held in late summer, after the mating seasons of the herds.



Fig. 10. Leuktra, Icon of St. Modestos (Photo V. Scheunert).

Another central time of the year for the Christian shepherd patrons is obviously winter time, esp. the month of December. Shepherd's saints' festivities may have been arranged around Christmas, because shepherds played a central part in it.

The pastoral spring festivities have been transformed into the Christian Easter festival. It is the aim of these celebrations to thank for the protection during the past period and to ask at the same time for divine protection for the time ahead, especially for the period in the mountains, high fertility, good wool results, etc. The ancient celebrations include sacrifices of animals from the herds and other offerings. Apuleius, *Apologia* 56 shows, how much the shepherds felt obliged to fulfil the sacrifices and how necessary they were thought of: Apuleius marks an opponent: "he sets aside none of the crop for the gods of rural production who feed and clothe him; no wine, no firstling from the herd...".⁷¹ Greek Easter festivities until today involve the roasting of a one-year-old lamb or a goat on Easter Sunday.

The pictures of Christian shepherd saints avoid the type of the shepherd bearing a ram on his shoulders, because this image is assigned to Jesus as the Good Shepherd. Mamas and Themistocles hold a ram on one arm in a rather unrealistical position. Hermes, however, holds it under his arm, as real shepherds would do. The youthfulness of St. Mamas corresponds well to the

unbearded and youthful Hermes and Pan Kriophoros. Already Hermes Epimelios was imagined to be the age of an ephebe. The reason for this youthful depiction is probably that the young patrons represent the real shepherds, who, in many cases, were and are unmarried young men.⁷²

To summarize, there are specific pagan gods and specific Christian saints related to sheep and flock. Their iconography and myth or legend are related to this function. There are also certain consistent elements in the cult that seem to be due to the unchanging needs or the living conditions of shepherds in general.

There is, however, also an important break in continuity: Christian shepherd saints are in no way related to music, whereas Apollon, Hermes and Pan were all masters of an instrument. This is hard to explain, because the shepherds through the ages played the flute (f. ex. Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* I 575) or another instrument. Up to today and regardless of location, music is part of their culture.⁷³

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¹ Zahrt 1986, 279-293.

² CIL VIII 4508. Second half of the second century AD.

³ Lauffer 1971.

⁴ Tegea: IG V 2, 3; Vollgraff 1946; Sokolowski 1969, 135 no. 67. - Tamynai: IG XII 9, 90; Vollgraf 1946, 619. - Ios: Sokolowski 1969, 199-200 no. 105.

⁵ Brendel 1934, 9-13 gave a brief overview of the pastoral gods in antiquity.

⁶ Zeus Ammon, a bearded god with rams horns on the head, sometimes riding a ram (Brendel 1934, 145, pl. 58), was taken over from Egypt by the Greek colonists at Kyrene, from where he came to Greece (id. 134, pl. 16, 1-4). The poet Pindar (520-445) wrote an ode to him dated to 474 BC, and dedicated a statue made by Kalamis to his sanctuary at Thebes in Boeotia. The main sanctuaries of Zeus Ammon in Greece were situated in the same areas as the sanctuaries of other shepherd gods: on Crete, at Aphytis (Chalkidiki), in Laconia (Gytheion and Sparta) and Boeotia (Thebes). Although Ammon was worshipped by the shepherds, he had also a range of other functions, mainly as an oracle deity, so that his cult was of lesser importance for flocks and sheep. *LIMC* I (1981), 666-689 s.v. Ammon (J. Lecant - G. Clerc).

⁷ Gruppe 1906, 1109.

⁸ *LIMC* I (1981) 666-689 s.v. Ammon (J. Lecant - G. Clerc); Brendel 1934 pl. 58.

⁹ Borgeaud 1988, 34. 198 n. 6.

¹⁰ For the pastoral side of Apollon see Macrobius 1, 17, 43-45; *GGR*³ 1, 536-538; Gruppe 1906, 1243.

¹¹ *Επιμήλιος* (το μῆλον: sheep, goat). He had a temple at Cameiros on Rhodes: Macrobius 1, 17, 45: aedes ut ouium pastoris sunt apud Camirenses Επιμηλίου...

¹² Hesych s.v. Καρνεῖος: κάρνος: πρόβατον, βόσκημα.

¹³ Olympiodor, 1, 25f. (The parents of Plato took the baby to Mount Hymettos, where they sacrificed to Pan, the Nymphs and Apollon Nomios; comp. Claudius Aelianus, *Varia Historia* 10, 21, where they sacrifice to the Muses and Nymphs); Macrobius 1, 17, 43; Theokrit, *Idyll* 25, 21 (a sanctuary of Apollon Nomios at Elis); for his origin from Arcadia: Clem. Alex. *Protr.* II 28 and Cicero, *de natura deorum* 3, 57 (deriving the name wrongly from νόμος); IG IV 1080 (a dedication to Nomios at Epidauros). - Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 4, 1218: sanctuary of Apollon Nomios at in Orikos in Epeiros, with altars of the Nymphs and the Moirai, founded by Medea. Yearly offerings took place there). Cf. Bendelin 2000, 979f.

¹⁴ He was worshipped on Naxos: Macrobius I 17, 45: apud Naxios Ποιμνίου, itemque deus Αρνοκόμης colitur. (ποίμνη: herd of sheep, flock).

¹⁵ *GGR*³ 1, 538. Comp. Paus. 2, 19, 3-4: the cult of Apollon Lykeios at Argos was linked to the myth of a wolf breaking into the herds of cattle there. See also Paus. 2, 9, 7 (Apollon Lykios at Sikyon).

¹⁶ *GGR*³ 1, 532f.

¹⁷ Berges & Tuna 2001, 155-166, esp. 161f., fig. 9.

¹⁸ Paus. 3, 13, 3ff; 3, 14, 6.

¹⁹ Coins of the cities Metapontus, Asine, Gythion, Sparta: *LIMC* II (1984) 226 s.v. Apollon no. 337 (W. Lambrinoudakis).

²⁰ Temple near the Knakadion: Paus. 3, 14, 8.

²¹ See note 11.

²² An archaic bronze figure at London shows the god with goat's horns; according to the inscription it is a dedication to Apollon by Ganyaridas (550-525). *LIMC* II (1984) 226 s.v. Apollon mit Wildziege oder Widder Nr. 334-340 (W. Lambrinoudakis).

²³ Representations of Apollon with pastoral attributes (a goat's head) on coins of cities such as Alabanda and Tylissos on Crete are not clearly attributable, but the name of the month, Karneios, gives a clear hint. Sporn 2002, 145, 152 note 1028.

²⁴ *GGR*³ 1, 506f.; *Hom. Hymn. in Merc.* 5, 567ff; Athanasakis 1989, 33.

²⁵ Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 977f. Hermes Nomios, Pan and the Nymphs are praised by the choir (*GGR*³ 1, 248 attributes this quote to Apollon Nomios).

²⁶ Paus. 4, 33, 4.

²⁷ *Anthologia Palatina* 6, 334 (Leonidas from Tarentum).

²⁸ For the shepherd's stick comp. Theokrit (300-250 v.Chr.), *Θαλυσία*, where the Cretan goatherd (αἰπόλος) Lykidas is dressed in a fresh ram's skin, an old, broadly girded mantle and has the curved rod (ροικαν ... ἀγριελαίω δεξιτέρα κορύαν) made of the wood of a wild olive tree in his right hand.

²⁹ *LIMC* V (1990) 310-315 s.v. Hermes esp. no. 254-257 (G. Siebert).

³⁰ Paus. 9. 34. 3. - Despinis 1981, 237ff.

³¹ Kriophoros was worshipped in Oichialia in Messene (Paus 4, 33), in Koroneia (Paus 9, 34f.) and in Tanagra. - Veyries 1884; Perdrizet 1903; Wolters, 1890, 359. Rückert 1988, 145-147 (Kriophoroi in male initiations rites; Hermes Kriophoros as sacrificing god).

³² Schmaltz 1974, 33-38. 152f. pl. 4 nos. 60. 64; Dörig 1976, 125f.

³³ The coin: Papachatsis 1989, 81 fig. 72, 6; Kos, Museum Inv. 91. - Koukas 2000, 28f. fig. on p. 29.

- ³⁴ *GGR*³ 1, 235f.; Paus. 8, 38, 11; Kourouniotis 1902, 72.
- ³⁵ Comp. the epigram on Miltiades' dedication of a statue of the Arcadian Pan with goat's feet. Rüdiger 1968, 154f. No. 20.
- ³⁶ Borgeaud 1988, 47-73 esp. 66-67 fig. 11; Marquardt 1995; *LIMC* VIII (1997) Suppl. 923-941 s.v. Pan (J. Boardman).
- ³⁷ Sparta, Museum Inv. 832. Delivorias 1969, 220-225.
- ³⁸ Borgeaud 1988, 50-51. IG V 2, 93; comp. Paus 8,53,11.
- ³⁹ Der Neue Pauly vol. 2 (1979) 521f. s.v. Faunus (W. Eisenhut).
- ⁴⁰ Macrobius 1, 17, 45: „... multa sunt cognomina per diuersas ciuitates ad dei pastoris officium tendentia. Quapropter uniuersi pecoris antistes et uere pastor agnoscitur“.
- ⁴¹ *KIPauly* vol. 1 (1979) s.v. Aristaios 55f. (H. von Geisau). - Aristaios was also called Nomios: Apollonios Rhodios 2, 507.
- ⁴² The inventor of the Bukolian song: Theokrit 1, 120.
- ⁴³ Paus. 1, 38, 3; Clemens Alexandrinus, Protreptikos 2, 20; *KIPauly* vol. 3 (1979) 1535ff. s.v. Mysterien (W. Fauth).
- ⁴⁴ On Lesbos: Macrobius 1, 17, 45.
- ⁴⁵ Apollonios Rhodios II 500ff.
- ⁴⁶ Pausanias 8,38,11 and 10, 31, 10; Sichtermann 1963, 539f.
- ⁴⁷ Comp. the epigram on the tomb of the martyr and bishop Gennadios - called a shepherd - who died young: Merkelbach & Stauber 2001, 79.
- ⁴⁸ F. ex. SEG 21, 970; SEG 30, 1120, SEG 47, 1751; LPGN (1994) 296 s.v. Μάμας.
- ⁴⁹ Sources for the life of St. Mamas are: mainly the panegyric speeches no. 23 of St. Basil the Great (329/30-379) and no. 44 by St. Gregor of Nazianz (328/30-389/90); another passio of the 4th cent.: Delehaye 1940, 126-41. Also, there are compiled lives of St. Mamas, among others, by Walahfried Strabo von Reichenau (9. Jh.), Symeon Logothetis and Abbé Tincelin - Comp. Dormer 1694; Marava 1995, passim; especially Cignitti 1967, 595-602; Basilopoulos 1994; Langis 1997, vol. 9 (September), 76-84; Basilio, Panegirici. - See also Paphitis 1990, 11 - 19.
- ⁵⁰ This is a topos in classical pastoral literature: Tibullus 1,3,45; Horaz, Epodes 16,43ff. The motive can also be compared to the Orpheus myth.
- ⁵¹ Covelli 2001, 8.
- ⁵² *DarSag* 3 (1900) 802ff.
- ⁵³ Sozomenos, Hist. Eccl. V 2,12. - Bernardakis 1908, 22-27 Plan, no. 34; Hild & Restle 1981, 196 s.v. Kaisareia.
- ⁵⁴ Janin 1969, 314 Nr. 1.
- ⁵⁵ Ehden is a village in the Qadisha-valley in northern Libanon.
- ⁵⁶ There are minor celebrations for him in the orthodox church on the 6th of Mai and 12th July.
- ⁵⁷ Cignitti 1967, 608.
- ⁵⁸ There are **only** two lion-riders in orthodox iconography, the second being an old monk-eremit called Zosimos from Anazarbos with a lot of parallels to ancient Orpheus in his legend (Cignitti 1967, 602). Whereas Zosimos' vita mentions a ride on a lion, there is no such hint in the original vita of Mamas (as stated above, the Cypriot version of the legend was developed a lot later).
- ⁵⁹ Marava 1960-61, 134.
- ⁶⁰ Marava 1960-61, 131-137 pl. 51.
- ⁶¹ Tbilissi 1982, 144 no. 64 and figs.
- ⁶² Marava 1995, 99f. pl. 7. 8.
- ⁶³ Marava 1995, pl. 2. 3. 6. 18-20.
- ⁶⁴ Marava 1995, 95 pl. 9.10.
- ⁶⁵ Roy 1914; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 2001 (2001.106) (Perrin Stein, in: www.metmuseum.org/collections/co_rec_acq_2001a/co_rec_eur_2001.106.htm). - Paris, Musée du Louvre: Tapisserie showing St. Mamas with the lion in front of the governor Alexander (Cignitti 1967, fig. on col. 595f.).
- ⁶⁶ Langis 1997, 598f.
- ⁶⁷ Basilopoulos 1988.
- ⁶⁸ Hornberger 1955, 164 ; Jacobeit 1961, 319-321.
- ⁶⁹ Hornberger 1955, 165-169; Jacobeit 1961, 313-319.
- ⁷⁰ For example the modern sheep shelters within Franchthi Cave in the Argolid, and sheep stables within the nearby Didyma dolines that are still in use.
- ⁷¹ Translation by Horden & Purcell 2000, 430.
- ⁷² Comp. Der Neue Pauly vol. 5 (1998) 427f. s.v. Hermes (A. Ley).
- ⁷³ Comp. Strobel 1998.

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