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Hermes Βρυχάλειος and Ἐριούνιος at Pharsalus.

The Epigraphical Evidence Reconsidered

It must be stated that this paper¹ has grown out of preliminary research of a project concerning ancient Thessalian cults on the basis of the epigraphical testimonia. The cult of Hermes in Thessaly is evidenced by epigraphical finds; that of Ἐριούνιος Hermes is epigraphically attested twice: at Pharsalus of Phthia² and at Atrax of Pelasgiotis³.

The inscription from Pharsalus is interesting because it constitutes the earliest epigraphic testimony from the middle of the 5th c. B.C. about the cult of Ἐριούνιος Hermes in Thessaly, despite the absence of the god's name. But, this is not the one and only reason that the inscription deserves a further study. The concept of the adjective Βρυχάλειος attributed to Ἐριούνιος, an *hapax*, poses reasonable questions. In treating, then, this epigraphical evidence I have had to restrict myself to essentials and keep the other data as concise as possible.

ΤΟ ΒΡΥΧΑΛΕΙΟ

The inscription from Pharsalus, probably a funerary stele, on display at the museum of Volos, (inv. number E 711), is a dedication to Ἐριδνῶ, made by a woman, whose rare name Polyartia⁴ figures in the first line. Ἐριδνῶ is preceded by the appellative, in the dative, τῷ Βρυχάλειῳ, which is never again attached to Hermes. No other relevant evidence is available. The root *βρυχ- seems to be

¹ I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. A. Petropoulou and Mrs. K. Kritikakou for helpful suggestions on this paper. I would also like to thank the Archaeological Society of Athens and Mrs. J. Ninou for searching the texts in *T.L.G.* as far as the epithets Ἐριούνιος and Βρυχάλειος are concerned.

² Bibl.: *Ed. pr.* A. S. ARVANITOPOULOS, in *PAAH*, (1910), p. 181 (*AA*, 25 [1910], p. 158). J.-C. DECOURT, *Inscriptions de Thessalie I. Les cités de la vallée de l'Énipeus*, Athènes, 1995 (*Études épigraphiques*, *EFA*, 3), no. 69, p. 85-87, Ph. fig. VIII, 45, 46. Stamp. : TH 2235. GHW, no. 817.

³ A. TZAFALIAS, *Ανέκδοτες Επιγραφές από την αρχαία Θεσσαλική πόλη Άτραγα*, in *ThessHim*, 6 (1984), p. 204, no. 76. *SEG*, XXXIV, 497.

⁴ See DECOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 86.

derived from the verb βρυχάομαι, which means "to roar", either referring to the animals or to the sea.⁵

According to Decourt, this epithet should be articulated with the classic traditions, where Hermes is connected with the world of the animals, and in particular of the domestic ones, since, in myth, Apollo's cattle was stolen by the god and driven from Thessaly to the river Alpheios, near Olympia. Hermes was the protector of the herdsmen and herds, especially in Arcadia. Therefore, Decourt, basing himself on the above argument, maintains that this epithet means "the roaring" god.⁶

It is hard to agree with Decourt's view and I think that his statement needs to be checked, in the light of the whole nexus of evidence.

In Homer, *et al.* literary testimonies, the perfect βέβρυχε of the verb βρυχάομαι,⁷ which is usually accompanied by the ῥόθιον,⁸ means "the roaring of the sea, waves, or the river".⁹ On the other hand, the verb is used for denoting the death-cry of wounded men,¹⁰ on the analogy of the wild animals'— especially of the bull-roaring.¹¹

In Thessaly, a river, called Βρύχων, is attested by Ps.-Dicaearchus in his description of the mount Pelion: "Ποταμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ῥέουσι δύο, Κραυσίνδων τε καλούμενος καὶ Βρύχων· ὁ μὲν τοὺς ὑπὸ ταῖς τοῦ Πηλίου* (γεωργομένους) κεμένους ἀρδεύων ἀγρούς, ὁ δὲ παραρρέων μὲν τὸ τῆς Πηλίας αἰτίας ἄλλος, ἐκβάλλων δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν".¹² The name of the river is translated in modern bibliography as "der

⁵ See H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968, (*LSJ*), s.v. βρυχάομαι; P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Vol. 1-5, Paris, 1968-1980, s.v. βρυχάομαι. The epithet βρυχαλέος attributed to the θῆρ is only met in literature in GREG. NAZ., *Carm. mor.*, p. 628, l. 7 (in *MPG*, 37, *Carm.* 2) and *ID.*, *Carm. quae spect. ad al.*, p. 1544, l. 7 (in *MPG*, 37, *Carm.* 6).

⁶ DECOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 86-87 and n. 50.

⁷ See E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 291, p. 683, 771; II, p. 263.

⁸ This accentuates the content of the verb, referred esp. to the waves; see *LSJ, op. cit.* (n. 5), s.v. ῥοθέω = to make a rushing noise.

⁹ HOM., *Il.*, XVII, 264; *Od.*, V, 412; XII, 242. See EUST., *ad Il.*, vol. 3, p. 666, l. 19; *ad Od.*, vol. 1, p. 221, l. 8; *ad Od.*, vol. 1, p. 223, l. 13. Also PORPH., *ad Il.*, XVI, 174, 13; *ad Od.*, IV, 477, 7; *Quaestionum Homericarum liber i (recensio v)*, 128, 3. The same meaning in AP. RHOD., *Argon.*, IV, 629; AEL. ARIST., *Σμυρναϊκός πολιτικός*, 233, 10. Also, ARIST., *Mir.*, 843a, 22; OPP., *C.*, IV, 165-171 (pl).

¹⁰ HOM., *Il.*, XIII, 393; XVI, 486; HES., *Sc.*, 160; AP. RHOD., *Argon.*, II, 831; QUINT. SMYRN., *Posthomericum*, XI, 30; 206; DION. HAL., *Comp.*, IV, 27; HERMOG., *Id.*, I, 6, 242.

¹¹ Comp. HOM., *Il.*, XVI, 485-491 and EUST., *ad Il.*, vol. 3, p. 888 on it.

¹² PS.-DICAERCHUS, in K. MÜLLER, *GGM*, I, II, 7; the text is improved by H. HITZIG, *Die griechischen Städtebilder des Herakleides*, in *Festgabe für Blümner*, Zürich, 1914, p. 1-15. See B. LAVAGNINI, in *A&R*, n.s. 3 (1922), p. 126-133. Also LYC., 1408: Παλληνία τ' ἄρουρα, τὴν ὁ βούκερος Βρύχων λυπαίνει. HSCH., s.v. Βρύχων· ποταμός περὶ Παλλήνην. Hinc βρότος· -σημαίνει καὶ χειμάρρουν *Etym. M.*, 214, 51; *RE*, III 1 (1897), s.v. Brychon, 920 (E. OBERHUMMER). Brychon at Pallene was regarded as a god-river, who helped the Titans: see *LIMC*, III 1 (1986), s.v. Brychon, p. 172 (Carina WEISS). H. ERBSE, *Scholía Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, IV, p. 379-380, on XVII, 263-264. Add ARC., 16, 5 Βρύχων· ποταμός Θηβαΐδος C. 171; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Βρύχιος; GREG. NAZ., in *AP*, VIII, 156: Δίνας ἐν ποταμοῦ βρυχίας. Βρυχίην in an inscription from Kourion of Cyprus (late 4th c. A.D.?), T.B. MITFORD, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, 1971, no. 204, l. 6; Βρυχίαν ἄλα in a funerary inscription in elegiacs for

Knirscher", ("one who grinds his teeth"), and it is pointed that the river is dangerous, as it is shown by the ancient name.¹³ Βρύχων, as a proper, anthroponymic name, is epigraphically attested, indicating "noise".¹⁴

I think that what might demand our attention on the question of the Βρυχάλειος concept are the following elements: the existence of the river Βρύχων in Thessaly, in the sense of a noisy torrent, because of the rushing waters. The god's epithet, then, being of local character, should be associated with this; the death, grief and chthonian character which is composed by the nature of a river-torrent. The very name of the river, "Brychon", echoes all the above qualities.

ΕΠΙΟΝΟ

Ἐριούνιος¹⁵ and ἐριούνης is an epic epithet applied to Hermes¹⁶ and later to the θεοὶ and νόος.¹⁷ This epithet has been generally explained by the ancient

Demetria (2nd c. B.C.), found in Yenikoy, D.F. MACCABE, M. A. PLUNKETT, *Miletos Inscriptions*, Princeton, 1984, no. 459, b, l. 16. STEPH. BYZ., s.v. βρυχητικός: *de strepitu aquarum* TZETZ., *ad Lyc.*, 729: Διὰ τὸ βίαιον καὶ ἡχώδες καὶ βρυχητικὸν τῶν ῥευμάτων. See F. BECHTEL, *Lexilogus zu Homer*, Halle – Saale, 1914, p. 85; H. FRISK, *Griechische etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I², Heidelberg, 1960, p. 273; H. EBELING, *Lexicon Homericum*, I, p. 241, s.v. βρυχάομαι, and CHANTRAINE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), s.v.

¹³ This translation is based on the verb βρύχω = gnashing of teeth, but it is usually accompanied by the ὀδόντων: AP. RHOD., *Argon.*, II, 83; QUINT. SMYRN., *Posthomerica*, V, 392; AP, IX, 371 and it is not referring to the sea or the river. On the river Βρύχων in Thessaly see: F. STÄHLIN, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, Amsterdam, 1967², [Stuttgart, 1924], p. 44-45; A. PHILIPPSON, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, Bd. I, Teil I, 1950, p. 153; M. MEZIERES, *Mémoire sur le Pélion et l'Ossa. Archives des missions scientifiques*, III, Paris, 1854, p. 149-266; H.G. LOLLING, *Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie*, in *Handb. d. Klass. Alt. Wiss.*, III, Nördlingen, 1889, p. 154 and p. 155 with other bibliography on Magnesia of Thessaly.

¹⁴ *CIG*, I, 1542 / *Syll.*³, 519, ca 222/1 B.C., a Decree of the Koinon of the Achaeans from Aegion of Achaia: the name comes from Plataea; *SEG*, XXXIV, 280 (I), no. 12, a vase inscription from Corinth. Also, D.F. MACCABE, J.V. BROWNSON, B.D. EHRMAN, *Samos Inscriptions*, Princeton, 1986, no. 211, a dedication to Hera of Samos by Aiakes Βρύχωνος on statue, ca 540-500 B.C., found in Heraion and D.F. MACCABE, J.V. BROWNSON, B.D. EHRMAN, *ibid.*, no. 215, a dedication to Hera by Βρύχων of Timoleon on lebes, 660-560 B.C., found in Heraion. Also Βρυχωνίδας πρόξενος Λουσεατῶν, *IG*, V², 387, of the 5th c. B.C. Other names indicating noise are: Βόμβιχος, Βόμβος, Βόμβυλος, Βρόντος, Κέλαδος, Κάναχος, Ῥόνγκος, Ῥόθος. See F. BECHTEL, *Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind*, Berlin, 1898, p. 46; *ID.*, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle / Hildesheim / Zürich / New York, 1982² (1917), p. 496. J. & L. ROBERT, *BE* (1982), no. 239.

¹⁵ ἐρι-: inseparable particle, like ἄρι-, used as a prefix to strengthen the sense of a word, *very*, *much*: *LSJ*, *op. cit.* (n. 5), s.v. ἐρι-; CHANTRAINE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), s.v. ἐρι-; SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), I, p. 434. 6 and n. 1. The composition suffix -ιο- (-ούνιος) was once originated from -i + o-; it seems to be a transportation of the composition suffix -i- in the inflection o-. So, one can also understand that the -ιο- as a composition suffix is partly older than the -ο-; therefore, ἐριούνιος - ἐριῶ(ω)νος, as the poetic ἀθεμίσιος for ἀθέμιστος or ἀθέμιτος. See E. SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), I, p. 451. 2 and P. CHANTRAINE, *La Formation des noms en Grec ancien*, Paris, 1933, p. 35-43 on the suffix -ιο- and other examples: πολυλιπόρθιος- πολυλιπόρθος (both of these are Homeric), ἐνύπνιος - ἐνυπνος (poet, cited by Plutarch), ἐφημέριος (Homeric) - ἐφήμερος (classic), παράλιος (Aeschylus) - πάραλος (classic), ἐκτιμόριος (Plutarch) - ἐκτίμορος (Aristotle). – For the -σ- of ἐριῶ(ω)νος in the place of the -ου- (ἐριούνιος), comp. the parallel case of the name Φιλ- ούνιος / Φιλ- ώνιος, attested at Ialysos, (*IG*, XII 1, 678, 4): O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris, 1983, p. 256 n. 1. Cf. F. BECHTEL, *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1917, p. 452. Comp. also Ἄπλωνι (*IG*, IX², 1027) (archaic alphabet) and Ἄπλωνι (*IG*, IX², 1034) (ionic alphabet): W. BLÜMEL,

grammarians and lexicographers as "the beneficent".¹⁸ The chthonian sense has been attached to the epithet by Aristophanes.¹⁹ Other glosses have attested a simple word artificially derived from the composed οὔνης and οὔνιος.²⁰ The things seem to have been clarified by K. Latte,²¹ who has confirmed and precised the earlier interpretation advanced by Bergk on this epithet, as well as that of Bowra,²² concerning the entries οὔνον and οὔνει. So, the original sense of ἐριούνιος should be "the fast runner" and the word belongs to the Arcado-Cypriot "Achaean" elements of the Homeric vocabulary.²³

The epithet ἐριούνιος is also attested epigraphically in the following cases:

1) Curse-inscription (κατάδεσμος) on a lead sheet, from Attica dating to the first half of the 4th c. B.C.²⁴ Here, the epithets δόλιος, κάτοχος and χθόνιος are applied to Hermes, too. Strüß has maintained that the epithet ἐριούνιος has to be interpreted as "chthonios".²⁵

Die aitolischen Dialekte. Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck/Ruprecht, 1982, p. 33-35, 43 about the writting of ω instead of ου in some dialectal inscriptions of Thessaly, dating from the 5th c. B.C. to the 2nd c. B.C. This is more frequent at Pharsalus (Phthiotis).

¹⁶ HOM., *Il.*, XX, 72; XXIV, 457 and 679. In HOM., *Il.*, XXIV, 360 and 440 as abstract. *Hymn. Hom. Merc.*, 3, 28, 145, 151; XVIII, 3. *Hymn. Hom. Cer.*, 407. *Hymn. Hom. Pan.*, 28, 40 and HOM., *Od.*, VIII, 322. Also, *Hymn. Orph.*, 28, 8; ORPH., *Lith.*, 2, 69.

¹⁷ Θεοί: ANT. LIB., *Met.*, 25, 2; νόος: ORPH., *Lith.*, 199.

¹⁸ EUST., *ad Il.*, XX, 34. AEL. ARIST., *Πρὸς Πλάτωνα περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, 2, 106, 24 (on the basis of HOM., *Od.*, VIII, 325 and 335); *Antologia Graeca*, VI, 28, 1. 7; CORN., *ND*, 21, 4; PS.-HERODIANUS, *De prosodia catholica*, III, 1, 147, 19; *Id.*, *Περὶ κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων καὶ προσηγορικῶν μονόβιβλον*, III, 2, 3, 15; *Id.*, *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσφῶδιας*, III, 2, 113, 3; *Id.*, *Περὶ παθῶν*, III, 2, 273, 21. On HOM., *Il.*, XX, 72: LUC., *JTr.*, 40, 19 and PS.-JUSTINUS MARTYR, *Cohortatio ad gentiles*, 4, A, 4. Also PHOT., *Bibl.*, 187, 144 a, 13. See *Etym. M.*, 374. 24; *Etym. G. s.v.* ἐριούνιος; STEPH. BYZ., *s.v.* ἐριούνης. See also L.R. FARNELL, *The Cults of the Greek States*, V, Oxford, 1909, p. 10: 'Εριούνιος "the bringer of blessing"; p. 16: "a deity of fertility"; W.H. ROSCHER, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I. 2, Hildesheim / New York, 1978 [Leipzig 1886-1890], 2379 *s.v.* Hermes and 2389, 7.

¹⁹ AR., *Ran.*, 1144 and EUST., *ad Il.*, XX, 34: ὁ ἐρι ὀνῶν, i. e. ἄγαν ὠφελῶν χθόνιος, κατὰ τοὺς τραγικούς, παρὰ τὴν ἔραν. Comp. PORPH., *ad Od.*, XXIV, 1 f.; 7 on *Od.*, VIII, 322 and XI, 626.

²⁰ οὔνης· κλέπτης and οὔνιος· [εὔνις] δρομεύς, κλέπτης (HSCH.). Cf. M. LEUMANN, *Homerische Wörter*, Basel, 1950, p. 123.

²¹ K. LATTE, *Zur griechischen Wortforschung II*, in *Glotta*, 34 (1955), p. 192-193, 13.

²² Th. BERGK, *Miscellen*, no. 10, in *Philologus*, 11 (1856), p. 384 and C.M. BOWRA, *Homeric Words in Cyprus*, in *JHS*, 54 (1934), p. 68. οὔνον· [ύγτης]. Κύπριοι δρόμον and οὔνει as imperative of *οὔνέω (Arcad. *οὔνη, *οὔνημι) δεῦρο, δράμε, Ἀρχάδες. Comp. the Cypriot anthroponymic Φιλούνιος equivalent to the Attic Φιλόδρομος, SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), I, p. 804 n. 2; BECHTEL, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 138.

²³ See LATTE, *art. cit.* (n. 21); MASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 15); FRISK, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 559, *s.v.*; Also, H. HERTER, *Hermes*, in *RbM*, n.f. 119, 3 (1976), p. 209 and n. 61; BOWRA, *art. cit.* (n. 22); J.-J. ORGOGOZO, *L'Hermès des Achéens*, in *RHR*, 136 (1949), p. 151.

²⁴ *Ed. pr.* J.H.W. STRYD, 'Αττικά μετ' ἀρῶν μολύβδινα ἐλάσματα, in 'Εφημ. Ἀρχ., (1903), p. 59-60. Also, A. WILHELM, *Über die Zeit einiger attischer Fluchtafeln*, in *JÖAI*, 7 (1904), p. 121 and fig. 60.

²⁵ STRYD, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 60.

2) Curse-inscription (κατάδεσμος), from Attica, of ca 338 B.C.²⁶ A curse, with invocation of Hermes Eriounios and Hecate, addressed against two men, Pramnates and Phaidimos.

3) Funerary epigram of Salvius Menas for Hermes, of the 1st / 2nd c. A.D., found at Tallaion Antron (Melidoni) of Crete.²⁷ Menas and his wife once forgot to bring their annual sacrifice to Hermes; this omission resulted in the death of Menas' wife (*post hoc, propter hoc*). The husband asked from the almighty Ἐπιούνιος Hermes to keep him alive so that he can honour his precinct for the whole of his life.

4) Tablet from Syrus.²⁸

In Thessaly, as it has been said, the earliest evidence for Ἐπιούνιος appears in the inscription from Pharsalus (Phthia) (middle of the 5th c. B.C.). F. Stählin²⁹ has maintained that the word Ἐπιδῶν should be linked with the ἡρόν³⁰ and explained as "gravestone" on the analogy of the inscription in *Syll.*³, 11 b, which was also a funerary stele. Stählin's interpretation is rejected by Decourt,³¹ who holds that a similarity in construction between Ἐπιδῶν and the thematic form ἡρόν, ἡρόν is not possible.

The old view which defined the epithet Ἐπιούνιος as "the beneficent" is advanced by Decourt,³² whose main argument lies on the *Il.* XXIV, where Hermes appears as the guide of Priamus to Achilles, as well as on a few epigraphical testimonia.³³

A second inscription with the epithet Ἐπιούνιος attributed to Hermes has been attested in Thessaly up to date. It is an epitaph of the physician Dikaïos and his wife Philista, as well as of Eusebia, daughter of Agathokleis and of Kydalima, daughter of Kratidas; it comes from Atrax (Pelasgiotis), dating to ca 250-200 B.C.

In this inscription has been stated that "(the god) Ἐπιούνιος Hermes leads the dead to the isle of pious, (i.e. to the nether world), along with to the blessed

²⁶ SEG, XL, 266. See F. WILLEMSSEN, *Die Fluchtafeln*, in W.K. KOVASCOVICS, *Kerameikos*. Band XIV. *Die Eckterasse an der Gräberstrasse des Kerameikos*. Berlin – New York, 1990, no. 172, p. 142-151.

²⁷ IC, II, XXVIII, 2 = CIG, 2569 = KAIBEL, *Epigrammata ex lapidibus*, no. 815 = SEG, XXXIII, 736 with other references. Also, P. VEYNE, *Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem?*, in *Latomus*, 24 (1965), p. 945.

²⁸ CIG, II, add 2347 o.

²⁹ F. STÄHLIN, *Pharsalos*, in *Progr. Nürnberg* (1914), p. 7; *Id.*, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 141.

³⁰ CHANTRAINE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), s. v. ἡρόν.

³¹ DECOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 86.

³² DECOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 86.

³³ See *supra*, n. 24.

men, as Themis has them settled." (l. 7-8). Here, Hermes is attended by the goddess Themis, as an earth-deity.³⁴

It emerges from the epigraphical material that the sense of the epithet which lies closest at hand is that of *chthonios*, in general, which is interwoven with the god's character as *psychopompos*;³⁵ in this context the interpretation of the epithet as "fast runner" is the most appropriate. The god, as psychopompos, carries the souls of the dead to the Underworld *very fast*.³⁶ There is evidently an interchangeability in these characteristics of the god, since Hermes chthonios does not himself belong to the realm of the dead but functions only as a mediator, as it is clearly shown in Aesch., Cho. 124 f.

A factor, in my view, which strengthens the above proposed interpretation of the epithet ἐριούνιος, is that the epithet is already placed in the Homeric Hymns and epics in a framework indicative of this function of Hermes; the epithet is coupled with the expressions: ἦλθε ἄγγελος ὤκους, θεὸς ἐξίκετο ἄγγελος, ἐλθὼν, πομπὸς ἀναΐξας, πομπὸν ὄπασσεν, ἔλαυνε, κατελθὼν εἰς Ἄιδου χθόνιος, ἔπεμπεν, ἦλθε, which shed a clear light on the adjective ἐριούνιος, attached to Hermes, and which implies similar action by the god.

Thus, the overall impression one gets from the literary evidence is that the commonly accepted interpretation of the Homeric epithet ἐριούνιος as "the beneficent" (χαριδότης) does not seem any more persuasive and therefore it has to be re-examined.

The question that arises, however, is what is the underlying qualification of Βρυχάλειος and Ἐριδῶνος. Decourt,³⁷ on this point, does not reach any decisive conclusion, although he persuasively argues that the first appellative with the article functions as an epithet for the second one, which stands without it in this dedicatory inscription. Therefore, he maintains that the word Ἐριδῶνος should be plausibly considered as the proper name and not as a simple epithet of the divinity³⁸, whose name (Hermes) does not appear.

Be that as it may, it is clear from the preceding approach to the Βρυχάλειος and Ἐριδῶνος that both of them belong to the Homeric tradition, being exponents

³⁴ ROSCHER, *Lexikon*, *op. cit.* (n. 18), V, 1977 [1916-24], 583-584 s.v. Themis. Schol. ad AESCH., *Pr.*, 874: Themis as ἡ καταχθόνιος δαίμων.

³⁵ On psychopompos Hermes see HERTER, *art. cit.* (n. 23), p. 217 and n. 89.

³⁶ Notice the quick movement of Hermes in the representation of Persephone's abduction by Hades in the painting of "the tomb of Persephone" at Vergina, M. ANDRONIKOS, *Οἱ βασιλικοὶ τάφοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλες ἀρχαϊότητες*, Athens, 1984, p. 88 and pl. 53; *Id.*, *Βεργίνα II*, 'Ο "τάφος τῆς Περσεφόνης", Athens, 1994, p. 52 and pl. 15. See *LIMC*, V, 1 (1990), s.v. Hermes, (Psychopompos), no. 608, 614 (G. SIEBERT); *ibid.*, III, 1 (1986), s.v. Charon I, no. 10 (Ch. SOURVINOU-INWOOD). Notice that in several depictions of Hermes Psychopompos the god is represented bearing petasos and the winged sandals, which point to the swiftness of the soul's carrying.

³⁷ DECOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 87.

³⁸ As in the case for Peitho, Kourotrophos, Despoina etc. Decourt's statement is further verified by the fact that the adjective Ἐριούνιος appears in the literary sources not accompanied by the god's name, i.e. in *Anthologia Graeca*, VI, 28, l. 7.

of the chthonian function of Hermes, who leads the soul of the dead to the Underworld so swiftly, like the rattling flow of a torrent.

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