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GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY AND HEROIC LEGEND

By

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Translated from the German and edited by

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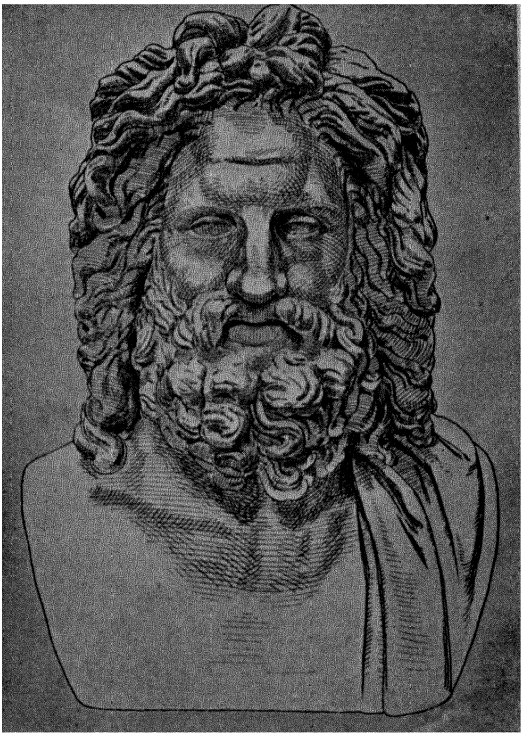

ZEUS

From the Otricoli Bust

GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY & HEROIC LEGEND

BY PROF. H STEUDING

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

STUDY of Greek religion needs no apology, and should need no bush. This all must feel who have looked upon the creations of the art it inspired. But to purify and strengthen admiration by the higher light of knowledge is no work of ease.

No truth is more vital than the seeming paradox which declares that Greek myths are not nature-myths. The ape is not further removed from the man than is the nature-myth from the religious fancy of the Greeks as we meet them in history. The *Greek* myth is the child of the devout and lovely imagination of the noble race that dwelt around the Aegaean. Coarse fantasies of brutish forefathers in their Northern homes softened beneath the southern sun into a pure and godly beauty, and thus gave birth to the divine forms of Hellenic religion.

Comparative Mythology can teach us much. It can shew how gods are born in the mind of the savage and moulded into his image. But it cannot reveal to us the heart of the Greek as his devout thoughts turned towards his gods. Greece sees God with her own eyes; and if we would share the loveliness of her vision we must put away from our thoughts the uncouth forms which had been worn by her northern forefathers' deities, the slough cast off by *her* gods as they grew into shapes of godliness and beauty. True it is that in regions where nature and history hindered Greek religion from developing its potential riches, that slough was still often trailed by the figures of popular faith; but these exceptions point all the more effectively the lesson of evolution in Greek religion.

While the plastic fancy of the Greek was actively remodelling the uncouth and formless conceptions of barbarous faith into moral and human personalities, the Roman went on a different course. The sternly legal mind of Rome, which looked upon the person merely as a unit in corporations ruled by definite law, was little likely to lend human personality to its conceptions of divine forces, its *numina*. Instead of gods it worshipped deified functions; and as the whole sphere of the community's political and social life was methodically mapped out into divisions and subdivisions, and each of these was put under the presidency of its own deified self, the result was the Indigitamenta, in whose mathematical precision the legal spirit of Roman religion reached its climax. Then followed the inrush of foreign worships, and the native religion died.

Thus there are few more instructive studies than that of the gods of Greece and the deities of Rome. And withal it is a study which of late years has met with little general recognition in England, if we can judge by the number of reasonably scientific books treating of it. The present translation of Professor Steuding's valuable little work has been brought out in the hope that the interest of the public is but slumbering. I have added nothing but a few notes to the original, and I have altered little, even in parts where my own judgment led me to dissent from the learned author. A few illustrations have been put in, and the marks of the quantities transferred from the text to the index.

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GREEK MYTHOLOGY

Beginnings of Greek Belief and Worship.

I. ***Ghosts.*** § 1. All natural religion arises from wonder at inexplicable phenomena, from the fear of evil and the striving for blessings which cannot be gained by one's own power. Besides these there is *illusion*, that is, a belief in the presence of beings who are the unknown cause of our wonder, who can free us from terror and gratify our desires. Influenced by love of self, the man who stands on the lower levels of civilisation is most zealous in inquiring into the experiences which come to his notice in his own person and in his fellows. Sickness and death, as they break the daily course of life and form the main object of fear, claim his special attention. At the same time the phenomena of dreamland, which are sometimes raised to peculiar vividness by the nightmares accompanying them, and occasionally also those of drunkenness or convulsion, suggest the presence of powers which are not perceptible to the senses, and yet can influence him sometimes agreeably and sometimes disagreeably. These unknown beings he therefore regards as the prime cause of those phenomena which would else be inexplicable to him. Supported by the inborn wish of every man for continued personal life after death, there hence grows up a belief in the soul, and at the same time a kindred belief in goblins or ghosts, such as still meets us among races which have remained on the lowest grade of development, who have no other ideas of things beyond the perception of the senses than this belief.

§ 2. It is probable that the Greeks once were at a like stage of thought, though it is unlikely that they were ever

exclusively dominated by these conceptions. The later customary rites of worship, which for the most part come down from very primitive times, and the poems of Homer, preserving as they do much that is vastly earlier than the age of their creation, together with the results of excavations, which in this connection are scanty, constitute the oldest sources for our knowledge of Greek religious life. The most important section in the religious history of this prehistoric time seems to have been coloured by the influence of the Tribal Wanderings and the epic poetry that grew up in connection with them. Hence we shall begin by describing in broad outline what can be inferred as to the religious conceptions of the age preceding these migrations.

As among most of the Indogermans, burial was the earliest form of disposing of the dead. The grave was accounted the dwelling of the deceased, who was imagined as continuing in bodily life. Food and drink, vessels and arms, were put with him; his favourite wife and the slaves whom he had needed in life for his wellbeing were also obliged at first to follow the house-master into death. Even in Homer, Achilleus at the burial of Patroklos slaughters twelve captured Trojan youths, doubtless to make thus their souls serve his friend in the world beyond. Later, sacrifices of beasts took the place of human offerings; but many symbolic rites still indicated that really the latter were supposed to be slaughtered.

§ 3. Meat and drink naturally had to be renewed from time to time; hence the Cult of the Grave chiefly consists of repeated offerings of food, annually performed on the birthday of the deceased and at the general festivals of the dead. To the latter class belonged the *Nekysia* or *Nemesia*, celebrated afterwards by the Athenians in September, and the *Chytroi*, held by them at the end of February. The souls avenge neglect by sending sickness or death; hence they were called *Keres*, or 'destructive ones.' Men sought by all manner of protective rites to secure themselves from the influence of these dreaded powers, and to prevent their return into their former dwelling.

Conceived at this stage of thought, the dead kept the form in which they had departed from life; to the ghost were ascribed all the properties of the corpse. By the offering of fresh blood, which they lack when once the heart has stopped, they may for a time be called back into life and answer questions—a conception which gave birth to the practice of raising the dead and asking oracles of them.

At the same time a belief existed that the soul leaves the decaying body and assumes animal form. In particular the snake, as it is remarkable for noiseless and rapid motion, and often dwells in the earth, was imagined to embody a soul; but the forms of bats, birds, and later of butterflies, were also assigned to the spirits of the departed.

II. ***Nether-World Powers: Heroes.*** § 4. Even in this age there was a universal worship in Greece of powerful beings dwelling under the earth in cavern-like chambers, who were styled either *Underground Gods* (χθόνιοι) or *Heroes*. Of the latter tales were sometimes told (as that of Amphiaraos, in the region of Thebes and Oropos, § 172), that they had been translated without dying to their dwelling-place under the earth; they nevertheless received offerings of the sort usually presented to the dead. They all exerted their influence only in the neighbourhood of their abode, generally by appearing in significant dreams to those who slept over it (*incubatio*), and revealing either future events or the proper remedies for sickness. They are clearly the lords of the souls dwelling in the soil of their country; their halls may have been originally imagined as like the underground temples connected with the graves of kings which have been unearthed at Mykenai and elsewhere.

§ 5. It seems to have been generally the reputed ancestors (ἀρχηγέται) of families who were regarded as heroes, for thereby the belief in their former existence on earth was kept alive among their worshippers.[1] These were distinguished from the common dead only by the fact that they received

[1] See however E. Meyer's appendix to his *Ursprung der Odyssee* in *Hermes* xxx.

adoration from a whole family, or an association of that nature. Their grave, used as a place of sacrifice, formed always the central point of their worship. In the later representations of art, which are certainly based upon ancient conceptions, they usually appear as warriors, because tribal ancestors were generally described as such, and often on horse, seated on a throne, or reclining on a dinner-couch and feasting,[1] surrounded by

Spartan Relief. *Berlin.*

their worshippers, who, as mortals, are drawn in much smaller proportions than the heroes themselves. Hence their usual attribute has come to be the cup, as well as armour, the horse, and the snake.

These primitive heroes however are even in Homer so intimately associated with forms created by the poets themselves, their own history and deeds have been so thoroughly

[1] On the so-called 'funeral-banquet reliefs' (on which see *Mittheil. d. deutschen archaeol. Inst. zu Athen*, xxi. 347 ff.).

transfigured and recast by poetry, that the original element can no longer be threshed out. Hence Heroic Legend, great as is its antiquity in part, must take the last place in the order of our exposition.

III. ***Nature and Elemental Powers.*** § 6. Man's innate striving to grasp the causes connecting the occurrences observed by him is not limited to the experiences which concern his own person; he also contemplates Nature, in which he lives and whose influence he feels. As the child ascribes life as an attribute to things surrounding him as soon as they seem to exert any activity, so the primitive man regards as living everything that puts forth a force, moves, or shews fertility; that is, he deems it, like himself, possessed by a soul-like being (nature-dæmon), which is the ground of its activity.

Sometimes the display of force observed in a process of nature is too great and too prolonged for an ordinary man or beast to have produced it; and then its assumed origin, the nature-dæmon, also rises above the level of beast or man in power and permanence. According again as it appears to man as hostile or friendly, forcible or gentle, creative or receptive, he ascribes to the being causing it hostile or friendly feelings, male or female sex, without however distinguishing it at first from similar dæmons by a series of particular properties; indeed, such a distinction was not made even by the later Greeks as regards the troops of river-gods, nymphs, Nereids, Satyrs, etc.

IV. ***Worship.*** § 7. On the other hand, one such soul-like or dæmonic being in some spot might come as a result of peculiar circumstances (*e. g.* chance success of prayer and sacrifices, miracles, healings) to outdistance all others of his kind in apparent power, and hence in extent of worship. Then the natural seclusion that pathless mountains imposed on the districts of Greece made it possible for this being to grow into a deity of clearly defined individuality. It became a deity as soon as a human community of some size ascribed to it power to vouchsafe all that individuals desire and to protect them from everything that they fear.

A deity could have its seat (ἕδος) in any object at will, in trees as well as in stones fallen from heaven, in springs and rivers, without men forming a clear conception of its proper shape. Later, when they tried to picture it and give it a particularly acceptable seat in its own statue, they were compelled to frame it in the likeness of an actual living being, a man or even a beast; for it is only from actually observed beings compounded of soul and body that men can imagine creatures of pure spirit. All desirable properties possessed by the former were ascribed in a more intense degree to the latter, and they were thought free from all earthly limitations. Customary morality grew; as soon as it seemed worth striving for, the deities naturally became its guardians, assuming the part in which as a rule the gods figure already in Homer.

§ 8. Man thus can conceive superhuman powers only in his own likeness, as monstrously strong persons; and so he strives to influence them in the way in which he is wont to deal with human potentates. He shews his respect for them by approaching them in a humble posture, with a cleansed body and in clean garments; he begs for their grace, and, when they are wroth, for mercy or forgiveness; he gives them the best of his own possessions to secure their favour, to express his gratitude for graces received, or to make good and atone for a fault committed against them.

§ 9. Thus arise the three main forms of worship—purification, prayer, and sacrifice. To express humble veneration and submission men actually cast themselves down upon the earth (προσκυνεῖν, *supplicare*), or at least lifted the hand, with the palm turned upwards, towards the abode of the god and of his statue; and furthermore they fettered themselves with bands or swathes, so as to surrender themselves in utter powerlessness into his hands. It was for this reason that afterwards in practising any holy act men bound themselves, as well as the beasts of sacrifice and objects consecrated to gods, with fillets (ταινίαι); and the word *religio* properly indicates nothing but the relation of *bondage* in which men

stand to the deity, the tie or obligation which one feels in relation to it.

§ 10. All purification (*καθαρμός*, *lustratio*, from *luo*) also referred originally to the body; and for this water was the chief requisite. It was particularly necessary in cases of bloodshed and on touching a corpse, in order thus to escape the power of the dreaded spirits of the dead, who by these deeds were drawn upon one's head. The notion of liberation from a moral blemish was not associated till much later times with the old rite. Water from the sea or a spring was used because these cannot be made permanently foul.

Prayer similarly arose from the simple request, the effect of which men thought to strengthen by adding a promise (vow, *εὐχαί*, *votum*). Special set phrases were only employed because results seemingly proved them to be more capable than other words of moving the gods to gratify the request uttered.

§ 11. As an offering (*ἀνάθημα*) everything was presented that was suitable for inspiring the deity with gratification. This consisted of objects which either were used in the ritual acts or in the adornment of the temple, or else possessed a special value for the dedicator himself. The gift oftenest presented to gods was the offering of food and drink; and this consisted of all things that man himself relishes, for in earliest times men certainly ascribed bodily enjoyment to the gods. Later men burned the sacrifice and sent up merely its agreeably scented smoke and savour into the sphere of the dwellers in heaven.

§ 12. Lastly, as men express their will by signs or words, an attempt was made to learn the will of the deity from signs (*τέρατα*, *ostenta*) such as lightning, rainbows, eclipses of sun and moon, flight of birds, or from significant words and sounds (*φῆμαι*, *κληδόνες*, *omina*). From the former developed in Greece the sign-oracles of Zeus, in Italy the *auspicia* and the whole augural science, and from the latter the spoken oracles of Apollon. The latter, originally only expressed by signs and lots, were later strongly influenced by the ecstatic forms of Dionysiac prophecy. On the other hand, the study of

the liver and the rest of the entrails of slaughtered beast-sacrifices (ἱεροσκοπία, *haruspicina*) arose from the universal demand that a sacrificial animal should be healthy and free from blemish.

In the oldest times—so long as the gods themselves still dwelt in trees, springs, rude stones fallen (or reputed to have fallen) from heaven, and pointed columns (βαίτυλος),—sacred groves (τέμενος, *templum*) furnished with a fence (περίβολος) served as the place of divine worship; later the main building of the old dwelling-house of man (μέγαρον, *aedes*), consisting of a hall with a vestibule, was taken as a pattern for the abode of the deity, the temple (ναός, νεώς, *cella*).

Greek Religion from the Beginning of the Homeric Age.

Gods determined and classified. § 13. The pressure of enemies moved the Greek tribes to wander southwards and over the eastern sea to the islands and the coast of Asia Minor; and by these migrations, which took place about a thousand years before our era, a mighty change was brought about in the character of their religion. When the races set forth, the gods they adored indeed accompanied them into their new home and received here new places of worship; and their ritual continued to be practised in their old sanctuaries as well, and was willingly taken over by the conquerors from a fear of making these gods their enemies. But whereas formerly, as it would seem, only one chief deity was worshipped in each spot, the shifting and blending of stems and religious associations now brought many of them together in one and the same district. To make room for all, the sphere of each god's power had now to be marked out and restricted to a particular department of life; occasionally however, as one might expect from their former more comprehensive character, they overlapped into domains belonging to others.

§ 14. Thus gradually was framed on the human pattern the conception which meets us in Homer—the idea of *families of gods* and of a patriarchally arranged State of gods, in which each several member exercises only the function apportioned to him. The travelling rhapsodes and later the poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves may have had much influence in bringing about a harmony in the mutually conflicting claims of the several deities; but assuredly they did not materially diverge from the faith prevailing in their home, the Ionian cities of the coasts and islands of Asia Minor. In these communities the mixture of different elements of the race must already have been an active cause in thus restricting and equalising different deities' claims.

Life After Death. § 15. Particularly striking is the change which now displays itself in the conception of the character and condition of departed spirits. Their ritual was more closely connected with the original place of worship than was the case with proper deities; for it consisted solely in offerings of nourishment for the corpse who lived on restfully in the grave. But after severance from the ancestral land, the service of the dead buried there came perforce to an end; men could not even carry away with them the relics of their universally adored first parents. To this was added the influence of the newly arisen custom of burning the deceased, which may have been intended to destroy as quickly as possible the departed soul's strength and power hitherto preserved by attentions to the corpse, and thus to be secure from its wrath.

§ 16. In this train of thought the idea of the bodilessness of the dead gradually came into the foreground. In death, as men saw, the activity of life vanished with the expiration of the last breath; and so they looked upon the breath itself as the basis of life, that is, the *soul*, as is proved by the twofold meaning of ψυχή, *anima*, breath, and the like. Hence they now imagined the souls separate from the body as airy beings, but at the same time, confusing this with their former conception, they left them their human or animal form, so

that they were thought of sometimes as shadowy figures (σκιαί, *umbrae*) or smoke-like images (εἴδωλα, *simulacra*, *imagines*), sometimes as little winged, fluttering, but otherwise man-like figures.

At the same time the features common to all individual graves led to the notion of a general abode of souls, subterranean like the grave, but unapproachable for man by the agency of prayer and offering; it was sundered from the upper world by impassable rivers, such as *Styx* ('The Loathly'), *Acheron* ('Stream of Anguish'), *Kokytos* ('River of Wailing'), *Pyriphlegethon* ('Fire-River'), and *Lethe* ('Forgetfulness'), from which the departed drank oblivion.

§ 17. As soon as the body of the dead man has been covered with earth, the ferryman Charon transports the soul awaiting him on the bank over Styx or Acheron. For this he receives as payment the *obolos* (about 1·3*d.*), which was placed beneath the tongue of every corpse, in one sense as purchase-price for his property, which else would have to go with him. In the lower world the departed, according to the belief of Homer, live a sad and empty life of unreality, continuing their earthly occupations unchanged but without consciousness and active power. Only in a few men especially loved or hated by the gods do consciousness and feeling still abide there, so that they may be rewarded or punished for their deeds on earth. From this realm of death there is no return. Hence the entrance, which men in later time ventured to identify with various ravines, *e. g.* at Kichyros in Thesprotia, at Pheneos in Arkadia, on the promontory of Tainaron in Lakonia, and by the lake Avernus near Cumae in Lower Italy, is guarded by the three-headed dog Kerberos; and Charon too ferries no man back over the Styx.

§ 18. The natural wish for a more cheerful form of life after death led after the Homeric Age to the conception of *Elysion* ('Ηλύσιον πεδίον), 'the field of arrival,' or 'of the departed' (compare ἐλήλυθα), which was imagined to be not in the nether world but at the western end of the earth by the *Okeanos*; and hither the gods translate to a blissful god-

like life of enjoyment many heroes and heroines especially dear to them, born to them from mortals or closely connected with them by other ties of kinship, without any necessity of previous death. In later poets the place of this is taken by the 'Islands of the Blest.'

From the fifth century B.C., as the faith in a retributive justice increased, there grew up under the potent influence of the Orphic doctrine the idea of a Judgment of the Dead. In this doctrine, Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Aiakos assign to the departed according to their earthly life an abode in Elysion or in the gloomy prison of Tartaros, the deepest pit of the lower world.

Erinyes. § 19. In Homer however there is as yet no mention of such a divine retribution after death. A few favourites of the gods are rewarded with a blissful immortality, and he is aware of the punishment of a few great evil-doers like Sisyphos and Tantalos, who have sinned against the gods themselves; elsewhere however punishment—even the punishment of murder—is left to earthly avengers. It is only in the absence of a kinsman bound by law to take blood-vengeance that, according to the oldest view, the wrathful soul (*Erinys*) of the slain itself pursues the slayer. This is particularly the case when a man has murdered a parent or brother, who otherwise would himself be bound to take blood-vengeance. In Homer however the angry individual souls have already developed into special goddesses of vengeance represented in the sacred trinity of the *Erinyes*, who in the service of Zeus watch over moral order in the world, and hence are also called *Praxidikai*. To soften them, men were wont in Athens to give them the flattering name of *Semnai*, 'august ones,' and in Sekyon and Argos that of *Eumenides*, 'kindly ones.'

§ 20. Like dogs and birds of prey—which as devouring corpses were believed to be animated by their souls,—and probably represented as such in earlier times, the Erinyes pursue the flying man-slayer in the form of black winged women around whose heads snakes writhe. In their hands they hold

snakes or burning torches, or a whip the blow of which inspires him whom it smites with madness and stupefaction. Their dwelling is the lower world, from which they are conjured up by the curse of the sufferer as well as by the self-damnation of the perjured.

Harpies. § 21. Another kind of ghosts further developed in the same way are the Harpies (*harpyiai*, 'Robbers'), *Aello* ('Stormfoot'), and *Okypete* ('Swift-flier'), death-goddesses who are at work in the storm-blast ravishing away souls. They are represented with wings and the form of horses, later also as winged women or as creatures with a woman's head and breast and the body of a bird, shapes which were meant to express their swiftness. On the ancient relief of Xanthos they carry away the souls of their victims pressed like children to their bosoms.

Asklepios. § 22. In Homer's time a few of the cave-dwelling subterranean powers formerly limited to their own districts (described above, § 4) have likewise come to be widely esteemed as heroes or gods. One of the most venerated amongst them is Asklepios, who in all probability had his original home in the neighbourhood of Trikka in Thessaly, at the foot of Pindos. His worshippers and priests, the family of the *Asklepiadai*, practised healing as a secret science, so that the remedies prescribed by their god in dream-oracles and skilfully applied by them were wont to have the desired effect. Hence his reputation rose above that of other beings of his kind, and his worship was then carried further; it came to Boiotia, where it was connected with the kindred cult of Trophonios at Lebadeia, thence to Phokis, Athens, and Epidauros in Argolis, finally even to Rome, where the god's name was modified to *Aesculapius*.

§ 23. Like the dead, he was represented in the form of a snake, and in Homer he still appears as an actual physician-hero. In Homer he is a son of the healing god Apollon, but he is instructed in the arts of the leech by the wise Centaur Cheiron. When he recalls even the dead to life by his

skill, the god of the nether world complains of him to Zeus, who thereupon smites him with his lightning. His children are the healers Machaon and Podaleirios, together with the goddesses bestowing health and healing, *Hygieia* ('Health-giver'), *Iaso* ('Healer'), *Panakeia* ('All-curing'), and *Aigle* ('Brilliance'). Asklepios is usually figured as a kindly man with a shrewd look, standing, and with his upper body bared. As token he carries a large staff enwreathed by a snake, often too a fillet round the head.

Hades. § 24. Beyond doubt Hades, whose home is in the region of Elis, was originally of kindred character to Asklepios. By the time of Homer however he had risen from the rank of a local god to be the ruler of the universal Nether World. Like the dead, he is invisible, hence the very name *Aïdoneus*, *Aïdes*, or *Hades*, 'the invisible one' or 'giver of invisibility' (ἀ privative + ἰδ-εῖν); this property is attributed to a helmet usually worn by him, which serves as a cap of darkness.

This all-powerful ruler of the lower world is accounted the brother of Zeus and Poseidon; indeed he himself is termed 'Underground Zeus' (Z. χθόνιος, καταχθόνιος), and like the former represented as enthroned with the sceptre. His spouse is Persephoneia (or *Persephone*, in Attic *Phersephatta* or *Pherrhephatta*), and like her Hades as lord of the depths of earth is at the same time guardian of the corn as long as it rests in the bosom of the ground. In this quality he bears as token the full horn or cornucopia, and receives much worship under the names *Pluton* ('bestower of riches,' in Latin *Dis pater*), *Klymenos* ('the distinguished'), and *Eubuleus* ('well-wisher'), while as a god of death he was especially adored at Pylos ('Gate' of the nether world) in Elis. When prayers are made to him the earth is struck with the hands in order that he shall hear them; and to him, as to the dead, black victims are offered. The dark-hued cypress, which was planted on graves, and otherwise much used in the cult of the dead, and the quickly fading narcissus are sacred to him. The Erinyes, Thanatos ('Death'), and the sleep-god Hypnos,

who are conceived as like him, dwell in his domain. As to the legend of Herakles wounding him, see § 143.

Olympian Deities. § 25. At the head of the divine State of Olympos we find in Homer Zeus and his royal spouse Hera. Their favourite children are Athena, the protectress of the weaver's art and friend of heroes, and the skilful smith Hephaistos. Somewhat more distant from them are Apollon, Artemis, and Hermes, as also the sister and brother of Zeus, Demeter the giver of corn and the lord of the sea Poseidon. Ares and Aphrodite, deities who probably are of foreign origin, have already been taken into the family of the gods on terms of equality; on the other hand, the embodiments of the sun and moon as well as the other nature-deities stand in the background. The power of the goddesses who guide destiny is now in its earliest development. Last came the mystic and ecstatic religion of Dionysos, which spread abroad in the age after Homer, and by working upon the emotions and imagination gained great importance at the expense of other worships, which by this time had become more formal.

I. ***Zeus and his Circle.*** § 26. The origin of the name Ζεύς, which appears in the genitive as Δι*Fός*, certainly goes back—like the Sanskrit *Dyaus*, German *Ziu*, and Latin *Iuppiter*, which last is compounded of *Diovis* (or *Iovis*) and *pater*—to the root *div* ('cast,' 'shoot,' 'shine'), and thus may equally well designate lightning or a light-god;[1] among the Greeks and Romans however this deity certainly developed into a storm-god. Thessaly and a part of Epeiros once tenanted by Thessalians seem to have been the native home of Zeus; Dodona, at the foot of the ridge of Tmaros or Tomaros, specially claimed regard as the primitive seat of his worship. In this unusually stormy and hence well-watered

[1] In the Vedas, the earliest literature of India, *Dyaus* is either the concrete 'sky' or else the sky as an All-Father, associated with Earth as Mother. He is little more than an abstraction to the early Hindu; the quality of fatherhood is practically the only touch of personality in the conception.

and fruitful region he dwelt under the name of Ζεὺς νάιος ('Zeus of the waters'), as he was elsewhere as rain-giver styled ὑέτιος and ὄμβριος; his abode was in a primeval oak-grove, or rather in a single tree thereof, at the foot of which gushed forth a holy well. By the rustling of the twigs he manifested his will to mortals and above all to his priests the Selloi, who after the manner of primitive ages slept upon the earth with no cover except the shelter of the trees. Thus it was that Dodona stood highest in repute of the oracle-homes of Zeus. Elsewhere lightning and thunder, as well as ominous birds,—chiefly the eagle, which dashes like a lightning-flash upon its prey from the clouds,—were looked upon as the representatives of his will.

§ 27. The tree-dwelling of the god (Ζεὺς ἔνδενδρος) points to the great antiquity of his worship in this region. The reason for his being worshipped particularly in an oak is manifestly that, before the cultivation of corn was introduced, acorns and flesh formed men's chief food; and moreover the thunderbolt, in which Zeus κεραύνιος himself descends as καταιβάτης to earth, more often strikes the towering stem of the oak than other trees.

§ 28. Closely akin to the worship of Zeus at Dodona was that upon the Lykaion ('Wolf-hill') in the south-west of Arkadia. Here too the oak and a stream were sacred to him, though they did not as in Dodona take the first place in the cult. In times of continuous drought a priest touched with an oak-twig the surface of the spring *Hagno* ('the sacred' or 'pure one') until a mist arose from it which gathered into a cloud (Ζεὺς νεφεληγερέτης) and brought the desired rain.

§ 29. There was a sanctuary of Zeus that no man dared to tread. It stood on the peak of the Arkadian mount Olympos; the story ran that he who should intrude into it would there cast no shadow, as indeed is natural in the Olympian realm of light. The high antiquity of this cult also is shown by the fact that it claimed human sacrifices, a cruel custom said to have been introduced by King Lykaon, the founder of the competitions there celebrated in honour of Zeus (Λύκαια).

He once slew a child (his son or grandson) and set it as a meal before Zeus—to test his omniscience, according to the later explanation; properly however every sacrifice is to be explained as feeding the deity. In punishment for this he was changed into a wolf (λύκος), the type of the flying man-slayer. As Zeus has the power to inflict punishment in this way for blood-guilt (Z. τιμωρός), he can also as καθάρσιος vouchsafe to the penitent atonement and purification (compare § 72 of Apollon).

§ 30. Whilst in Dodona he was probably looked upon as the bestower of all good gifts in general, he is here in Arkadia the Z. ἀκραῖος or κορυφαῖος, the dweller on the mountain-tops where storm-clouds couch; and as such he later received worship throughout Greece, and especially on the lofty Olympos in Thessaly. From these heights he rules as supreme god (ὕπατος, ὕψιστος) over the surrounding land, like a king from his mountain castle; hence he is also called Z. βασιλεύς. Besides the chief tokens of his power, the thunderbolt and the *aigis* (a representation of the storm-cloud with snaky lightnings twisting around, which later was commonly figured as a shaggy goatskin fringed with snakes), he carries as ensign of his kingship the sceptre.

§ 31. As lord of the land he protects right and the righteous, and punishes all evil-doing, especially perjury (Z. ὅρκιος), as well as wrong to a guest (Z. ξένιος) or suppliant (Z. ἱκέσιος). The housefather hence makes sacrifice to him as the guardian of house and hearth (Z. ἑρκεῖος), the head of the family to him as its tutelary god (Z. γενέθλιος); many princely families claimed descent from him as father of their race. As the king advances in battle before his lieges, Zeus as champion and leader of the host (Z. ἀγήτωρ, στράτιος, στρατηγός) leads his worshippers and holds victory (νίκη) in his hand; hence Pheidias placed the winged Nike upon the outstretched hand of his statue of the Olympian Zeus.

§ 32. His adoption into the system of the Greek gods took place seemingly in Crete. The story of the birth and death

of Zeus is certainly based on a Cretan worship of a subterranean deity called *Zeus Chthonios*, whose cavern-dwelling was looked on as a grave. His father appears here as Kronos, who devoured his own children; but the wife of Kronos, Rhea, the *μήτηρ ὀρεία*, a maternal deity akin to the Kybele and Artemis of Asia Minor, gave him instead of Zeus a stone swaddled like a babe, by which perhaps is meant Zeus himself hidden as a meteoric stone in the storm-cloud, to be then vomited forth from heaven in the lightning-flash. Suckled by the goat Amaltheia, a personification of the storm-cloud that bestows nourishing moisture, Zeus swiftly grows up until he is able to overpower his father.

§ 33. Through his by-name *Titan* Zeus is characterised as god of the heaven and sun, and a troop of older powers appear as *Titanes* by his side. With the aid of other gods and of the three Kyklopes ('Round-eyes'), *Arges* ('Bright-Weather'), *Brontes* ('Thunder'), and *Steropes* ('Lightning'), whose one round eye is the thunderbolt, Zeus conquers these Titans and hurls them into Tartaros, the lowest part of the nether world, after having forced his father to bring forth again from his belly the children formerly swallowed by him. That this battle reflects the *storm*, compared to the hurtle of a fray, is proved by the names of the Kyklopes who aided to settle it.

§ 34. In close connection with this are the other two battles of Zeus with the Gigantes and with Typhoeus. The former were reputed to have been the giant sons of Ge ('Earth'), who rose up against the kingship of Zeus; with the aid however of Athena, the other Olympian gods, and Herakles, but chiefly by the thunderbolts of Zeus, they were overpowered and buried beneath mountains, under which they still burn with the lightning-fire and writhe in agony, thus producing volcanic outbreaks and earthquakes. In the *Odyssey* they have already become, like the Kyklopes, an earthly giant race hurling rocks, which for its arrogance is destroyed by the gods. In the art of the Hellenistic age however, and particularly on the frieze of the altar of Pergamon now

in Berlin, they were commonly represented with snaky coils for feet.

§ 35. In the same way Typhoeus or Typhon ('the smoking' or 'steaming one') is an embodiment, probably of Asiatic origin, and perhaps native to Mount Argaios in Cappadocia, of the steam and smoke which bursts out during earthquakes from the ground and from volcanoes, as well as of the mighty forces there at work. Although he is armed with a hundred fire-spurting heads of snakes, he is like the Titans hurled by Zeus with his lightnings into Tartaros—plainly a picture of the seeming struggle that the storms accompanying volcanic outbreaks wage with the powers of the depths, which at the end of the eruption appear to sink back through the crater into the bowels of the earth.

§ 36. In Dodona the spouse of Zeus was held to be Dione. Her name is plainly derived from that of Zeus himself (compare *Iuppiter* and *Iuno*); hence probably she was his female complement, embodying the fertility which was there his leading attribute. Her place, after the cultivation of corn had been introduced, was taken in the Thessalian Pyrasos ('Wheatland') by the corn-bestower Demeter, who by him becomes mother of Kore-Persephone, the subterranean protectress and embodiment of the seed-corn. Later poetry gives expression to the same thought by connecting the rain-giving Uranos ('Heaven') with Gaia or Ge ('Earth'), who is impregnated by him. In the same way Zeus unites in the Argive legend with Danae as golden rain, in the Theban story with Semele, who dies in his embraces when at her request he comes to her in the same form as to Hera, that is, as storm-god.

Hera. § 37. In Argos, Mykenai, Sparta, on the island of Euboia (probably the centre from which the cult started), the range of Kithairon, the island of Samos, and many other places, Queen Hera stands by the side of the King of the Gods. Her most glorious temple lay between Argos and Mykenai. Here, as in the other places of her worship, the chief festival was her marriage with Zeus (ἱερὸς γάμος), which was held in

early spring. She is the guardian of wedlock (Ἥ. ζυγία, τελεία) and the jealous champion of womankind and its rights; the Goddess of Delivery, Ileithyia or Hileithya, is accounted her daughter. Hebe ('Bloom of Youth'), the war-god Ares, and the smith-god Hephaistos appear as offspring of this couple.

§ 38. A male parallel to Hebe is Ganymedes, son of Tros or Laomedon of Troy. On account of his beauty Zeus caused him to be ravished away by an eagle and made him his page and favourite. Like Hebe he sets before the gods *ambrosia* and *nectar* (honey and mead?), and Hebe herself bears the by-name *Ganymede*. About 420 B.C. Polykletos made a representation in gold and ivory of the Queen of the Gods for her chief temple mentioned above. She sat, fully clad, on a throne, upon her head a crown (*stephanos*), in her right hand a pomegranate, which on account of its many pips was a token of fruitfulness; in her left she held the royal sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the messenger of spring. She appears similarly conceived in the noble colossal bust of the Villa Ludovisi, which however has also a connection with the school of Praxiteles.

§ 39. With special reference to the moral side in the character of Zeus, which later was in the foreground, the school of allegorical poetry describes Metis or Wisdom and Themis or Law as wives of this god, and makes him beget by the latter the Horai *Eunomia* ('Lawfulness'), *Dike* ('Right'), and *Eirene* ('Peace'), as well as the Moirai or fate-goddess who determine the arrangement of the human lot. For the same reason he is accounted the father of the Charites and Muses.

§ 40. The artistic ideal of Zeus was created, in accordance with the conception dominant in Homer, by Pheidias about 435 B.C. for the temple in Olympia, where the great national games were celebrated in his honour. The ancients themselves believed that the artist was inspired in his work by the words of the *Iliad* (1. 528 ff.)—"Spake the son of Kronos and nodded thereto with swart brows, and the

ambrosial locks of the king rolled backward from his immortal head, and the heights of Olympos quaked." The head from Otricoli, produced about a century later under the influence, as it seems, of Praxitelean art, gives also the same general impression of majestic power and god-like calm, combined with gentleness and clearness of thought.

Charites. § 41. These (the Latin *Gratiae*) apparently passed from kindly bestowers of fruitfulness into goddesses of winsome grace. They were adored in Orchomenos of Boiotia under the symbol of three rough stones, which were perhaps believed to have fallen from heaven. In other places they were represented even in very early times as three maidens in long garments, standing behind one another, and holding in their hands musical instruments, flowers, fruit, and fillets (*ταινίαι*), so that they are not to be distinguished from Muses or Nymphs. From the fifth century B.C. they are united in a group holding one another's hands; it is not until the third century that they are figured as quite naked and embracing one another.

In the *Iliad* there is a single Charis, the wife of Hephaistos; Homer, however, knows also a whole family of Charites. Their names are usually *Euphrosyne* ('Mirth'), *Thaleia* or *Thalia* ('Joy-of-Life,' 'Revel'), and *Aglaïa* ('Splendour'), by which they are characterised as goddesses of cheerful social life, although in origin they may have been closely akin to the Horai.

Muses. § 42. Their fondness for the dance and the music accompanying it is shared by the Muses (*Musai*, 'Seekers' or 'Discoverers'[1]), goddesses perhaps of Thracian origin and daughters of Zeus by Mnemosyne ('Memory'). These were especially worshipped—in connection with Dionysos, Apollon, and the singer Orpheus, the representative of Dionysiac poetry—in the district of Pieria, on Olympos, and on the Boiotian Helikon, at holy springs (*Aganippe* and *Hippokrene*

[1] The most recent etymology connects the name with Lat. *mons*, so that it would mean 'mountain-goddesses.'

on Helikon, *Kastalia* on Parnassos). Their number is not yet mentioned in the *Iliad* and older parts of the *Odyssey*; in a later section of the latter and in Hesiod they appear in the usual number of nine. It was not however until later times that their domains were more exactly determined, as follows —*Kalliope* ('Sweet-voiced') holds as muse of heroic song and elegy a writing-tablet and style; *Kleio* ('Glorifier'), as muse of warlike song and history, a roll; *Euterpe* ('Delighter'), as muse of lyric, a double flute; *Thaleia* ('Joy'), as muse of comedy, a comic mask; *Melpomene* ('Songster'), as muse of tragedy, a tragic mask; *Terpsichore* ('Dance-gladdened'), as muse of choral lyric and dance, a great lyre; *Urania* ('Heavenly'), as muse of astronomical epos and instructive poetry in general, a globe; *Erato* ('Charming'), as muse of amorous song, a small lyre; finally *Polymnia* ('She of many hymns') practises ritual song and dance, and therefore appears veiled and cloaked. From the mimic dance practised in some places during the ritual, the connection of the Muses with the *pantomimus* may have afterwards developed.

Horai. § 43. On the other hand, the Horai, as their name tells us, were representatives of the seasons (ὧραι). As men in older times distinguished only three seasons, there are three Horai corresponding to these three divisions, and typified as blooming maidens. In Attica indeed only two were known —*Thallo* ('Blossoming one') and *Karpo* ('Fruit-bringer'). In Homer they open and close the gate of heaven, that is, they lead the clouds hither and away again; and in later times also they are accounted bestowers of rain and dew. In art the regularity of their return was expressed by representing them as engaged in dance; but at the same time it caused them to be regarded as protectresses of order, whence they were elsewhere styled *Eunomia* ('Lawfulness'), *Dike* ('Right'), and *Eirene* ('Peace'). Eirene however was much worshipped in Athens also; her bronze statue, the creation of Kephisodotos, stood above the market-place. She held here the child *Plutos* ('Wealth') on her arm; for

wealth thrives in peace. An imitation of this work is to be found in Munich.

The mother of these Horai is Themis ('Law'), who often bore the by-name *Soteira* ('Saviour'), and possessed sanctuaries in Athens, Delphoi, Thebes, Olympia, and Trozen. She was conceived as a woman of severe and grave aspect, with the horn of plenty and the balance as symbol of deliberative justice.

II. ***Ge, Demeter and Kore: Eleusinian Mysteries.***

§ 44. Gaia or Ge ('Earth') is the broad-bosomed great mother of all, who bears men, animals, and plants; she was worshipped in Athens as *Kurotrophos* ('Fosterer of youth'), and here, as often elsewhere, connected with Zeus the bestower of fruitfulness. But because she takes back into her bosom all that has died, she is at the same time a death-goddess; she knows the secrets of the realm of the dead that lies within the earth, and hence she was questioned as an oracle-goddess over rifts in the ground which seemed to lead down into that realm, especially at Aigai in Achaia; the real belief was probably that she sent up the dead themselves to be questioned. Later indeed her oracles were often supplanted by those of Apollon.

As *Kurotrophos* she is seated, holding children and fruits in her lap, while kine and flocks graze at her feet. Far more often however she is conceived as a gigantic woman, with the upper body—more rarely the head alone—rising up from the earth; and in this form she usually hands over her son Erichthonios to the care of Athena. In later times she is couched, with a horn of plenty in her hand, upon the earth; and this form of representation was copied in the personifications of individual countries, islands, and cities, the last of which are often more exactly designated by a rampart-crown.

§ 45. Among the goddesses of the receptive fertility of earth Demeter ('Earth-Mother,' from μήτηρ), the guardian of the corn that serves as man's chief nourishment, stands in particularly high esteem. Her supposed parents are Kronos, the sun-god ripening the fruit of the fields, and Rhea, who in

her character is closely connected with her. Her by-names *Chloe* ('Green-yellow'), *Karpophoros*, *Sito*, and *Iulo* ('Bestower of fruit, corn, and sheaves') mark her out as protectress of the cornfield, as does the fact that offerings were made to her of the first-fruits of the harvest.

In Homer too the 'fair-tressed Demeter,' the spouse of Zeus worshipped in the Thessalian Pyrasos ('wheatland'), is only goddess of the cultivation of corn, so that as a rule she seems to dwell not on Olympos but in the arable field; and she is similarly represented in the sacred hymn containing her legend which was composed before the age of Solon in Attica.

§ 46. This hymn relates that the daughter of Demeter and Zeus, Kore, was gathering spring flowers in company with the *Okeaninai* or daughters of Okeanos ('fountain-nymphs') on a meadow which according to later story lay near Enna in Sicily. As amongst these she was plucking the death-flower of the narcissus, the earth suddenly opened; Hades, the lord of the nether world, arose therefrom and ravished away Kore from the circle of her playmates. Without touching food her mother sought her with torches in her hands for nine days until she learned from Hekate or Helios who it was that had carried her off. When Zeus refused her prayer for the restoration of her daughter, she hid herself in wrath at Eleusis and stopped all growth of corn. Not until Zeus in consequence of this had determined that Kore should spend but one-third of each year in the nether world did she return to Olympos and bestow again fruitfulness on the corn. The denial of complete restoration is explained by the story that Kore had accepted from her husband and eaten the pip of a pomegranate, a symbol of fertilisation.

§ 47. This tale was later interpreted as a picture of the growth of the seed-corn; but among all Indogermans we actually find the notion of a close connection between child and corn, between human procreation and the cornfield's fertility, and hence the attempt was made to conjure up the latter by symbolic acts of apparent indecency which strictly

referred to the former. For this reason, according to Cretan legend, Iasion begot *Plutos* (*i. e.* foison, wealth) by Demeter in the thrice-ploughed field; and on the other hand Demophon, the frail little son of King Keleos of Eleusis, thrives like the seed-corn under the goddess' care.

§ 48. Obviously kindred to Demophon is another Eleusinian foster-son of Demeter, the hero Triptolemos ('Thrice-plougher'), who was worshipped as first apostle of agriculture and founder of the Eleusinian cult. Demeter sent him abroad on her own car drawn by snakes, equipping him with tools of husbandry and seed-corn, to teach men agriculture and the gentler moral life and political order that spread in its train. Demeter herself was hence praised as *Thesmophoros* ('Law-giver'), especially at the feast of the *Thesmophoria*, celebrated in the month of sowing, Pyanopsion.

§ 49. She had her chief seat at Eleusis near Athens, where she was worshipped in both public and privy celebrations ('Mysteries') with Kore ('the Maid'), her daughter by Zeus, and with the young Iacchos, who is probably the god Dionysos-Bacchos or Sabazios introduced from Athens into this cult. Iacchos was here accounted a son sometimes of Demeter, sometimes of Kore and 'Underground Zeus' or Hades-Pluton, who also had here from earliest times a temple next to a cavern. Pluton and Kore are in inscriptions here always termed 'the God and the Goddess'; mother and daughter again are described together as 'the Worshipful Ones' or 'the Mistresses.'

§ 50. Every year in Boedromion (September—October) the people of Athens marched along the sacred road to Eleusis in festal procession, in which corn-sheaves were borne in thanks for the vouchsafed harvest. At Eleusis was held in the darkness of night a round-race with torches, which in all probability referred originally to the renewal of light in the spring, but was commonly interpreted by the story of the goddess herself seeking her ravished daughter by torch-light. To the initiated (*mystai*) were shown the holy symbols of the goddess, and to remind them of her grace to mankind

in bestowing corn they were presented after a long fast with a draught or gruel of water and meal seasoned with calamint, in which form undoubtedly the gifts of Demeter had been enjoyed in earliest times (compare the *puls* of the Romans). Finally they poured out water, as rain-magic, and exclaimed while gazing up to heaven ὗε ("rain!") and while looking down upon the earth κύε ("conceive!")

§ 51. The performances however which later raised the Eleusinian Mysteries above all other communions only developed after the time of Solon and the Peisistratids, and were a result of the desire to give a more cheerful form to the idea of the soul's existence after death than that which had hitherto prevailed. From this age onward the main object was certainly to assure the initiated of a happy life in the next world. The belief in this was probably aroused by representing the wandering of a dead man through the terrors of the lower world; at the same time the Hierophant declared which way was to be taken and by what incantations the dangers were to be warded off, in order to finally arrive in safety at the fields of bliss, which were perhaps shown as the concluding picture. The initiation of itself vouchsafed this comforting prospect; a moral life was by no means demanded as preliminary condition, hence no influence in raising morality can be attributed to the Mysteries. As a prelude to these Great Mysteries were held in Athens itself the *Little Mysteries* in the 'Flower-Month' Anthesterion (February—March); in these the members of the community who were to be initiated in the autumn went through a preliminary consecration.

§ 52. In Arkadia Demeter was connected with Poseidon *Hippios* or *Phytalmios*; and her daughter was there styled *Despoina*, 'Mistress.' The latter, as spouse of Hades, has the name *Persephone* ('desolating slayer'?); she is the grey death-goddess and queen of the nether world, whilst in the Mysteries she seems, in consequence of her legend, to have been glorified as a comforting example of blissful life in the world below and of resurrection. In earlier art no fixed representation of Demeter has been developed; she is how-

ever always figured as motherly and fully clad. As typical attributes she holds wheat-ears and the poppy, a sceptre or a torch. Her daughter is only distinguished from her by youthful girlish form; both are often found enthroned or standing side by side.

III. ***Athena, Hephaistos, Prometheus, Hestia.***

§ 53. Athena (Ἀθήνη, Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηνᾶ) was from earliest ages worshipped almost everywhere in Greece and the colonies; her cults cannot be traced emerging one from another. More than any other deity she appears from the beginning as a fully developed moral personality; she is goddess of the battle and council, as well as of all skill in art (Ἀ. ἐργάνη), but especially of weaving and navigation, and hence is protectress of cities in which these arts were tended (Ἀ. πολιάς, πολιοῦχος). In the Aiolic and Ionic stocks she is often connected with Poseidon, among the Dorians with Zeus. Most of all she was worshipped in the city bearing her name, Athens, on whose citadel Poseidon-Erechtheus stood by her side as an almost equally respected god of the land. Here was shown the olive-tree which in the contest for lordship she had made to shoot forth as her gift from the earth by a blow of her spear, near to the salt spring raised up by the trident of her rival. Above the latter arose later the Ionic building of the *Erechtheion*; and immediately by its side, over against her olive-tree, stood the old temple of *Athena Polias* with her wood-carven statue, which legend declared to have fallen from heaven.

§ 54. This statue, like all old representations of the goddess, was a *Palladion*, that is, an upright wooden figure with the spear brandished for assault (Ἀ. πρόμαχος), and was clothed with a real garment (*peplos*) made every year anew by the noblest women of Athens. On the same citadel, by the road leading up to it, Athena had as *Nike* a small Ionic temple, now almost built up again from its ruins, and an altar as *Hygieia*. In worship these places always stood in the highest respect; but in outward splendour and artistic value they were far surpassed by the mighty Doric *Parthenon*, the

building of which was begun in the year 447 B.C. at the order of Perikles by Iktinos, and which was adorned with sculpture by Pheidias.

§ 55. Erechtheus, who later is also called Erichthonios, appears as a by-name of Poseidon; in the *Iliad* however he is still an earth-born king of the Attic land. Athena takes him as a child under her care from his mother, the Earth, and hands him over, concealed in a basket, to the charge of the Dew-sisters *Aglauros*, *Herse* ('Dew'), and *Pandrosos* ('All-dew'). Despite the prohibition of the goddess the two former open the basket, but are seized with madness at the sight of the snake-shaped babe, and hurl themselves down from the rock of the citadel (a reference perhaps to springs and watercourses). Later Erechtheus-Erichthonios was believed to be incarnated in the sacred snake of the Akropolis kept in the Erechtheion—a proof that he was originally a god dwelling in the depths of earth, and causing both the fertility of the land and death (compare § 3 f.).

§ 56. His father was reputed to be Hephaistos, who was venerated in the same place. To the latter and to Athena in common were held the exceedingly ancient *Chalkeia* ('Smith-feast'), in which the invention of the plough and the birth of Erechtheus were celebrated. Athena again was thanked at the *Procharisteria*, in company with the goddesses of Eleusis, for the germination of the seed; and in the same way she was entreated to avert the heat of summer at the *Skirophoria*, in which the priest of Erechtheus held over himself a large white sunshade. At the same season young girls at the *Arrhephoria* (*Errhephoria* or *Ersephoria*, 'festival of dew-bearing') carried veiled statues from the temple of Athena Polias down into the 'Gardens' of Aphrodite and took others thence back into the citadel.

§ 57. The *Kallynteria* was a festival of temple-purification, while at the *Plynteria* the garments and the wooden statue of the goddess herself were brought down to the sea and washed. As tutelary goddess of husbandry Athena was also

honoured by solemn ploughing at the foot of the citadel in the beginning of sowing-time, and above all by the ancient harvest-festival of the *Panathenaia* from the 24th to the 29th Hekatombaion (beginning of August), which from the age of Peisistratos was celebrated with especial splendour every five years. A torch race, competitions of musicians and dancers, and races of warships were held in it. The chief day of the festival was on the 28th, the birthday of the goddess; on it she was presented with the new robe (*peplos*) embroidered by Athens' noblest women, which during the solemn procession through the city was fixed like a sail on a car made in the shape of a ship. Priests, old men, women, maidens, and the whole male population capable of bearing arms accompanied it with a display of the utmost pomp up the Akropolis to the goddess' old temple. The magnificent reliefs on the frieze of the cella of the Parthenon even at this day bring this procession before our eyes.

§ 58. As old and widespread as these religious conceptions is the tale of Athena's birth from the head of Zeus, which Hephaistos or another god split open with the blow of an axe. With a loud shout of victory she springs forth from it fully armed. This is plainly a representation of the storm-cloud split asunder by the lightning; in Crete Athena was actually reputed to have sprung forth from a cloud burst open by Zeus.

§ 59. This physical meaning is further implied in the legend of a demi-goddess who originally was very closely akin to her, the *Gorgo Medusa* ('the observant one with awful glances'), to whom later legend added two immortal sisters. The Gorgon's garb is black as the storm-cloud, her fiery glance petrifies, as the lightning's stroke stupefies or slays man; her roar is the rumble of thunder; wings bear her through the air. When Medusa's head is cut off, there springs from her body the giant Chrysaor ('Gold-Sword'), the golden-glistening lightning, and the winged horse Pegasos, the thunder-cloud, the blow of whose hoof (lightning) makes to gush forth on Helikon the Muses' spring *Hippokrene* ('Horse-

Fountain') that inspires all poets. After having served Bellerophon, Pegasos carries in heaven the thunderbolts of Zeus. The Gorgon's head Athena wears on her *aigis* (§ 30), which belongs to her as well as to her father Zeus.

§ 60. As inventor and guardian of the crafts of spinning and weaving she transforms the skilful Lydian webster Arachne ('Spider'), who dares to enter into contest with her, into a spider. Once she had come to be accounted the

Medusa Rondanini. *Munich.*

inventor of this craft, which is of such importance in a simple society, many other discoveries of the same kind were also ascribed to her. This is probably the reason that she has developed into the goddess of wisdom generally, and thus into the patroness of science; hence in Hesiod Metis ('Shrewdness') appears as her mother. But this idea may also have been helped into life by the conception of her brightly gleaming glance (γλαυκῶπις)[1]—a property betokening

[1] For the same reason the owl (γλαῦξ) is her sacred bird.

in man intellectual life, and no doubt belonging to her originally from her connection with the lightning—and perhaps also by that of the soul's fiery nature; for on the same ground the divine smiths and fire-gods, Prometheus and Hephaistos, were credited with having moulded men and inspired them with life.

§ 61. Her ideal representation in art was the creation of Pheidias, who modelled not only the type of the so-called *Athena Promachos* in the colossal bronze statue[1] set up in the open air upon the Akropolis, but also that of the *Athena Parthenos* ('Maiden') in gold and ivory, holding *Nike* ('Victory') in her right hand, for the Parthenon. She appears always as severe and grave, calm and with an expression of clear intelligence, regularly in a long garment, and often characterised by the *aigis* worn over it.

§ 62. Hephaistos, who in worship and legend was closely connected at Athens with Athena, is a god of fire, who is at times completely identified with this his element. He is the patron of smiths and all metal-workers in general, and it was evidently their guild which raised him to such high esteem in the busy industrial city of Athens. From this guild undoubtedly arose also the ward of the *Hephaistiadai*, where he had a sanctuary. Beside the *Chalkeia* (see § 56), he and Athena were honoured in Athens by the family festival of the *Apaturia*; and for him alone were held the *Hephaisteia* with a torch-race in the Kerameikos, the artisans' quarter, a custom that was also practised elsewhere. He was further invoked as protector against conflagrations.

§ 63. His second and perhaps his oldest place of worship is Lemnos, where the earth-fire blazing on the top of mount Mosychlos gained for him universal adoration. He was here accounted incidentally a god of healing; but he is above all a smith-god. By his side stands his teacher or comrade Kedalion; when later his smithy was localised in the volcanoes of Sicily and the Lipari Islands, the Kyklopes were

[1] The design was probably carried out by one of his pupils.

also joined with him as assistants. As the lame often practised the smith's craft, its god was conceived as lame and possessed of powerful arms and feeble legs. In general he was completely equipped with the costume and attributes of this craft, and hence depicted in a workman's short garment with hammer, tongs, and cap.

§ 64. Legend related that Hephaistos was born of Hera in a quarrel with Zeus (*i.e.* in the storm), but that owing to his lameness he was thrown down by his mother into the sea and there tended by the sea-goddesses Thetis and Eurynome; or Zeus was said to have hurled him down upon the island of Lemnos because he supported his mother in a dispute. Both stories signify the descent of the heavenly fire upon the earth; and indeed flame may actually have become known to man in the first instance as lightning-fire. Led back by Dionysos into heaven, he forges weapons and ornaments for the gods. In accordance with the idea that love is a fiery power, his wife in the *Iliad* is Charis, the goddess of grace and of spring, and later always the love-goddess Aphrodite herself.

§ 65. Prometheus ('Forethought'), very closely akin to Hephaistos himself, was worshipped in his company at Athens, by the side of Athena. He embodies the skill, shrewdness, and cunning which naturally develop in the handicraftsman. Thus he stole fire from Zeus, designing as πυρφόρος to quicken into life with it the men he had moulded of clay, and to give it as a boon to them. Though earlier he had been a friend of Zeus, he was chained in punishment of this offence to a rock in the Caucasus, and tortured by an eagle eating out his liver. Hephaistos again moulded the first woman Pandora ('One with gifts from all gods'), through whom all evils came upon the men created by Prometheus.

§ 66. Hestia ('Hearth'), the representative of the hearth-fire, is still more closely identified with her element; hence in her worship she is scarcely distinguished from it. She indeed takes part in all sacrifices in which fire is needful, but it is seldom that she is actually represented as a veiled maiden in long robes, with a bowl or sceptre.

IV. ***Apollon, Artemis, and Hekate.*** § 67. Of all Grecian gods Apollon had, after Zeus, the highest religious honours in the largest number of places; his sphere of dominion extends to nearly all departments of nature and human life. As far as we can trace him back, he appears as a potent moral personality conceived in thoroughly human form, a power restricted to no particular phenomenon of nature, but equally active in all. The origins alike of his character and of his worship are veiled in obscurity, although some ritual usages indicate for the latter the valley of Tempe in Thessaly.

§ 68. In the first instance he is a god of *oracle*; the most highly esteemed place of prophecy in the whole of Greece is his temple at Delphoi, which is already mentioned in the *Iliad*. He had similar places of worship at Didymoi near Miletos, Klaros near Kolophon, Abai in Phokis, and in many other spots. The name *Klăros* suggests that at one time oracles were here given by means of lots (Doric κλᾶρος = κλῆρος; compare § 12). In Delphoi, which was also called *Pytho* or 'place of questions,' the priestess styled *Pythia* ('she who hears'? compare ἐπυθόμην) drank from a sacred spring and sat down chewing laurel-leaves upon a tripod; then whilst apparently in a state resembling drunkenness she uttered significant words which were interpreted by a priest standing by her side and cast into the form of an answer. Thus the cult of Apollon has close relations with that of Dionysos the god of drunkenness, who was also much worshipped in Delphoi.

§ 69. As the cause of prophetic inspiration, Apollon becomes patron of all seers and singers, especially as his spoken oracles were commonly couched in the form of verse. He is hence the leader of the Muses, and receives as regular attribute the lyre invented by Hermes. On the other hand, the fact of the oracle being uttered above a rift in the earth indicates that the Earth or the dead were in earlier times questioned at Delphoi. This is confirmed by legend, according to which Apollon on taking possession of this place slew the dragon *Python*, which from its connection with Delphoi was also called *Delphyne*;

for this snake is to be regarded as the embodiment of the earth-dwelling spirit of the dead which was formerly questioned here (§ 3). The festival games of the *Pythia* were later looked upon as a celebration of this victory.

§ 70. He stands in equally close relations with the earth in his quality as guardian of the growth of vegetation on the pastures ('A. *νόμιος*), of cattle-breeding, and of husbandry. He is himself the possessor of herds of kine; his brother Hermes directly after his birth steals them from him, but is forced to restore them. Aristaios ('best one'),[1] the representative of tilth and of the rearing of cattle and bees, is accounted his son. In the districts at the foot of the range of Taygetos and in the neighbouring Sparta he was worshipped as Κάρνειος ('ram-god'), and the *Karneia*, a festival of the harvest and vintage, were held there in his honour. The same meaning underlies the *Thargelia* at Athens, the *Hyakinthia* at Sparta, and the *Delia* in Delos. In the first-named, his seat, the holy tripod, was brought at times from Delphoi into his Athenian Pythion on the Ilissos, and two men (in later times criminals) were slaughtered as an expiatory offering.

§ 71. In Amyklai and Sparta his favourite Hyakinthos ('the youth') was worshipped by his side. He was said to have killed Hyakinthos accidentally in throwing a quoit; originally the latter is probably a god of death and fertility supplanted by Apollon. In general Apollon was accounted the patron of youth and of its exercises in the wrestling-school ('A. *ἐναγώνιος*); he even became the tribal god (*πατρῷος*, *ἀρχηγέτης*) of the whole Ionic race, and led them in their wanderings to their colonies. On the other hand he was also a god of death for men and beasts, and thus is depicted as a terrible sender of pestilence at the beginning of the *Iliad*. His bolts slay dogs, mules, and men: like a cunning huntsman he never fails to strike his mark. Hence he is termed the 'Smiter from afar' (*ἑκατηβόλος*, *ἑκαεργός*, *ἕκατος*), and looked upon both as the god of oaths who takes awful

[1] There are some grounds also for connecting this name with the Latin *arista*, 'ear of corn.'

vengeance for all perjury and as the potent helper in the fray (βοηδρόμιος).

§ 72. If however he sends death, he can likewise ward it off as soon as he has been appeased by expiations and sacrifices. Hence he is invoked as 'averter of evil' (ἀλεξίκακος), 'saviour' (σωτήρ) and 'healer' (Παιάν, Παιήων, Παιών); and Asklepios the physician of the gods is accounted his son. So he is the chief representative of all purification and atonement ('A. καθάρσιος, Φοῖβος); for he can grant safety from the pursuit of wrathful souls. The laurel-bough with which the sinner in need of atonement is swept and the wolf, the type of the flying manslayer to whom he offers shelter and expiation, are assigned to him in this quality ('A. λύκιος, λύκειος).

Apollon manifests himself as saviour and protector from danger and death by sea as well; hence he was much worshipped by seamen and styled δελφίνιος, because the dolphin accompanies ships on the open seas in good weather, and on this account was looked upon as its harbinger and a friend of the seafarer. In the well-known story one of these creatures rescues Arion, who himself is perhaps to be regarded as a representative of the god graciously guiding shipmen on their way.

§ 73. The story of his birth is native to Delos, the second great seat of his worship. He is a son of Zeus and Leto (in Latin *Latona*), and twin brother of Artemis. Pursued by the hate of jealous Hera, his mother, after long wanderings hither and thither, had at length found shelter and security upon this island, which itself had hitherto been tossed about upon the waves. Soon after his birth he slays with his arrows the dragon Python in Delphoi (§ 69) and the giant Tityos who pursued his mother, as well as the sons of Niobe for their mother's offence (§ 125). The Hyperboreioi, a fabulous people enjoying eternal peace, send like his other worshippers festal embassies and gifts to Delos. Apollon himself spends the winter with them; in the spring he is called back again by prayer to Delos and Delphoi. This absence of the god during the winter, together with the fact that all his festivals

fall in the summer, has mainly led men to explain him as a sun-god, an interpretation which appears as early as the fifth century B.C., and seems to suit well the conception of the god as *Delphinios* and as dwelling in Delos.

§ 74. In art Apollon meets us as the ideal figure of a fully grown slender youth, beardless, with long curling hair. Usually he is naked; only a small cloak (*chlamys*) is thrown over his shoulder or left arm. As attribute he carries a bow and quiver, and this was probably the case too with the Belvedere statue. A variety of this type, the resting Apollo, with the hand placed over the head, probably goes back to Praxiteles.

As leader of the Muses again he is figured with the long Ionic robe[1] (*chiton*), the lyre, and laurel crown, a type which was created, at any rate in its more agitated form, by Skopas or Praxiteles.

§ 75. Artemis (in Doric and Boiotian Ἄρταμις) is a goddess of fruitfulness and death much worshipped by the whole race, especially in the Peloponnesos. Originally she is doubtless closely akin to Kore-Persephone and Gaia. In Peloponnesos she was celebrated at spring festivals, as goddess of earth's blessings, not only by the fountains, rivers, and swamps on which fertility depends (Ἄρτεμις λιμνᾶτις and ἐλεία) and on the tilled meadow-lands of the plain, but also in the luxuriant mountain-forests of Taygetos; for through her thrive not merely vegetation but likewise the young of animals and man (Ἀ. παιδοτρόφος). She protects wild and domestic animals; the hind which appears in art by her side, as well as the male and female goat, are sacred to her (Ἀ. κναγία). As a bold huntress she usually carries a bow and arrows, with which she can send death to women also, especially in childbirth (Ἀ. Ἰλείθυια).

§ 76. To the death-goddess men were at one time offered as victims, as the legend of Iphigeneia shews; and as a substitute for them at Sparta boys in later times were whipped in honour of Artemis ὀρθία until they bled, in order thereby

[1] This continued as the professional dress of the musician when it had ceased to be the 'full dress' of the Ionic gentleman.

to satisfy the ancient demand for blood. In the same way as she brings death she can also bestow salvation, victory, and glory in battle; hence men invoked her as σώτειρα and εὔκλεια. In worship she usually stands alone; but she is also variously associated with other bestowers of fruitfulness such as Zeus, Dionysos, Poseidon, Apollon Karneios, Pan, Demeter, Kore, and Aphrodite.

§ 77. Sometimes, like the kindred deity Hekate, she carries a torch in her hand ('Α. σελασφόρος). This is perhaps the death-torch with which, as Ἡγεμόνη, she leads the dead down into the nether world; but on its account she is often explained to be a moon-goddess, and this is borne out by the fact that she was worshipped, as Ἄρτεμις νουμηνία, on the appearance of the new moon. From this point of view she is Apollon's twin sister, the virgin daughter of Zeus and Leto, and worshipped by Ionian seafarers, who punishes with the utmost severity all breaches of chastity. The hunter Aktaion, the son of Aristaios, having by chance surprised her and her attendant nymphs at the bath, she changes him into a stag in order that his own hounds may tear him to pieces; and for a like reason she slays the giant huntsman Orion, who is raised to heaven as a constellation.

§ 78. The many-breasted goddess of Ephesos, viewed as the nurturer of all nature, is so like this protectress of the beasts of woodland and field that she too may be termed Artemis, although originally she, like Rhea and Kybele, seems to be only a locally modified form of the great maternal goddess of nature and war, Ma or Ammas ('Mother'), who was worshipped by the Indogermanic inhabitants of Asia Minor.

§ 79. The nymphs attendant as huntresses on Artemis had counterparts in the servants of this Asiatic goddess entitled *Amazones*, figures obviously similar to Ma herself, and dwelling on the southern shore of the Black Sea by the Thermodon and Iris in Pontos, while Ma had her chief seat in the same region at Komana on the Iris. Their legend however was perhaps carried into this region from Boiotia, for there is

evidence of a brook Thermodon near Tanagra and of Amazons' graves and camps in many other spots both of Boiotia and of the neighbouring districts; the Amazons were moreover reputed to be the daughters of the Theban deities Ares and Harmonia. They fought as bold horsewomen with the Corinthian hero Bellerophon, the Boiotian and Argive Herakles, the Trozenian and Attic Theseus, and Achilleus, who was venerated in Thessaly, Boiotia, Corinth, Elis, and Lakonia. Art accordingly depicted them usually as strong and beautiful horsewomen with short garments and armed with a shield hollowed out at the side, often too the double axe. Pheidias and Polykletos made also statues of a single Amazon wearied by the toil of battle. That their legend is based on some recollection of a former rule of women among the races worshipping them cannot be maintained with any certainty.

§ 80. In Athens, Delos, and Epidauros Artemis bore the by-name Ἑκάτη, 'Smiter from afar,' and thus she is in character obviously near akin to the independently developed Hekate, the daughter of the Titan Perses ('resplendent one') and of Asterie ('Star-maiden'). Hekate was chiefly worshipped in Caria and the bordering districts of Asia Minor. In Greece proper a real worship is found only on the eastern coast; she was especially honoured in Aigina by a secret cult or mysteries. She was there invoked to aid against madness, which as mistress of the ghosts causing it she can dispel as well as send. When a soul at birth unites with the body, she is near at hand, and also when it departs thence, at death and burial. She therefore haunts graves; but she also dwells in the hearth, for by it the house-master used to be buried in earlier times. On moonlight nights she herself appears in ghostly form at the crossways (Ἐ. τριοδῖτις, *Trivia*), attended by her rout, the troop of restless ghosts, and by her dogs, which are also to be regarded as embodying souls (§ 20). To soothe and ward off Hekate the remnants of purificatory offerings were left for her at the end of every month by the crossways, in the same way as the souls of the dead were appeased at the end of the year.

§ 81. She is the deity of ghost-raising and of magic in general; hence she becomes mother of the sorceresses Kirke and Medeia ('the wise woman'). She comes also into the closest relations to Selene, the personification of the moon; for the moon can change its form—a fact that figures prominently in all sorcery—and to the night belong all the ghostly apparitions of witchcraft. In older times she is represented as of one form, fully clad, and with two burning torches in her hands; towards the end of the fifth century B.C. however Alkamenes figured her for the entrance of the Athenian citadel with three bodies (*τριπρόσωπος*, *triformis*), placing them back to back in such a way that one of them like the waxing moon always looked towards the left and the second like the waning moon towards the right, while that between them fronted the spectator in full face like the full moon. The bowl and flagon assigned to her point perhaps to the drink-offering presented to the dead.

V. *Hermes, the Satyrs, and Pan.* § 82. Arkadia, mountainous and shut in on all sides by chains of lofty hills, was tenanted from earliest times, as it is to this day, by herdsmen who cared for nothing more than the welfare of their herds. Hence they paid especial worship to the deities which bestowed on their sheep and goats nourishment and growth, and furthered their increase. Hermes, who himself bears the by-name *Árkas*, 'the Arkadian,' has here his home. He is said to have been born in a cavern of Mount Kyllene, on the summit of which he had from the oldest times a sanctuary; perhaps the story is a memory of his former connection with the gods of the depths of earth. In the districts lying round the mountain, particularly in Pheneos and Stymphalos, festivals with competitions were held in his honour; hence he was looked upon as their patron (E. *ἀγώνιος*, *ἐναγώνιος*), and found adoration in all race-courses and wrestling-schools. He even developed into the model of the skilful (*εὔκολος*, *διάκτορος*?) pupil of the wrestling-school, and thence also into the 'bestower of grace' (*χαριδώτης*).

§ 83. In his old places of worship however he was still chiefly represented as the good shepherd, with the ram under his arm (κριοφόρος), and as such he has come down to us in many works of art. And as he leads home the herds and lost sheep, so as ἐνόδιος, ὅδιος, or ἡγεμόνιος he guides wayfarers on unknown paths. Stone-heaps with pillars in them, which served as fingerposts, were hence sacred to him, so that the latter were often adorned with a head of Hermes, or on cross-roads even with three or four heads, and were called *hermai* or *hermaia*.

§ 84. In early times all wealth consisted in herds, and cattle even served as commercial standard (compare Lat. *pecunia*); thus Hermes νόμιος and ἐπιμήλιος developed into the bestower of prosperity and fortune in general. He figured early in Sekyon near to Kyllene, in Athens, Sparta, and many other cities, as patron of market-traffic (Ἐ. ἀγοραῖος, ἐμπολαῖος), and thus became the god of tradesfolk, who spread his worship in all quarters, and even brought it to Rome; here he was confused with the old Roman deity of merchandise, Mercurius.

§ 85. Regarded thus, he later bears the purse as token. On the other hand he carries as herdsman's god the hooked stick to catch the cattle, which was used also as a traveller's staff. Wayfarers and pedlars are in times of undeveloped commerce the natural heralds and messengers, hence the herdsman's stick passes over into the herald's staff (κηρύκειον, *caduceus*). After the transformation of Hermes into the god of luck this finally becomes the magical wishing-rod which raises treasure and bestows fortune; it is then represented as a twisted forked twig or a snaky staff. As a wayfarer Hermes wears the traveller's hat (*petasos*), which like his shoes is usually furnished with wings to indicate his swiftness.

§ 86. As herdsmen sometimes stole the herds of others, so Hermes on the very evening after his birth drove off from a meadow at the foot of Olympos the fifty white golden-horned kine of the gods, cunningly effaced their trail, and hid them in a cavern. Thus he is accounted the patron of thieves and

a pattern of their cunning and shrewdness (Ἐ. δόλιος). In this connection the story ran that he stole his arrows from Apollon, and at the bidding of Zeus carried off Io in the form of a cow from the watcher Argos (§ 126); here again the theft of kine by herdsmen is the basis of the tale. To their god was also ascribed the invention of the herdsmen's pipe (αὐλός, σῦριγξ) and thence of the lyre.

§ 87. As guide on unknown paths (Ἐ. πομπός, πομπαῖος), Hermes becomes the leader of departed souls in their journey to the nether world (Ἐ. ψυχοπομπός) as well as of their kindred, Dreams (ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων); here and there he himself is worshipped as a subterranean god (Ἐ. χθόνιος), hence he may well have been in his original character a god ruling over souls.

§ 88. When he was inserted into the circle of the Olympian deities he was made the son of the father of the gods, Zeus, and of Maia ('Mother'), the nymph of Mount Kyllene, and became the messenger of the gods, a quality which suits his former character, and already appears in the foreground in the later parts of the *Iliad*.

By older art he is commonly figured as a mature man with a peaked beard, but in works of Ionic origin often as a youth. Subsequently the latter is the standing representation; he is then clad only in a chlamys or is quite naked, as he appears in the magnificent statue of Praxiteles dug up at Olympia. The child on his arm here is the young Dionysos, whom he is bringing to the nymphs to be nursed.

§ 89. With the herdsman's god Hermes is associated his son *Pan*, likewise an Arkadian, and the *Satyroi*, sprites much like Pan, and worshipped by the Argive peasantry busied with cattle-breeding and the cultivation of the vine. The Argives assigned to these gnome-like spirits of earth's fruitfulness the form of a goat, for this necessarily seemed to them the animal of chief procreative power. In passing over to human form the Satyrs preserved from this earlier stage the goat's ears and little tail as their characteristic token, as well as their connection with wine.

§ 90. As Pan ('the grazer') was like them represented in the form of a goat, he may well be regarded as the type of these same spirits of fertility, remodelled after their own likeness by the Arkadian herdsmen into the figure of a divine herdsman. Thus it is especially his function to make the herds increase and thrive. Like the herdsmen themselves he dwells in summer in the caves of the mountains, and in winter goes down with them into the plain; in the hot hour of midday he rests, at eventide he blows the shepherd's flute or *syrinx*; his secondary occupations are hunting, fishing, and the craft of war. It is he too who inspires herds, and hence armies also, with the sudden *panic* terror that drives them headlong in senseless flight. He is the lover of the moon-goddess Selene, probably because moonshine gives to the herds a suitable dewy pasture.

From Arkadia, where with Hermes he held almost the first rank, his worship spread through Argolis to Athens, to Parnassos, and as far as Thessaly. Later his similar character, probably through his connection with the Satyrs watching over the culture of the vine, brought him into the train of Dionysos. Finally the philosophers, giving a new interpretation to his name (τὸ πᾶν = the All), and identifying him with the great goat-shaped god of Mendes in Egypt, made him the omnipotent ruler and vital spirit of all nature, on whose death all nature's life perishes likewise. He was represented as bearded, with the legs, tail, ears, and horns of a goat, but often also as human, and only characterised by a brutish expression.

VI. ***Poseidon and his Circle.*** § 91. Most of the deities of water remained always in the closest connection with their element; only a few of them,—notably the lord of the sea Poseidon, and the Silenoi,—have grown under the influence of cult, legend, and art into more distinct personalities.

Okeanos is a mere personification of the ocean itself, which flows around the earth like a stream. From him arise springs, rivers, and seas, and likewise all other things, includ-

ing the gods themselves—a doctrine agreeing with the physical conceptions of the oldest philosophers, and suggested by the insular position of Greece. He is hence represented as a fatherly old man. He dwells with his wife Tethys ('nurse,' 'grandmother') on the western border of the earth, without visiting the congregation of the gods. The ἅλιος γέρων, or 'Old Man of the Sea,' while resembling Okeanos, is drawn somewhat more distinctly; his home is a cavern in the depths of the sea, and not only does he know all the secrets of his element, but, like the sea-gods of the Babylonians and Germans, he possesses in general immeasurable wisdom. But he who would question him must first overpower him in a wrestle, and force him, despite his power of assuming like water itself a variety of shapes, to communicate to him his knowledge.

From him branched off sea-gods variously named in various places—Nereus ('flowing one'), Proteus ('first-born'), Phorkys[1] and Triton ('streaming one'), and Glaukos ('resplendent'). The three first are represented in human shape; Nereus and Proteus have the gift of prophecy and self-transformation, while Phorkys with his wife Keto ('sea-monster') rules over marine and other monsters. On the other hand the Old Man of the Sea, Glaukos, and Triton were even later portrayed regularly as compound beings, in which the body of a fish was joined to a man's bust. This was probably an imitation of the Babylonian and Assyrian models of this class of sea-god which the Phoenicians and Ionians brought into Greece. A like formation was attributed to river-gods, Centaurs, and Satyrs.

§ 92. By the side of these lower sea-deities stand the *Nereïdes*, daughters of Nereus, who represent the kindly powers at work in the sea, or, from a more material point of view, embody the sportive wanton waves, and are figured in the form of lovely maidens. Especially prominent among them are Poseidon's wife Amphitrite ('she who flows round

[1] There are some technical reasons for connecting this name with the Sanskrit *bṛhat* ('mighty').

about'), Thetis the mother of Achilleus, and Galateia ('the milk-white'), the coy mistress of Polyphemos the Kyklops.

Akin to them is Ino-Leukothea, who was invoked as saviour in distress by sea; for the Nereids themselves are also called *Leukotheai* ('white goddesses'). On the other hand Ino became a by-form of Aphrodite-Astarte, who bore sway over the sea; and in the same way her son Melikertes was developed out of the sun-god and city-god Melqart of Tyre. Like the latter he was worshipped as protector of seafarers, but represented as a child in the arms of his mother, who is said to have sprung with him in frenzy into the sea, or as standing upon a dolphin. His by-name *Palaimon* ('Wrestler') points to his share in the celebration of the Isthmian Games. He had a sanctuary near Corinth, which had been an old seat of Phoenician trade.

§ 93. The destructive power of the perils menacing the seafarer was on the other hand incarnated in the monsters Skylla and Charybdis. The former appears as a maiden from whose body grow out six long necks with hounds' heads, that snatch the oarsmen from ships; Charybdis however is only vaguely described by Homer as a monster that thrice a day sucks in the tide. Both were later localised in the Straits of Messina; but both may have originally had their seat at the Skyllaian promontory on the eastern coast of Argolis. At the bottom of the story of Skylla may lie a sailor's tale of the kraken or devil-fish, which sometimes grows to a gigantic size; Charybdis is obviously nothing but a dangerous whirlpool.

§ 94. Far higher in character than any of these beings is Poseidon, the lord of the sea, and hence of all waters in general. He is brother of Zeus and Hades. The emblem of his might and the weapon with which he can cleave rocks and carve out valleys in the midst of mountains is the trident, properly a kind of harpoon which was used by fishers in spearing dolphins or tunnies. He is the national god of the Ionians, whose chief pursuits were fishing and seafaring, and

his son Theseus is their national hero. His worship however is older than that of the latter, for it came with the Ionian immigration into Asia, where the *Panionia* were celebrated in his honour at the promontory of Mykale as the festival of the union of all the Ionian colonies. These had in the mother-country a counterpart in the games at the Isthmus of Corinth instituted by Sisyphos and Theseus, which originally were purely Ionic, like the old *Amphiktyonia*, or religious union, of Poseidon at Kalauria near Trozen. His sanctuaries however are found scattered around the whole of Peloponnesos and on other coasts; he was said to dwell with his wife Amphitrite in a golden palace in the depths of the sea at Aigai in Achaia.

§ 95. All springs and streams arise from Okeanos, and Poseidon is their ruler, obviously because they were imagined to have an underground connection with the sea that embraces or sustains (γαιήοχος) and permeates the whole land. Earthquakes were looked upon as due to the motion of these waters under the earth, and hence Poseidon was described as the 'Earth-shaker' (ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων). Thus he is often worshipped in the interior of the country, in places where inland seas, raging rivers, or earthquakes bear testimony to his power, as was the case in Boiotia, Thessaly, and Lakonia. Since however he thus represents also the fertilising moisture arising from springs and rivers, he himself becomes the patron of vegetation (φυτάλμιος), and hence is associated with Demeter, Artemis, and Athena.

§ 96. His usual victim and symbol is the horse, the type of the raging wave. Hence he travels over the sea in a car drawn by swart horses with golden manes when he sways waves and winds. In earthquakes again men apparently thought they heard the rolling of his car as it dashed along underground; and thus he also comes into connection with the nether world. He himself in the form of a horse (Π. ἵππιος) begot by an Erinys or Harpy Arion, the war-horse of Adrastos, or made it spring forth by a blow of his trident from a rock, in the same way as in his contest

with Athena he raised up a salt spring on the Akropolis of Athens.

Besides the horse, the bull, which embodies the wild power of the billow, and its reverse the dolphin, which chiefly appears in a quiet sea, were hallowed and dear to Poseidon. Art represented him as like Zeus; but his features display not so much sublime calm as mighty force, which constitutes his chief quality. He is moreover figured as the type of the weather-worn seaman; his eye looks into the distance, his beard and hair are roughened by storm. Often too he is portrayed with his foot planted high up, as fishermen and sailors are wont to stand, fully clad in earlier times, later with the upper body naked.

§ 97. Like the billows of the sea, the waves of rushing rivers by their wild force and their bellowing roar suggested the idea that in such rivers a mighty bull was at work. Hence in earlier times river-gods were figured as bulls with a man's face; but already in Homer they appear in complete human shape, and even later art indicates but seldom their nature by small bulls' horns, commonly characterising them by simply assigning to them an urn. The most revered of them are Acheloos the opponent of Herakles and Alpheios the lover of the fountain-nymph Arethusa, who fled from his wooing through the sea to the peninsula of Ortygia at Syracuse. The finest statue of a river-god that can be identified with certainty is that of the Nile in the Vatican.

§ 98. The Silenoi are Phrygian-Ionic gods of rivers and fountains, whose figure, like those of the Centaurs, was originally compounded of the bodies of a man and a horse. Their chief representative is the Silenos Marsyas, the god of the river of that name which rises at Kelainai in Phrygia. As inventor of Phrygian flute-playing he was said to have challenged the harper Apollon to a contest; being defeated by him, he was flayed alive, and his blown skin was hung up by his fountain in Kelainai. As skins however served to hold water, it is possible that a skin was originally assigned to him, as the urn to river-gods, merely to characterise his nature, and

that the story of the contest is thus to be regarded as a later fiction to interpret this attribute.

In Athens the Silenoi attendant on Dionysos were confused with the goat-like Peloponnesian Satyroi, who about the time of Peisistratos had been introduced from Corinth for the festal songs and dances of the Great Dionysia.

§ 99. The vivifying power of water was especially embodied in the figures of the *Nymphs*, who appear in the form of young and lightly-clad maidens or women wherever water exerts this force. This it does most manifestly by springs, which from the oldest times served as places of worship; the springs' embodiments, the *Naïades*, are characterised in detail by shells or other vessels for drawing water. Thence the nymphs spread to all places where wealth of water called forth lush vegetation; thus the *Oreiades* were given a dwelling-place in the woodlands and mountain pastures. In particular the vital power at work in each single tree was explained as the activity of a nymph living like a soul within and with it; she was termed a *Dryad* ('tree-maiden'), or *Hamadryad* ('one bound up with the tree'). According to this view the nymph lives only as long as the vital power represented by her is at work in the object to which it belongs. When the spring dries up, when the tree withers, the nymph dies.

VII. ***Personifications of the Heavenly Bodies and other Nature-Deities.*** § 100. The deities embodying the sun and moon, Helios and Selene, were daily honoured everywhere on the rising and setting of their planet by prayer and greeting. Yet their peculiar ritual of sacrifice was usually very simple. Helios was held in higher consideration at Corinth, and above all on the island of Rhodes, where a brilliant festival, the Halieia, was held in his honour. Here at the entrance of the harbour was raised to him, about 280 B.C., the bronze statue made by Chares of Lindos, which was famous as the 'Colossus of Rhodes.' On account of the apparent movement of the sun Helios was thought to ride through the heavens on a glistening car drawn by four swift

horses; he himself was portrayed as in the flower of youth, the long tresses of his hair crowned by a coronet of beams. By the sea-goddess Klymene he begets Phaethon ('Glistener'), who perishes in the attempt to drive for one day the car of the sun in place of his father. His milk-white herds of oxen and sheep, which none may harm, graze in the island of Thrinakia. In the heliotrope which always turns towards the sun men saw his mistress Klytia, who was changed into the flower.

§ 101. Like Helios, Selene plays a quite inferior part in cult. Sometimes she is associated with him; and to her, as to Eos, thanks are chiefly paid for the gift of the nightly dews promoting nature's growth. In legend her husband or lover is *Endymion*, probably 'he who has entered into his cave' (ἐνδύω), *i.e.* the sun-god after his setting, with whom the moon-goddess unites in the night of the new moon. According to the conception of the Eleans, she bears to him fifty daughters, who embody the fifty months making up the cycle of the Olympian festival; in Carian legend again the hunter or herdsman Endymion sleeps in a cavern of Mount Latmos, and Selene privily draws near to kiss the beautiful sleeper.

§ 102. Of the stars, but few appear in older times as figures in myth. The morning star, Heosphoros or Phosphoros ('bringer of dawn' or 'of light,' Latin *Lucifer*), is represented as a boy bearing a torch, the brilliant constellation Orion as a gigantic hunter with upraised club. The latter is ravished away by Eos and slain by Artemis. His dog is Seirios ('bright one'), the most brilliant fixed star, on whose early rising begins the hottest season of the year, the 'dog-days.' The Bear looks in alarm towards Orion, and the goddesses of rain, the star-cluster of the Pleïades, flee from his ambush.

Later each group of stars of especial brilliancy was represented, in imitation of the Babylonians, as a picture, and brought into connection with the older figures of myths by stories of transformations.

§ 103. Among the other deities of light the first place is

taken by Eos or Dawn (Latin *Aurora*), the sister of Helios and Selene. As giver of the morning dews she carries pitchers in her hands. To denote the brightness of the break of day she has a saffron-yellow robe, arms and fingers of rosy splendour, and wings of a brilliant white; on account of her speed she is often portrayed as riding on a car. Her spouse is Tithonos, a brother of Priamos; her son Memnon is killed by Achilleus. Like Orion, she carried away Tithonos as a comely stripling, and obtained for him from Zeus immortality but not eternal youth; hence he withers away by her side and lives a wretched life in a decrepit old age until, according to later story, he is changed into a cicada.

The speed with which the rainbow casts its span from heaven to earth makes Iris, who typifies it, the gods' messenger; to her therefore pertain great wings, a short garment of rainbow hue, and the herald's staff (κηρύκειον). In the older parts of the *Iliad* she is the messenger of Zeus; later her place in his service is taken by Hermes, while she herself is henceforth an attendant of Hera. As the rainbow was deemed the harbinger of rain, she was wedded to Zephyros, the rain-wind.

§ 104. The gods of the winds were conceived in the oldest times under the form of horses, like the Harpies described above (§ 21), whom they often pursue as enemies or lovers; later they appear as widely striding bearded men with wings on their shoulders and often also on their feet. Sometimes they are depicted with a double face looking forwards and backwards, which doubtless refers to the change in the direction of the wind. In earlier ages they were distinguished only into *Boreas* (North wind), *Zephyros* (West wind), *Notos* (South wind), and somewhat later *Euros* (East wind), who are accounted sons of Astraios ('Starry Heaven') and Eos ('Dawn'). Like the Harpies, they are by nature robbers; Boreas in particular ravishes away the lovely Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, from the banks of the Ilissos—perhaps a picture of the morning mist swept away by the wind. Their lord is Aiolos ('Swift'), who dwells on a floating island in

the far West, and keeps the winds inclosed in a cavern, the 'Cave of the Winds.'

VIII. ***Ares and Aphrodite.*** § 105. Ares (compare *ἀρείων, ἄριστος, ἀρετή*) was originally the chief god of Thracian tribes that had forced their way into Thessaly, Boiotia, and Phokis, and was probably also like Hades a death-god dwelling in the depths of earth. In his native land human sacrifices were offered to him. As befitted the character of his worshippers, he developed into the furious god of war, and in this quality alone he was allowed entrance into Greece. From his ancient by-name *Enyalios*, which seemingly is connected with the wild cry of battle, arose his attendant the murderous war-goddess Enyo (Latin *Bellona*), and later were associated with him in the same way Deimos and Phobos, Eris the goddess of strife (Latin *Discordia*), and the Keres, the bringers of death in battle, figured as black women in bloody garb, who are strictly to be regarded as themselves souls of the dead. He represents however merely the power of war's brute violence, and hence must give way before Athena and her favourites.

§ 106. In Greece Ares is reckoned the son of Zeus and Hera; and in Thebes, the most important seat of his worship, his wife is Aphrodite. The latter's place however was earlier held by the Erinys Tilphossa, a death-goddess and well-spirit, by whom Ares begot the dragon (his own image) that dwelt in a cavern by a spring near the historic city. Later epos, probably taking the Lemnian point of view, connects Aphrodite with Hephaistos as his wife and makes Ares her paramour. Her place was occupied by the nymph Aglauros in Athens, where he was worshipped on the *Areios Pagos* or 'Hill of Ares' as presiding over manslayers' atonement and trial for bloodshed.

Art figures Ares as a man of youthful strength, in older times bearded and fully armed, later beardless and wearing only a helmet and *chlamys*. His symbol is the spear, in ritual the torch, which probably indicates the devastation wrought by war.

§ 107. Aphrodite in Greece is especially the goddess of love and of the beauty that provokes love. When in Homer she is scorned by her sister Athena for her unwarlike nature, Zeus himself gently smiling takes her under his protection, with the words—"Not unto thee, my daughter, are given the works of war; rather do thou pursue the pleasant works of wedlock" (*Il.* v. 428 f.). Hence Eros, the incarnate yearning of love, is regarded as her constant attendant, and, in the later conception, as her actual son. In her train are Peitho or Persuasion and the Charites, to whom she stands very near in other respects also, for in the *Iliad* Charis is the wife of Hephaistos, while in the *Odyssey* Aphrodite herself holds this place. Her parents are Zeus and Dione, in the same way as the embodiment of youthful bloom, Hebe, is daughter of Zeus and Hera. In Thebes she is associated with Ares the god of war and death, with whom she is connected in Homer also. Harmonia ('Union'), who is closely allied to Aphrodite herself viewed as *Pandemos* (the love 'bringing the people together'), and the war-god's attendants Deimos or Terror and Phobos or Flight, are accounted her children.

§ 108. These associations, based as they are on speculation, as well as her substitution for other goddesses, indicate that Aphrodite's home is not Greece. As already in Homer she is termed 'the Cyprian' (*Kypris*), and her apparently oldest places of worship, Amathus and Idalion, lie in Cyprus, we should probably look for her true home on this island. From here her worship may have come to Kythera (Cerigo) and Sparta, as also to Corinth, Elis, Athens, and on the other side to Mount Eryx in Sicily. In Cyprus again she is probably but a local form of the Assyrian-Phoenician goddess of fruitfulness, Istar or Astarte, to whom she bears a peculiar likeness in her relations with the Semitic Adonis ('Lord') worshipped chiefly in the Syrian Byblos and in Cyprus itself. The latter was conceived as a beautiful youth beloved of Aphrodite, who in midsummer is wounded during the chase by a boar (the sun), speedily perishes, and then is doomed to

abide until the spring in the nether world with Persephone, who thus appears as his Greek counterpart.

§ 109. To Cyprus also belongs originally the legend of Aphroditos or Hermaphroditos, a god of double sex akin to Aphrodite herself, and representing nature's powers of luxuriant increase; properly he seems to have borne the latter name only because he was represented as a rule in the shape of a *hermes* (§ 83). Through a mistaken interpretation of this name he was afterwards made into a son of Hermes and Aphrodite (compare Priapos, § 117). Similarly Aphrodite's connection with Anchises the king of Dardanos in the Troad, to whom she comes on Mount Ida and bears Aineias, is probably of Oriental origin. Anchises again is perhaps akin to the comely Paris the son of Priamos, who awards to her the prize of beauty; in the same way she herself is doubtless connected with the beautiful Helena, whom she procures for Paris as reward. From Astarte she seems to have borrowed even her common by-name of worship, *Urania* ('heavenly one'); the story of her relation to Uranos is plainly a mere fiction to explain this title, made up after her name *Aphrodite* had been wrongly interpreted as 'foam-born.' It is the same with her connection with the sea, on which the part played by her in Greece throws no light, and with her worship as *Euploia* ('giver of fair passage'), *Pontia* ('ocean-goddess'), and the like; in this quality the dolphin and swan are her appropriate attributes.

§ 110. In Mykenai have been found figures of a naked goddess attended by doves. Though clearly modelled on the representations of the Asiatic goddess of fertility, they should probably be described as early images of Aphrodite. From the Homeric times she wears, like all other Greek goddesses, long garments; she holds fruit in her hands, and doves sit at her feet. From the fourth century onwards however she appears again as partly or wholly naked, as she is conceived as bathing or as *Anadyomene* (arising from the sea). The finest example of the half-naked goddess is the Aphrodite of Melos; Praxiteles represented her for her sanctuary at Knidos as

entirely nude. As emblems of fruitfulness the ram or goat as well as the dove are assigned to her.

§ 111. Eros is on the other hand the male personification of love. As a god in the true sense of the word he was worshipped from ancient times, probably even by the pre-Hellenic population, at Thespiai in Boiotia, at Parion on the Hellespont, and at Leuktra in Lakonia. His cult at Thespiai centred round a primitive symbol, an unhewn stone; he himself was accounted there the son of Hermes the giver of fruitfulness by the infernal mother Artemis. In the Homeric poems he does not appear as a god, and Hesiod regards him only as a primal power creating the universe, although he certainly knew of his actual worship.

§ 112. From Eros were later distinguished Himeros or passionate desire and Pothos or lover's yearning, although these did not actually come to be regarded as divinities; and thus there gradually grew up a number of Erotes no longer distinguishable from one another. From the commencement of the fifth century B.C. Eros finds portrayal in art as a winged boy or a tender youth with a blossom and lyre, a fillet (ταινία) and crown in his hands, and often associated with Aphrodite, who is now looked upon as his mother. From the fourth century onwards he receives a bow and arrows or a torch as his attribute, the pain of love excited by him being regarded as a wound. Later the torch was viewed as a symbol of the light of life, and Eros like Aphrodite was brought into connection with death and the infernal world. An inverted and expiring torch was put into his hand, or he himself was figured as wearily sinking to sleep, and thus he was turned into the death-god Thanatos.

Finally, following Platonic conceptions, men expressed the love that at once blesses and racks the human soul by depicting Eros as either winningly embracing or cruelly torturing Psyche, the soul portrayed as a butterfly (§ 3) or a maiden with butterfly's wings.

IX. ***The Religion of Dionysos.*** § 113. An entirely new kind of worship spread through Greece when the fanatical

service of Dionysos was introduced. This was to some extent known already to Homer, but it finds in him only a passing mention. The cult of Dionysos had its origin in Thrace; thence, like the service of Ares, it was carried by emigrants moving south-westwards to Phokis and Boiotia, and later also to Attica. The Thracians were closely akin to the Phrygians of Asia Minor, among whom he was adored under the name of *Sabazios*, as the son of the divine mother Ma. In his own home, as later in Greece, the god was worshipped at night-time by women, who wandered about the mountain woodlands in passionate excitement with torches in their hands; these are the 'orgies,' ὄργια, a word connected with ὀργάω ('swell,' 'be excited') and ὀργή ('impulse'). These worshippers became in myth his nurses the Nymphs or his attendants the *Bacchai* ('shouters'), *Mainades* ('mad-women'), and *Thyiades* ('raging ones').

§ 114. The wild round-dance, the shaking of the head, the shouting, and the distracting music of the flute, together with the use of intoxicating drinks, especially of wine, which was grown in Thrace from early times, roused them to an ecstasy in which they imagined themselves united with the god. Their souls seemed to leave their bodies and join the troop of spirits attending on him; or they fancied the god himself entered into their bodies and inspired them. The feeling of the opposition between soul and body which displays itself in this rapture (ἔκστασις) leads to a belief in the divine nature of the spirit, and hence at the same time to a conviction of its imperishability; for if the soul can part from the mortal body and live on by itself in ecstasy, it can do so equally well in death. To Dionysos the god of souls, as to the souls themselves, was now attributed the form of a snake; in order to take him up into themselves, his worshippers tore to pieces and swallowed snakes or other young animals which were consecrated to him and in earlier times were imagined to represent him, such as calves and goats,—probably too in the oldest times even children,—drank the blood, which was looked upon as the seat of vital power, and enwrapped them-

selves in the raw skins. Meanwhile they called in a loud voice upon the god, conceived at the time of the winter solstice as a child slumbering in a winnowing-fan, to vouchsafe fruitfulness in the commencing year. From the cry of rejoicing uttered by them the god himself was called Bacchos or Iacchos.

§ 115. The same meaning is betrayed by the festal rites of the Little Dionysia, celebrated at the *Anthesteria* ('flower-feast') in the country and in Athens by a symbolic wedding of the god with the queen, representing the land; her place was taken in the time of the republic by the wife of the *Archon Basileus*.

An intoxicating drink was prepared also from the fruit of the ivy; hence this likewise was sacred to Dionysos. As *Lyaios* ('setting free from care') he carries as his symbol the vine-branch or the *thyrsos* (a staff capped with a pine-cone) wreathed with ivy. In his honour was held at Athens the vintage-festival of the *Oschophoria* ('carrying of grape-clusters'), as well as the feast of the wine-press, the *Lenaia*. In vine-growing Naxos, which was the centre of the worship of Dionysos on the islands populated by Ionians, the *dithyrambos* was probably sung to him at first as a simple drinking ditty. In Corinth this was remodelled into a choral song performed by singers attired as satyrs; from this grew up at the Dionysiac festivities of Thebes the dithyramb of Pindar, and in Athens the Drama in its earliest form as τραγῳδία ('goat-song') or 'Satyr-play' (σατυρικόν, σάτυροι). Hence in Athens at the spring games of the Great Dionysia the most important part of the feast was the production of the dramas that had grown out of this song.

§ 116. When the true meaning of the above mentioned sacrifice of children was no longer understood, the Orphics, or expounders of the religious poetry founded on the worship of Dionysos, created about the time of Peisistratos a fiction to explain that rite. Dionysos himself, they said, had as a child or in the shape of a beast been torn to pieces by the Titans, the foes of the gods, and thence had received the

name *Zagreus*. The word seems to be properly a by-name of the death-god who ravishes all away (Ζα-αγρεύς, the 'Wild Hunter'?).

Once introduced into the Hellenic system of deities, the Thracian stranger becomes the son of Zeus, his mother Semele the daughter of Kadmos of Thebes, as he was there chiefly worshipped. On her premature death Zeus conceals the still undeveloped embryo in his own thigh until the time of birth. Then Hermes conveys it for further care to the nymphs of Nysa or to their equivalents the Hyades ('maidens of the rain-cloud').

§ 117. Other myths refer to the opposition with which the introduction of this foreign cult was met. Even in Thrace, the god's home, barbarian foes of his worship seem to be typified in Lykurgos, who pursued him and his nurses with a double-axe. In the Minyeian Orchomenos he is opposed by the sober industrious daughters of Minyas, and similarly in Argos by those of Proitos, in Thebes again by King Pentheus himself. They however all perish through the madness sent upon them by the god, which is the final stage of drunken excitement.

The marriage of Dionysos with Ariadne, a Cretan goddess of near kindred to Aphrodite, which is localised in Naxos or Dia, is in complete agreement with the character he bears elsewhere; its meaning is clearly marked by the names of the sons sprung from it, *Oinopion* ('wine-drinker'), *Staphylos* ('grape'), and *Euanthes* ('blooming one'). By Aphrodite again he is the father of Priapos the god of gardens and herds worshipped at Lampsakos on the Hellespont, who seems to be of kindred nature to himself.

§ 118. The oldest symbol of his worship was a consecrated post or pillar formed probably from a holy tree, from which again the earliest true cult-statues developed on the addition of a mask and clothing. The representation of him as a bearded, fully-clad man remains the standard one until the fourth century B.C.; later he appears as a child on the arm of Hermes or of a bearded satyr. After Praxiteles had figured

him as a naked youth clad only in the skin of a fawn (*νεβρίς*), this nude boyish type came to be universally accepted.

X. ***The Goddesses of Fate.*** § 119. As order and law in the states of men came gradually to prevail over the arbitrary will of the strong man, these ideas were independently personified in the Goddesses of Fate standing by the side of the gods of the older time,—gods conceived, entirely on the model of human rulers, as swayed by passions. In Homer, as in the States of his age, the position of these goddesses is still uncertain. The 'apportioned lot,' *Moira*—who appears also, though not so often, in the plural number as well,—or *Aisa*, is regarded sometimes as an expression of the will of Zeus, while in other parts of the poems she already stands independently by his side or even above him, and in this case he, like the other gods, does but execute her decisions. Hence the Moirai in Hesiod are in one place styled daughters of Night, and in another children of Zeus and Themis. They decide the destiny of man at once on his birth, and all the important events of life, especially marriage and death, take place under their direction. After Hesiod three Moirai are distinguished—*Klotho*, 'spinner of the life's thread,' *Lachesis*, the 'giver of life's portion,' and *Atropos*, 'the unswerving, inexorable one,' who sends death. In accordance with this they carry as emblems in art spindles and lots, sometimes also a roll and the balance, like their mother Themis. The Romans identified them with their own *Parcae* and *Fata*.

§ 120. Nemesis, 'the apportioner,' who first appears in personal form in Hesiod, originally embodies, like them, the idea of the 'allotted portion.' She watches over the maintenance of due measure, and hence the ell-rule and balance pertain to her as emblems. As moreover she reprobates and punishes (*νεμεσάω, νεμεσίζομαι*) all offences against the law of measure, especially those caused by immoderate self-confidence (*hybris*), she becomes also the wrathful requiter; and now as a tamer of arrogance she holds a bridle, yoke and

scourge. Usually however she is characterised as the goddess warning men against pride by the gesture of spitting into her bosom, while at the same time lifting her robe; for by this token of humiliation men sought to ward off the baneful results of pride. As requiter in the next world she was honoured in Athens at the festival of the *Nemesia*; proper worship however was accorded to her only at Rhamnus in Attica. On her identification with Leda see § 135.

§ 121. Of these personifications, which gradually dissolved the old belief in the gods, the latest is *Tyche*, 'Good Luck,' the Latin *Fortuna*. She appears indeed as a person already in the older lyric poets; but she does not gain any general worship as a god until faith in the power of the old deities begins to wane. Now in the age of unbelief she was reputed the giver of fruitfulness and wealth, as well as the director of human destiny and the saviour from perils at sea and in war; hence also she was often regarded as the guardian goddess of cities. The horn of plenty and rudder were her attributes; and besides these a rolling wheel or a ball was assigned to her, in order to indicate Fortune's fickleness.

§ 122. The worship of this goddess of Chance however properly amounts to a denial of all real divine power. Thus after the destruction of the old positive faith in gods who guided in consciousness and grace men's destinies, the Greek world made itself ready to receive the new doctrine of salvation going forth from Palestine. For although for a time philosophy strove to inspire anew the old outworn forms with a content of ethical thought, it was never able to furnish a truly comforting conviction of a life after death and of a justice that shall make amends for the imperfections of this world.

Heroic Poetry.

I. ***Theban Legends.*** § 123. Kadmos, the builder of the Kadmeia, from which he himself as 'eponymous' hero derives his name, is the mythical ancestor of the princely race of *Kadmeiones* dwelling on the citadel of Thebes. He destroyed a dragon born of Ares that lurked by a spring. From its teeth when sown in the earth grew the brazen *Spartoi* or 'sown men,' *i. e.* the earliest inhabitants of Thebes. When they had for the most part slain one another in a fratricidal strife aroused by Kadmos' devices, he founded the Kadmeia with the aid of the five survivors, *i. e.* the ancestors of the noble families of Thebes. He then wedded Harmonia ('Union'), the daughter of the national Boiotian deities Ares and Aphrodite; this points to the creation of an ordered civic life. Of their children, Ino and Semele should be mentioned. Finally Kadmos with his wife, like other heroes, took the form of a snake; both however were removed by Zeus into Elysion. In Sparta Kadmos had a *heroon*, or place of worship as a hero.

Later legend, which was especially propagated from Delphoi, placed the home of Kadmos in Phoenicia, and made him a son of King Agenor of Tyre. By the latter, it is said, he was despatched with his brothers, the tribal heroes Phoinix, Kilix, and Thasos, to seek for his sister Europe when she had been carried away by Zeus; but on arriving at Boiotia he founded Thebes. While playing with her comrades on the shore of Sidon or Tyre, Europe had been led by Zeus, appearing in the form of a bull, to mount upon his back, and was then suddenly borne away by him over the sea to Crete, where *Zeus Laterios* may have been once worshipped in bull's form. Minos and Rhadamanthys were reputed her sons; the feast of the *Hellotia* was celebrated in honour of *Europe Hellotia* or *Hellotis* in Crete, and in it an enormous crown of myrtle was carried about.

§ 124. Antiope is a heroine of Boiotia and Sekyon. In the hills of Kithairon she bears to Zeus the twins Amphion and Zethos, who probably are in origin akin to the Lakonian Dioskoroi. Being later cruelly tortured by Dirke, the jealous wife of her uncle Lykos, she flees to Kithairon, and there unrecognised she meets her sons, whom a herdsman had brought up. On a festival of Dionysos however she is captured again by Dirke, and in punishment of her flight she is bound to the horns of a bull to be crushed to death. Then her sons learn from their fosterfather the secret of their birth, free their mother, and execute the punishment to which she has been doomed on Dirke herself, who as she dies is transformed into the spring of that name near Thebes. The binding of Dirke to the bull was represented at the beginning of the second century by Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles in the marble group well known under the name of the 'Farnese Bull,' which is now in Naples.

The twins now make themselves masters of Thebes and surround the lower town with the seven-gated wall, the stones dragged thither by the powerful Zethos setting themselves in ordered rows by the magic of Amphion's harping. It is a story probably meant to extol the regulative influence of music, in which the same law of proportion rules as in the art of building.

§ 125. Amphion wedded Niobe, the daughter of Tantalos, who had inherited the pride of her father. As she had borne six sons and six daughters, she boasted that she was richer than Leto, who had but two children. Apollon and Artemis avenged the insult offered to their mother by slaying all the children of Niobe, who in grief for her bereavement turned into a stone and was removed to Mount Sipylos in Lydia; but she was invoked in Greece too as a goddess, and a spring of Argos bore her name. Amphion slew himself; his grave was shown near Thebes.

The slaughter of the Niobids was represented in a group by Skopas or Praxiteles, probably for the city of Seleucia in Cilicia, and this was later brought to Rome. Most of the

figures in it have come down to us in Roman imitations, now in Florence.

II. ***The Legends of Argos, Mykenai, and Tiryns.*** § 126. Excavations have shown that in the palmy days of the city of Mykenai, a period which must have extended approximately from 1400 to 2000 B.C., the district of Argolis entered into close relations with Egypt and Asia. The myths of this land tell the same story; Io and Danaos point to a connection with Egypt, Perseus and the Pelopids to one with Asia.

Io, the daughter of the river-god Inachos, is loved by Zeus; the jealous Hera therefore transforms her into a heifer, the animal sacred to her, and sets the many-eyed, all-seeing (*πανόπτης*) Argos to keep watch on her near Mykenai, until at the command of Zeus he is cast into slumber and slain by Hermes, who on this account bears the by-name of 'Argos-slayer' (*Ἀργειφόντης*). Hereupon Io is hunted over land and sea by a gadfly sent by Hera; in Euboia or Egypt however she at last recovers from Zeus her human form, and now gives birth to Epaphos, the father of Danaos and Aigyptos.

§ 127. Danaos—the representative of the Danaoi, who in Homer's time dwelt in Argolis—emigrated, according to the story, with his fifty daughters, the Danaides, to Greece, and became King of Argos, where later his gravestone was shown in the market-place of the city. The fifty sons of Aigyptos pursued them and sued for the maidens; but at the command of Danaos all were slaughtered on their wedding night by their wives excepting Lynkeus, whom his bride Hypermestra spared. In punishment of this misdeed the Danaides were doomed in the nether world to fill with water a leaking jar.

§ 128. Akrisios, King of Argos, was a descendant of Lynkeus. From an oracle he learned that he was to be slain by a grandson; he therefore hid his daughter Danae in a brazen chamber and set a close watch over her. But Zeus nevertheless made his way to her as a golden rain, and she

became mother of Perseus. Akrisios now confined both in a chest, and cast them into the sea. Simonides of Keos depicts their sore distress with deep pathos. "When in the cunningly-wrought chest the raging blast and the stirred billow and terror fell upon her, with tearful cheeks she cast her arm around Perseus and spake 'Alas, my child, what sorrow is mine! But thou slumberest, in baby wise sleeping in this woeful ark; midst the darkness of brazen rivet thou shinest and in swart gloom sent forth; thou heedest not the deep foam of the passing wave above thy locks nor the voice of the blast as thou liest in thy purple covering, a sweet face. If terror had terrors for thee, and thou wert giving ear to my gentle words—I bid thee sleep, my babe, and may the sea sleep and our measureless woe; and may change of fortune come forth, Father Zeus, from thee. For that I make my prayer in boldness and beyond right, forgive me.'"

At length they reached the island of Seriphos, in which Perseus grew up. The king of it later despatched him to fetch the head of the Gorgon Medusa. Having the support of Hermes and Athena, he succeeded in cutting off the head of the sleeping monster, the sight of which turned to stone all who beheld it; he escaped the pursuit of Medusa's sisters only by the help of a helmet lent to him by Hades, which made him invisible. In Aithiopia (perhaps Rhodes) he liberated Andromeda, the daughter of Kepheus, who had been bound to a rock on the shore as a sacrifice to a sea-monster sent by Poseidon. After having then turned into stone all his enemies by the sight of the Gorgon's head and slain his grandfather, as the oracle foretold, by an oversight in throwing the quoit, he ruled with his wife Andromeda in Tiryns, and thence built Mykenai. In Argos he had a *heroon*, and he was worshipped also in Athens and Seriphos.

§ 129. The race of Tantalos is later, though even before the Dorian migration it was powerful in Argos and a great part of the remaining Peloponnesos. Tantalos at the same time has his seat on Mount Sipylos in Asia Minor. He is a figure like Atlas, the supporter of heaven and mountain-

god. As the son of Zeus, the gods honoured him with their intimate society, but by his sensual lusts and his audacity (*hybris*) he forfeited their favour. He was therefore hurled down into the nether world and there stood, in an eternal agony of hunger and thirst, in the midst of water under a tree with abundant fruit; for water and tree retreated whenever he stretched forth his hand towards them. According to another story, a rock ever threatening to fall swung over his head. This appears to be the older conception, for the name Tantalos is certainly to be derived from ταντα-λοῦμαι, ταντα-λένω, 'to rock,' and to be translated by something like 'Rocking-Stone'; perhaps rocking-stones, as in Germany, were looked upon as the seat of the deity on mountain-tops. There was a mountain of the same name in Lesbos, where Tantalos also received worship as a hero.

§ 130. His children are Niobe and Pelops, from whom the Peloponnesos ('island of Pelops') is said to have got its name. The latter wooed Hippodameia ('horse-tamer'), the daughter of King Oinomaos of Elis, and won her by a race with her father, who perished in it by the treachery of his charioteer. The preparations for this race are represented on the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Pelops was devoutly worshipped as a hero with sacrifices and games in Elis and other parts of the Peloponnesos.

His son Atreus on the death of Eurystheus became ruler of Mykenai; and, according to the older legend furnished by the *Iliad*, his brother Thyestes legally inherited the kingdom from him. But later epos, and above all the tragedians, represent the descendants of Tantalos as involved in a series of most awful crimes. According to them, Thyestes robbed his brother of empire, wife, and son. Atreus again, after recovering the royal power, avenged himself by slaughtering the sons of Thyestes and setting their flesh as food before their unwitting father. For this Atreus was in his turn murdered afterwards by Aigisthos, a son of Thyestes, whom he had however regarded as his own son and brought up as such.

§ 131. Aigisthos was ousted from the kingship by Agamemnon and Menelaos, the true sons of Atreus; the former became king of Mykenai, the latter of Lakedaimon, where in later times he and his wife Helena were worshipped as local gods, especially in Therapne. Paris, the comely son of Priamos of Troy, abducted Helena with the aid of Aphrodite. To avenge their shame the two Atreidai mustered a mighty host of Greeks, over which Agamemnon assumed chief command. When this had gathered at Aulis, contrary winds delayed their sailing, because Agamemnon had offended the goddess Artemis. A seer announced that the goddess could be appeased only by the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia. Upon this the king sent a messenger to his wife Klytaimestra [1] at Mykenai to tell her that she should send her daughter to the camp to be wedded to Achilleus. But when Iphigeneia was dragged to the sacrifice Artemis carried her away to Tauris (the Crimean peninsula), and in stead of the maid a doe stood by the altar. Agamemnon now set forth with Menelaos and many other heroes against Troy. In the meantime Aigisthos seduced Klytaimestra, who was wroth with her husband for the immolation of her daughter; and the pair then murdered the king when ten years later he returned home after capturing Troy. In Lakonia, Chaironeia, and Klazomenai however Agamemnon was worshipped in after times as *Zeus Agamemnon* (compare Ζεὺς βασιλεύς), a sort of 'infernal Zeus' (§ 24), under the form of a sceptre, the symbol of kingship; his grave was shown in Amyklai and Mykenai. On the murder of her father Elektra, his elder daughter, saved her young brother Orestes and conveyed him to King Strophios of Phokis, with whose son Pylades he formed a friendship. When grown into a youth he hastened back to Mykenai in order to take vengeance for his father on the two slayers. In the *Elektra* of Sophokles, and still more in that of Euripides, Elektra, herself ill-treated by Kly-

[1] The spelling *Klytaimnestra*, or *Clytaemnestra*, is wholly without authority; the name usually spelt *Hypermnestra* seems to be in need of a like correction to *Hypermestra*.

taimestra, spurs on her brother by words breathing deep hatred to execute the hideous deed of blood, when the sight of his mother makes him hesitate. First Klytaimestra fell transfixed by his son's sword, then Aigisthos also. But scarcely had Orestes shed the blood of his mother when the Erinyes arose to pursue him. He wandered about in restless misery, until at the bidding of the Delphic oracle he went to Tauris in order to bring to Greece the statue of Artemis to be found there. Captured in the attempt to steal it away, he was doomed to be slain as a sacrifice to the goddess. In her temple he found his sister Iphigeneia serving as priestess. With her aid he escaped, carrying her and the statue with him. Pylades, who had accompanied him everywhere, now wedded Elektra, Orestes the lovely Hermione, the daughter of Menelaos and Helena.

Iphigeneia is originally a by-name of Artemis, hence the priestess may have been akin in character to her goddess. Orestes, on the other hand, received honour as a hero in Sparta, Tegea, Trozen, and elsewhere.

III. ***Corinthian Legends.*** § 132 Closely connected with Argos was Corinth, which owing to its position developed early into an important trading city, and was especially influenced by Phoenicia.

The *Iliad* already knows of the wily gain-loving Sisyphos, the ruler of Ephyre, *i. e.* of Akrokorinthos, the citadel of the town, where he had a temple. Later he degenerated into a mere calculator and intriguer, the prototype and image of the Corinthian trader. For having offended Zeus he was doomed in the lower world to eternally push up a hill a rock which ever rolled back from its summit. As his grave on the Isthmos and his relations with Poseidon mark Sisyphos out as an ancient sea-god, this punishment is perhaps to be regarded as a picture of the billow ceaselessly rolling hither and thither the stones of the beach.

§ 133. His grandson Bellerophontes, or, with a shortened name, Bellerophon, possesses the winged horse Pegasos (§ 59). Being sent to Lycia, he slew with its aid the terrible Chimaira

(literally 'she-goat'), a monster compounded of a goat vomiting fire, a lion, and a snake, which probably personifies volcanic phenomena. Then he fought against the mountain-folk of the Solymoi and the man-like Amazons. At length he sought to force his way upon his steed into heaven itself, but was hurled down to perish miserably. He enjoyed divine honours both in Corinth and in Lycia.

IV. ***Lakonian Legends.*** § 134. The most important place in Lakonia before the Dorian migration was Amyklai, a chief seat of the worship of Apollon, south of Sparta. Here or in Sparta Tyndareos and his wife Leda ruled. After Zeus, who had a seat upon the neighbouring mountain-range of Taygetos, had come into her arms in the form of a swan, Leda became mother of the Dioskoroi, or 'sons of Zeus,'—Polydeukes (the Latin *Pollux*) and Kastor,—as well as of Helena. To Tyndareos she bore Klytaimestra; the mortal Kastor also was regarded later as his son.

§ 135. The Dioskoroi have their chief seat in Lakonia, Messenia, and Argos; later however their worship spread over the whole Greek world, so that they were invoked everywhere as saviours in peril (Σωτῆρες) or as rulers (Ἄνακες), especially in battle and storm by sea. Sometimes too their sister Helena, who in consequence perhaps of her disastrous influence on Troy and the Greek nation was at last made the daughter of avenging Nemesis, was worshipped by their side as a guardian goddess. Both Dioskoroi ride upon white horses, but Polydeukes is also accounted a mighty boxer. After the death of Kastor, who was slain by the Messenian hero Idas, Polydeukes to avoid separation from his brother prayed Zeus that they might together spend for ever alternate days in the lower world and in Olympos.

In art the Dioskoroi appear as youthful horsemen, clad only in the *chlamys* and armed with the lance. In view of their heroic nature, the snake belongs to them as an attribute; later however they are characterised by the pointed egg-shaped cap (πῖλος), or by the addition of two stars.

V. ***Herakles.*** § 136. Herakles is the son of Zeus and

Alkmene ('strong one'), who was the wife of King Amphitryon of Thebes, a descendant of Perseus. In his youth he was known also, like his grandfather the ruler of Tiryns, by the name *Alkaios* ('man of might'), whence is derived his by-name Ἀλκείδης, in Latin *Alcides*. No certain explanation has been found for his usual name, which is probably Argive. The second part -κλέης -κλῆς, like the fuller form -κλειτος, is connected with κλέος 'glory'; but it is not certain that the first part is derived from Ἥρα, the tutelary goddess of Argos, who imposed on him his toils. As a hero he was especially honoured among the Boiotians, Dorians, and Thessalians; among the first indeed we find hero-worship in general quite fully developed at an earlier time than elsewhere. In Athens, Marathon, and Leontinoi again he received from ancient times divine honours as ἀλεξίκακος ('averter of evil') and καλλίνικος ('conqueror'). Later, when he was looked upon as chief representative of wrestling, and hence also as founder of the Olympian Games, his statues were to be found everywhere in the gymnasia and in the baths regularly joined to the latter, so that he actually became the god of all hot baths and healing springs. As again he cleared the roads from hostile powers, he figures also as guiding god of travellers (ἡγεμόνιος). Often he is accompanied by his protectress Athena, more rarely by Hermes and Apollon.

§ 137. Like all the sons born to Zeus by other wives, he is hated by Hera. When Zeus had destined the empire of Argos to the first descendant of Perseus who should next be born, she delayed his birth until his cousin Eurystheus came into the world at Mykenai; and so Eurystheus became lord of Argos and therewith liege lord of Herakles. This story makes it clear that Tiryns was originally looked upon as the birthplace of Herakles; for the distant Thebes, though it is already spoken of in the *Iliad* as his home, can never have stood in such a relation of dependence to Mykenai.

While still in the cradle Herakles strangled two serpents which Hera sent against him. After he had struck dead with his lyre his teacher Linos for chastising him, Amphitryon

sent him as herdsman to Kithairon, where he destroyed a monstrous lion. When his father fell in battle against the inhabitants of Orchomenos, Kreon the last *Spartos* (§ 123) became king of Thebes, and Herakles received his daughter Megara as his wife. In a frenzy inspired in him by Hera he shot down his three children; on his recovery he was compelled as atonement to enter the service of Eurystheus, who now imposed on him a series of grievous toils. This legend forms the link between the Theban (Boiotian) and the Argive (Dorian) Herakles-saga; the latter seems to contain the oldest elements in it.

§ 138. According to this Argive saga, Herakles had his dwelling-place in Tiryns, south of Mykenai, as indeed the legend of his birth suggests. First he struggled here, as at Kithairon, with a mighty lion haunting Mount Apesas between Nemea and Mykenai, whose hide he afterwards wore, slung round his upper body, as his characteristic dress. Then he proceeded, accompanied by his half-brother and charioteer Iolaos, against the Hydra, the water-snake of the swampy springs of Lerna in the south of Argos, which legend magnified into a creature like the devil-fish. For every head cut off from the monster two new ones grew again, until Iolaos set the neighbouring wood on fire and scorched the wounds; the last deathless head Herakles covered with a rock. He then soaked his arrows in the poison of the monster.

§ 139. From Mount Erymanthos in Arkadia, down from whose snow-covered summit plunges a raging mountain-stream of the same name, comes a boar—representing the stream itself—that desolates the meadows of Psophis. Herakles pursues it into the icy uplands and then brings it in bonds to Eurystheus, who in abject terror takes refuge in a barrel. This is followed by the conquest of the Centaurs (*Kentauroi*). These are sons of Ixion and Nephele ('Cloud'), wild half-bestial hunters who dwell on Ossa and Pelion in Thessaly, as well as upon Mount Pholoe on the western border of Arkadia. Like the Silenoi, they are a compound of the bodies of man and horse. The oldest works of art give them

the rear-parts of a horse simply joined at the back to a complete human body, but afterwards the latter passes over in the region of the hips into a horse's fore-parts. Unlike the other Centaurs, Cheiron ('the handy one'), who dwells in a cavern of Pelion, is gentle, upright, and famous as leech, soothsayer, and trainer of the heroes Achilleus, Iason, and Asklepios. Pholos, who gives his name to Mount Pholoe, resembles him. With the latter Herakles lodges; on being entertained with the wine that is the common property of all the Centaurs, he falls to quarrelling with them and at length slays most of them with his arrows. Pholos also (and Cheiron too in later story) perishes on injuring himself through carelessness with an arrow. Herakles then captured the hind of Keryneia in Arkadia and chased away birds resembling the Harpies and Keres, which haunted the lake of Stymphalos and shot out their feathers like arrows (a type of the hail-storm). His native Argolis was now secure from all dangers.

§ 140. His later journeys were to distant lands. Elean local legend is the basis of the tale of how he cleansed the filthy stables of the Elean King Augeias ('shining one'); according to tradition, he fulfilled the task by leading through them the river Menios ('moon-stream'), while on the metope of the Olympian temple, the only surviving picture of this adventure, he uses a long broom. For this work Augeias promised Herakles the tithe of his herds, but did not keep his word, for which he was afterwards slain by him, together with his warriors, after a fierce resistance.

§ 141. With this is probably connected an adventure usually enumerated tenth in the list, the capture of the kine belonging to the giant Geryoneus ('Roarer'), who likewise rules in the far West on the island of Erytheia ('Red-land'). In order to sail over the ocean Herakles forces Helios to lend him his sun-boat; then with his arrows he slays the triple-bodied giant. On his return he overcomes on the site of the later Rome the fire-breathing giant Cacus, who has stolen some of the cows captured by him and hidden them in a cave, and in Sicily he conquers the mighty boxer

and wrestler Eryx, the representative of the hill of that name.

The seventh adventure, the taming of the Cretan bull, and the ninth, the fight with the Amazons, from whose queen Hippolyte he was commissioned by Eurystheus to demand her girdle, are perhaps only borrowings from the legend of Theseus, who accomplishes deeds of this sort; Herakles' conflict with the Amazons however appears in art somewhat earlier than that of Theseus, hence a derivation of the latter from the former is also not impossible.

As eighth labour Herakles receives the order to fetch from the far North the horses of the Thracian King Diomedes, which were fed on human flesh. He fulfils the task after casting the cruel king to his own steeds.

§ 142. The last adventures are closely related to one another, for both show how at the end of his career Herakles won immortality by his journey into the nether world and into the garden of the gods—a conception however which later, when the Argive legend was combined with that of Oita and Thessaly, was ousted by that of the hero burning himself. On the way to the garden of the Hesperides ('maidens of the West'), who guard the golden apples of youth and dwell on the margin of the western heaven gilded by the sinking sun, he strangles in the desert of Northern Africa the giant Antaios, raising him up from the earth, his mother, whose toúch lends her son ever fresh strength. Then he destroys in Egypt the King Busiris, who cruelly sacrifices all strangers cast upon the shores of his land, and in whose name that of the Egyptian god Osiris is certainly contained. After at length freeing Prometheus, whom Zeus had chained to the Caucasus, he comes to Atlas, who bears the heavens on his shoulders, as every mountain appears to do. He begs him to pluck for him three apples from the tree of the Hesperides and in the meantime takes his place; or he enters himself into the garden of the gods and destroys the dragon Ladon which guards the tree.

§ 143. The bringing up of the hound of hell, Kerberos, was

put as the hardest toil at the end, plainly because it had been forgotten that the fetching of the apples which bestowed eternal youth from the Land of the Blessed, conceived as in the furthest West, properly signified the reception of Herakles among the gods. The same thought later found expression in a trait which may also belong to the Argive legend, the marriage of Herakles to Hebe, the daughter and virgin counterpart of the now appeased Hera, whilst Italian story unites its Hercules with Iuno herself. Herakles descends at the promontory of Tainaron into the lower world, frees Theseus from bondage, fetters Kerberos, and rises again with him near Trozen or Hermione. Another and perhaps older form of the same legend seems to be present in the campaign of Herakles against Pylos ('gate' of the nether world), which is already mentioned in the *Iliad*; in it he wounds with a three-barbed arrow Hades, the ruler of the lower world, and his enemy Hera.

On the fulfilment of the tasks imposed upon him by Eurystheus, Herakles' servitude came to an end. But seemingly it was not till after *c.* 480 B.C. that the number of his labours was fixed at twelve.

§ 144. The third main group of the Herakles-myths consists of the traits native to Thessaly and Oita, to which originally belong his conquest of Oichalia and his slavery under Omphale.

Herakles sues for Iole, daughter of the mighty archer Eurytos, who rules in the Thessalian Oichalia. But although he defeats her father in a competition of archery she is denied him. In revenge he shortly afterwards hurls her brother Iphitos down from a rock, although the latter is lodging with him as a guest-friend; later he also captures the city and carries off Iole as captive. To free himself from blood-guilt he goes to Delphoi; but Apollon refuses him an answer. He then seizes on the sacred tripod in order to carry it off; Apollon seeks to prevent this; the thunderbolt of Zeus stops a conflict as it is breaking out. Herakles is now told by the oracle that he can be freed from guilt only by three years of slavery.

§ 145. Hermes therefore sells him to Omphale, who was later regarded generally as queen of Lydia and ancestress of the Lydian kings, but originally seems to be the heroine from whom was derived the name of Omphalion, a city which probably lay at one time on the borders of Thessaly and Epeiros;[1] for while in her service he subdues the Itonoi, who are certainly the inhabitants of the Thessalian Itonos, where he also has a struggle with the mighty Kyknos. He likewise conquers the Kerkopes, cunning thieves whose home is at Thermopylai, and Syleus ('Robber') by Pelion. His son by Omphale, Lamios or Lamos, gives a name to Lamia, which lies not far north from Trachis. Perhaps it was not until the legend had been shifted to Lydia that it was embellished by the further conceit that Herakles in the disguise of a maid worked with the distaff while Omphale adorned herself with the lion's skin and club.

§ 146. Herakles' wooing of Deianeira ('Slayer of men'), daughter of King Oineus ('Wine-man') in the vine-growing Kalydon, for whose possession he has to fight—probably as a representative of civilisation—with the wild river-god Acheloos (§ 97), is directly connected with these legends, and probably too formed originally a part of them, as its scene was the neighbouring Aitolia. Acheloos appears sometimes as a natural river, sometimes as a bull or a man with a bull's head. It is not until Herakles breaks off one of his horns that he confesses himself defeated, and in order to get it back offers in exchange the horn of the goat Amaltheia, *i. e.* the horn of plenty from which pour forth nourishment and blessing. This horn however is strictly the property of Herakles as the giver of fertility, in which quality he was much worshipped, especially in the country. A counterpart to the contest with the river-god is an adventure usually brought into connection with that of the Hesperides—the

[1] It is described as a city of Chaonia, Ptolem. iii. 14, 17. The ethnic adjective occurs as Ὀμφαλιῆες and Ὄμφαλες, nom. plur., and Ὄμφαλος, gen. sing.

wrestle with the *Halios Geron* or Old Man of the Sea, who is later called Nereus or Triton.

§ 147. On his return to Trachis he slays the Centaur Nessos—a counterpart to the fight with the Centaurs on Pholoe—when the latter seeks to do violence to Deianeira as she passes through the river Euenos on his back. When dying, the Centaur counsels her to collect as a love-philtre the blood streaming from his wound and to take it with her. Afterwards when she hears that Herakles, on capturing Oichalia, has made the fair Iole his captive, she smears it on a robe and sends it to her returning husband. Scarcely has Herakles put it on when the poison of Nessos eats into his body. In anger at the tortures imposed on him he hurls the bringer Lichas into the sea, but is not able to tear off the robe clinging to his limbs. Deianeira slays herself in despair; Herakles weds Iole to his son Hyllos, mounts a funeral pile erected on the summit of Oita, and hands over his bow and arrows to Poias the father of Philoktetes or to the latter himself, appointing him to set fire to the pyre. Amidst thunders and lightnings he then rises, purified by the flame, into heaven and becomes the peer of the gods.

§ 148. A passage in the *Iliad*, and, strictly speaking, another in the *Odyssey*—where however, in accordance with the harmonising tendencies of a later reviser, only his wraith appears—shew that the notion was elsewhere held that Herakles actually died through the decree of fate and Hera's anger, and that he dwelt in the nether world.

In his whole character Herakles in after times embodies the ideal of the noble Dorian warrior; and in many parts of his legend, in his wanderings and struggles, he may be simply a type of the Doric race, which paid him especial reverence.

§ 149. The oldest of his cult-statues that is known to us in any detail is one at Erythrai, where like other heroes he worked as a god of healing by dream-oracles (§ 4). According to coins on which he is represented, he stood there without the lion's skin, a club in the uplifted right hand, in

the left a lance or pole, with some unknown object. On the other oldest monuments he is also figured as naked; afterwards he also wears full armour and a short jerkin, until about 600 B.C. the type with the lion's skin from Cyprus and Rhodes became dominant. The latter was probably connected, through the influence of Phoenician models, with Melqart the sun-god and king of the city of Tyre, with whom later he was often identified. His hair and beard are usually cut short; more rarely he appears in older times without a beard. After the beginning of the fourth century he is again regularly figured as quite naked; he then carries the lion's skin on his left arm, the club in his right hand. Praxiteles gives him an expression of profound sensibility, Lysippos a posture of activity in which he balances himself on his hips; the latter is certainly the originator of the type of the weary resting Herakles, as it is preserved to us especially in the so-called 'Farnese Hercules' at Naples. In the pictures of his exploits in earlier times, as well as in the narrative of the *Iliad*, he commonly carries the bow as his weapon, more rarely and generally in works of Ionic origin the club, and in those from Peloponnesos the sword, which in the *Odyssey* he bears as well as the bow.

VI. ***Theseus.*** § 150. The commercial Ionian race, who were worshippers of Poseidon, had their chief seats in Euboia, on the eastern coast of Attica, Argolis, and the islands which form connecting links with the Ionic colonies on the shore of Asia Minor. Into Athens it made its way from the east and south; hence Ion, the mythical ancestor of the Ionians, is properly a stranger in Athens and related to the native royal house of Kekrops only through his mother Kreusa the daughter of Erechtheus. Theseus, also specifically Ionic, is less of a foreigner than this unworshipped ancestor of the Ionians. Like Herakles among the Dorians, Theseus was developed as a pure ideal of the Ionic hero. His proper home is Trozen in Argolis, which is probably to be regarded as a primitive centre of the united Ionian tribes; for on the island of Kalauria fronting it stood the temple of Poseidon,

which was looked on as the federal sanctuary of an old Ionic *amphiktyonia* or religious union.

§ 151. The reputed father of Theseus is Poseidon himself, or else King Aigeus of Athens, who himself is merely Poseidon in another form, having grown into a separate personality from one of the god's by-names. His mother is Aithra, daughter of King Pittheus of Trozen. Before Aigeus parts from her and returns to Athens he hides his sword and sandals beneath a heavy rock with the order to send his son to him as soon as he can raise it. When grown to youth Theseus travels with these tokens over the Isthmos to seek his father. On the way he destroys several robbers, —the clubman Periphetes; the pine-bender (*pityokamptes*) Sinis; Skiron, who dwelt on a steep pass of the Isthmos and hurled wayfarers down into the sea; the wrestler Kerkyon; and the giant Damastes, who racked strangers upon a bed, whence he was also styled *Polypemon* ('sorely harmful') or *Prokrustes* ('racker'). He moreover overcame the wild sow of Krommyon.

§ 152. Meanwhile Aigeus has wedded the sorceress Medeia. When Theseus arrives in Athens she seeks to poison him; but he is saved, for his father recognises him by the sword he brings. He now overcomes the gigantic Pallas and his mighty sons, who rise up against Aigeus; then he tames the Cretan bull which Herakles has let loose, and which has run from Mykenai to Marathon. Properly however this exploit seems to be only a later by-form of his struggle with the bull-headed Minotauros, which in the usual narrative follows it.

§ 153. Androgeos, a son of King Minos of Crete, had been slain by the Athenians. As an atonement for this murder they were compelled to send every nine years to Knosos seven boys and seven maidens, who furnished a meal to the Minotauros confined in the labyrinth. The latter, conceived as a man with a bull's head, was the offspring of Pasiphae,— a goddess closely akin to Aphrodite and much worshipped in Crete and Lakonia, whom heroic legend made the wife of

King Minos of Crete,—by the so-called Cretan bull, that is, the bull-shaped sun-god *Zeus Asterios* of Gortyn, with whom Minos himself is probably to be identified (compare § 123). Theseus, who voluntarily accompanied the victims, received on his arrival from Minos' daughter Ariadne, who falls in love with him, a hank of thread and the counsel to fasten one end of the string to the entrance of the maze in order that he might find his way out again from its countless intricate passages. After slaying the Minotauros he secretly conducted the rescued victims, and with them Ariadne herself, away from Knosos and landed with them on the neighbouring isle of Dia or Naxos. Here Ariadne stayed behind, and, according to one form of the legend, which is probably the older, was slain by Artemis because she had been previously united to Dionysos and had preferred to him her mortal lover; according to the view afterwards current she wedded Dionysos, who was much worshipped in Naxos, after Theseus had privily deserted her.

§ 154. On sailing away from Athens Theseus had promised his father to replace the black mourning sail of the ship by a white one in case his undertaking should have a prosperous issue. As however he forgot to do so, Aigeus on the approach of the ship hurled himself down from a rock of the Akropolis or into the sea, which obtained from him the name of the 'Aegaean,' *Aigaios*. Later he was worshipped in Athens as a hero. Theseus founded in memory of his prosperous return the harvest feast of the *Pyanopsia*, or 'bean-festival,' and the vintage-feast of the *Oschophoria* (§ 115). As ruler he now combined twelve separate districts into the collective State of Athens on the southern foot of the old Akropolis, an event that lived on in the memory of the people through the celebration of the ancient *Synoikia* or 'union of dwellings,' and according to some procured for him his name Θησεύς, 'the Founder' (compare θής and τιθέναι).

155. Like Bellerophon, Herakles, and Achilleus, Theseus fights against the Amazons, either as a comrade of Herakles or on the occasion of an inroad made by them into Attica.

He wins there the love of Antiope or Hippolyte, whom he has conquered (we may compare Achilleus and Penthesileia), weds her, and begets by her Hippolytos ('unyoker of horses'), a hero honoured in Trozen and Sparta. Later his stepmother Phaidra ('bright one,' a goddess akin to Aphrodite), whom Theseus has wedded after the death of the Amazon, falls in love with the chaste young Hippolytos, and on being rejected by him brings about his ruin through a false accusation.

§ 156. In Marathon, the scene of his struggle with the bull and one of the old Ionic Four Cities, Theseus meets the Thessalian Peirithoos ('the round-runner'), the King of the Lapithai ('stone-folk'), a race akin to the Phlegyai and Minyai. With him he forms a close friendship and—as is already mentioned in the *Iliad*, in a passage which however is much contested—fights by his side at his wedding with Hippodameia or Deidameia against the wild Centaurs of Mount Pelion, when the latter in their drunkenness lay violent hands upon the women; this is a scene often treated by art in the first half of the fifth century B.C., notably upon the metopes of the Parthenon and the group on the western pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, whereas earlier, as far back as the seventh century, Herakles figures as the opponent of the Centaurs. In concert with Peirithoos Theseus then abducts the youthful Helena from Sparta, and brings her to the hill-fortress of Aphidna (apparently in the north of Attica), from which she was later set free by her brothers the Dioskoroi, while Theseus with his friend was going down into the nether world (probably at Hermione, according to the older view) in order to carry off Persephone for the latter. Both the friends however adhere to a rock-seat at the entrance, and Herakles afterwards is able to tear only Theseus loose.

§ 157. During his absence Menestheus, who in the *Iliad* is the leader of the Athenians, had made himself master of the kingdom. Theseus was therefore compelled soon after his return to leave the city; he went to the island of Skyros,

and was here treacherously thrown down by King Lykomedes into the sea. Later however his sons by Phaidra, Demophon and Akamas, became rulers in Athens. The bones of Theseus, alleged to have been revealed by a miracle, were brought in the year 468 B.C. by Kimon from Skyros to Athens, and deposited in a sanctuary newly erected to him, between the later Gymnasion of Ptolemaios and the Anakeion. He did not however receive any proper worship in Athens until the Ionic and democratic element of the population became supreme, at the beginning of the fifth century B. C.

§ 158. By art Theseus is represented as fighting the Minotauros perhaps as early as the ninth century B.C. on gold plates found in a grave at Corinth, and soon afterwards on the chest of Kypselos, which likewise is of Corinthian origin, as standing by Ariadne. In the sixth century the struggle with the bull and the Amazons also appears, as well as the rape of Helena; the rest of his adventures cannot be traced with certainty in art until the fifth century. His weapon is in the oldest period the sword, and in dress and bodily frame too he resembles other heroes. Later, in imitation of the type of Herakles, he commonly carries the club, and often too the skin of a wild beast, but is distinguished from Herakles by youthful beardlessness and more slender proportions. Theseus is certainly a figure primarily akin to the Dorian Herakles of Boiotia, Argolis, and Thessaly, but one that has been developed in harmony with the ideal of the Ionic hero.

VII. ***Meleagros and the Hunt of Kalydon.*** § 159. Meleagros, a mighty hunter, was son of Oineus of Kalydon and Althaia. He and many comrades destroyed a terrible boar sent by Artemis which laid waste the fields. When however he slew a brother of his mother in a conflict arising from claims for the prize of victory, Althaia prayed the infernal gods to avenge the deed of bloodshed on her son, and soon after he fell in battle. Poetry after Homer, borrowing an idea from the old custom of extinguishing lights in cursing, adds that the Moirai had announced to his mother that he

should live only so long as a brand smouldering on the hearth should be unconsumed by the fire; thereupon she quickly extinguished it and preserved it, but on the slaughter of her brother burned it, and thus brought about the death of her son.

§ 160. Atalante, the coy huntress of Arkadia and Boiotia, who is near akin to the huntress-goddess Artemis, was only later brought into connection with Meleagros. In his love he promised her the head of the boar as a trophy because she had first wounded the beast; in consequence he quarrelled with his uncle and came to his death in the manner above described. Atalante again would only have for husband the man who should conquer her in a race; the defeated competitors were slain. Meilanion (or Hippomenes, according to another legend) received from Aphrodite three golden apples which on her advice he threw down while Atalante was running. As she picked them up he meanwhile outdistanced her, and thus she became perforce his bride.

VIII. ***The Argonauts.*** § 161. The Saga of the Argonauts, probably under the influence of the Ionian poets, combines so closely together the legends of the Thessalian city Iolkos, of the Boiotian Orchomenos—both of which were inhabited by the ancient stem of the Minyai—and of Corinth, which from earliest times had had connections by sea with the far East, that the proper mythical nucleus in it can no longer be determined with certainty.

Iolkos is the home of Iason, the Argonauts' captain. He is son of Aison, but is under the wardship of his uncle Pelias, and like Achilleus, Asklepios and Herakles is trained by the Centaur Cheiron on the neighbouring Pelion and instructed in surgery. During his absence Pelias had received an oracle which, as given by Pindar (P. v. 75 f.), bade him "take exceeding heed of the man with one shoe whenso from the mountain abode he come to the sunny land of famed Iolkos, whether stranger or native." As Iason had lost a shoe in crossing the river Anauros on his return homewards, Pelias feared lest he should be ousted by him from his throne, and therefore despatched him to fetch the golden fleece from

Aia, the land of Aietes, in the hope that the youth might perish in the attempt. Iason mustered a great band of heroes, built the first large ship, the *Argo* ('Swift'), surmounted under Hera's protection all the perils that threatened him, and after his return ruled in Iolkos with Medeia the daughter of Aietes as his wife.

§ 162. Medeia persuaded the daughters of Pelias to slay their father, promising to restore him to life and youth, and then broke her word. According to the later form of the legend, which combines together diverse traits, she then fled with Iason from Pelias' son Akastos to Corinth, while splendid funeral games were held in honour of the murdered man.

Only one daughter of Pelias, Alkestis, had not shared in the killing of her father. She afterwards died a voluntary death for her husband Admetos the King of Pherai, when the Moirai had decreed that he might be saved by the self-sacrifice of another, but she was won back to life by Herakles wrestling with Death.

§ 163. It was however apparently in Orchomenos that the myth of the Golden Fleece chiefly developed. King Athamas—who however is closely connected also with the Athamantian Plain at Halos in the Thessalian Phthiotis—had by Nephele ('Cloud') two children, Phrixos and Helle. At the instigation of his second wife Ino he destined Phrixos to be sacrificed to Zeus Laphystios, to heal the barrenness of the land; but Nephele carried off her children through the air upon a ram given by Hermes, which had a fleece of gold. In the flight Helle fell into the arm of the sea named after her *Hellespontos*, while Phrixos safely reached Aia, the bright land of the rising and setting sun, which was located sometimes in the East, sometimes in the West. Here he sacrificed the ram in his own stead to Zeus Laphystios. He hung up its golden fleece in the grove of Ares, where it was guarded by a dragon.

The offering and rescue of Phrixos may have arisen from human sacrifice practised in the worship of Zeus Laphystios

which was later replaced by that of a ram; and the same circumstance may be the basis of the Iphigeneia legend. The story relating to Helle was perhaps only tacked on to explain the name of the Hellespont.

§ 164. To Corinth lastly belongs the legend of Medeia and the further developments of the voyage of the Argonauts, of which the goal was in Corinth specified as Kolchis, the most easterly land known to Corinthian seamen. Aietes, son of Helios and Perse, and supposed original of the name of Aia, was also accounted a prince of Corinth, where upon the citadel Ephyre or Akrokorinthos there was a chief seat of the worship of Helios; but he was said to have afterwards emigrated to Kolchis. When Iason demanded of him the return of the Golden Fleece, he declared himself willing if Iason would first bend to the yoke two fire-breathing bulls with brazen feet and with them plough the field of Ares. Medeia, who like Ariadne was inspired with love for the stranger hero, protected him by a magic unguent from the effects of the fire, and then lent him further aid in overcoming the dragon that watched the fleece.

§ 165. She now embarked with the Argonauts, but carried off her young brother Apsyrtos with her; when she was followed by her father Aietes she slew the boy and cast his limbs one by one in the sea, that her father might be delayed in searching for them. After an adventurous journey, which later story with increasing geographical knowledge extended further and further towards the North and West, they reached Corinth or returned to Iolkos, where they became supreme. But when afterwards Iason cast off Medeia in order to wed the daughter of King Kreon, Medeia slew the latter together with his daughter by means of a poisonous magic robe, and after killing her own two children fled upon a dragon-car to Athens, where she wedded Aigeus. After her unsuccessful attempt on the life of Theseus she returned to her home in Asia.

Medeia is the mythical prototype of all helpful fairies and wicked sorceresses; Iason ('Healer') may be a local hero with healing powers who was native to Iolkos.

§ 166. To this nucleus of the Argonaut legend was later joined a whole series of local stories and shipmen's tales, and more heroes were made sharers in the voyage. At Chalkedon on the Bosporos Polydeukes was said to have overcome in boxing the giant Amykos ('mangler'), who prevented seafarers from approaching a certain spring. On the other side of the Bosporos the Argonauts met the blind king Phineus, who was tortured by the Harpies, which as soon as he set himself to eat came upon him and carried off or defiled his food; they were now pursued by Zetes and Kalais, the sons of Boreas, and driven away for ever (compare this with the birds of Stymphalos, § 139). In return Phineus teaches his saviours how to avoid the further perils of their voyage; in particular they pass safely through the Symplegades ('colliding rocks,' a development of the Homeric *Planktai*), which hitherto had crushed everything that came between them, but henceforth stood fixed at the entrance of the Bosporos. In the adventure at Kolchis the sowing of the dragon's teeth is a trait transferred to Iason from Kadmos (§ 123).

IX. ***The Theban Legend-Cycle.*** § 167. The all-pervading idea that we find underlying the stories combined in the Theban series of legends (*Kyklos*, cycle) is the doctrine that man is neither by wisdom nor by power and strength able to fulfil his own designs against the will and determination of the gods. Indeed, the very foresight which seeks to bring to naught the purpose of the gods as announced by oracles and other signs must itself subserve the execution of the divine will. This is shown in the simplest shape in the march of the Seven against Thebes described in the *Thebais*, of which the campaign of the *Epigonoi* or 'Descendants' is a later counterpart; and it appears in more complicated form in the *Oidipodeia*, which had already in early Homeric times treated what is probably the oldest part of the whole legend, and led up to the conflict of the *Thebais*. The concluding *Alkmaionis*, from the beginning of the sixth century B.C., depicts finally the power of the godhead to punish murder of kindred. In the surviving *Thebais* of the Roman poet Statius

the leading thoughts of all these lost epics are brought together. This group of legends is still more fully treated from the purely moral standpoint in Attic tragedy, from which still survive the *Seven against Thebes* of Aischylos, the *Oidipus King*, *Oidipus at Kolonos*, and the *Antigone* of Sophokles, as well as the *Phoenician Women* of Euripides.

§ 168. Laios the son of Labdakos was by the will of the gods to have been the last king of Thebes from the race of Kadmos. He was therefore told by the oracle at Delphoi that if he begot a son this son would slay him and wed his mother. When nevertheless a son was born to him by his wife Iokaste (or Epikaste, as she is styled in the epics), the sister of the last *Spartos* Kreon, he pierced his feet, tied them together, and caused him to be exposed on the neighbouring Mount Kithairon, in order thus by the slaughter of his child to make the fulfilment of the oracle impossible. The child however was found by a herdsman, brought to Sekyon or Corinth before King Polybos, and by him adopted and called *Oidipus*, i. e. (as popularly explained) 'Swell-foot.' When grown up Oidipus questioned the oracle at Delphoi as to his true origin, but received for answer only the ominous words that he would go in unto his mother, bring into the world a race loathsome to human sight, and slay the father who begot him (*Oidipus King*, 791 ff.). To make the threat futile he did not return to Corinth; while still near Delphoi however he met his father Laios at a crossway, and on being insulted slew him without recognising him.

§ 169. Meanwhile Thebes had fallen into sore straits. The Sphinx ('Strangler')—a monster compounded of the upper part of a winged maiden and the lower part of a lion with a snaky tail, and probably in origin a goblin-like ghost, although later it was completely confused with the similarly formed Egyptian and Babylonian symbol of power and speed—lodged on a hill near to the city, and set to every passer-by the riddle "Who is it that in the morning walks on four legs, at mid-day on two, and in the evening on three?" All who failed to guess it she slew, among them, according

to the older legend, Kreon's son Haimon. Kreon was now on the death of his brother-in-law Laios ruler in Thebes. He promised as reward for liberation from this pest the hand of the queen and the kingship of Thebes. Oidipus rightly explained the riddle as meaning *man*, and became now king in his native city as well as husband of his mother. According to the older epos the gods made manifest this sin shortly after; Epikaste slew herself and Oidipus blinded himself, but afterwards begot by another wife Euryganeia the sons Eteokles and Polyneikes as well as the two daughters Antigone and Ismene. Later epos and the tragedians do not speak of any second marriage of Oidipus, but make all these children his offspring by Iokaste herself. According to them his guilt was first revealed by the seer Teiresias in consequence of his own infatuation.

§ 170. For an insignificant offence Oidipus afterwards laid on his sons the curse that they should divide their inheritance with the edge of the sword. He himself died in Thebes, or—in the Attic version of the story—in exile at the sanctuary of the Semnai in Kolonos, near Athens, under the protection of Theseus.

§ 171. In the division of their heritage and the kingdom Eteokles and Polyneikes fell to quarrelling; the latter then fled to Adrastos, King of Argos and Sekyon. As son-in-law of the latter he set on foot an expedition against his brother. Adrastos himself undertook to lead it, and his brother-in-law the Aitolian Tydeus, the valiant son of Oineus of Kalydon, his brothers Hippomedon and Parthenopaios, the mighty Kapaneus, and the brave seer Amphiaraos, another brother-in-law, supported him. Amphiaraos indeed foresaw that he would perish in the campaign, but was nevertheless induced to take a part by his wife Eriphyle, who had been bribed by Polyneikes with a splendid necklace that brought disaster to its owner. He therefore commanded his son Alkmaion ('the mighty one') that he avenge his father's death on his mother as soon as he had grown up.

§ 172. In spite of signs prophetic of disaster the Seven,

confident in their own power, pressed onward against Thebes and beset the seven gates of the city. Kapaneus had already mounted the wall when the thunderbolt of Zeus hurled him down again. The two brothers Eteokles and Polyneikes slew one another in a duel. But the struggle was kept up with terrible fury; Tydeus indeed as he died mangled with his teeth the head of his fallen opponent, and sucked his brain out of his cloven skull. Amphiaraos sank alive with his chariot near Thebes into a rift of the earth which Zeus opened up before him by a blow of his thunderbolt. Here he ruled as a spirit dispensing oracles by means of dreams; he received the same devout worship in other places, especially at Oropos, where the site of his temple and his healing spring have recently been brought to light (compare § 4).

§ 173. Of the Seven, according to the later version, Adrastos alone escaped, being saved by his swift charger Arion. The Thebans were persuaded by him, or, in the Attic story, constrained by Theseus, to surrender the corpses of the fallen Argives for burial. Aischylos and Sophokles further connected with this the ruin of Antigone. According to them, Polyneikes as enemy of his native land was doomed to lie unburied. His sister Antigone however, in defiance of this edict, laid him upon the funeral pile of Eteokles, or at least covered him with earth. Seized by the appointed watchmen, she was condemned to death for this deed, enjoined as it was by sisterly love and divine law.

§ 174. Ten years afterwards the sons of the fallen heroes, the *Epigonoi*, now attended by the gods' favour, marched against Thebes, conquered and destroyed it, and established on the throne Thersandros, the son of Polyneikes. The whole expedition was thoroughly worked up by later poetry as a counterpart of the first. Alkmaion, the leader of the host, fulfilled before departure his father's injunction, and to avenge him slew his mother. Although however Apollon himself had given his approval to this, Alkmaion was pursued like Orestes by the Erinyes until after long wanderings he found final rest on the island of Acheloos in Akarnania, which had

just arisen from the sea and therefore was not defiled by the murder of his mother.

X. ***The Achaian and Trojan Cycle.*** § 175. The excavations carried on from the year 1871 by H. Schliemann and his able collaborator W. Dörpfeld have made it highly probable that a real prehistoric event underlies the siege of Troy described in Homer's *Iliad*. Upon the hill of Hissarlik in the plain of the Troad depicted by Homer, and on the same site as the later Ilion, arose over the remains of five older foundations a mighty citadel with circling walls five metres in thickness, built of great limestone slabs. It had four gates and a doorway in the north-eastern tower; on the eastern side were three towers, of which one protected the gate and another enclosed a well. Along the inside of the wall ran a line built over with magazines, the roof of which was probably a sheltered passage. Further inwards the citadel rose in terraces; the main streets were paved in the centre with gypsum, and drains and walled wells were also found. The whole foundation moreover seems to have been suddenly consumed by a terrible fire. In this sixth stratum sherds of earthenware jars certainly manufactured in Mykenai, especially the hooped jugs peculiar to that city, are everywhere mixed with the native pottery, which demonstrates not only that this stratum was contemporary with the palmy days of Mykenai (about 1400–1200 B.C.), but also that the two cities had commercial relations with one another. Under these circumstances the view generally accepted in later times, which dated the destruction of Troy in the year 1184 B.C., may approximate to the truth, despite the inadequate grounds which may have given birth to it.

§ 176. The whole mass of legend was handled in several epics, which, with their reputed authors and dates, are— 1. The *Kypria* of a Cypriote poet, perhaps Stasinos, which arose after the completion of the additions inserted into the *Iliad*; 2. the *Iliad* of 'Homer,' probably about 900 B.C.; 3. the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos of Miletos, about 750 B.C; 4. the *Little Iliad* of the Lesbian Lesches, from the

first half of the seventh century; 5. the *Destruction of Ilios* (Ἰλίου πέρσις), also by Arktinos; 6. the *Home-comings* (Νόστοι) by Agias of Trozen, later than Arktinos and the *Odyssey*; 7. the *Odyssey*, about 800 B.C.; 8. the *Telegoneia* of Eugammon of Kyrene, about 570 B.C.

§ 177. Apart from fragments and scanty epitomes, there survive only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which the ancients already recognised to be the noblest flowers in the garland of epic poetry. Both of these were formerly ascribed to the single and unequalled poetical genius of 'Homer,' although the great discrepancies displayed both in the descriptions of social conditions and in religious conceptions lead inevitably to the conclusion that there were several authors of these poems, at any rate in their present form. Seven cities disputed with one another for the honour of claiming Homer as their own; Smyrna, which is first mentioned in the list, seems to have the best right, for the *Iliad* itself shews that the poet probably knew the country in the lower course of the Hermos. In its original form the *Iliad* described only the disastrous conflict between Achilleus and Agamemnon. Into this oldest epic, which was the nucleus of the whole cycle of Trojan story and contained the germs of all other poems in it, insertions of many sorts were later made, and the whole was probably worked over; but even in its present form the underlying and dramatically shaped plan is so clearly discernible that there can be no doubt that this nucleus was the deliberate creation of a single poet.

§ 178. Corresponding with the so-called 'introductory accord' of the drama, the *Iliad* begins with a description of the pestilence brought in the tenth year of the siege of Troy upon the Greek host by Apollon on account of an insult to his priest Chryses. The pride of Agamemnon, the commander-in-chief, is responsible for the heavy loss and defeats of the Greeks in the course of the main action; and here he excites the anger of Apollon by his refusal to give back to the suppliant priest his abducted daughter. This is at once followed by the 'exciting moment'; Achilleus, the noblest

hero in the Greek camp, demands of Agamemnon in the name of the perishing army the restoration of Chryseis. Thus the knot is tied; Agamemnon indeed agrees to his demand, but takes away from him Briseis, whom Achilleus had received as a gift of honour from the army. Achilleus now wrathfully withdraws from the contest, and at his entreaty his mother Thetis prays Zeus as guide of battles to vouchsafe victory to the Trojans until her son should have received full satisfaction.

§ 179. In Books II.—VII. we have the first thickening of the plot in the form of counterplay. First Agamemnon tries to bring about a conclusion of the war without Achilleus by means of a duel between Paris, the abductor of Helena, and her lawful husband Menelaos; the former is defeated, Aphrodite rescuing him, but the compact is immediately broken by a treacherous bow-shot of the Trojan Pandaros. The Achaians now press forward, and in their advance Diomedes, the son of Tydeus and ruler of Argos, who is specially protected by Athena, and Aias the son of Telamon of Salamis, the bravest of the Greek heroes after Achilleus, distinguish themselves by single combats. Agamemnon now fancies himself near to victory over Troy and at the same time over his opponent Achilleus; but Zeus, in compliance with the promise given to Thetis, forbids the gods to take further part in the conflict. The Greeks in consequence are driven back into their camp; and here begins the second thickening of the plot, this time in the main action (Books VIII.—XII).

§ 180. Lest he should be compelled to humble himself before Achilleus, Agamemnon makes the proposal, originally no doubt in all seriousness, to entirely give up the siege. But Diomedes and old Nestor, the ruler of the Messenian and Triphylian Pylos, who is remarkable beyond all the other generals for wisdom and eloquence, oppose him (Book II.). The Greeks then make another bid for victory in the open field, but suffer a complete defeat; Agamemnon himself, like most of the other heroes, is wounded (to Book XI.).

The climax of the action and the apparently imminent victory of the dramatic hero, Achilleus, are marked by the 'battle about the ships' (Books XIII.—XV.). Hektor, the most valiant son of King Priamos of Troy, and Apollon press into the Greek camp and set fire to the ships, by which the destruction of the whole host becomes almost inevitable. Now at the moment of supreme necessity comes the turning-point (*peripeteia*), which is moreover due to the vacillation of Achilleus himself. Half relinquishing his decision, he sends his friend Patroklos in his own panoply at the head of his Myrmidones to aid the distressed Greeks. They drive the enemy out of the camp; but when, contrary to his friend's command, Patroklos pursues the Trojans, he is slain by Hektor (Book XVI.).

§ 181. Here begins the declining action (Books XVII.—XXI.). The moment of final intensity consists in the restoration of Briseis to Achilleus and the humiliation of Agamemnon. But now Achilleus' victory is but the semblance of a victory, as he himself fully recognises. For he too, hero as he is, has brought on his head the guilt of pride (*hybris*) by having for so long looked in inaction upon the ruin of his people in revenge for the personal insult done to him by Agamemnon. This guilt of his brings about the death of Patroklos, and therewith the catastrophe (Book XXII.). After getting through his mother new arms from Hephaistos, Achilleus slays Hektor, although he knows well that he himself must die soon after the fall of this foe, and the fatally wounded Hektor himself reminds him of his now impending doom. The action dies away in the burial of Patroklos and Hektor and the wail of Achilleus for the loss of his friend, in which he prepares himself for his imminent death, so that the latter in Homer only in a certain sense takes place behind the scene.

§ 182. The *Odyssey*, said to have been the model for all poets describing the home-coming of the heroes of Troy, is also clearly based on a uniform plan, and afterwards expanded by insertions. To the latter notably belongs the whole *Tele-*

macheia (Books I.—IV.), in which is described Telemachos' journey to Pylos and Lakonia, as well as the greater part of the last book and the poem treating of the passage of Odysseus into the nether world, which though inserted in late times may itself be very old. To gain information as to the abode of his father Odysseus, who has been absent nearly twenty years, Telemachos visits old Nestor and then Menelaos. Both tell him of the home-coming of themselves and the other heroes; from the latter he also learns that his father is detained in the far West upon the island of the nymph Kalypso. But before Telemachos returns to Ithaka Odysseus himself has already arrived there. Thus his enterprise has no influence on the course of events.

§ 183. The old *Home-coming of Odysseus*, which was created out of disjointed primitive lays, depicted only the last year, *i. e.* the proper catastrophe, while preceding events were mentioned in the course of the narrative, as in the *Iliad*; and this proves that the author was an imitator of the poet of the *Iliad*, which he used as a model. After Odysseus, the ruler of the little island of Ithaka, has lost his comrades and ships on his wanderings in the return from Troy, he lives for seven years, consumed with longing for his home, on the island of Ogygia with Kalypso ('Concealer'), who strives to bind him permanently to herself. In Ithaka he is awaited with equal yearning by his faithful wife Penelope, who is wooed by numerous arrogant suitors. Moved by Athena's requests, Zeus at length commands the nymph to let Odysseus go. He sails on a raft until close to the island of the Phaiakes. Here, however, Poseidon shatters his craft; and it is only with the aid of the goddess Ino-Leukothea that he can swim to the beach.

§ 184. Nausikaa, the daughter of King Alkinoos, gives him clothing and leads him into the palace of her father. At mealtime he recounts himself his previous adventures. He lost many of his comrades in battle with the brave Kikones; others, who had tasted the sweet fruit of the lotus in the land of the Lotus-eaters (*lotophagoi*), he had been compelled to drag

by force back to the ships, for enjoyment of the lotus had made them forget fatherland and friends. Then he fell into the cave of the one-eyed Kyklops Polyphemos, who devoured several of his shipmates, but at last was made drunk and blinded by Odysseus as he slept. Polyphemos being a son of Poseidon, the latter was now wroth with the returning travellers. They came to Aiolos, the ruler of the winds, and he graciously confined all the contrary winds in a skin, so that they would have reached home in safety if Odysseus' comrades had not secretly opened the skin.

§ 185. All the ships except the one on which was Odysseus himself were now shattered by the gigantic Laistrygones. With the last he landed on the island of the enchantress Kirke, who first turned a part of his crew into swine; but when threatened by Odysseus himself she restored them to their human shape, and all were now kindly entertained by her. Instructed at length by her as to the way leading home, they prepared after a year's stay to continue their journey. Passing the island of the vulture-shaped Sirens (*Seirenes*), who enchanted men by their song and then slew them, he voyaged on between the seats of the sea-monsters Skylla and Charybdis to the island of Thrinakia,[1] where under the influence of hunger his shipmates slaughtered kine from the sacred herds of Helios. As punishment for this the lightning of Zeus shattered the last ship; only Odysseus himself, who had not shared in the sin, escaped on the mast, and after being tossed about for nine days reached the island of Kalypso.

§ 186. Alkinoos, touched with compassion at this narrative, now sends the man of many woes with rich gifts to Ithaka in a swift ship. Lest he be at once recognised, his guardian goddess Athena gives him the semblance of an old beggar. In this form he visits his herdsman Eumaios, and hears from him of the arrogance of his wife's wooers. Only to his son Telemachos does he reveal who he is; but his old hound and his nurse Eurykleia also recognise him, despite his transformation,

[1] Apparently the name *Trinakria* given to Sicily is the same word, but altered by popular etymology, which connected it with ἄκρα.

whilst he is staying in his own house as a beggar. Penelope has just announced that she will wed him who can bend the bow of her dead husband and shoot an arrow through the eyes of twelve axes placed one behind the other. The suitors all strive in vain; at length Odysseus fulfils the task. He now reveals himself, and with the support of his son and the two faithful herdsmen Eumaios and Philoitios lays all the suitors low after a furious battle. Penelope now receives the news of her husband's return. Lastly he visits his old father Laertes, who cultivates a farm in the neighbourhood.

The works of art relating to the Theban and Trojan cycles of legends are collected in Overbeck, *Bildwerke zum thebanischen und troischen Heldenkreis.*

NOTE.—The view summarily set forth in § 176 above, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the oldest of the great epics, and the models of all others, is that held by Aristarchos in antiquity and by many other scholars. None the less it is hardly tenable. There is no sufficient evidence, internal or external, that as a whole the other epics were later. They contained doubtless late passages; but so does the *Iliad*. The whole mass of these epics really formed a *Corpus*; the earliest and best tradition known to us assigned the authorship of the whole to 'Homer.' On the other hand, later traditions assigned one poem to Arktinos, another to Stasinos, and so forth (§ 176). The inference is clear. There were once famous minstrels—Homeros, Arktinos, Stasinos, and others—whose names survived in local legend, sometimes perhaps attached to a particular poem. The most renowned was Homeros, and hence many attributed the composition of *all* the epics to him; later, when popular favour had selected two poems, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as the best of the whole series, these two were alone ascribed to him. Meanwhile students disinterred the names of Stasinos and the others from local legends, and assigned to each of them the authorship of one of the now anonymous poems, and thus was formed the catalogue of § 176.

Mythology and Religion of the Romans.

§ 187. In religion, as in all other spheres of mental life, Greek influences gradually ousted the native Roman spirit, or at least filled the simple old forms with a new content. This process began as early as the reign of the second Tarquinius, Greek conceptions finding their way into Rome through the medium either of the Etruscans or of colonies in Lower Italy like Cumae. From about the time of the Second Punic War they began, at any rate in cultured circles, to completely destroy the old faith, until finally almost all worships that were in existence anywhere in the mighty empire were transferred to Rome. All statements which we find in authors as to the circumstances of the old Roman religion have already taken their colouring from this Greek tendency; only the festival calendar, which was set up before this period, and the existence of certain priesthoods, the foundation of which goes back to this earliest period, supply reliable if scant information as to what was genuinely Roman. These earliest testimonies shall therefore serve in the following exposition as landmarks, in order to exclude, as far as is possible, all that was imported from Greece into the religion of Rome.

I. ***Indeterminately conceived beings.*** § 188. By the side of the true divinities we find in Roman belief a series of figures which have neither developed into uniform conceptions nor grown into complete personalities, but have remained in the sphere of ancestor-worship and daemonism.

(1) Among them the ghosts in the proper sense—the Manes, Lemures, and Larvae—take the first place. The souls of the departed in later times are usually designated by the flattering name of *manes*, 'pure' or 'good ones,' or generally as *inferi*, 'infernal ones.' Of these, each family paid especial reverence to the spirits of its own ancestors as the *di inferum parentium*, and as *di parentes* or *patrii*. A conscientious

observance of all the rules of ceremonious burial was rigidly insisted upon; even after cremation of the dead had become usual, the old customs applicable to burial were kept unaltered. On the 9th, 11th, and 13th of May were celebrated the *Lemuria*, on which the souls were believed to arise from their graves in the form of goblins (*Lemures* or *Larvae*). As a universal festival of atonement and worship of the dead, men also celebrated at the end of the old Roman year the *dies parentales* from the 13th to the 21st of February, and especially the *Feralia* on the last of these days, by presenting offerings of food and drink at the graves. The resemblance of the dead to a sleeper led on the other hand, as the grave-inscriptions shew, to a belief in later times that he slumbers in the grave in everlasting tranquillity and happiness (compare § 213, *Deities of Death*).

(2) Closely allied to the ghosts are the *Genii*, representing the man's powers of life and reproduction, and the *Iunones* of the women, which in their character exactly correspond to them. On birth they enter into human beings, on death they leave them; then they become Manes, and, exactly like the souls of the departed, they are depicted under the form of a snake. At the same time however the Genius or the Iuno is a deity worshipped as guardian spirit in the human being, by which men swear and to which an offering is presented on birthdays.

Starting from this conception of a personal guardian spirit with powers of reproduction, men later came to attribute Genii to the family, the city, the state, and finally to any place wheresoever a creative energy might display itself, and thus actually assigned to them the part of true nature-spirits.

§ 189. (3) A midway position like that of these Genii is occupied by the kindred *Lares*, who were regarded as guardian spirits of meadows, vineyards, roads, and groves, as well as of the house itself, but at the same time were honoured by various rites corresponding exactly to the worship of the dead. In earlier times, as a rule, mention is made only of a single *lar familiaris*, who guards and represents the hearth and home;

later however they always appear in pairs. Their exactly similar pairs of little wooden images were set up over the hearth in the *Atrium*; at every meal, and especially on the Calends, Nones, and Ides, and at all family feasts the housewife offered to them a little food and a fresh crown.

(4) Under the title *Di Penates*, the figures of whom were likewise set up on the hearth, were comprised again all the gods which were looked upon as guardians of the store-room (*penus*) in the house, although apparently the same deities were not everywhere understood by the name; Ianus, Iuppiter, and Vesta are mentioned among them. From the individual house their worship was translated, like that of the Genius, to the civic community, and hence these *Penates Publici* were honoured on the State Hearth in the temple of Vesta.

§ 190. (5) Quite peculiar to Roman religion, and conceived without any traits of personal character, are the *Indigetes* or 'Workers Within,' the spirits bringing to pass any particular activity in certain persons or things. To each of these beings was ascribed one single strictly limited sphere of operation, which was exactly determined by the spirit's name; hence heed had to be paid that the right Indiges should be called upon for aid at the right moment. The priestly college of the Pontifices, which had supreme functions of superintendence in these matters as well as in other questions of cult, was inspired by a striving for accuracy and definiteness to construct—especially, as it would seem, in the course of the fourth century B.C.—an almost endless series of these Spirits of Actions, on the model of older single figures of this sort. But as a natural result of this exaggeration these Indigetes soon lost their importance; at any rate their whole cult had already fallen into decay by the time of the Second Punic War. How artificial these distinctions were is proved *e. g.* by the fact that it was necessary to invoke *Abeona* when a child first walked out of the house and *Adeona* when it returned, as well as *Domiduca* and *Iterduca*.

II. ***Nature-Spirits and Deities closely akin to the Spirits of Actions.*** § 191. (1) The only nature-

spirits with a fully developed personality in Rome are the representatives of the powers at work in springs and rivers. As in Greece, the former were usually conceived as female beings; they were worshipped in the grove surrounding their spring, but early developed likewise into goddesses of soothsaying and song, as well as into helpers in painful childbirth. On the former ground the Camenae, who were native to a grove before the Porta Capena, were later completely identified with the Greek Muses, whilst the closely allied Egeria, the soothsaying wife of King Numa, who also dwelt in this grove, was mainly invoked as a goddess of birth. Both properties appear in Carmenta, the mother of Evander, who probably gets her name from *carmen*, 'prophecy.' The spring-goddess Iuturna again, whose name was borne by several springs in Latium, was as wife of Ianus made the mother of Fons or Fontus, the spring itself conceived as a god.

§ 192. Of the river-gods, Pater Tiberinus enjoyed the highest honours in Rome. A special college of priests, the *Pontifices* or 'bridge-makers,' was entrusted with the making of the *Pons Sublicius* or pile-bridge leading over the river. So highly were they esteemed that they gradually rose to be a board of superintendence in all matters of religion. The high antiquity of their foundation is indicated by a regulation according to which no iron might be used in the building of the bridge. Equally primitive is the sacrifice of the so-called *Argei*, in which dolls made of reeds were in later times cast down into the stream from this bridge in place of earlier human offerings. In Lavinium again men worshipped the god of the river Numicius, in Umbria the Clitumnus, and in Campania the Volturnus.

§ 193. By the side of the spirits thus confined to a single spring or river, Neptunus, as representative of water in general, seems in earlier times to stand entirely in the background. To him however were celebrated the *Neptunalia* in the hottest month, on the 23rd of July, probably to induce him to vouchsafe the needful moisture. He certainly did not become a proper god of the sea until his identification with

Poseidon, whose service was introduced into Rome in the year 399 B.C. at the command of the Sibylline Books.

§ 194. (2) Among the deities worshipped from the earliest times the following are fairly near to the above mentioned Spirits of Actions—Ianus the god of the door-way (*ianus*) or of the whole door of the house (*ianua*), Vesta the goddess of the fire on the hearth, Volcanus the creator of conflagration, the war-god Mars, Saturnus and Consus the gods of seed and harvest, and the whole series of the gods and goddesses active in vegetation.

Ianus developed from being the spirit and guardian of the single door into the representative of entrances in general, and thus into the god of commencement, as both these ideas are expressed by the one word *initium*. Consequently the beginning of the day and of the month, *i. e.* the morning (*Ianus Matutinus*) and all the Calends, are sacred to him; his month *Ianuarius*, which coincides with the beginning of the increase of the day's length, was promoted later to be the proper commencement of the year.[1] On the 9th of January, at the sacrificial festival held in his honour (*Agonium*), the bell-wether of a flock was offered to him originally by the king himself, who obviously had taken the place of the house-father when the domestic worship of Ianus was transferred to the State, and later by the *Rex Sacrorum*. He is first invoked at the beginning of all actions, particularly in prayers and sacrifices; indeed he is regarded, even in early times, as the very *principium* and father of the gods.

§ 195. The god's chief sanctuary, *Ianus Geminus* or *Quirinus*, lay on the northern side of the Forum opposite the temple of Vesta, which was regarded as the hearth of the community; it was the primitive vaulted gateway or

[1] An old goddess of the happy new year is perhaps Diva Angerona, worshipped on the 21st of December, who is represented with her mouth closed or covered by her finger (compare *favete linguis*, εὐφημεῖτε). On the other hand Anna Peranna or Perenna, the goddess of the expiring year, whose festival was held on the 15th of March, is to be regarded as representing the change of the year.

entrance of the Forum, which was built on the model of the domestic *atrium*. The door fixed on the two sides of the passage were kept open as long as an army was in the field, probably because at one time the king himself marched out to the wars, and for him the door of the city, as for the house-father the door of the house, had to remain open until he returned home. Under the arch of the gate stood the statue of the god, with a double face looking towards both the entrance and exit. Though this shape was probably created from Greek models, it nevertheless was certainly meant to express the vigilance appropriate to a door-keeper. Like a real door-keeper (*Ianitor*) he holds a key and a rod or stick (*virga*) to keep off troublesome intruders; his activity is characterised by the names *Patulcius* ('opener') and *Clusivius* or *Clusius* ('closer').

Another chief seat of his ancient worship was the hill called from his name the *Ianiculum*, on which King Ancus Marcius constructed a fortification to guard the trade-route leading from Etruria into the harbour of the Tiber at the foot of the hill. Thus from being a god of ingoing and outgoing he came to be the guardian of traffic and shipping; his head, with the prow of a ship, was put on the oldest Roman coin, the *As*, and later the real harbour-god Portunus was represented in a shape resembling his.

§ 196. Vesta, like the Hestia of the Greeks, embodies the power at work in the fire of the hearth,—a power which men worshipped in the fire itself without a special figure of the goddess. The city too had its communal hearth with its Vesta and Penates, which in Rome stood in a little round temple on the southern side of the Forum. The service of the goddess was performed by six virgins who were chosen by the Pontifex Maximus in their childhood and were compelled to remain unwedded for thirty years. If one of these Vestals allowed the sacred fire to go out or became guilty of unchastity, she was condemned by the Pontifex Maximus to the severest penalties; and the holy fire had to be kindled anew by means of the ancient fire-drill or later by burning-glasses.

The *Vestalia*, the chief festival of the goddess, fell on the 9th of June; on this day the matrons presented offerings of food on the communal hearth.

§ 197. A complement and counterpart to this benefactress of mankind is Volcanus, representing the power of fire destroying all the works of man's hand, that is, as god of conflagration. As on this account he had to be kept far from the houses of the city, he had his temple outside in the Campus Martius. His chief festival, the *Volcanalia*, was celebrated on the 23rd of August, at the time when after the harvest-home the full garners especially needed his protection. In order that he might assuage the fire when once broken out he was styled also *Mulciber*, *mitis*, or *quietus*. He may have been in the first instance connected with the lightning-fire, because the latter also causes conflagrations; he is however invoked in old prayers together with Maia, the goddess of earth's fertility worshipped in May, and so it appears more probable that his influence was seen generally in the fire of the lightning and sun under all circumstances. It was perhaps only through identification with Hephaistos that he became god of the smith's craft and of volcanoes.

§ 198. Saturnus, Consus, and Ops, the deities protecting agriculture, have preserved in the same way as Volcanus the character of spirits of actions. Saturnus or Saeturnus is the god of sowing; after the completion of the autumn sowing the festival of the *Saturnalia* was held in his honour from the 17th to the 21st or 23rd of December with revelry, exchange of gifts, and liberation of slaves from their wonted toils. The wax candles which regularly formed a part of the presents undoubtedly typified the now beginning increase in the sun's light, which permitted the hope that the seed hidden in the earth would thrive. His old sanctuary and his temple, which was built by Tarquinius Superbus, stood on the slope leading from the Forum to the Capitol.

Consus on the other hand is the god of harvest, the *deus condendi* or deity of the stowing-away of the fields' produce. As this however was originally stored in subterranean cham-

bers, the old altar of Consus in the Circus Maximus was commonly hidden in the earth, and only dug up and laid bare for sacrificial uses during the festival of the *Consualia*, which were celebrated with races on the 21st of August and the 15th of December.

Ops Consiva, *i. e.* Ops as wife of Consus, is closely connected with the latter. She represents the *opima frugum copia*, or "foison plenty," which is stowed away at harvest-time; her two feasts, the *Opiconsivia* and the *Opalia*, are separated from those of her husband by an interval of only three days. Later Saturnus was identified with Kronos, Ops with Rhea, and many peculiarities of the Greek cult were transferred to the Roman.

§ 199. (3) The vital energy at work in wood and field was ascribed to the activity of various creative and receptive gods and goddesses. Peasants and herdsmen who thought that they owed to them the produce of the soil and increase of their herds paid honour to them; and like their worshippers the gods dwelt by preference in shadowy groves and by purling springs. Their character was as simple and rustic as the minds of their worshippers, and everything that was dear to the countryman was placed under their protection.

Faunus, the husband or father of Fauna, who was generally invoked as *Bona Dea*, is designated as the 'kindly god' by his name, which is derived from *favere*, 'to be favourable.' He appears in human form under the Greek name of *Evander*, 'the goodman,' who was said to have founded the first settlement on the site of the later Rome. Of this Evander the story was also told that he set up the oldest sanctuary of Faunus in a cavern on the Palatine Hill and established the festival of the *Lupercalia* held there on the 15th of February, in which the Luperci or priests of Faunus Lupercus ('Wolf-Faunus'), naked but for a girdle of a goat's skin, sought to secure fertility for men, beasts, and fields by running round the old domain of the city. In agreement with this Faunus was himself figured as naked, with a goat's skin, crown, horn of plenty, and drinking-horn.

§ 200. Very near to him is Silvanus, the forest-spirit, whose activity however, as his very name indicates, is concerned more exclusively with the woodlands, and hence in art he has a pine crown in his hair and a twig of pine on his arm. Like Faunus, he terrifies the lonely wanderer by the prophetic voices of the forest; Silvanus however is especially the guardian of boundaries and of property in general.

In the luxuriant fertility of the fields and vineyards again men saw specifically the energy of Liber and his wife Libera; these, like Iuppiter Liber, were characterised by their names as the liberal dispensers of plenty, but later were regularly identified with Dionysos and Persephone. The latter's name was changed in Italy into the form *Proserpina*, probably under the influence of the Indigital goddess presiding over the seed's upward climbing (*proserpere*; see § 190).

In the same way too the gardens and their fruit-trees stand under the special guardianship of Vertumnus, who changes his form as the garden in the different seasons changes its appearance, and of Pomona, the comely bestower of fruit; both were characterised by the pruning-knife.

§ 201. Among the goddesses of fertility Fauna or Bona Dea takes highest rank. Her most venerated sanctuary at Rome, the foundation of which was commemorated on the 1st of May, lay at the foot of the Aventine; her chief festival however was celebrated by the Vestal Virgins and the noblest matrons of Rome, to the exclusion of all men, at the beginning of December with a secret sacrifice in the house of a praetor or consul, who seems here to have taken the place of the king. In works of art she appears as a fully clad seated woman; like her husband Faunus she holds a horn of plenty in her arm.

Besides the above mentioned Libera and Pomona, Feronia, Flora, Pales, and perhaps Diana are akin to the Bona Dea.

The Feronia of Central Italy had her chief places of worship in a grove at Capena on Soracte in Etruria and in another near Tarracina in the neighbourhood of the Pomptine Marshes; in Rome a festival in her honour was held in the

middle of November on the Campus Martius. She is always invoked as bestowing a blessing on the harvest; as however slaves enjoyed many liberties on all harvest festivals, the emancipation of slaves was often performed in the temple of this goddess.

§ 202. Flora, also native to Central Italy, is in a more restricted sense the goddess of flowers, and hence also the dispenser of fertility. In Rome she possessed a very ancient temple upon the Quirinal. On the 28th of April was celebrated the flower-festival of the *Floralia* with wild dances and coarse jests; scenic shows and circus games were later added. With her was connected Robigus, the god guarding the corn from mildew (*robigo*).

Pales on the other hand is the patron deity of pastures and herds of cattle; her name indeed is connected with *pasco* 'graze' (compare *Pan*, § 90). In Rome she had her seat upon the Palatine, which probably derives its name from her; on the 21st of April the *Parilia* were held in her honour, in which sheep and stables were cleansed and sanctified by water and bloodless sacrifices. With the same purpose herdsmen and herds leaped between piles of blazing straw, much as at the festival of Feronia, and in Germany at the *Osterfeuer* and *Johannisfeuer*.

§ 203. Finally Diana too belongs in all probability to this series of goddesses of fertility. Like the others, she was worshipped in well-watered groves (*Diana Nemorensis*), particularly on Mount Tifata near Capua and at Aricia in the neighbourhood of Tusculum. At Aricia her priesthood devolved upon him who slew her former priest with a branch broken off in the holy grove—obviously a kind of human sacrifice offered with the aid of the goddess herself, who was potent in her trees. In Rome her ancient temple lay on the Aventine, and here, as throughout Italy, her chief festival was celebrated on the Ides of August, on which day Vertumnus also received a sacrifice. In Aricia a torchlight procession was brought to her in the early morning; in the same way Pales at sunrise and Flora were celebrated with kindling of

lights.[1] Like Feronia she protects slaves, and in particular those who had taken refuge in her sacred wood and were being pursued like the hunted deer. Like the Bona Dea also she is worshipped above all by women, and invoked as giver of fertility and of easy childbirth. This quality is perhaps the reason that several of her temples, especially those at Tusculum, Aricia, and Rome, were regarded as the federal sanctuaries of various Latin tribes. Afterwards Diana, as a goddess of groves and fertility, was completely identified with Artemis, and thence became the goddess of the chase, and finally also the moon-goddess, a conception which only her festival on the Ides can justify us in attributing to the native Diana.

§ 204. (4) A god worshipped from the earliest times by all the tribes of Central Italy is Mars, Marmar ('Slayer'?), Mamers or Mavors, who bears the ancient by-name *Gradivus* ('the approaching one,' *i. e.* apparently 'the foot-soldier'). He is closely related to the Spirits of Actions in so far as he represents mainly the divine power at work in war, although his activity is not restricted to so narrow a field as that of the Indigetes of later times who arose from the artificial wit of priests.

§ 205. In the old king's house at Rome, the Regia, were preserved the sacred spear of Mars and a shield that had fallen from heaven (*ancile*), on the model of which King Numa had caused eleven other shields to be made. Furnished with these, the twelve Palatine Salii ('Springers'), the priests of Mars, performed armed dances in the god's sacred month while singing ancient songs in which he was called upon to protect the meadows, field-produce, and vineyards. That this ceremony marks the beginning of the war-season, which was limited to the summer, is made fairly clear by the significance of his other festivals; for on the 27th of February and on the 14th of March were held near the old altar of Mars in the middle of the Campus Martius the

[1] The *Mater Matuta* too, for whom the *Matralia* ('matron's festival') were held, was a goddess both of dawn and of birth.

Equirria, consisting of a review of horses and a chariot-race, and again on the 19th and 23rd of the same month, at the festivals of the *Quinquatrus* and *Tubilustrium*, weapons and military trumpets were examined and purified. Similarly after the end of the war-season, on the 19th of October, a purification of weapons (*Armilustrium*) was held; and to the Equirria of spring certainly corresponded the sacrifice of the 'October Horse,' as on the 15th of October a horse that had been a winner in the preceding chariot-race was slaughtered to Mars. Moreover the dedication of the so-called *ver sacrum*, i. e. the vow made on the occasion of severe misfortunes to sacrifice the expected produce of the coming spring, whether man, cattle, or fruits, shews Mars to be a god of war, for it was in stress of war as a rule that this vow was made.

Men regarded as sacred to him the wolf, the type of bloodshed, and the woodpecker (*picus*), whose beak, piercing trees as a battering-ram pierces gates, and plume-like head-feathers suggested the idea of a bird of war. Hence it was a she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus, for the war-god himself was their father and thus the ancestor of the warlike Romans.

§ 206. So closely akin to Mars was Quirinus, the chief god of the Sabines settled on the Quirinal Hill, that it was possible for the worship of the two to completely coalesce. Nevertheless there remained by the side of the *Flamen Martialis* or special priest of Mars a particular *Flamen Quirinalis*, and by the side of the Palatine Salii of Mars there were twelve special Salii of Quirinus who had their seat on the Quirinal. While Mars however was regarded as the father of Romulus, Quirinus was in later times quite identified with Romulus. The ritual of the *Quirinalia*, held on the 17th of February, seems to afford a further indication that he too was looked upon as an ancestral god.

III. ***Iuppiter and Iuno.*** § 207. The mightiest phenomenon that manifests itself in the atmosphere is the storm; hence Iuppiter, to whose agency it is ascribed, is regarded like Zeus in Greece as the most potent god, who

rules over all else. He carries as his weapon the thunderbolt, and in the earliest times he is himself called *Fulgur*, the lightning. He gives signs by means of lightnings and birds, to observe and interpret which was the function of the priestly college of *Augures*; but he sends also the fertilising storm-rain, and in continued drought he is hence called upon as *Elicius*, the 'evoker' of the rain. Thus he becomes the dispenser of fertility and rich plenty, and has as his chief quality *liberalitas*, generosity. From this point of view he bears the by-name of *Liber*. To him are held the festivals connected with the culture of the vine, the *Vinalia Rustica* on the 19th of August, the *Meditrinalia* on the 11th of October, and the *Vinalia* of the 23rd of April. Agriculture, cattle-rearing, and the youthful population stand under his protection; a chapel of *Iuventas* ('youth') hence formed part of his temple on the Capitol.

§ 208. The phenomena of the storm threatening man with destruction were on the other hand ascribed to a god that grew out of Iuppiter, Veiovis or Vediovis, *i.e.* 'the evil Iuppiter.' His sanctuary stood between the two summits of the Capitoline Hill; he himself was represented as youthful, with a bundle of thunderbolts or arrows in his hand.

Summanus, the god of the nightly storms arising *sub mane*, 'towards morning,' was similarly evolved out of Iuppiter. It remains questionable whether the old by-name *Lucetius*, the 'light' or 'glistening one,' designates Iuppiter as the god of the light of heaven, or whether it is not equally to be referred to the flash of the thunderbolt, or glare of the storm.

§ 209. As *Iuppiter Stator* the mighty storm-god becomes a helper in battle, as *Victor* a dispenser of victory. To *Iuppiter Feretrius* the victorious general offers in dedication the *spolia opima*, the panoply of the enemy's commander whom he has slain with his own hand. His servants were the Fetiales, who with solemn ceremonies demanded satisfaction for outrages, proclaimed wars, and concluded treaties; for his thunderbolt punished the perjured who wronged one of them. For the same reason Iuppiter was generally invoked as god of oaths;

Deus Fidius, the god of good faith, was actually designated as the *Genius* of Iuppiter, and the sanctuary of Fides, 'Good Faith' conceived as a goddess, stood from the earliest times immediately by his Capitoline temple. In the latter was the sacred boundary-stone, the symbol of Terminus ('Boundary'), to characterise Iuppiter as the guardian of bounds and property.

One of the oldest places of his worship was a sacred grove on the summit of the Alban Mount, where formerly the Latin communities under the presidency of Alba Longa had met to worship *Iuppiter Latiaris*, the protector of Latium. The younger Tarquinius built a temple there, as he built that on the Capitol. Here were celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* with sacrifices and games; and generals to whom the Senate had denied a regular triumph on the Capitol often proceeded to this sanctuary to dedicate their booty.

§ 210. When Rome however had won predominance in Latium, the temple on the southern height of the Capitol became the most revered place of his worship; for in the same way as Rome herself dictated her laws to the world the Roman *Iuppiter Capitolinus* or *Optimus Maximus* ruled heaven and earth. He is the proper lord and guardian of the free state; to him therefore the general on his triumphal return pays the due meed of thanks, riding in triumph up to the Capitol with the god's attributes and robes as his adornment, in order to lay the laurel of victory in the bosom of the god who vouchsafes success, and to dedicate in his temple the most precious part of the booty. In his honour were held the most important games, the *Ludi Magni*, out of which later grew up the *Ludi Romani* and *Plebei*.

§ 211. On the Capitol were venerated by his side his wife Iuno and his daughter Minerva. In consequence his temple had a triple cella; the central department belonged to Iuppiter himself, that on his left to Iuno, and that on his right to Minerva. The combination of these three deities was indeed quite Greek in origin, but had been adopted in Etruria and thence transplanted towards the end of the royal age to Rome.

The first servant of Iuppiter was the *Flamen Dialis*, who presented the offering on all the Ides or days of full moon, all of which were sacred to Iuppiter, and in general on the festivals of this god; his wife, the *Flaminica*, is the priestess of Iuno. Their married life was meant to typify that of the divine pair which they represented.

§ 212. The worship of Iuno extended from early times over all Italy, especially among the Latins, Oscans, and Umbrians; among the first her name was given to a month, *Iunius* or *Iunonius*, on the Calends of which was held in Rome the festival of *Iuno Moneta* ('the inspirer of love' or 'admonisher'?), probably to commemorate her wedding with Iuppiter. This Iuno had an ancient temple on the Capitol; in its precincts were kept the geese which were famous as the saviours of the city. As wife of *Iuppiter Rex* she is styled *Regina*, and among the Marsi, as a mere female complement to him, *Iovia Regena*; her son Mars was born on the 1st of March, on which the women celebrated in her honour the *Matronalia* or 'matrons' feast.' All Calends, or days of new moon, are sacred to her, perhaps because she was also regarded as a moon-goddess. With this possibly is connected her by-name *Lucetia*, 'the glistening one,' although the kindred name *Lucina* ('she who brings to the light') characterised her as a goddess of delivery. Iuno Lucina, who on works of art often holds in her arms a child in swaddling-clothes, had a grove of hoary antiquity on the Esquiline, but was much worshipped throughout Italy. As goddess of wedlock she is also called *Iuno Iuga* or *Iugalis*, 'the marriage-maker,' or *Pronuba*, 'guide of the bride.' The by-name of *Sospita*, especially in use at Lanuvium, characterises her on the other hand as a guardian or saviour in general; in this conception she is armed with shield and spear and wears a goatskin over her head, shoulders, and back. Like Iuppiter Rex, Iuno Regina carries the sceptre as emblem.

IV. ***Deities of Death.*** § 213. In Rome the idea of a uniform realm of the dead did not become general, and hence there was no development of independent deities con-

ceived as its rulers. Only the approach of death was ascribed to the activity of a god of sometimes terrible and sometimes kindly power, who was styled Orcus; his figure however was not developed with any completeness. By his side appears under various names a motherly nurse of the departed, who seems to be properly Mother Earth herself[1] (*Tellus* or *Terra Mater*), in so far as the latter receives the dead into her bosom. From the Manes and Lares she is also named *Mania* or *Lara* and *Larunda*, from the Larvae *Avia Larvarum* or 'grandmother of the ghosts,' and like the latter conceived in a hideous form. Finally she was called from the silence of the dead *Dea Muta* or *Tacita*, the mute goddess. Perhaps too Acca Larentia ('mother of the Lares'?), to whom funeral offerings were brought at the festival of the *Larentalia* on the 23rd of December, belongs to the same connection, for she appears like Tellus herself to have also the character of a goddess of earth's fertility.

V. ***Personifications.*** § 214. By transferring to the spheres of abstract thought and morals the conceptions which had aroused the belief in the Indigetes or spirits of actions, the Romans early arrived at a worship of real personifications. Among the oldest of these are *Fortuna*, the goddess of good luck, usually characterised by a rudder and horn of plenty; *Fides*, Good Faith, with ears of corn and a basket of fruit; *Concordia*, or Harmony, with a horn of plenty and patera; *Honos* and *Virtus*, the god of Honour and the goddess representing valour, both equipped with arms; *Spes* or Hope, with a flower in her hand; *Pudicitia* or Chastity, veiled; and *Salus*, or Salvation. Later were added *Pietas*, love for parents, *Libertas*, Freedom, *Febris*, the goddess of ague, *Clementia*, Mildness, with a patera and sceptre, *Pax*, the goddess of peace, with the olive-branch; and at last in the Imperial Age it became the custom to personify in the form of a woman characterised by appropriate attributes any abstract idea that took the fancy.

[1] As a mother Tellus was especially worshipped by the *Fordicidia*, a sacrifice of pregnant cows.

VI. ***Deities of Foreign Origin.*** § 215. Towards the end of the royal period the Etruscan culture, and through its medium that of Greece, which was already dominant in Lower Italy, gained influence in Rome also. Notably the Sibylline Books from Cumae, which contained a collection of Greek oracular utterances, led to the introduction of quite a number of Greek worships into Rome. In this process either the qualities of the foreign deity were transferred to one of the numerous native Spirits of Action to which it was itself nearly akin in character, or else the foreign name was adopted together with the foreign conception. Thus Minerva originally was in all probability nothing but the divine power effecting thought and understanding in man, and thereby the tutelary spirit of artistic activity. Her inclusion in the Capitoline trinity (§ 211) she owes solely to her identification with Pallas Athena, whose qualities were transferred to her, except that she did not become a true goddess of war.

§ 216. Similarly Venus, whose name is connected with *venustus* and the German *Wonne*, had in the earliest times no cult in Rome. She is the Greek Aphrodite, who from Lower Italy and afterwards from Mount Eryx in Sicily found entrance into Rome under this name, which perhaps belonged to an Indigital goddess, the 'giver of delight.' Her oldest temple was raised in the grove of Libitina, a goddess of pleasure and death, and her by-names *Murcia* and *Cloacina* are certainly derived from localities.

Furthermore, Mercurius in the first instance can only have been the Indigital god of *merx* and *mercatura*, the spirit of trade; it was only by identification with Hermes that he became a fully developed god. As however he always remained to a far greater degree than the latter the exclusive deity of tradespeople, the purse appears in Italy as his regular attribute.

The case is similar with Hercules. Herakles, the favourite son of Zeus, who dispenses rustic plenty, was confused with the creative Genius which was ascribed to Iuppiter as it was to every man in general. In this quality he was joined in

wedlock to the Iuno who represents the productive power of woman; then however this exclusively Italian conception so permeated the purely Greek legend that there arose a variety of contradictions with the tradition of the feud between Hera and Herakles.

§ 217. The service of Ceres in Rome is on the other hand purely Greek. The name, which in its origin certainly applied to an Indigital goddess, is closely related to *cresco* and *creo*; the personality of the goddess however is simply that of Demeter, who was introduced into Rome under this name in the year 496 B. C., and in whose worship so little change was made that even in Rome her priestesses had to be Greeks.

Still more ancient, but no less purely Greek, is the worship of Apollo, in whose honour the *Ludi Apollinares* were held ever after 212 B.C. on July 13, on account of an utterance of the Sibylline Books. And the ruler of the nether world, Dis Pater, the husband of Proserpina, is Pluton-Hades taken over without change; *Dis* is *dives*, 'the rich one,' a translation of *Pluton*.

§ 218. In the year 204 B.C. was brought to Rome the sacred stone of the *Magna Mater Idaea* of Pessinus, Ma or Ammas. In 186 B.C. it was necessary to forcibly suppress the worship of Bacchus, as it was degraded by excesses. Then came Isis and Sarapis from Alexandria, and finally among many less important cults the Mysteries or secret rites of the Persian sun-god Mithras, which had already incorporated many thoughts and ceremonies of the now advancing Christian faith, so that the latter found in Rome, as in Greece, a soil well prepared to ensure its vigorous growth.

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(For names sometimes spelt with initial AF, C, J, and OE, see respectively under AI, K, I, and OI.)

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